INQUEST

A JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES

সবার উপরে মানুষ সত্য

চণ্ডীদাস মহাবিদ্যালয়

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Contents

Message from the Principal

Editorial

A. Invited Article:

B. Articles

Principal's Message

It is a very pleasuring and honouring moment to know that fifth issue **of 'INQUEST'**- a Journal of Social Science and Humanities of Chandidas Mahavidyalaya, is going to be published in the academic session 2021-2022. It is a commendable work that the Chandidas Mahavidyalaya has been publishing research journal comprising articles of a variety of fields and covering a wide area of social science. This praiseworthy effort on the part of the editors, who have created an opportunity to the university and college professors, young researchers, thinkers, policy makers and others to ventilate and share their concept and ideas in many important and contemporary issues. It can also be uttered that the publication of research journals at college level would certainly a encouraging and motivating factor to find an opportunity to think, write and express and in that way **'INQUEST'** has become a solid platform for manifestation and dissemination of learning, knowledge and wisdom of the people of higher education arena.

This volume comprises eight articles of many well known senior faculties at college as well as university level and I am confident that the selection, correction and revision of these articles, have duly been carried on.

I am thankful to all our young colleagues and friends for such an exemplary effort in editing the ongoing issue in addition to their routine work.

I look forward to bring this journal to a new heights in finding commendable position and make our College a proud.

Lastly, I wish for enrichment of knowledge in every branch of social science and humanities through happy journey of this journal for an indefinite period of time.

(Dr. Sk Ataur Rahaman)
Principal
Chandidas Mahavidyalaya

Celebrating the Dionysus: Nietzsche and his Political Ideas

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Introduction:

Friedrich Nietzsche, a German philosopher and cultural critic was born in 1844 in Röcken (Saxony), Germany. He is famous for his uncompromising criticisms of traditional European morality and religion, as well as of conventional philosophical and social ideas associated with modernity. By the time Nietzsche wrote, it was common for European intellectuals to assume that such ideas, however much inspiration they owed to the Christian intellectual and faith tradition, needed a rational grounding independent from particular sectarian or even ecumenical religious commitments.

As Cameron and Dombowsky points us, Nietzsche's political thought is deeply embedded in the Bismarckian era (Cameron and Dombowsky 2008: Introduction). It is significant to note that his career as a writer spans almost exactly the era of Bismarck. In fact, Nietzsche himself wrote, "I should not be possible without a counter-type race, without Germans…without Bismarck, without 1848, without within Wars of Liberation, without Kant, even without Luther" (Nietzsche quoted in Cameron and Dombowsky 2008: 1).

At the very outset, it should be made clear that Nietzsche's entire political thought is a virulent critique of western modernity and the mainstream western philosophy emerging from Plato which has its faith anchored in "reason" and "progress". His

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attempts to unmask the motives that underlie traditional western religion, morality, and philosophy deeply affected generations of theologians, philosophers, psychologists, poets and novelists. He thought through the consequences of the triumph of the Enlightenment's secularism, expressed in popular observation that "God is dead", in a way that determined the agenda for many of Europe's most-celebrated intellectuals after his death.

As Callinicos notes, Nietzsche's "contempt for European bourgeoise society is comprehensive. The various ideological catch-words of his day - progress, evolution, democracy, nationalism, socialism - are all dismissed as shibboleths. The pursuit of the ideas of the French Revolution - liberty, equality, fraternity - has produced the universal mediocrity which Nietzsche sum[med] in his image of the Last Man" (Callinicos 2007: 115).

As has been pointed out by Hatab, Nietzsche's philosophy can be understood as a "subversion" of classic priorities in western philosophic tradition from Plato up through the modern period. These priorities emerged from dividing reality up into various "binary oppositions" and then "promoting one side over, or to the exclusion, the other side" (Hatab 1995: Introduction). For example, as Hatab notes, being over becoming was prioritized; so were eternity over time, universals over particulars, reason over passion, good over evil, identity over difference, etc. Nietzsche has often been posed as the messiah who reversed these priorities and promoted the demoted and the excluded side - the voice of "the other". However, Hatab has shown us that these descriptions although not wrong is not entirely accurate. He actually "rejects the opposition of the two sides and opposition that permits the exclusion of threatening and unmanageable elements that characterize the demoted side" (Hatab 1995: Introduction).

Nietzsche's uncompromising criticisms of traditional European morality and religion, as well as of conventional philosophical ideas and social and political pieties associated with modernity were mainly expressed in his writings of 1870s and 1880s. Many of these criticisms rely on psychological diagnoses that expose false consciousness infecting people's received ideas; for

that reason he is often associated with a group of late modern thinkers (including Marx and Freud) who advanced a "hermeneutics of suspicion" against traditional values. Nietzsche also used his psychological analyses to support original theories about the nature of the self and provocative proposals suggesting new values that he thought would promote cultural renewal and improve social and psychological life by comparison to life under the traditional values he criticized. In this context, it could be said that his first book, The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music, published in German in 1872, marked his emancipation from the trappings of classical scholarship. Greeted by stony silence at first, it became the object of heated controversy later on. As British classicist, F.M. Cornford wrote aptly in 1912, "It was undoubtedly a work of profound imaginative insight, which left the scholarship of a generation toiling in the rear". It remains a classic in the history of aesthetics to this day.

Merely at the age of twenty four, Nietzsche was called to chair in classical philology at Basel. Nietzsche's teacher, Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl, wrote in his letter of reference that Nietzsche was so promising that "He will simply be able to do anything he wants to do". Apart from philology, Nietzsche was interested in philosophy, particularly the work of Arthur Schopenhaur and Friedrich Albert Lange. He even wanted to pursue a second Ph.D in philosophy, with a project about theories of teleology in the time since Kant.

Nietzsche's health always fragile forced him to take leave from Basel in 1876-77. He used the time to explore a broadly naturalistic critique of traditional morality and culture - an interest encouraged by his friendship with Paul Ree, who was with Nietzsche in Sorrento working on his "Origin of Moral Sensations".

Nietzsche's research resulted in "Human, All-too-Human" (1878), which introduced his readers to the corrosive attacks on conventional pieties for which he became famous, as well as to a style of writing in short, numbered paragraphs and pithy aphorisms to which he often returned in later work.

Nietzsche's health did not measurably improve during the

leave, and by 1879, he was forced to resign his professorship altogether. As a result, he was freed to write and to develop the style that suited him. He published a book almost every year thereafter. These works began with "Daybreak" (1881), which collected critical observations on morality and its underlying psychology, and there followed the mature works for which Nietzsche is best known: "The Gay Science" (1882, second expanded edition 1887), "Thus Spoke Zarathustra" (1883-5), "Beyond Good and Evil" (1886), "On the Genealogy of Morality" (1887), and in the last year of his productive life "Twilight of the Idols" (1888) and "The Wagner Case" (1888), along with "The Antichrist" and his intellectual biography, Ecce Homo, which were published only later.

In later years, Nietzsche moved frequently in the effort to find a climate that would improve his health, settling into a pattern of spending winters near the Mediterranean (usually Italy) and summers in Sils Maria, Switzerland. His symptoms included intense headaches, nausea, and trouble with his eyesight. Charlie Huenamann has pointed us that "he probably suffered from a retro-orbital meningioma, a slow-growing tumor on the brain surface behind his right eye. In January 1889, Nietzsche collapsed in the street in Turin, and when he regained consciousness he wrote a series of increasingly deranged letters. His close Basel friend, Franz Overbeck, was gravely concerned and travelled to Turin, where he found Nietzsche suffering from dementia. After unsuccessful treatment in Basel and Jena, he was released into the care of his mother, and later his sister, eventually lapsing entirely into silence. He lived on until 1900, when he died of a stroke complicated by pneumonia" (Huenamann 2009).

Ever since Nietzsche went insane, and silent, in 1889, as his fame was beginning to spread, his ideas have been most things to most men. Literally - for on the subject of women, interpretations of his views can hardly differ very much: he was an incurable misogynist. Nor could devout Christians derive any comfort from his writings, which are centrally pre-occupied with a destructive analysis of Christianity, its birth, its triumph, its

unfortunate longevity. As for principled democrats, they too cannot find much to please them in his work: whatever conclusion one may reach in the end about Nietzsche's political thinking, it calls for the distinct separation of an elite and the masses.

For the sake of exploring the main tenets of Nietzschean political ideas, we have divided our article into three broad sections as follows:

The "Apollonian and the Dionysian" Duality

Nietzsche's first book, The Birth of the Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music, first published in German in 1872, occupies a curious position in the development of his thought. "It is here", argues Spinks, "that he introduces a series of concepts and distinctions that have become definitive of a 'Nietzschean' style of thinking" (Spinks 2015: 13). Here Nietzsche redefines the relation between arts, science and philosophy, and marks a distinction between the proper and improper use of history for the production of 'strong' values.

The Birth of Tragedy is generally assumed to have nothing to say on politics. However, in it we find a clear expression of Nietzsche's distinct political theory, with its emphasis on political life as a means to the production of great human beings and culture. According to Ansell-Pearson, "for Nietzsche, modern politics is based on the delusion that it is possible to establish universal concord and justice on earth. He condemns as futile all attempts to ameliorate the human lot through modern political means" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 63).

Friedrich Nietzsche saw an enduring dichotomy inside all of us which emerges from nature itself and can be applied to art, psychology, ethics and politics. The two major concepts introduced in The Birth of Tragedy are the Apollonian and the Dionysiac. Nietzsche begins by arguing that "art derives its continuous development from the duality of the Apolline and the Dionysiac" (Spinks 2015: 20). "It is through two art deities", says Ansell-Pearson, "sculpture and music respectively, that the

Greeks, according to Nietzsche, disclose the deep mysteries of artistic production" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 63). Apollo represents the capacity for order, clarity, proportion and formal harmony within the Greek spirit. This power reaches its apotheosis in Greek sculpture and visual art; but it also manifests itself in the classical desire to treat the self as a work of art and develop a strong, well-shaped character. "Apollo therefore represents a divine image of the principium individuations: the well-fashioned character who stands apart from the multitude" (Nietzsche quoted in Spinks 2015: 20).

In contrast, Dionysius represents a state of chaotic and ecstatic energy which threatens the integrity of every formal structure. "The cult of Dionysius celebrates sexuality, unconscious desire and the amorality of natural forces; it seeks to destroy the cultivated 'individuation' of the autonomous individual and reunite us with the 'innermost core' of nature. The Dionysiac finds aesthetic expression in the primal force and narcotic rhythms of music, which intoxicate the listener into a 'complete forgetting of the self'" (Spinks 2015: 20).

The two forces of nature Nietzsche introduces show up everywhere. While their most famous iteration was as pillars of Greek culture, they can also appear as drives within us and even as historical forces. Apollo represents the dream experience; he is the 'shining one', the god of light, who provides the 'beautiful illusion'. The experience of 'beautiful illusion' provided by the Apollonian is one which provides the individual with trust and repose in the midst of a tormenting world. By contrast, "the Dionysian experience is one of intoxication which shatters the 'principium individuationis', and in which 'everything subjective vanishes into complete self-forgetfulness'" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 63-4). One God stands for order, logic and reason; the other stands for chaos, madness and drunkenness. Nietzsche thinks, one needs both.

Apollo, the God of the Sun, which characterizes truth, light and logic, is the namesake for the first, ordered, half. This is the half that covers everything which is structured and well-crafted. Sculpture, an art which is pure form, is the most

Apollonian art. Spinks pointed out cogently that, "Apollonian art has, for Nietzsche, both a formal an ethical character. The formal features of order and clarity possess an ethical dimension because they enable us to structure undifferentiated reality into coherent narratives and to reflect upon the nature of our experience" (Spinks 2015: 21). Rational thinking, which is based on logical structures, is also Apollonian. Since this drive tends to put things into their place, it also tends to individualize and distinctly separate people and ideas from one another.

Dreams, for instance, Nietzsche thinks, are the most Apollonian state we can experience. It has been suggested that he was a lucid dreamer to explain this strange notion. According to Spinks, "the ethical aspect of Apollonian art becomes clear if we follow Nietzsche in returning the form to its origins in the psychological state of dream" (Spinks 2015: 21). He bases this on the idea that we understand what we see when dreaming isn't real, but merely an image. For Nietzsche, "the Apollonian begins in the 'beautiful illusion' of dream, because dreams teach us the pleasure of the 'immediate apprehension of form'" (Nietzsche quoted in Spinks 2015: 21). Following Nietzsche it can be said that, dreams appear before us as the appearance and emerges as "the experience of aesthetic harmony which is the pre-condition of all visual art" (Spinks 2015: 21).

Nietzsche later describes dream as 'the illusion of illusion' (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 121). Spinks cogently remarks, that Nietzsche does so "because following the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), he views the habitual concepts by which we structure our daily lives (such as time, space, causality and identity) as illusions or narrative fictions we impose upon the chaotic nature of experience. Because what we know as 'real' life is produced by this type of narrative illusion, it follows that dreams and visual art which offer a powerful second-order version of the real present the 'illusion of illusion'" (Spinks 2015: 21). It is the capacity of Apollonian art to concentrate formless nature into distinct images; or to use the Nietzschean words, "Apollonian art reveals to us the 'higher truth' of life as the active creation of new values

and modes of existence; indeed, it is through this art that 'life is made possible and worth living'" (Nietzsche quoted in Spinks 2015: 21).

After interpreting the Apollonian form of art, Nietzsche focuses on Dionysius - the God of wine, festivals, and madness. In The Birth of Tragedy, Nietzsche insists that it must be complemented by Dionysiac energy. Music, for instance, is the pure Dionysian art form, since it does not appeal to our rational mind but rather to our emotions. The Dionysian doesn't categorize and tends to blur the boundaries between the self and the nature.

As rightly pointed out Spinks, that "Nietzsche never wavers from his belief that by revealing the amorality of nature's character as a creative and destructive force - that nature is a powerful agent of change because it also delights in destruction - the Dionysiac presents the most profound insight possible into humanity's character as a natural being. Unless it incorporates the transfiguring power of Dionysiac energy, the Apollonian threatens to petrify life within dead forms. Consequently, the Apollonian and Dionysiac must exist in a mutually defining relationship with each other" (Spinks 2015: 21).

Nietzsche's fundamental argument is that the experience of emancipation from oppression (from nature, and from other human beings) is only possible through the medium of art. As he powerfully puts it: "Under the charm of the Dionysian not only is the union between man and man reaffirmed, but nature which has become alienated, hostile, or subjugated, celebrates once more her reconciliation with her lost son, man…with the gospel of universal harmony, each one feels himself not only united, reconciled, and fused with his neighbour, but as one with him, as if the veil of maya had been torn aside and were now merely fluttering in tatters before the mysterious primordial unity" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 64).

Drunkenness, for instance, is suggested as the pure Dionysian state. He gives us a fantastic description of the Dionysian when he explains: "Transform Beethoven's 'Hymn to Joy' into a painting; let your imagination conceive the multitudes bowing to the dust, awestruck - then you will approach the Dionysian"

(1872). Nietzsche argues, that "western art and culture from the Greeks onward are produced by the 'struggle' and 'violent opposition' between the Apollonian and the Dionysiac" (Spinks 2015: 22). Then he points out, "this violent struggle between these two counter-balanced forces threatened at one point combine themselves within a single aesthetic form that could concentrate and develop their powers" (Nietzsche quoted in Spinks 2015: 22). This aesthetic form was Greek tragedy.

Nietzsche's dynamic reading of cultural development suggests that different epochs do not simply follow one another in a smooth natural progression; instead, there are forces and conflicts within life which necessarily bring about destruction and reinvention. Therefore, the aesthetic modulation between Apollo and Dionysius will be a continual process because Dionysiac energy possesses a force sufficient to bring any culture into crisis (Spinks 2015: 23). Undoubtedly, for Nietzsche, a strong and vibrant culture is one which rests on a 'pessimism of strength'. "The Greeks", Nietzsche says, "knew and felt the terror and the absurdity of existence" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 65). And therefore, says Nietzsche, "out of the recognition of this terror and absurdity they invented art in order to experience life as an aesthetic phenomenon…art provides the metaphysical comfort, that life is at the bottom of things, despite all the changes of appearances, indestructibly powerful and pleasurable" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 65).

To be precise, the Greek experience of art is an affirmative one, for it offers the possibility of living beyond good and evil. As rightly said by Ansell-Pearson, "the two deities, Apollo and Dionysius, reveal for Nietzsche the deep tension in which the Greeks existed as creatures who could only overcome nihilism by cultivating an aesthetic appreciation of the spectacle of life - life as primordial pain, suffering, and self-contradiction. Through art the Greeks gained a Dionysian sense of the primordial unity of nature and of man, and at the same time, were redeemed from its intoxicating effects through the pleasurable illusion afforded by the Apollonian" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 67).

However, as regards the political perspective, Nietzsche's greatest fear is that "if it is interpreted politically, the Dionysian experience will incite people to change social and political institutions, and to reform them in accordance with the experience of oneness which the Dionysian reveals as the true ground of being" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 67).

The "Will to Power"

The notion of 'life' as 'will to power' is probably the most notorious aspect of Nietzsche's thinking. According to Ansell-Pearson, "all driving force, for Nietzsche, is to be understood as 'will to power', where 'power' denotes the whither and whatness of the will" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 47). Nietzsche's elaboration of the 'will to power' attempts, as argues Spinks, "to free us from the error of representing existence in merely anthropomorphic terms by conceiving of an inhuman principle of creation that both constitutes and exceeds human life" (Spinks 2015: 135).

For Nietzsche, "'willing' refers to a process, a becoming without a fixed subject, and is not to be confused with 'desiring' or 'striving'; it is characterized, above all, by 'the affect of commanding'. There is, he argues, no such thing as 'willing', but only a 'willing something'. The relationship between the 'will to' and 'power' in the formulation 'will to power' is a dynamic and active one. As propounded by metaphysicians, however, the 'will', and the phenomenon of 'willing', are pure fictitious" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 47).

In this regard, Nietzsche argues that "the principle of 'self-preservation' as depicted by Schopenhauer, Hobbes and Spinoza, does not characterize the object of goal of the forces and energies of life. Every living thing, according to him, does all that it can, not to preserve itself, but to become 'more'" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 48). It is on this level, says Ansell-Pearson, "will to power refers to the desire every living thing has to grow, expand, and develop, what Nietzsche calls a 'drive for freedom' in the Genealogy of Morals" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 48). Pleasure and joy are symptoms of the feeling of power which has been attained and through which we reach a consciousness of 'difference'. Life is to be understood as 'specifically a will to the accumulation of force', in which 'nothing wants to preserve itself, but everything is to be added and accumulated' (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 48).

A brief idea on the Nietzschean conception of power will be of great help to understand the notion of 'will to power'. Nietzsche was preoccupied with the question concerning the purpose of existence. Nietzsche asks: if God, and all that he stands for, is dead, and if Christian values can no longer provide European civilization with its ethical and cultural foundations, as he believed, then the question immediately comes to us in a terrifying way: Has existence any meaning at all?

Nietzsche then turns to the principle of 'tragic pessimism of strength', which in the absence of a centre-point or God would restore innocence to the flux of life. What is tragic in this principle is the fact, that life has to be seen as devoid of final purpose or moral goals. However, for Nietzsche, this should not lead us to despair or to taking revenge on life because of our resentment; rather, he says, "we should strive towards a joyous affirmation of reality as it is, and attain an attitude towards life that is beyond the 'good' and 'evil' of absolute and unconditioned moral judgement. Our attitude towards the world is to be born not of weakness or resentment, but out of benevolence and gratitude, of superabundant health, energy, wisdom, and courage" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 45).

According to Nietzsche, "it is only as an aesthetic phenomenon that the world and existence are eternally justified" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 45). In this regard, Pearson points out that, "in German the word Nietzsche uses for 'power' in the compound formulation 'will to power', Macht, is derived from the verb, mögen meaning to want or desire, and the word, möglich meaning potential. For Nietzsche 'power' exists as 'potentiality', so that in the term 'will to power' the word 'power' denotes not simply a fixed and unchangeable entity, like force

or strength, but an 'accomplishment' of the will overcoming or overpowering itself" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 46).

Nietzsche's theory of life 'where nothing wants to preserve itself, but everything is to be added and accumulated' rests on a peculiar conception of power which is often misconstrued. In order to have a clear idea on this, Ansell-Pearson has compared Nietzschean notion of power with that of Thomas Hobbes, the author of Leviathan: "In Hobbes, 'power' is understood in terms of the means by which a living thing preserves its existence against other beings. 'Power' is thus understood in utilitarian terms as a means to an end. Because of the warlike condition of the state of nature, which Hobbes depicts as the natural condition mankind would find itself in prior to the formation of society and the creation of law and justice, this quest for power is ongoing and perpetual" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 48).

On one level, Nietzsche agrees with this Hobbesian conception of power. "In Beyond Good and Evil, for instance, he describes life in terms of 'appropriation, injury, overpowering of what is strange and weaker, suppression, severity…and at the least and mildest, exploitation'" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 48). However, Nietzsche's thinking on power differs from that of Hobbes in that it does not rest on a utilitarian logic. For Nietzsche, 'power' refers, above all, to a process and an activity, in which the important thing is the expenditure (the squandering even) of force, not an end-state that is to be achieved. A living thing, argues Nietzsche, desires most of all 'to discharge its strength…self-preservation is only one of the indirect and most frequent results' of the will to power (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 48).

In contrast to the Hobbesian tradition, therefore, Nietzsche thinks of the law of life, not as 'self-preservation', but as 'self-overcoming'. The Hobbesian idea of perpetual and endless pursuit for power helps explain Nietzsche's unwillingness to discuss 'will' in psychological and human terms. He refuses to identify 'will' with consciousness. For him, the mistake we make

is to imagine that conscious ideas, like 'pleasure' and 'pain', are the cause of bodily reactions and that the maximization of pleasure and the avoidance of pain are the motives for every kind of action. "For Nietzsche, these ideas begin as interpretations of material physical processes. Thus, he argues in The Will to Power that, a rush of blood to the head and a change in our pulse and breathing is commonly interpreted as 'anger', while this feeling actually originates in a physiological movement that has little to do with conscious intention" (Spinks 2015: 136).

Simultaneously, the history of human sexuality and taste demonstrates that what constitutes 'pleasure' and 'pain' are determined by particular cultural judgements rather than a general biological law. Spinks argues, that "a practice like sadomasochism suggests that pain may be interpreted as the precondition and apotheosis of pleasure rather than its absolute antithesis. Meanwhile, the development of spiritual asceticism reveals a physiological intensity and ecstasy in privation that reproduces the effect of sexual pleasure while enabling a moral condemnation of carnal indulgence. Pleasure and pain are not therefore simply psychological causes of physical change. They are retrospective judgements placed upon physiological processes whose meaning varies according to the feeling of power they make possible in the subject experiencing them" (Spinks 2015: 136).

This leads him to an entirely novel conception and justification of power, one which has a dramatic influence on his thinking about morals and politics. It informs both his extra-moral thinking of 'beyond good and evil', and his conception of politics, which is viewed not as an end in itself, but merely as a means to the production of culture. In other words, for Nietzsche, "human greatness happens through perpetual self-overcoming and the squandering of energies and resources by the creative genius or great individual. That is, to think 'over' or 'beyond' oneself is to employ creatively, not morally (where morality denotes a 'restrictive economy of life' as opposed to a 'general' one) the erotic passion or pathos, which is the will to power" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 49).

Though Nietzsche is emphasizing mostly on the creative aspect of human beings, he is aware of the fact that simple unleashing and assertion of instinctual and primitive energies, in which the human self gives free rein to its drives would lead to chaos. Therefore, what he realizes is the fact that, self-creation is a hard task requiring severe self-discipline. For him, attaining greatness might involve learning how not to will, not in the sense of a denial of the forces of life, but in the sense of knowing how to master and control desire by, for example, deferring a decision: 'all unspirituality, all vulgarity is due to the incapacity to resist a stimulus - one has to react, one obeys every impulse' (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 50). Subsequently, he holds that "a strong will to power does not need to dominate others; on the contrary, it is usually weak people who need to control others and employ power and violence against them. Instead, a strong and noble will to power, as Nietzsche sees it, relates to others in terms of overflowing abundant, creative energy, inspiring and transforming others. It has a generous and joyous spirit or soul" (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 50).

As regards the political perspective, he is stressing upon the aristocratic social structure, where exploitation of weaker powers by stronger ones is a necessary and essential aspect. According to his overt political thinking, he makes the radical suggestion that in order for there to be a perpetual self-overcoming of man, which guarantees the creation of new and rare human types, the state, or the 'social structure', has to be built on relationships of command and obedience. He sincerely believes that political order (and order is necessary for the creation of culture) can only be established through discipline, hierarchy, and slavery. In this regard, Nietzsche very much fits into the classical authoritarian mould (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 55).

The "Übermensch" or the "Overman"

Two of Nietzsche's most important and controversial concepts are those of the 'Overman' (Übermensch - often translated as 'superman') - represented by the figure of Zarathustra, and the theory of the 'eternal recurrence'. There is much controversy as to the meaning of these notions, and recent interpretations have cast doubt especially on the coherence of the ideal of the overman in Nietzsche's thought.

Nietzsche introduces his conception of the Overman in Thus Spoke Zarathustra, first published in German in 1885. Zarathustra offers us a poetic and philosophical fable with a narrative of completely different from all of his other books. It presents the experiences and teaching of the prophet Zarathustra who returns to civilization after ten years of solitude, announces to mankind the death of God, and explains his vision of a life beyond supernatural values represented by the Overman.

Nietzsche's choice of 'Zarathustra' as the prophet of a new experience of being is not arbitrary. For it was the Persian prophet Zoroaster (c. 630-c. 550 BC), according to Nietzsche, who first identified the moral struggle between good and evil at the heart of metaphysics and the universe. "The self-overcoming of morality throughout truthfulness, the self-overcoming of the moralist into his opposite," Nietzsche explains, "this is what the name Zarathustra means in my mouth" (Nietzsche quoted in Spinks 2015: 120). This self-overcoming of man is exemplified by the 'Overman' (sometimes translated as 'Superman'). The term 'Overman' (Übermensch) carries two meanings: 'Über' signifies 'over' in the sense of height and self-transformation into an experience of being that has no trace of moralism or the fiction of free will. It can also suggest 'across' or 'beyond', which Nietzsche employs to characterize 'man' as a bridge we must pass across toward a life free of ressentiment and negativity (Nietzsche quoted in Spinks 2015: 120).

"The lesson Zarathustra provides is that 'man' is a form of life that must be overcome" (Spinks 2015: 116). According to Ansell-Pearson, "Nietzsche's yearning for a new humanity can itself be seen as an expression of the nihilistic condition he wishes to overcome. It reveals a dissatisfaction with the present, with 'man', expressing the same kind of negative attitudes, such as revenge and resentment towards life as it is, which characterizes

the ascetic deal" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 102).

Nihilism chiefly signals a crisis of authority. In the wake of the death of God, humanity seeks new idols who will command and provide a new metaphysical foundation for morals. In Zarathustra, Nietzsche dramatizes the predicament in which modern human beings find themselves, and shows both the necessity and the impossibility of instigating a new legislation. As says Ansell-Pearson, "in the age of nihilism, not only is it imperative to rethink the value of truth, but equally the value of morality, of justice, and of law. Throughout the book Nietzsche has Zarathustra constantly call into question the legitimacy of his own authority, and in this way he keeps open the question of his identity, of who and what he is, and is to become" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 102).

Ansell-Pearson elaborates in detail the ideas of Zarathustra. "In order to go over or across to the future of man, which can only be a different kind of humanity, we must first learn how to go under or perish. There has never been an Übermensch , Zarathustra says, for man has yet to learn how to go under. When we do go under we experience 'the hours of the great contempt', the hour in which our present happiness, reason, pity, justice, and virtue grow loathsome to us. … It is through the teaching of 'eternal return' that Zarathustra shows how one can learn to go under. It is the doctrine of return, therefore, that provides the bridge (the way) across to the overman" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 105).

Throughout the book Nietzsche is trying to portray the law of life in that which humanity can go beyond the event of the death of God and the reign of nihilism. According to Nietzsche, 'we have to learn that man is only a bridge and not a goal. The opposite of this desire for self-overcoming is the desire for self-preservation which characterizes the attitude towards life of 'the last man' (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 105). The last man denotes a humanity which has discovered happiness and is content with preserving itself. Its, according to Nietzsche, is the stage of an empty relativism in which there are no longer any distinctions; there are no good and bad, no rich and poor,

22

no commanding and obeying, no rulers and ruled: 'Everyone wants the same thing, everyone is the same: whoever thinks otherwise goes voluntarily into the madhouse' (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 106). With this notion of the overman Nietzsche is seeking to reestablish the idea of a noble human agency. 'Whereas the last man pursues only material comfort, the overman is prepared to squander his life in the pursuit of great deeds. To be 'great' is to stand willingly beyond good and evil' (Nietzsche quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 106).

It is in this context of Nietzsche's enduring admiration for heroic individuals and "higher humanity", the Übermensch is to be best understood. He conceives of the Übermensch as embodying the perfection, rather than the transcendence, of humankind. "The Übermensch is any human being who actually advances the frontier of human perfectibility" (Conway 1997: 18). According to Nietzsche, "in relation to humankind as a whole, a kind of Übermensch is the 'higher type of human being'" (Nietzsche quoted in Conway 1997: 18). The central task of politics, then is to produce those individuals who stand "in relation to humankind as a whole", as exemplary human beings. The production of the Übermensch thus contributes to the enhancement of humankind, for the Übermensch in turn embodies a perfection of the soul from which others may draw courage and inspiration.

The mythology that popularly surrounds Nietzsche's teaching of the Übermensch, is as follows: he remarks, "Such fortuitous accidents of great success have always been possible and will perhaps always be possible. And even whole families, tribes, or peoples may occassionally represent such a lucky strike" (Nietzsche quoted in Conway 1997: 19). In this regard, Nietzsche's books yields a fairly impressive list of the exemplary historical figures he has in mind: Caesar, Pilate, Cesare Borgia, Napoleon, Goethe, Frederick II, and so on. Although Nietzsche's contempt of modernity is well-known, still in his post-Zarathustran political deliberations he believes some such exemplars might someday emerge from the gloaming.

The word Übermensch has been understood almost

23

everywhere with the utmost innocence in the sense of those very values whose opposite Zarathustra was meant to represent - that is an 'idealistic' type of higher man, half 'saint', half 'genius'. Throughout the post-Zarathustran period of his career, Nietzsche portrays the 'genius' as strictly an economic type: "the genius, in work and deed, is necessarily a squanderer: that he squanders himself, that is his greatness. The instinct of self-preservation is suspended, as it were; the overpowering pressure of outflowing forces forbids him any such care or caution" (Nietzsche quoted in Conway 1997: 21).

As Conway argues precisely, "Nietzsche entrusts the future of human kind to these Übermenschlich types precisely because they alone can afford to squander themselves in the catalysis of culture. Indeed, since Nietzsche defines the Übermensch in relation to humankind as a whole, rather than in some absolute or ideal terms, he believes that for the political task these exemplary figures need be neither world-historical nor particularly monstrous" (Conway 1997: 22). Nietzsche praises artists, poets and thinkers as lavishly and frequently as he praises commanders, lawgivers and beasts. Healthy peoples and ages tends to produce world-historical commanders and lawgivers as their highest specimens, while decadent peoples and ages tend to produce philosophers and critics as their representative exemplars. Thus, says Nietzsche, "Just as "we moderns" appear weak and impoverished in comparison with "that lavishly squandering and fatal age of the Renaissance", so the "higher men" of late modernity would seem sickly and pale beside the overflowing health of a Cesare Borgia" (Nietzsche quoted in Conway 1997: 22-3).

With the notion of the Übermensch Nietzsche does not intend Zarathustra to teach something utterly fantastical. Zarathustra remarks that "we should reach no further than our 'creating will': 'Could you create a God? - So be silent about all gods! But you could surely create the overman'" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 107). Zarathustra thus teaches the following (supra-moral) imperative: 'we must create within the realm of terrestrial possibilities and in creating, 'remain true to the earth' (Nietzsche

quoted in Ansell-Pearson 1994: 107).

However, as Daniel Conway strictly argues that for a better understanding of the Übermensch in accordance with the teaching of Zarathustra, we must separate Nietzsche's viewpoint. He cogently points out that "we need not endorse Zarathustra's gnomic claim that there has never been an Übermensch, nor relegate the Übermenschn to a distant and continually receding future, nor confine the Übermensch exclusively to modernity, nor imagine the Übermensch as an unattainable, strictly regulative ideal" (Conway 1997: 23). Instead, argues Conway, "we may confidently interpret the Übermensch in concrete terms, as the historically instantiated, fully attainable, concrete embodiment of human perfectibility - an empirical type rather than a theoretical ideal - around whom the ethical life of any thriving culture revolves. The Übermensch is any higher human being whose "private" pursuit of self-perfection occasions an enhancement of the species as a whole, thus contributing to the perfection (rather than transcendence) of the all-too-human" (Conway 1997: 23). Thus, according to Conway, "the Übermensch thus instantiates a justification of humankind grounded in its reality, rather than in some abstract ideal" (Conway 1997: 23).

However, returning back to Nietzsche, argues Conway, that "we might view the Übermensch not as an individual agent per se, but as a historically specific vortex of generative powers and transformative possibilities. His vision of Übermensch could then be realized in a community, a discourse, a confluence of traditions, a network of social institutions, a constellation of cultural practices, an unanticipated mutation in the human phenotype - perhaps even a cyborg mechanism" (Conway 1997: 24).

Conclusion

The present write up has taken recourse to Friedrich Nietzsche's three most fundamental areas which appears frequently in the study of aesthetics, literature, ethics, political and social theory, culture, history, psychology and whatever cumbersome revolves around the contemporary interpretation of

anything in relation to modernity and post-modernity. They are the dichotomy of "Apollonian and Dionysian," the "Will to Power" and last, but not the least, "the teachings of Zarathustra of the Overman or the Übermensch". The dubious alignment of his name with the politics of Nazism has haunted Nietzsche studies for half a century, and his political writing remains a subject of fierce debate.

In Ecce Homo, Nietzsche declares, "I am no man, I am dynamite…It is only beginning with me that the earth knows great politics" (Nietzsche 1997: 115). In this context, it could be said that "Nietzsche's political legacy is notoriously difficult to reckon, in large part because his thinking so readily invites misinterpretation and misappropriation. "Non legor, non legar" he boasts in his autobiography, perversely citing his lack of worthy readers as evidence of his untimely wisdom" (Conway 1997: 23).

As rightly pointed out by Conway, "Nietzsche is occasionally lauded as a perspicacious critic of liberalism, Christianity, or modernity itself; as a keen judge of the political resources and achievements of Greek antiquity; as a vocal champion of autonomy, self-reliance and authenticity; as a prescient opponent of the likely evolution of German nationalism; as an astute diagnostician of cultural malaise; as a vigilant sentry posted on the advancing frontier of post-modernity; and so on. But he is rarely considered, on the strength of his teachings, an important political thinker in his own right" (Conway 1997: 116).

The influence of Nietzsche is now so pervasive that it seems inadequate to engage in discussion about what it means to be human without invoking Nietzsche's name. However, though Nietzsche influences so many diverse areas, his otherwise promising confrontation with modernity is subverted by his stubborn insistence on a voluntaristic solution to the besetting problems of nihilism and decadence. Conway provides us with, in this regard, a general outline of Nietzschean arguments:

1. "Nietzsche advances a withering critique of the signature institutions of modernity: liberalism, Enlightenment, democracy, Christianity, and so on.

2. His critiques exposes the abject failure of these signature institutions to fashion for themselves the rational justifications that allegedly distinguish them from the "primitive", unjustifiable institutions of premodern political regimes.

3. Reacting to the failure of these signature institutions, Nietzsche desperately capitulates to the "other" of reason, declaring all claims of reason to be nothing more than disguised expressions of will to power.

4. Because political life in modernity cannot justify itself by appeal to rational terms and principles, he appeals instead to will to power as the sole adjudicating standard of "nobility", "mastery", "health", "genius", and all other superlative political values.

5. As his critique of modernity demonstrates, however the age itself is simply too decadent, too depleted in its native volitional resources, to sustain a "noble", aristocratic political regime.

6. Blinded by his romantic, nostalgic allegiances to the manly political regimes of Greek and Roman antiquity, Nietzsche declares modernity to be irrecuperably decadent and sterile. He prematurely abandons the imperfect projects and institutions by means of which the epoch has defined itself.

7. Having judged modernity to be incapable of restoring and regenerating its signature projects and institutions, Nietzsche locates the salvation of modernity in the transformative volitional resources of those shadowy redemptive figures who someday will come: the "free spirits", the "philosophers of the future", the Übermensch, and finally, Dionysius himself.

8. Owing to Nietzsche's premature rejection of the regenerative powers resident within modernity, and to the irrational hopes he invests in a mysterious, redemptive act of Übermenschlich will, his confrontation with modernity transgresses the recognizable boundaries of sane political thinking - as confirmed, some would say,

by his clinically diagnosed slide into madness" (Conway 1997: 117-8).

Nietzsche's failed voluntarism are found in virtually all influential studies of his political thinking, including Arendt, Kaufmann, Strong, MacIntyre, Yack, Schutte, Warren, Vattimo, Habermas, Detwiler, Ansell-Pearson, and Berkowitz. In all of these studies, Nietzsche is initially applauded as an astute critic of political life in modernity, only to be dismissed in the end as a naïve voluntarist. Conway rightly points out, "as a consequence of the failure of his radical voluntarism, Nietzsche's political thinking may be provocative, ingenious, insightful and entertaining, but it is largely irrelevant to contemporary political life. Despite his engaging vitality, he has nothing to say of lasting constructive values to agents laboring in the twilight epoch of modernity. His standing in the cannon of Western political thought remains that of a hideous scarecrow, whose horrifying, irrational excesses frighten us into renewing our tepid commitments to the democratic reforms and liberal ideals of modernity - despite our nagging doubts about their continued value and efficacy" (Conway 1997: 118).

To conclude, it could be said following Ansell-Pearson, that "Nietzsche's response is to write for all and none and to postpone, or defer, the moment of historical actualization of his teaching, projecting it into the dimension of an unknown and uncertain future" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 204). To a certain extent, argues Ansell-Pearson, "Nietzsche subscribes to Marx's dictum that philosophers have a responsibility not only to interpret the world, but also to change it. The philosopher, says Nietzsche, is the human being 'of the most comprehensive responsibility who has the conscience for the overall development of mankind'" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 204).

However, rightly says Ansell-Pearson, "in the epoch of nihilism it is impossible for philosophy simply to command and to tell noble lies. What Nietzsche seeks to do as a thinker, I believe, is to prepare us for change. He shows that humanity has a history, that it has been (de-) formed in a particular way, and that the end of the Christian-moral interpretation of the world offers the possibility of another beginning. It becomes possible to navigate new seas since the horizon is now 'free' again" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 205).

In a way, Friedrich Nietzsche, the perfect nihilist, opens before us a wide vista of questions and counter-questions, of doubts and clarity, of differences and similarities of beliefs and so on. As says Ansell-Pearson, "in his most self-reflexive moments Nietzsche calls into question his own pretensions as a philosopher-legislator, and, ironically becomes the most democratic of philosophers, since he allows his readers the freedom of interpretation" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 205). In accordance with his deepest thinking, "Nietzsche wants his readers to receive him beyond good and evil. We must engage his work and confront its challenge, which is nothing less than the challenge of thought and a challenge to think" (Ansell-Pearson 1994: 206). It is only with accepting this challenge of his, whose writings are likely to divide humanity into those who come before and those who come after, that this little piece of dynamite who goes by the name of 'Friedrich Nietzsche' will be rejoiced and recalled whenever and wherever possible.

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Social Capital Mobilization by Alternative Currency Model: Justice Delivery through Time Banking -Indian Context

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ABSTRACT :

Justice as a matter of conception is complex to understand and at the same time it demands a multidisciplinary approach, having its socioeconomic and political dimension. In a pluralistic society the very concept of justice to be addressed based on equality is a challenging task on the part of state, though the Constitution of India in its Directive Principle of State Policy has mandates on establishing a social order by State to address justice-social, economic, political based on equality to reach to all irrespective of any sorts of inequality or differences. This is the moral responsibility not only on State but upon any societal institutions or individual. Therefore, time has come to evaluate the scale of achievement of its goal towards that end. Though Law is an instrument of bringing social transformation, implementation of it in right perspective is another bog challenges for many a reason. Social injustices still persist in many walks of life. Yet beyond the traditional thinking there are so many hidden talents and skills, among the society, which if mobilized through any alternative justice delivery model, many problems of the society may be easily solved. Such hidden skills or talents called 'social capital' may be disposed of towards its optimal utility through a model called 'Alternative Currency Model' from a social platform, known as 'Time Banking'. The paper wants to present the efficacy of such platform as an unexplored experience already tested in some foreign countries, to be, if tested and tried in Indian context, fruitful and successful to deliver justice to the vulnerable and marginalized section of the society to have access to justice.

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I. Introduction:

Time Banking is a system whereby a community, the members of which are voluntarily agreed to enter into that system for creating an alternative currency system- a currency of time credits for exchanging services among themselves. In this system hours of service rendered within the community takes the place of money equivalent. Although Time banking functions differently than money. Here one hour is equivalent to one 'Time Credit'. The concept started in USA as a small-scale movement. Time banks, or service credit systems, emerged in the USA in 1987, developed by the civil rights lawyer Edgar S Cahn, an American legal reformer as well, after a period at the London School of Economics[1]. Edgar S.Cahn started this concept to experiment with a new way to link untapped social capacity to unmet social needs. However, there are at least two other starting points: the Spanish bancos de tiempo emerged separately out of the women's movement. The Italian banca del tempo model has also attracted women in particular[2]. He viewed that a different kind of currency could exist alongside the dollar. He refused to give 'money' a monopoly on the definition of value. In 1995, Cahn formed an organization called Time Banks, USA which served as an incubator for new kind of initiatives on an experimental basis and travelled through globe, taking a shape of movement. In USA, there are about 500 registered time banks and together they have enrolled more that 37000

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1. Cahn, E. S. and Barr, N.S. 1986) Service credits: a new currency for the welfare state. Discussion paper / Welfare State Programme. Suntory and Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines; no.8, London School of Economics and Political Science, Suntory and Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines, Welfare State Programme, London

2. Joint Research Centre Scientific and Policy Reports, European Commission, 'The Potential of Time Banks to support Social Inclusion and Employability' by David Boyle, New Weather Institute, 2014

members, ranging from smaller size of 15 Nos. to larger size of 3200 Nos. In UK time banks have enrolled about 32000 members and more that 3000 organizations have registered to use one of major time bank software platforms. Worldwide, time bank databases document more that 4 million hours of service regularly. Among the worldwide experiences gathered so far, UK and Spanish model are expanding fastest, spreading over most of the European countries.

II. Why Time Banking?

In a monetized economy the money-based market system fails to reward many types of critical work. We live in a world preoccupied with money where cost benefit analysis, risk assessment evaluation, return on investment -all these treat money as the sole measure of value. The use of GDP as an indicator of economic well being is a byproduct of the fiscal monoculture that surrounds us. In referring GDP, Robert F. Kennedy said that it measures everything in short except that which makes life worthwhile. It is an open truth that money-based economy is an essential foundation of the public, private and independent sectors but the hidden fact to be understood that each of these sectors builds on another economy called the 'Core Economy' which is extraordinarily productive. Following are identifiable areas of human activities based on core economy and having productive value in cumulative effect, particularly in community life, the transactions of which are largely absent from our public discourse and they remain vulnerable to displacement by monetized transaction, more prominently by corporatization of human services. Example of such areas of human services are i) raising healthy children who are the future assets of nation; ii) building strong families; iii) caring for elderly; iv) revitalizing neighborhoods; v) preserving the environment; vi) advancing the social justice; vii) helping to create informed electorate and thereby sustaining democracy; viii) Women empowerment etc.

III. How Time Bank works: Some Basic Features of Time Banking-

i) Time bank works on the basis of some principles. All hours in time bank have equal value regardless of the degree of skill the service provider offers.

ii) Time Credits earned are not for sale and cannot be converted into money. Members can spend time credit only on labour in building community resources in furthering of a charitable services, providing personal supports, remedies a social problem.

iii) When a member receives an hour of service, there may be a moral or social obligation to pay it back, but there is no legally enforceable obligation to do so.

iv) Time bank is not commercial barter organization

v) Time credits are not taxable income.

vi) Time banks tend to be funded by public money or through public services.

vii) It operates as a store of value which the people can spend their time as a akind of money.

IV. Time Bank as a Crucial Tool to Empowerment:

Time bank is a platform to exchange time credit among the members earned against their services circulated among themselves based on mutual trust relationship which in turn allows the people to reweave the fabric of community, maintaining a social bonding and solidarity. It instills a confidence of having purchasing power and a sense of self respect that one's work has value which generally the so-called money-based society ignore to give value. Thereby time bank validates their contribution to society. The purchasing power is extrinsic reward and sense of value of work is intrinsic value.

Time Banking and Women Empowerment:

Women are huge potential human resources largely invisible in the market economy and engaged in unpaid work, mainly identified as domestic work, as the largest source of unpaid work which includes grocery shopping, cooking, cleaning as well as

care giving to the children elderly and infirm persons. This unpaid labour is the most important source of comfort and support in our daily lives. This unpaid labour is not considered as 'real work' and devalued by men and society who directly benefit from it because 'work' is defined as a paid economic activity linked to the market[3]. Whereas both paid and unpaid work constitutes of our economic life and every economy is dependent on unpaid labour and care services, the unpaid work wherein mostly the women workforce are engaged, are invisible and not deriving benefit from the monetized fiscal monoculture. Therefore, the situation leads to 'emotional strain' combined with 'time poverty'. 'Time poverty' is defined as not having enough time to pursue interests beyond unpaid domestic or care work. This time poverty has direct bearing on the ability of women to contribute to or participate in activities outside the household, like the labour market, and or political or public life. This 'unpaid workforce' are having its utility to both household and community life and having the capacity to strengthen social fabric, to bear the community and civic responsibility, to develop the norms maintaining the trust, goodwill and social order. Therefore, The British Economist, Susan Himmelweit said that unpaid work is crucial for the development of the economy and society.

Findings revealed that 'Empowerment of Women' is limited by time poverty and therefore, time banking can be viewed as an opportunity for bringing women empowerment through time bank networks which may be utilized for tapping unused resources of people in the community to fill unmet needs of each other and this may be utilized for increasing political participation of women, both directly for example involving them for campaigning for office, or indirectly, by educating themselves or others on local issues or understanding their rights, accessing government programmes and mobilizing others. Examples of intra and inter family time sharing is there throughout the world, for getting intangible benefit like entertainment or helping each other but for tangible results on a community or economic scale, the concept need scaling up and formalization. Such an initiative, of course, have some challenges to face but hope is there. The most relevant case study is that of Senegal where time banking was made formal system and huge success was achieved by the initiative of GRADES[4], a vocational training center started by Pape Samb of Senegal in 1995, had grown immensely both in size and scope after adopting the time banking model since 2005 and successfully provided skill training and basic education to enable uneducated women and girls to become economically self-sufficient and contribute to stronger communities[5]. It allowed the women to earn time credits by working at the center or caring for member's children and exchange them for classes and workshops. This way the community translated the service performed by the individual into time credits which in turn they exchanged for hours beyond unpaid work.

V. Whether 'Time Bank'- A Concept based on Reality or merely a fringe idea?

This was the question replied in 2002 by the Journalist Susan Dentzer who wrote in reply- "Time [Credits] could be to long term care [among other uses] what windmills and solar panel are to the nation's energy supply: a small unconventional, even noble way of serving the few, but nothing to be relied upon to meet the needs of the masses." Solar panels and windmills have moved far beyond the fringe of our system of energy production. As yet time banks have not undergone that kind of remarkable growth. But it has emerged as a platform for innovation to meet the needs of the current moment as it can serve as a vehicle for social change, fostering the community building efforts and thereby can bring down the negative impact of money monopoly dominated by human tendency of profit

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3. Lourdes Beneria, 1999, Spanish Economist

4. Groupe de Re'flexion et d' Action pour le De'veloppment du Se'negal(GRADES)

5. 'SmartLessons real experience, real development' by Angana Shah, International Finance Corporation, World Bank Group, October 2011

pursuit. Time banking is a concept which may open up opportunities to weave or reweave social connections.

VI. India's Stand on Time Banking:

May be the concept of Time Banking is new to India to have its utility in formalized way and its functionality but India since age old time believe in human kindness and service for the humanity. Therefore, Indian society is culturally fit for the model. A core group on disability and elderly persons a part of National Human Rights Commission has recommended that India should adopt the 'Time Bank' model to serve the nation, especially for the elderly person's need. NHRC Panel suggests that the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment might consider developing a similar scheme in India at least on a pilot basis[6]. The Indian delegate took the experience from Swiss Federal Ministry of Social Security's old age pension programme based on Time Bank Model whereby people saved the time of taking care of the elderly when they were young subject to the condition that applicant must be healthy, good at communicating and full of love. Their service hours will be deposited into the personal accounts of the social security scheme or system wherein Time Bank Card will be offered to maintain time credit accounts and the volunteers can withdraw time along with time bank interest credited to that account whenever necessary during their old age for taken care of in hospital or home as assigned by the Time Bank. Swiss Government specializes in legislation to support the 'Time Bank Pension scheme'. This saves the country's pension expenses and solve other social problems. A delegate of NHRC, India comprising Justice H.I.Dutta, Chairperson, NHRC and Shri Jaideep Govind, Secretary General, NHRC visited New York from 15-18 April, 2019[7], for the purpose of strengthening the protection of the human rights of older persons and attended 10th Session of the UN Open ended Working Group on Aging (OEWGA)[8].

6. Times of India, October 6, 2018
7. Tour Report of NHRC, India Delegation to New York, 15-18 April, 2019
8. OEWGA was established by Resolution 65/182 on 21 December, 2010

The Working Group was to examine the existing international framework of the human rights of the older persons and to identify possible gaps and to address the feasibility of further instruments and measures.

The main Goals /Focus of OEWGA was-1) Social protection and social security including Social Protection Floors; and 2) Education, Training, Lifelong learning and capacity building. The normative elements on the two focus areas are long term care and palliative care and independence and autonomy. The fundamental education is an integral part of adult education and lifelong learning which came into focus in the 10th Session of OEWGA and discussed that lifelong learning is an organizing principle of education covering all phases of life and all forms of learning including formal, non-formal education and informal learning. Lifelong learning which plays an important and significant role in active aging of the older persons, their psychological well being and in developing strong social connections, is also a cherished goal of the Sustainable Development Agenda.

VII. Information Technology and Time Bank: Time of Opportunity-

For effective implementation of Time Bank, it is must that a proper data base should be maintained as regard to identifying the exact needs of the given society where it will function and the available skill based human resources which may be mobilized for providing services to the needy. Time Credit earned and spent by the volunteer members should properly be maintained along with its transferability across the Time Bank Platforms, locally and regionally. Therefore, Time Bank model should be upgraded and scaled a height with Information Technology and computational software system. Computer technology may help in storing the data and manages information on the services that each time bank member either needs or can provide. Such technology may reduce the transaction cost of finding people with whom one can cooperate.

So technological advances and innovation may formalize the

functionality of time bank more productive and useful to make it reach a height of scale and achievement. As search costs for untapped assets to fill unmet needs are efficiently reduced by the database list of assets and their availability, the technology can make ease the process of matching the needs with resources through decentralizing of its functions. Users can exchange time credits directly and it may reinforce the trust among the members of the time bank based on modern system advanced by technology like Blockchain and Artificial Intelligence (AI). 'Community Weaver' is such a software application, a new version of this software has been released by Time Bank of USA that tracks the 'hours' that time bank members earn and spend. This new version designed to run on smartphones and Tablets. Time Bank, USA provides this software to community groups free of charge to bring flexibility in offering services, making requests and schedule the use of time credits by the time bank members.

So digital technology has produced lot of developments and new opportunities and the youths of the country now use online platform to bypass formal markets and there is an emergence of sharing economy among the youths. Time Bank is consistent with that trend and may reflect a paradigm shift from profit driven modes of production to network-based modes of production, as an alternative to fiscal monoculture, independently to become an alternative currency model to build a strong community based on sharing economy and coproduction. It may generate immense value to the marginalized groups by giving intrinsic value to the service providers from Time Bank platform.

VIII. Conclusion:

If we think of its future for our country like India, the demographic picture of our country has its own advantage as 65% of India's population is less than 35 years of age. The youth are energetic, Tec savvy and understand digital India. So, youth can play a vital role in development of good governance and management of change. The new equation is that India Today+ Information Technology= India Tomorrow + India Talents.

There are approximately 10 crore senior citizens in India out of which around 1.5 crore live alone and out of these 1.5 crore 20 lakh elderly are covered by organizations working in this field. Government of India feel urgency to build over 800 old age homes across the country. National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has asked the Central Government to increase its contribution to pension scheme for elderly persons from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 2000/-per month; to appoint nodal police officer in every district as unit to deal with the issues of senior citizens living alone; to cover them under Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds for constructing old age homes. The Central Government has expressed its reservation over revising the pension as it would have huge financial implications. The Union Legislature passed law[9] whereby lot of changes introduced for the purpose of extending effective implementation and protection to the elderly citizens of their rights like, bringing the old age homes under scanning and strict compliance, provision of health care safety and security, making the Maintaining Officer under Maintenance Tribunal liable for strict compliance of the provision of law for elderly persons as a liaison, making compulsory for establishing old age home in each district by the Government or any private organization under the regulation of law under respective State Governments, establishing special police units headed by DSP rank police officer in each district for dealing with issues of elderly persons, compliance by all private hospitals of provisions of special facilities for the elderly citizens. The Constitution of India has enshrined a provision for providing by the State public assistance in case of old age and social security[10]. This is a constitutional mandate under the Directive Principles of State Policy, Part IV of the Constitution of India, and it is the concurrent responsibility of the Central and State Governments both. So, under the circumstances when NHRC Core Group on Disability and Elderly Persons has recommended the Central Government to

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9. The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007, with its latest Amendment of 2019
10. Article 41 of the Constitution of India

adopt 'Time Bank' scheme, it is high time for India to think over the opportunity and feasibility of such model for its implementation and other possible measures like adopting suitable policy measures and appropriate legislation.

'Time Bank' facilitate the community to create their own medium of exchange, to take collective action in response to injustice, to become an agent of social change in their own right and the growing use of social media and digital technology can help the human family to build a strong social network to channelize the social capital for human cause. 'Time Bank' has the potentiality to bringing social inclusion and generating employability, to be creative and innovative as a critical element of public service reform. Current economic context put emphasis on employment and employability and ICT may help bringing change in Future Work through internet mediated work activity, both paid and unpaid, like online work exchange, crowd funding, online volunteering etc. which all-inclusive may be a revolutionary breakthrough as a model of social innovation.

'Time Bank' model may successfully produce three main benefits such as it allows each person to define himself or herself as worker and contribute for the public good or to solving an urgent social problem; it enables a community to evaluate its social capacity and to mobilize its resources to fill unmet social needs; and to provide large scale social welfare systems with a framework for engaging the recipients of services as active collaborators in achieving outcome. Last but not the least, 'Time Bank' model in its proper implementation may serve as an effective model for justice delivery system.

Afghanistan: A Geo-Political Chessboard of the Regional and the Extra-Regional Power Players - An Overview

Dr. Anjana Ghosh*

The Land of Hindu Kush: A Victim of Foreign Invasion and Ethnic Ferment

The geographical location of Afghanistan at the crossroads of Central, South and West Asia encouraged numerous foreign invaders to attack and occupy this rough mountainous terrain through millennia. From Alexander the Great to the British colonial rulers and in the recent past, from former Soviet Union to the US-led NATO forces in the 21st century, invaded Afghanistan to attain their own geo-strategic interests. But none of these imperial forces and big powers were finally successful in retaining supreme control over this Hindu Kush region for a prolonged period. But these perpetual foreign invasions turned the Afghan society into a very complex mosaic of different ethnic, clan and religious identities leading to deep social cleavages and persistent internal strife, where loyalties to the rulers remained highly dubious and unpredictable. This seriously damaged the socio-political stability and development prospect of Afghanistan. In fact, power struggle, palace conspiracy, internal revolt, plunder and a merciless gun culture had eventually emerged as some of the permanent features of the Afghan societyand polity.

The famous Bengali author Syed Mujtaba Ali in his book 'DesheBideshe' has penned his stunning experience during his

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stay in Kabul in the late 1920s. It was a period of deep political turmoil as king Amanullah Khan was dethroned by a Tajik dacoit leader HabibullahKalakani and the capital city was plunged into total chaos and uncertainty. It was virtually a civil war situation and Amanullah Khan was successful in escaping to British India.The |author clearly realized that the Afghan society, polity and culture were thoroughly influenced by the mullahs and the religious bigots. Hence, majority of the Afghans could not support Western-oriented Amanullah Khan's liberal reforms, including the dress code of the Afghan women as hijab and burga were declared as non-essential. However,Kalakani was removed from power and was executed by Nadir Shah, the former General of Amanullah Khan is 1929. Nadir Shah managed to get necessary political support from various tribal warlords. So far as external influence factor was concerned, the Soviet authorities favouredAmanullah Khan and the British imperial government on the other hand was totally unwilling to help him to regain the throne. Later on, the British maintained a benevolent attitude towards the activities of Nadia Shah which helped him to ultimately remove Kalakani from power. But in 1933, Nadir Shah was assassinated and his son Zahir Shah occupied the throne. Interestingly, he was successful in bringing some political stability in the Afghan state by introducing a kind of constitutional monarchy along with a new parliament. During the Cold War period he tried to maintain a balance in Kabul's relationship with both Moscow and Washington by following a non-aligned posture. After four decades of his rule Zahir Shah was removed from power in 1973 by General Daud Khan, through a blood less coup. He abolished monarchy and declared himself as the first President of the Republic of Afghanistan. Hisascendence to power was facilitated by the People's Democratic party of Afghanistan (Communist Party) and even by the Moscow-trainedmilitary officers. This growing Soviet influence in Afghanistan annoyed the US administration no doubt. But Daud Khan's initiative to cultivate other Muslim states, like, Saudi Arabia, Egypt. Iran, Turkey, Pakistan etc. onthe one hand and his subsequent anti-Communist stand

matched well with the US agenda in Central Asia. Thus, Daud Khan's foreign policy in the 1970's came as a challenge to Soviet Union in the context of the changing Cold War scenario, accompanied by political turbulence and uncertainly.

Briefly speaking, the early 1970's witnessed the emergence of some new strategic alliance in world politics following the Sino-Soviet hostility and a thaw in US-China relation and also the failure of the US-USSR détente dueto mutualsuspicion. The crystallization of an US-China-Pakistan axis, particularly in the context of the Bangladesh War threw a challenge to Moscow. In this grave situation, New Delhi gravitated towards Soviet Union, confronting two hostile neighbours, Pakistan and China. Due to Afghanistan's geographical location,Daud Khan's anti-communist steps came as a major irritant to Soviet leadership. Because an increasing American influence in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region facilitated by Islamabad, could create an adverse strategic environmentin its backyard in future. This threat perception made Moscow politico-militarily pro-active in the Afghan soil. EventuallyDaud Khan was killed in 1978 and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) captured power in Kabul. The rise of this Marxist-Leninist Party to power usheredin a totally new phase in the history of a conflict-riddenAfghan society and polity and the country was named as the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Under the leadership of NurMahammedTaraki, a 'Moscow Style' one party system rule was introduced in Kabul. But due to his too radical reforms, his Government became unpopular as these grossly violated the traditional feudal socio-religious norms, practiced by the Afghans. During Taraki's rule, a Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed in 1978. But an internal power struggle between Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, another PDPA leader finally led to Taraki's assassination and following this Amin came to power in September, 1979. But his harsh autocratic rule triggered people's revolt. Nevertheless, his initiative to scrap Taraki's 'Moscow line' and to create political bonhomie the 'US-Pak' axis finally came as a serious threat to the Soviet leadership. In fact, the

situation at that time in the whole Persian Gulf region was volatile following the Shia Islamic Revolution in Iran and the fall of the Pahlavi King, a strong US ally in the West Asian Cold War theatre.

In this, extremely critical environment, the Iranian hostage crisis in November 1979 added fuel to the fire and Moscow anticipated a possible US military intervention in Teheran to end the crisis with the support of the Sunni Gulf monarchies, allied to Washington. It should be noted here that, in November 1979, some Islamist college students took control of the US Embassy in Teheran and held 52 American diplomats and citizens, hostage. It was feared by the Soviet leadership that the US military presence in the Gulf region would seriously violate Moscow's security interests. In this turbulent situation, the world was rapidly heading towards a new Cold War in the late 1970's.

Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan: The Country's Emergence as the Nerve Centre of 'US-PaK' Sponsored Global Jihadi Terror.

To meet the US challenge in its backyard, Moscow finally engineered a direct military intervention in Afghanistan in December, 1979, by activating the 1978 Soviet-Afghanistan Treaty. This intervention dragged the country towards a prolonged and devastating proxy war which ruinedthe country within a decade. However, after Amin's assassination in December 1979, BabrakKarmal, another PDPA leader, was installed to run the Moscow-controlled regime in Kabul and he managed to stick to power till 1986.

The war strategy followed by the US to drive out the Soviet forces was absolutely damaging and its junior partner Pakistan emerged as the frontline state in this anti-Soviet hybrid warfare across the Durand Line. Numerous Mujahideen groups were propped up by the 'US-Pak' axis to launch terrorist attacks against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. These Mujahideen groups were formed by the Muslims from different countries of the world covering various ethnic and tribal groups and also both the Shia and the Sunni fighters. This gave the Mujahideen

outfits a unique transnational character. However, in this Soviet-Afghan war, USA's other important allies were Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel, China, Britain, West Germany and even Iran, ruled by Ayatollh Khomeini. Unfortunately, drug, theUS supplied arms and a hardcore Islamist ideology galvanized into a lethal weapon against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980's. These Mujahideen groups were trained in Zia-ul- Haque's Pakistan and the Pak military and the ISI played a decisive role in this process. But it should be mentioned here that Pakistan, a US satellite state had its own strategic interests to pursue in the Hindu Kush region. First of fall, in the context of close Indo-Soviet friendship Islamabad was scared of New Delhi'sincreasing influence in Central Asia. Secondly, continuous supply of arms from USA could help it to create some strategic balance with India. According to Husain Haqqani, the US provided Pakistan weapons and training ostensibly to fight international communism even though Pakistan wanted these for its competition with India. Thirdly, Afghanistan could provide a base to the Kashmiri militants in future, to be armed and trained by the Pak army and the ISI. Moreover, Soviet military intervention came as a new threat to Islamabad as it feared that in future Moscow might try to access the warm water of the Arabian Sea through Pakistan. Interestingly, Zia-ul-Haque was successful in selling this idea to the US administration. Therefore, it can be said that, Pakistan's chosen policy in participating in this power game was to destabilize Soviet rule in Afghanistan on the one hand and to counter India on the other.

This devastating war finally led to theSovietwithdrawal from Afghan soil through Geneva Accord, signed in April, 1988. In the meantime, BabarakKarmal was replaced by Mohammad Najibullh, by the then Sovietleader Mikhail Gorvachev in 1987. However, approximately, one million civilian, 90,000 Mujahideen fighters, 18,000 Afghan troops and 14,500 Soviet troops died in this decade-old proxy war, creating an acute humanitarian crisis. The Soviets not only lost this Afghan war, but the state itself collapsed like a house of cards in December, 1991. The Socialist bloc also ceased to exist in East Europe. This tectonic

change came as a geo-political earthquake in the vast Eurasian region, signifying a formal end of the Cold War with the disappearance of a Superpower, though the disintegration process started since the end of 1980s.

The post-Cold War situation changed the geo-strategic interests of the existing Super power and eventually Afghanistan was dropped from Washington's priority list along with Pakistan. But the fierce power struggle among the jihadi terrorist groups, unleased in the Afghan soil by the 'US-Pak' axis, dragged the country towards total chaos and uncertainty. Because, the political vacuum created by the exit and disappearance of the Soviet Union provoked the commanders of different militias and terror groups and also prominent politicians, belonging to various ethnic communities, to capture power in Kabul. In this turbulent situation, Najibullah was assassinated in September, 1992, after his removal from power in April, 1992. Finally, Taliban, a hardcore Islamic outfit, led by Mullah Omar from Kandahar captured Kabul in September, 1996 amid the civil war in this war-ravaged country and this led to the emergence of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. Taliban was mostly formed by the Pashtun students of the Pakistani Deobandi madrasahs and the regime got diplomatic recognition only from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Because, Taliban strictly implemented the Sharia laws along with the medieval social norms of the Pashtun community and grossly violated human rights, especially women's rights in Afghanistan. Mullah Omar's 'exclusionist' policy also led to the brutal suppression of ethnic and religious minorities. The warlords like Ahmed Shah Masood, Abdul Rashid Dostum, Abdullah Abdullah, Abdul Kadir, Abdul Ali Mazari from different ethnic groups fought intensely against the Taliban regime. Nevertheless, the Northern Alliance, led by fierce Tajik commander Ahmed Shah Masood wassupported by the regional players like Russia, India and Iran. Amid this international isolation, Mullah Omar sheltered Osama bin Laden and his jihadi outfit Al Queda, formed in 1988 after the end of the Soviet Afghan war and this turned Afghanistan into a breeding ground of transnationaljihadi terror. The 'Taliban-

Al Queda' axis was overtly supported by Islamabad for its own vital strategic interests against India, its arch enemy. Subsequently,Masood's assassination by Al Queda before the WTC disaster broke the backbone of the Northern Alliance. The horrendous 9/11 event finally led the Bush administration to declare a global war on terror and the history of Afghan society and polity entered a new phase of invasion and occupation though accompanied by democratic electoralexperiments. Thus, it has been found that, external influence and intervention have remained a constant factor in shaping Kabul's fate and here lies the root cause of the Afghan tragedy.

The US War on Terror in Afghanistan: The Resurgence of Taliban and its Final Ascendence to Power in Kabul

The Bush administration's much trumpeted war on terror in Afghanistan that toppled the Taliban regime and dismantled the Al Quedaterror structure active inthe country, received international support in the context of the jihadi attack on the American soil. But the Taliban and the Al Queda leaders and fighters were harboured and fostered by Pakistan in its side of the Durand Line to fulfill its own strategic goal against India. However, numerous terror outfits mushroomed in this AF-Pak border region having links with the India-centred jihadi groups like Laskar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed. The most important terror outfits which received persistent support from the Pak military and the ISI were the Afghan Taliban (known as QuattaShura), the Haqquani Network and the Al Quedaaffliates. But in spite of Pakistan's clandestine role is fanningtransnational jihadi terror, Islamabad onceagainemerged as US's junior partner in this prolonged war in Afghanistan. In fact, Pakistan has always remained geo-politically indispensible to Washington for the latter's long warcampaign in this land of Hindu Kush.Thus, Pakistan's thoroughly deceptive role in this war created gross political instability not only in war-torn Afghanistan but in South Asia as a whole and turned the environment in the entire AB-Pak border region opaque and volatile. The communication links among the numerous Islamist terror outfits, madrasas and

terror training centresappeared like a 'Spaghetti bowl' (the word is used to describe the crisscrossing FTAs among different countries) which helped to neutralize and finally abortUSA's war efforts in Afghanistan. Pak strategy was to receive huge economic and military aid from Washington and also to create political unrest in Afghanistan to jeopardize India's growing strategic influence in Kabul. In this unfavorable situation, Hamid Karzai, Afghanistan's first elected President totally failed to maintain internal security, ethnic cohesion and administrative control on the one hand and to curtail growing poppy cultivation and drug trafficking on the other, which actually helped to sustain and strengthen terror outfits to destabilize the US-supported Government in Kabul. Moreover, the incoherence in US war strategy in Afghanistan and its military engagement in Iran since 2003 made the Afghan situation more complex. There was increasing policy differences between Karzai and the NATO players also. Thus, a military and political stalemate emerged in the Afghan theatre. Karzai even initiated discussion with the Taliban realizing that it was impossible to totally eliminate it from Afghan society and polity. But this effort proved abortive. During Ashraf Ghanis's rule, the whole Afghan situation became turbulent following election fraudand his growing rift with Abdullah Abdullah, his chief contender. The Afghan government became fragile and also fissiparous along ethnic line. The situation was very conducive for Taliban to swiftly expand its presence and control in various parts of the country with a focus on rural areas, which remained remote and inhospitable due to lack of proper communication and rough mountainous topography. The high casualty among the Afghan national army pushed them towards deep disappointment and this favouredTaliban no doubt. Ashraf Ghani commented that 45,000 members of the Afghan army died in between 2014 to 2019. Nevertheless, it became clear to the second Obama administration that the military option in fighting Islamist terror has failed and the growing human toll has made the USA, as the occupying power and the Ghami government as a puppet in its hand most unpopular and this gave enough space and opportunity to a

resurging Taliban to harp on the issue of lost Afghan sovereignty and their servitudeto US cronies in Kabul across ethnic lines. For this, Taliban even recruited non-Pashtuns also.

President Donald Trump also realized that the Afghan maze has no military solution and the US is losing the war and hence should wind up by opening dialogue with the Afghan Taliban leadership. For the USA, it has become really a second Vietnam War and as a protagonist of 'America First' policy President Trump was in search of a respectable exit strategy. According to a BBC study, in early 2018, 66% areas n the country's 34 provinces were marked by the open activism of the Taliban fighters and 14 districts were under their direct control. This indicated that Taliban became capable of running parallel administration in different parts of the country. In fact, it has been found that neither Osama bin Laden's assassination in May, 2011 nor Mullah Omar's death in April, 2013 could weaken their outfits; rather the 'Taliban-Al Qaeda' axis has evolved as an ideological movement, fuelled to a large extent by the Pakistani state apparatus.

However, from Taliban's point of view also the situation was highly conducive for negotiation and hard bargaining with the Trump administration without involving the Ghani government. Other regionalplayers like Russia and China also started discussion with the Taliban to come to an understanding as US retreat was in the horizon. Pakistan was the facilitator no doubt. But the US-Taliban talks before 2020, which took place in Doha, Qatar, ended with no positive output asthe Taliban remained absolutely adamant on two major conditions. These were i) complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and 2) release of the Taliban prisons and removal of the names of the Taliban members from UNO,terror-related blacklist. The conflicting strategic interests of the US, Russia, China and Pakistan vis-a-vis Taliban was also a major handle in coming to a deal.Anyway, before the Presidential election in 2020 Trump administrationstarted crucial discussion with the Taliban leaders in Doha in February, 2020, as a election strategy, as the Afghan war become grossly unpopular at home. Kabul was just

an onlooker. It was decided in the US-Taliban Agreement that US would complete the process of troop withdrawal within May 1, 2021 and close all its five bases in Afghanistan within July, 2020. The Taliban leaders promised that they will not provide any space to Al Qaeda in those areas controlled by their fighters in the Afghan soil and will not allow the Afghan land to be used for carrying on terrorist activities. This US-Taliban Agreement was a bilateral one and not at all a comprehensive 'Afghan solution' which appeared absolutely elusive in the contemporary situation. Pakistan, a strong ally of the Afghan Taliban played a decisive role behind this Doha Agreement. Because a Taliban- ruled Afghanistan would provide Islamabad a vital strategic space to counter and marginalize India, which persistently maintained cordial relation with both the Karzai and the Ghani administration in the last two decades and invested almost $3 billion in many important projects that benefitted the Afghan people. Nevertheless, USA's total surrender to the Taliban came as a diplomatic shock to New Delhi as it persistently supported an 'Afghan-led and Afghan-controlled' solution and viewed the Afghan Taliban as Islamabad's proxy in the Afghan was theatre. It became clear to the international community that Taliban take over is only a matter of time. Hence, all the stake holders, both regional and extra-regional geared up for adjusting with this tectonic power shift, including a recalcitrant India.

Following President Joe Biden's hasty approval of US troop withdraw and the subsequent completion of the process, Taliban captured Kabul on August 31, 2021, with UN as a hopeless spectator of the humanitarian disaster that engulfed the country. America's humiliating defeat to Taliban at the cost of $2 trillion upholds the grim reality of a descending Superpower. In any case, the total collapse of the Afghan army and President Ashraf Ghani, fleeingthe country reminded the incident of king Amanullah Khan's abdiction and escaping to British India in 1929, almost a century ago. Thus, the Afghan tragedy continues in a cyclical order like the game of shake and ladder with uncertainty and turmoil at ground zero.

The 'Exclusionist' Taliban Regime in Kabul and the Beginning of a New Power Game around Afghanistan- India's Options

The new Taliban Interim Government which emergedafter dislodging an elected but an almost dysfunctional Ashraf Ghani government, facilitated by the Biden administration is no doubt politically and strategically more mature. But the gulf between its high promises and its actual performance has grossly disappointed the international community and no state has yet recognized this de-facto government in Kabul. Firstly, the external control factor in Kabul's decision making process in very muchpresentas the new interim cabinet was announced with Pakistani approval. In fact, ISI chief Lt. General Faiz Hammed reached Kabul before the formation of this Council of Ministers. Secondly, the cabinet is absolutely 'non-inclusive' and dominated by the Pashtun community, reflecting gross ethnic imbalance. The cabinet is led by Prime Minister Mullah Hassan Akhund, once a close partner of Mullah Omar. Thecabinet includes Amir Khan Muttaqi as the Foreign Minister and SirajuddinHaqqani of North Waziristan based and Pakistan supported Haqqani Network as the InteriorMinister. Mullah Abdul GhaniBaradar who led negotiations at Doha has to share power with Uzbek leader Abdul Salam Hanafi as Deputy Prime Minister. Defense Ministry has gone to Mullah Mohammad Yeqoob, son of Mullah Omar and considered very close to Saudi kingdom. Tajik leader MohammadHanifis allotted the portfolio of economic affairs. The Shia Hazara community which has faced persecution in the past and always faced violence and discriminationin the Afghan society has no representation in the cabinet. Thirdly, a majority of the hard line Taliban leaders in the cabinet are in the UNSC's terrorism related black list. Finally, the Taliban has grossly violated their promise of respecting women's rights as there is no woman member in the Taliban cabinet. It is 'all male' by nature. Briefly speaking, the Afghan women are practically barred from the country's public sphere and statistics show that 75% of those who need humanitarian assistance are women and children.

So far as the two iron brothers, China and Pakistan are

concerned, the US exit and Afghan Taliban's ascendence to power can be seen almost as a political checkmate in their favour. In fact, China started to cultivate and engage Taliban leaders even before their final rise to power and endorsed the formation of the Interim Cabinet in September, 2021; because the China-Taliban friendship would help Beijing to deeply enter Afghanistan's geo-economic space and to extend its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) by tapping Afghan resources. Moreover, Taliban regime can help China in controlling the Uyghur militancy in Xinxiang province. However, the Afghan Taliban victory has provided Islamabad the opportunity to jeopardize India'sdevelopmentprojects, specially the DelaramZaranj Highway, what was to be connected with the Chabahar port in Iran for accessing Afghanistan and the Central Asian nations by avoiding Pakistan. So far as Pakistan's most articulated idea of the strategic depth in Afghanistan is concerned, AvinashPaliwal in his article in The Hindustan Times, has commented that "Fifty years after losing East Pakistan in1 1971, Rawalpindi has finally, to its mind, achieved a strategic win that is deeply desired. Unlike on its eastern front, Pakistan doesn't have a strategic adversary to its west anymore." Quite naturally, Pakistan has called on the international community to recognize the new Taliban regime in the OIC Conference hosted by it in December, 2021. But its effort has still remained abortive.

Russia as an important strategic player and a vital stake holder in Afghan politics started negotiation with the Afghan Taliban since 2017 in context of its growing power and clout, in spite of its inclusion in Moscow's terrorist list. The vacuum createdby the US exit is absolutely unlikely to be filled up by Moscow since it has the bitter experience of the former Soviet Union, which collapsed in 1991. But Russia has remained scared about a totally 'Pashtun-dominated' Interim Cabinet with many of the ministers included in the UN terrorism black list. The preponderance of the Haqqani Network in the Taliban cabinet is also a matter of concern to Moscow in addition to possible ethnic violence. The armed class between ruling Taliban and the Islamic State of Afghanistan might challenge the stability

and security situation in the Afghan state in future. Thus, increasing radicalization, terror attacks among rival jihadioutfits along with gross human rights abouse may have spillover effects in Central Asia especially in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and these will affect Russia's geo-strategic interests in the whole Central-Southern Asian region. Russia has made it clear that the diplomatic recognition will depend on the inclusiveness of the Taliban Government and its human rights record. But Putin'sassurance to remove Taliban from Russia's terror list in future may facilitate Moscow- Taliban engagement even without recognition. So far as the recently forged Russia-China alliance is concerned, it may be said that, in spite of its timing, it should not be seen through the Afghan prism only rather should be viewed as a move to counter US containment policy at the global level. Nevertheless thePost- US Afghanistan is obviously a part of this strategic design.

Iran, as an important stakeholder in the Afghan game and also as a close Russian ally especially since the Syrian war has welcomed US exit but has not yet articulated its intention to recognize the Taliban government. In fact, the rise of hardline Sunni Islamists in Kabul might create deep political unrest in its eastern side. The situation is fluid and it is not clear whether Iran as a Shia theocratic state will join the anti- US 'Russia-China' alliance in future or prefer issue-based alliances with other stakeholders to benefit from the new Afghan strategic chessboard. Nevertheless, Biden's future Iran policy particularly his nuclear policy vis-a-v in Tehran might be an important factor in determining its future role in the region.

The USA's irresponsible and haphazard troop withdrawal from Afghanistan by totally abandoning the Ghanigovernment has led to a catastrophic humanitarian crisis in this war-torn country.Washington is now a retreating superpower in this region no doubt, facing the tough challenge of the Russia-China alliance. Moscow has already made it clear that no US military presence will be allowed in Central Asia in future. In this adverse situation, US has formed Quad 2, a minilateral group in the Middle East., consisting of Israel, UAE, India and the

US of course. However, though it is declared as on economic forum at present, it might transform into a strategic alliance depending on the evolvingsituation in South-Central Asia. The US may try to reach the Taliban through the Sunni Gulf monarchies. The India factor is discussed below.

The US exit and the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan have come to India as a serious security threat due to its proximity to Pakistan and also because of heavy presence of thehardline Haqqaui Network in the Taliban Cabinet. In fact, India is perhaps the only country which persistently opposed reconciliation with Taliban. Now, the changing geo-politicalsituation has virtually compelled India to engage the Taliban leadership. New Delhi's 'Wheat diplomacy' is a positive response to Afghanistan's grave humanitarian crisis andmatched well with its previous soft power projection in US controlled Kabul. India would have to de-hyphenate its relation with Kabul and Islamabad to avoid strategic marginalization. Nevertheless, India is now playing a very crucial and difficult balancing game by reaching the two opposite camps.New Delhi has attended the Moscow Format in October, 2021 on Afghanistan and talked to the Taliban representative and at the sometime joined the US-led Middle East Quad 2 in Octobers, 2021 to counter the increasingly belligerent China-Pakistan axis. The Indian diplomatic circle thinks that Moscow would not grossly distance itself fromNew Delhi due to its own strategic interests as a 'PaxSinica' is future would come as a threat to its own backyard, the Central Asia region. Interestingly, Moscow attended the NSC level talk hosted by New Delhi in November 2021, in spite of China and Pakistan's boycott. Indian diplomatic step to specially cultivate the gas rich Central Asian state is very importantbecause of their shared interest in containing the spread of radical Islamic terror in Taliban-ruled Afghanistan. Iran is a difficult factor in India's extended neighborhood. The restoration of 'Obama line' in Iran can be a game changer and help New Delhi to activate its Chabahar project. But Taliban support is indispensible here. In this fluid situation India's

duelalignement policy is the best answer no doubt though very different to follow.

In conclusion, it can be said that, Taliban ruled Afghanistan is in a state of flux and the issue of its recognition is uncertain. But one point is clean that Taliban's violation of human rights has so military solution. Nevertheless, the spiralingpolitical conflict between Russia and the West over Ukraine might have a future spillover effect in Afghanistan also. In that case, Kabul will once again emerge as a hot bed of Cold War tension and the Afghan strategic chessboard will be crowded and destabilized by the regional and extra-regional players. However, the recent Pakistan-Taliban rift over Durand Line might give some breathing space to New Delhi to further engage Taliban at least to neutralize Islamabad's anti-India terror design in Kashmir

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আফগান অঙ্কে মধ্য এশিয়াকে কাছে টানতে চায় দিল্লি, আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, জানুয়ারি ২৮, ২০২২।

Vidyasagar in the Light of Enlightenment Rationality

Dr. Subhas Singha Roy*

Abstract:

Vidyasagar, social reformer and a literary figure in Bengal, earned fame and reputation through his activities and social service; his proactive role in different aspects of life moved the society, triggered controversy and made him a very important personality in Indian history. Extension of education, enrichment of vernacular language, ending the decade old social curses like Widow Remarriage, Polygamy, Child Marriage etc.), cooperating in spreading female education, scientific temper indicate his state of nature and belief system. This is a trivial attempt to pay a homage to this great personality on his bi-centenary birth celebration.

Introduction:

When Iswarchandra was born Bengali society was suffering from numerous diseases-illiteracy, child marriage, polygamy, irrational mindset, inhuman treatment of the widows etc. Darkness is an appropriate allegory for describing Indian society of 19th Century. The strong will power (scholars believed he inherited it from his father) he possessed became a game changer for Bengali society at that time. His was a poor Brahmin family struggling hard to maintain the bare minimum needs of life like majority Bengali families. Poverty, illiteracy and superstitions engulfed the society so much so that civic virtue became an obsolete term. The sufferings of poor women moved him deeply; his entire life was devoted to the cause of women

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starting from raising the age of marriage to the education and remarriage of widows. He realized that to refurbish the ailing society; to rescue the sick society, to develop the superstitious society, a strong of dose of rationality was needed. Rationalist discourse needs to be instilled into the public mind. Without rationalism, objective analysis, scientific vigour, a society suffering from medieval diseases can not prosper an inch. Vidyasagar, a far-sighted Bengali intellectual rightly diagnosed the illness and prescribed the radical remedies for which Bengalee society was not prepared for. He was far away from his time and space.

Although he learnt English in his later life, came to know the European progress and development in science, technology and rational thinking, but the approach he carried through-out his life resembles the eternal humanity and progressive rationality. An avid observer of the society, he realized that only humane values and rational thinking can help rescue the sick society. Although he is known better for his liberal charity[1] (he was cheated very often by the wicked), Rabindranath Tagore aptly remarked that he will live in our hearts for his great works.

This paper is an attempt to rediscover and to pay a homage to the great soul and his tireless efforts to elevate our society on his bi-centenary birth celebration.

Enlightenment, an intellectual movement in the 18th Century, created furore and excitement in the societies across Europe. "As a historical phenomenon, the Enlightenment is identified with an intellectual movement of 18th-century Europe-a movement characterized by certain distinctive ideas, but also by the commitment of its adherents to engaging with a wider public of readers and practitioners (Robertson, 2015)." Oxford

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1. He was so generous that if any one sought help he was ready to do that. Michael Madhusudan Dutta is one such personality to whom Vidyasagar helped generously even he took loan to help him. He even sold his printing press. His royalty from his books drained away to help the poor and destitute. He was frequently deceived by the fraudsters ; he never stopped helping the poor and needy. So in Bengali, he is known by another name- Doyar Sagar (The Ocean of Pity)

Dictionary defines enlightenment as an intellectual movement of late 17th and 18th centuries which emphasized reason and individualism rather than tradition. Bacon, Newton set the tone of rational enquiry and reasoned argument would be the basis of our understanding of natural and social world. Enlightened teaches people to place everything under the lens of rationality. If it cannot pass through the rigor of rationality, that is liable to rejected. Objectivity and empiricism are another pillar of rationality. Humanity and the wellbeing of Homo sapiens attracts the limelight; spiritualism nor the religious activities and performances were sent into the corner; welfare of human beings occupy the centre stage. Every tradition and socio-religious behaviour are to be passed through the rationality. Ancillary to it, equality, liberty and fraternity started prevailing over the sky of the society. Scientists, engineers, artists, musicians, medical professionals, philosophers took great interests to spread the message of humanity through out Europe. Printing press made the task easier. Improved communications and the invention of telegram facilitated the entire process of enlightenment. The spill over effect of enlightenment rationality can be perceived in the colonial countries. The colonisers carried their culture, belief system, behaviour to the colonies and tried to impose upon the subjects of the colonies. Western education was introduced; science, technology, medical science, western literature and history were made to study. Colonial countries gradually accustomed themselves with these situations. The long-established traditions were inflicted by the scientific and enlightenment rationality. Naturally, tensions mounted upon. The dormant, under-dark society suddenly found itself rift-apart; one willing to carry traditional practices whatever inhuman it be; another to get rid of those medieval practices outright and to develop the society. Vidyasagar belongs in between the two poles. He was a pure humanitarian and rational bent of mind. But sometimes he had to concede the demands of religious practices.

Vidyasagar, a brilliant scholar of Sanskrit, realized that despicable condition of Indian society needed to be overhauled

if it was to survive. He was deeply pained by the ill-treatment of women, irrational approach among people and the absence of scientific rationality. A foremost champion of humane values (for his deep compassion towards the humanity, service and help to the people both in terms of pecuniary assistance and treating ailing earned a recognition for him- Ocean of compassion-Doyar Sagar), he intended to rebuild the society on the pillars of rationality. The foremost contributions he made to ameliorate the miseries of Bengali society were the literacy drive and gender justice. His conviction for women emancipation and gender justice stirred the society so much so that reactionary forces woke up to foil his attempts. He had to face the wrath of his opponents even a threat to his life (his father sent a bodyguard from his native village). Attempts were made to humiliate him publicly through various ways and means; but the indomitable spirit of 19th century did not backtrack from his pledges. His project of gender justice earned his fame during his lifetime and still is acknowledged. The emancipation of women can only be possible through education; it will generate awareness among the women and its spill-over effect will reverberate the whole society. "Vidyasagar felt that mass education, irrespective of caste, creed and sex, was required to bring about a real change in the society. And to ensure it, spread of education among women was very much essential (De, 2020)". Like her male counterpart she will realize her potentiality and her dignity as human being can be if she is educated. He was so sure about the potency of education in ameliorating the poor condition of women that he readily made available himself as and when opportunity came. "He sincerely believed that female education was highly beneficial to his country, and he earnestly and diligently devoted his energies to its progress. (Mitra, 2008)". In 1866 Miss Merry Carpenter arrived Kolkata with a mission to spread women's education, Mr. Atkinson, the then Governor of Bengal, urged Vidyasagar to assist Miss Carpenter in her mission because the then Director of Public Instruction, was in firm belief that only Vidyasagar could be entrusted in this project. He readily accepted the proposal of the Governor and accompanied Miss Carpenter to visit women's schools in and around Kolkata. He was selected as one of the committee members to reconsider the proposal of Female Normal School (Female teachers' Training School). Although he was opposed to the establishment of Normal Schools for women, but his cooperation in this regard was noteworthy.

In 1849, Mr. J.E.D Bethune established a girls' school with 25 pupils in Sukea Street (Mitra, 2008) with an aim to providing descent education without any religious intent. Mr. Bethune required the assistance of Vidyasagar who readily made available him at the greater cause of women's emancipation. Mr. Bethune appointed him as the Honorary Secretary of the school for his devotion and untiring effort for the furtherance of education throughout Bengal. Some of the prominent Bengalees like Madan Mohan Tarkalankar, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Sambhu Nath Pandit, Raja Dakshina Ranjan- were approached for cooperation and being convinced by Vidyasagar they sent their daughters to the school. In order to attract the public attention towards the female school, he inscribed a Sanskrit sentence on the carriage by which the girls were brought to school, taking the from one of the Hindu Shastras that would remind the importance of women education.

In 1851 Vidyasagar was appointed Principal of Sanskrit college. "In 1849, he, however, rejoined Sanskrit College as a professor of literature and introduced changes in the syllabus. He faced stiff opposition from the upper caste Hindu establishment for propagating the idea that men and women, regardless of their caste, should receive the best education, but he did not flinch. (Pandey, 2019)".

Being appointed as Special Inspector of Schools, Vidyasagar was entrusted to open schools in Bengal. In his capacity he helped establish 35 schools having more than 1300 students (Pandey, 2019). Due to unknown reasons, the British government backtracked from earlier resolutions that sufficient number of schools would be set up; Vidyasagar managed to continue the expenses of those schools. His income, royalty from his books drained away to meet the expenses of schools and the salary

of teachers. He realized the value and significance of mother tongue in education. Bengali literature owed a lot to him. He prepared the Bengali letters and the grammar for the students and made the the learning easier.

His tireless crusade against the widow remarriage and child marriage made him earn fame and wrath from the different segments of the society. Widows were treated like animal having no human rights, liberty and right to happiness. Society treated them as sinners; they had to suffer bodily and emotionally.

The poor Bengalee[2] girls had to suffer from the complexity of child marriage. It was the convention that the baby girl having reached the age of 10, had to get married. The parents of the poor baby girls in order to keep their family honour and prestige intact were forced to find suitable grooms. If they could not, they had to get their daughter married with the Kulin Brahim[3]. The root cause of child marriage and polygamy laid in societal practice and customs. The village heads used to cover the inhuman customs with the religious sanctions. Vidyasagar took a pledge to bring an end the vice of polygamy. He undertook a survey of adjoining areas and to his utter surprise he found that a fair number of Kulin Brahmins married not less than 50 brides. When his own teacher got married at the age of 70 with a girl of 11, he burst into tears. Sivnath Shastri[4] in his autobiography recalled that once Vidyasagar visited his home and when he came to know that little girl playing on the terrace was child-widow, he could not hold his tears.

The illiterate and poor Bengalees did not have the courage to challenge the religious instructions. Vidyasagar wanted to

2. In 1846 Vidyasagar was appointed as Assistant Secretary in Sanskrit College. But his reformative approach landed him in conflict with the then Secretary Rosomoy Datta. He wanted to bring changes in syllabus, wanted to open the school for all caste (earlier it was only Brahmin). Rosomoy Datta did not buy his radical ideas following which he resigned. In 1849, he was as Professor of Sanskrit.

3. Kulin Brahmin was regarded as the best and higher level Brahmin community. So the Kulins used to marry numerous brides that led to polygamy against which Vidyasagar fought simultaneously.

4. One of renowned Brhamo leaders in Bengal.

uproot these inhuman customs and let the poor girls to have liberty and autonomy over their lives. "In those days young Hindu girls as young as 11-12 were married off to men of 60-70 years. As a result when their husbands died, the child and young widows became the target of ostracization. Many were even forced into prostitution and lived an inhuman life. (Information Desk, 2019)"

So he studied the religious texts and scriptures minutely and build up his own arguments in favour of the widow remarriages. Widow remarriage is the most of famous and troublesome struggle Vidyasagar had to undertake. It is said that Vidyasagar had taken permission before he started his most tedious fight against the inhuman custom and also against those pundits and scholars and religious leaders who advocated for the inhuman practice of widowhood. He had to appear in several public platforms to place his own arguments and to counter the position of religious leaders in order to the establish widow-remarriage.

Vidyasagar realised that the battle of widow-remarriage could successfully be tackled not only by his argumentation with the religious pundits but with the help of administration. He was so moved by his convictions that by any means he wanted to introduce widow-remarriage. "Vidyasagar stood up for the widows and through the then British government helped in passing the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act. (Information Desk, 2019)"

Religious-scriptural support and administrative assistance made him win the battle against well-entrenched medieval customs. In 1856 Hindu Widow Remarriage Act was passed by the British Indian government amidst severe protest. On December 7, 1856, a new history was written when in the mid night in the house of Rajkrishna Bandopadhyaya, a close friend of Vidyasagar, first widow remarriage was held under police protection between Srishchandra Vidyaratna and child widow Kalimati of Nadia district. Vidyasagar bore the expense of that marriage. Thereafter he directly and indirectly helped organized several widow remarriages. He had the support of a large section of women and progressive-minded people. His own son, Narayan

Chandra Vidyaratna, being inspired by the deeds of his father married a widow; despite the objections from family members, Vidyasagar supported his son and felt pride in him.

But this progressive-drive did not receive huge applause from the society. Ultimately widow-remarriage did not live up to the expectations. Various stakeholders like the parents, the victims seemed to be reluctant due to several reasons. Vidyasagar was publicly humiliated several times, deceived by the dishonest; but did not backtrack from his crusade.

There are two arguments why his crusade against inhuman practices did not find the expected return. Prof. Ashok Sen in his book argued from the structure-centric approach that Vidyasagar was too radical in a medieval society that it could not muster courage to accept his too progressive ideas. Society was not prepared to receive the heavy dose of progressive medicine which ultimately received severe challenges and the mission failed. The parents were worried about the marriage of their daughters rather re-marriage. Widows seemed to be reluctant due to the legal heir of the deceased husband's property. It was mentioned in the act that the widow would lose the right of property of her previous husband if she again would marry. Besides, the pressure of social customs did prevent them to come out whole-heartedly in support of re-marriage.

Prof. Anisujjaman took applied the agency centric approach and evaluated the role of Vidyasagar in the reconstruction of Bengali society. He concluded that Vidyasagar was not too radical to carry out his progressive projects. He was not so harsh in his approach; opportunity he lost. It is due to his lack of radical attitude.

Despite these two assessments, it can be safely concluded Vidyasagar despite numerous constraints tried to rebuild the society on progressive platform. His rational enterprise made him think about the destiny of poor girls. A thorough humanist believed that the society should be rebuilt on humane and rational values. "The practical humanism of Vidyasagar was shaped by both his readings and lived experience. Born a poor Brahmin, his deprived childhood was made bearable by the generosity of kind strangers. Vidyasagar fondly recalls one particular widow Raimoni in his memoirs who treated him as her own son. Besides, despite his training as a Sanskritist, he was also exposed to the western Enlightenment ideas of secularism, agnosticism, rationalism, and liberty. These two distinct experiences determined the career trajectory of Vidyasagar. (Kashyap, 2019)"

Looking through the lens of objective rationality and lived experience, Vidyasagar deliberately avoided public display of religion although he maintained religious customs on different occasions. He advocated introduction of western philosophy alongside Indian philosophy for the greater understanding of the both the civilization. "He introduced courses of European History, Philosophy and Science alongside of Vedic scriptures. He encouraged students to pursue these subjects and take away the best from both worlds. (Cultural India)" He practised homeopathic medicine and used the same for the tribal people while spending his last days in Karmatar, now Jharkhand.

Vidyasagar (the Ocean of Wisdom) one of the liberal humanists in Bengal made lasting impact on the public psychie. The initiation of liberal philosophy which the Bengalee society needed at that time was the collective attempts of 19th century intellectuals, Vidyasagar belonged to that genre. He is remembered for his contribution to reform the medieval society. He realized well that if the society is not prepared on liberal humanist ideals, it should not dream to inch further. Religious orthodoxy and meaningless inhuman practices held back the development of the society. The release of human energy and rebuilding of equity-based society is only possible if the pillars are made up of rationalism, liberal ethos and humanist values. Vidyasagar sacrificed his entire life to the cause of re-structuring the values and ways of life. He is one of the progenitors of liberal democratic values in India.

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The Constructivist and Ethno-symbolist Perspectives on Nationalism: A Review of the Debates

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Abstract

The modernists claim that nation is post-French Revolution, and constructed essentially to meet the emergent social and political needs of the time. While several other theories about nations and nationalism, notably that of ethno-symbolism, emphasize the antiquity of the nation as based on culture, ethnicity, common blood ties, common myths and historical memories. Today the "Constructivist' and the "Ethno-symbolist" are powerful challengers to the existing approaches.

The present paper in this regard seeks to understand these two perspectives to help locate the factors at work and review them subsequently.

The present work has been accomplished by taking recourse to selected articles, various citations, library books and materials from internet.

Introduction

The theoretical problems associated with the ideas of nations and nationalisms variously ranges from the modernity versus the historicity of nations; the different kinds or dimensions of nationality - say ethnic and civic; up to the linking of state and nation along the same line. In this regard, the major divide in this field is that of the ethno-symbolism and modernism. Ethno-

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symbolists such as Anthony Smith, John Hutchinson and John Armstrong reject the notion that nations are recent political formations which represent a break with earlier ethnic communities. Rather nations are constituted by (usually pre-modern) ethnic myths, memories, symbols, and cultures, and therefore, national formation must be understood in the context of la longue durée. On the other hand, modernists like Earnest Gellner, Eric Hobsawm, Benedict Anderson views nations as mere invention and product of social engineering and print-capitalism of the post-Industrial era. Similarly, John Breuilly, Charles Tilly, Michael Mann, Elie Kedourie identifies the rise of the bureaucratic state as the context from which the nation emerges.

In this context, Anthony Smith aptly says, "we cannot understand nations and nationalism simply as an ideology or form of politics but must treat them as cultural phenomena as well" (Smith 1991: Introduction). Likewise for John Breuilly, the scope of nation and nationalism is ambitious. Clearly no one person can understand in detail more than a tiny fraction of so vast a subject. According to Breuilly, specific historical studies were frequently organized in different ways. These, however, failed to make clear the distinct contexts which generated nationalism. And thus Breuilly's succinct remark: "nationalism may be modern, but modernity is not nationalism" (Breuilly 1993).

Thus, nationalism is also one among the essentially contested concepts in the discourse of politics. Hans Kohn, aptly says, "Nationalism - like all historical mass sentiments, say religion - has its good and evil aspects. The various nationalisms differ therein according to the political ideas and traditions which they embody, to the memories and hope they evoke, to their attitude toward neighbours and the international community, to the degree of their self-centeredness and claim of exclusivity" (Kohn 1968: 12). In other words, there is no single feature or identifiable factor common to all nationalisms, to all nations, to all nation-state formations. Though many cultural characteristics occur in different nationalisms, they never combine

in any fixed or immutable package of 'national markers'. Furthermore, no single characteristic is ever indispensable. Nations (and nationalisms) are not intrinsically secular categories. For good or ill they can rest on exclusivist racial, tribal or religious claims and even political ones.

Thus the more one delves into the details of the constructivist and ethno-symbolist model, one thing becomes clear that "nations are Janus-faced". For the constructivists, progress, scientific temperament, material advancement, mechanical and institutional achievements are much more important and worthy than those of ancestry, myth, tradition, ritual, etc. It would be apt to quote John Hutchinson in this regard: "The modernist scholars are dismissive of continuities with ethnic groups. These are, for them, small-scale and are essentially pre-political, at best providing raw materials on which nation-builders can draw. The real culture of modernity is science and the ethos of capitalism and administrative systems (Hutchinson in Guibernau and Hutchinson 2001: 75-6).

This constant to and fro constitutes the very matrix of nations and nationalism, especially the paradigms of constructivism and ethno-symbolism. Ethno-symbolists do agree with modernists that nations are recent in their territorial consolidation, their mass literate public cultures, and their drive for self-determination but the primary concern of nations is not with modernity. Central to nations is a concern with identity and history. Hutchinson rightly argues that "through identifying with a historic nation embodied in myths, symbols and culture, which has survived disaster in the past, individuals combine in a society to overcome contingency and find a unique meaning and purpose. Culture, then, for ethno-symbolists means not just symbols, traditions or rituals, but rather the meanings and orientations to collective action that these evoke" (Hutchinson in Guibernau and Hutchinson 2001: 76).

After a brief exploration of the complex nature of nations and nationalism, let us turn our attention to the central theme of our paper: constructivism versus ethno-symbolism, with specific reference to the modernist stance of Ernest Gellner and

Eric Hobsbawm along with Anthony Smith's account of ethno-symbolism.

Ernest Gellner : Nation, Nationalism and Modernization

Ernest Gellner, one of the hardcore modernist scholars, believes it is the need of modern societies for cultural homogeneity that creates nationalism. Nationalism, from this perspective, thus, rests on the notion that it is sociologically rooted in rooted in modernity, in which the 'past' has hardly any role to play. Gellner believes that "nationalism as a phenomenon, not as a doctrine presented by nationalists, is inherent in a certain set of social conditions; and those conditions, it so happens, are the conditions of our time" (Gellner 1983: 124). No doubt, by 'our time', Gellner is referring to 'Modern Times', the theme which the revered and unparalleled Charlie Chaplin had so eloquently portrayed via the silver screen! According to him, "Nationalism is not the awakening of an old, latent, dominant force, though that is how it does indeed present itself. It is in reality the consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized, education dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state", argues Gellner - one of the stalwarts of the modernization school, for whom "nations can be defined only in terms of the age of nationalism" (Gellner 1983: 48).

This modernist stance, according to Smith, lies in contrast to the idea of a nation's immemoriality, i.e., "nations were perennial; only their degree of self-awareness and activism varied" (Smith 1991: 44). Smith continues that, "against this familiar older view a modern generation of scholars has demonstrated the contingency of nations and nationalism in history, and their relative modernity" (Smith 1991: 44). In fact, "in the 'modernist' image of the nation, it is nationalism that creates national identity" (Smith 1991: 71). Smith then quotes Gellner in this regard: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist - but it does need some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on, even if, as indicated, these are purely negative".

This approach, according to Anthony Smith, is 'trenchantly modernist' (Smith 2001: 10). Smith illustrates accordingly: to the myth of the 'perennial nation' they oppose the myth of the 'modern nation'. That is to say, in their anxiety to denounce and deconstruct nationalism's fictive view of itself, the modernists resort to an equally powerful 'myth': the crucial role of the nation in the drama of 'modernization', the nation as deus ex machina of alienated intellectuals caught between tradition and modernity , or as necessary consequence and vital precondition of a successful modernity (Smith 2001: 10).

In this regard, the arguments put forward by Gellner in the popular "Warwick Debate" held on 24 October 1995 at Warwick University must be taken into consideration in order to have a complete understanding of what Modernist school of nationalism is all about. For Gellner, "the cultural continuity is contingent, inessential" (Gellner 1995: 1), because "cultures are sometimes conscious and sometimes invisible, they are sometimes loved and sometimes being invisible they are ignored. Sometimes a culture had political expression, more often it did not. Sometimes there is continuity between the cultures which were loved in the pre-industrial age and sometimes there is discontinuity" (Gellner 1995: 2). And therefore, the presence of certain amount of culture like that of one's navel, in this case of Adam's navel, could be there, "but not everywhere, and on the whole it's not important" (Gellner 1995: 3). Instead "you'd have to have a kind of fictitious past and the past would not be real" (Gellner 1995: 3). As against the primordialist, the group in which he erroneously includes Anthony Smith, Gellner argues "that modernist like myself believe that the world was created round about the end of eighteenth century, and nothing before that makes the slightest difference to the issue we face" (Gellner, 1995: 1).

Gellner continues: "My main case for modernism…is that on the whole the ethnie, the cultural national community, which is such an important part of Anthony's case, is rather like the navel. Some nations have it and some don't, and in any case it is inessential. What in a way Anthony is saying is that he

is anti-creationist and we have this plethora of navels and they are essential…and this is the crux of the case between him and me" (Gellner 1995: 1-2). Being a hardcore modernist, Gellner from the very beginning had linked the emergence of homogenized state system with its extensive surveillance, regulatory and policy-making capacities to that of nationalism, which later gives rise to various nations keeping with the exigencies of time.

To Gellner, nationalism is a sentiment that is congruent with political legitimacy and hence congruent with the state. Following Max Weber, it can be said that, since state possess the monopoly of legitimate violence, the idea of nation and nationalism must enter into a pact with this age-old institution. The state appeal, in short, gives nationalism its ultimate character and identity. Therefore, where there is no state, there is no ruler, and hence no need of nationalism. In other words, nationalists fulminate only when the state system fails to distribute power properly and locate the boundaries. Otherwise, when it comes to certain other factors, nationalism has no problem and doesn't even bother to raise awareness about national consciousness.

It would, thus, be apt to regard the Gellnerian school of modernity as civic nationalism where "culture is no longer merely the adornment, confirmation and legitimation of a social order which was also sustained by harsher and coercive constraints; culture is now the shared medium, the life-blood or perhaps rather the minimal shared atmosphere, within which alone the members of the society can breathe and survive and produce. For a given society, it must be one in which they can all breathe and speak and produce; so it must be the same culture. Moreover, it must now be a great or high (literate, training-sustained) culture, and it can no longer be a diversified, locally-tied, illiterate little culture or tradition" (Gellner 1983: 37-8).

To sum up, every primordial, archaic identity, every "low culture" must erode and succumb to this new "high culture" of modernity, nationalism, and create a mobile anonymous political and civic bond - the nation. Nationalism, for Gellner, "is

primarily a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalism, as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle" (Bhattacharyya 2009: 116).

Eric Hobsabawm : The Nation as Invented Tradition & A Product of Social Engineering.

Following the Gellnerian tradition, Hobsbawm asserts that "one of the comparatively recent historical innovations of modern times is the 'nation', with its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest. All these rest on exercises in 'social engineering' which are often deliberate and always innovative, if only because historical novelty implies innovation" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 76). It is "social engineering" that according to Hobsbawm, constituted the nation as part of an "invented tradition". Hobsbawm continues, "just because so much of what subjectively makes up the modern 'nation' consists of such constructs and is associated with appropriate and, in general, fairly recent symbols or suitably tailored discourse (such as 'national history'), the national phenomenon cannot be adequately investigated without careful attention to the 'invention of tradition'".

Hobsbawm unequivocally argues that new symbols like anthems, flags, stamps, create national community. In this sense, for him, "the basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything connected with it is its modernity" (Hobsbawm 1992: 14). Hobsbawm is nowhere ready to accept the antiquity of nations and its ideology of nationalism. This is very much clear when he says, that "We should not be mislead by a curious, but understandable, paradox: modern nations and all their impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely rooted in the remotest antiquity, and the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so 'natural' as to require no definition other than self-assertion" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 76). And then he claims purportedly, whatever the historic or other continuities embedded in the modern concept of nations and nationalism, "these very concepts themselves must include a

constructed or 'invented' component" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 76).

The core of Hobsbawm's political modernism, is his insistence that pre-modern religious, linguistic and regional communities cannot be regarded as ancestors or progenitors of modern nationalism 'because they had or have no necessary relation with the unit of territorial political organization which is a crucial criterion of what we understood as a "nation" today' (Hobsbawm 1992: 47). As Anthony Smith points out while elaborating Hobsbawm's stand on nationalism, "nationalism is a modern political movement, aiming to create territorial nation-states, and only this political attribute ensures that it is of any interest to the historian. Only in those few cases such as Russia, Serbia, England, Castile, perhaps France and Ireland, where there was 'the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to a lasting political entity', in other words, the Hegelian 'historical nation', can we detect some pre-modern influence on modern nationalism. Such political 'proto-nationalism' made the task of modern political nationalism much easier; and its absence, in cases like the Germans and Jews, made any claim to historical continuity factitious" (Smith in Guibernau and Hutchinson 2001: 12). It is the absence of historic continuity, pointed out Smith, which served to stimulate the inventive ardour of nationalists in creating their 'imagined communities'. According to him, whereas the earlier nineteenth century had witnessed a more progressive, inclusive, democratic mass-political nationalism, the latter-half of the century saw a veritable flood of such 'invented traditions', notably by small-scale, divisive, ethno-linguistic nationalisms: flags, anthems, oaths, holidays, statues, monuments, remembrance days, parades and the like, all designed to meet new needs through novel artefacts and rituals (Smith in Guibernau and Hutchinson 2001: 13).

For Hobsbawm, however, mere artefacts and rituals are not sufficient. History itself had to be rewritten: historical continuity had to be invented, for example by creating an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity, either by semi-fiction (Boadicea, Vercingetorix, Arminius the Cheruscan) or by forgery

(Ossian, the Czech medieval manuscripts) (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 7). Israeli and Palestinian nationalism or nations, in this respect, must be novel, whatever the historic continuities of Jews or Middle Eastern Muslims, since the very concept of territorial states of the currently standard type in their region was barely thought of a century ago, and hardly became a serious prospect before the end of World War I (Hobsbawm 1992: 13-14).

From the above, it could well be discerned that the "invention of traditions" was just the outcome of territorial state that eventually gave rise to nations: "nations exist not only as functions of a particular kind of territorial state or as the aspiration to establish one, but also in the context of a particular stage of technological and economic development" (Hobsbawm 1992: 10). It was "the state", Hobsbawm tells us, "which linked both formal and informal, official and unofficial, political and social inventions of tradition, at least in those countries where the need for it arose" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 77). Hobsbawm's emphasis on objective factors also becomes clear to an extent when he regards both nations and nationalism "as dual phenomena, constructed essentially from above, but which cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist" (Hobsbawm 1992: 10).

For governments the central item in the equation state = nation = people was plainly the state" (Hobsbawm 1992: 23). In other words, according to Hobsbawm, "the original, revolutionary-popular, idea of patriotism was state-based rather than nationalist, since it related to the sovereign people itself, i.e. to the state exercising power in its name" (Hobsbawm 1992: 87). Thus, Hobsbawm clearly states, "ethnicity or other elements of historic continuity were irrelevant to 'the nation' in this sense, and language relevant only or chiefly on pragmatic grounds" (Hobsbawm 1992: 87).

Thus, following Gellner, Hobsbawm argues that "the real "nation" can only be recognized a posteriori where the nation

is a social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the 'nation-state', and it is pointless to discuss nation and nationality except insofar as both relate to it" (Hobsbawm 1992: 9-10). Subsequently, for Hobsbawm, "it was the needs of the capital that nations were being "invented" by recanting old traditions in new ways" (Bhattacharyya 2011: 52), thereby disconnecting indisputably "modern" nations and nationalism from their ethnic antecedents.

Anthony Smith & Ethno-Symbolism

Anthony Smith, one of the propagators of ethno-symbolism, argues, that since this particular approach, which he calls as 'postmodernist', is too fragmentary and sketchy and therefore he feels hesitant to designate this approach as even a 'paradigm' (Smith 2001: 56). With this fair confession, Smith's approach rests on two important pillars - that of "ethnie - a French term which means a named unit of population with common ancestry myths and shared historical memories, elements of shared culture, a link with a historic territory, and some measure of solidarity, at least among the elites" (Smith 2001: 19) - and symbolism. Smith argues, that "in contrast to the modernist, perennialist and primordialist paradigms of ethnicity and nationalism, historical ethno-symbolism focuses particularly on the subjective elements in the persistence of ethnies, the formation of nations and the impact of nationalism" (Smith 2001: 57). However, Smith remarks immediately that, "this does not mean that it takes 'objective' factors for granted or excludes them from the purview of its analysis; only that it gives more weight to subjective elements of 'memory, value, sentiment, myth and symbol', and that it thereby seeks to enter and understand the 'inner worlds' of ethnicity and nationalism" (Smith 2001: 57).

In order to prove his case, Smith provides us with the historical examples of England, France and Spain - which Hugh Seton-Watson termed as 'old nations' for they had acquired national identity or national consciousness before the formulation of the doctrine of nationalism (Seton-Watson 1994: 134).

According to Smith, "modern nations are indebted and owe a profound legacy to the development of these three nations" (Smith 1994: 150). Smith continues that, "this is usually attributed to their possession of military and economic power at the relevant period, the period of burgeoning nationalism and nations. As the great powers of the period, they inevitably became models of the nation, the apparently successful format of population unit, for everyone else. The 'state', in this regard, formed the matrix of the new population-unit's format, the 'nation'. It aided the type of compact, unified, standardized and culturally homogenized unit and format that the nation exemplifies" (Smith 1994: 150).

This might lead one to think, that the state actually 'created' the nation, but for Smith this is an overstatement. Smith identifies that, of course, "the state was certainly a necessary condition for the formation of the national loyalties we recognize today" (Smith 1994: 150). However, its operations in turn owed much to earlier assumptions about kingdoms and peoples, and to the presence of core ethnic communities around which these states were built up. This identification of the core ethnic communities is about the sense of ancestry and identity that people possess. Hence, "the importance of myths and memories, symbols and values, embodied this sense of 'ethnicity', which is more about cultural perceptions than physical demography, albeit rooted perceptions and assumptions, England from an early date, and France somewhat later, came to form fairly homogenous ethnies. These ethnies in turn facilitated the development of homogenizing states, extending the whole idea of an ethnie into realms and on to levels hitherto unknown, to form the relatively novel concept of the nation" (Smith 1994: 151).

Smith, however, is opposed to the idea of conflating ethnicity and nationhood. According to Smith, "it is important to distinguish 'ethnic community' (ethnie) and 'nation' to have a proper idea of antiquity and modernity of nations. The modern nation which can be defined in ideal-typical terms as a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and

historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members, differs in several vital respects from pre-modern collective cultural communities" (Smith 2001: 19). Thus, Smith remarks cogently, that "modern nations are 'mass nations', appealing to and equating the nation with the whole people, as citizens, something that only very rarely occurred before the onset of modernity" (Smith 2001: 20). The modern nation also differs from the ethnie in constituting a distinct territorial community, in which the population occupies its historic homeland and is united by a shared national landscape, with unfettered mobility throughout the territory. Finally, modern nations take their place within an 'inter-national' system of national states, which has during the twentieth century become truly global for the first time in history (Smith 2001: 20).

In other words, as aptly remarked Bhattacharyya, "The idea of ethnicity as the subjective factor of nationalism is thus an appeal to the antiquity of the nation, where the revered golden past over a la longue duree serves as base for the present reconstruction of the nation. This link with a distant and glorious past, with a distinct and unique culture, a common homeland, a common history gives them the real scope for "collective self-imaginings" and imparts in them a sense of glory, identity and authenticity as citizens of "their" nation. Thus, "modern citizen must reconstruct their ethnic past in search of identity" (Bhattacharyya 2011: 67). To quote Smith, "It is modern citizens who need and reconstruct a heroic ethnic past; but once reconstructed, that past exerts its own power of definition through ancestry and shared, albeit taught, memory" (Smith, 2001:10). Memory of an ancestral homeland is indispensable for national "identity" formation: "no memory no identity; no identity, no nation" (Smith 1996: 3).

Smith also stated (Smith 1983; 1986; 2001; 2001a) that the journey from pre-modern "ethnies" to "modern nation" was without any itinerary and had never been straight, simple, smooth and continuous. Instead, there have often been radical trysts and turns in the history of a nation. There have even been

changes in "form" but the entire drama has taken place within a preexisting framework of collective identity and loyalties which has both facilitated the changes as well as been influence by it (Smith 1986: 13). Still then, "in a weaker sense, there is considerable evidence that modern nations are connected with earlier ethnie categories and communities and created out of preexisting origin myths, ethnie cultures and shared memories" (Smith 1996: 12; Hutchinson 2001).

Paul R. Brass, another scholar of nationalism, also pointed out, that "ethnic communities are created and transformed by particular elites in modernizing and in postindustrial societies undergoing dramatic social change. This process invariably involves competition and conflict for political power, economic benefits, and social status between competing elite, class, and leadership groups both within and among different ethnic categories" (Brass 1991: 25). Brass asserts that "several scholars of ethnicity and nationality have pointed out that modernization and industrialization in large, multiethnic societies tend to proceed unevenly and often, if not always, benefit some ethnic groups or some regions of a country more than others" (Brass 1991: 25).

In this regard, the importance of ethnie and symbol and their wider dissemination among the masses was a tedious task taken up by the intellectuals who in accordance with their education and intellect served the cause of the emergence of nations and nationalism. Therefore, the role of the elites is extremely significant. To quote Smith, "ethno-symbolists stress the relationship between various elites and the lower strata ('the people') they aim to represent" (Smith 2001: 57). This, according to Smith, subsequently gives rise to various orientations among the intellectuals and their followers: a conscious, modernizing return to tradition (or 'traditionalism'); a messianic desire to assimilate to Western modernity and all its works ('assimilation' or 'modernism'); and a more defensive attempt to synthesize elements of the tradition with aspects of Western modernity and revive a pure and pristine community modeled on a former collective golden age (or 'reformist revivalism') (Smith 1991:

64). Smith, thus remarks, that "these orientations are typical of communities with rich ethno-histories, that is, with well-documented and detailed histories" (Smith 1991: 64). For instance, "Greeks could look back to classical Athens, Romans to the early republican era of Cincinnatus and Cato, Jews to the kingdom of David and Solomon or the times of the Sages, Arabs to the Age of the Companions, Persians to the Sassanid epoch, Indians to the Vedic era and Chinese to the classical age of Confucius" (Smith 1995: 64).

As succinctly pointed out by Bhattacharyya, "this is the crux of Smith's "ethno-symbolist" approach. An ethno-symbolist never provides an idealist, readymade, metaphysical answer to the national question like the primordialists. Instead, his interest lies in "historical and/or sociological" explanation. They seek to discover why people have such an enduring, continuing and passionate allegiance to their ethnie and nation. They seek to find an answer to the enigma that why the clarion calls of nationalism can incite its people towards the extreme terrorism and self-sacrifice of whatever kind" (Bhattacharyya 2013: 117).

The lights and camera are focused on cultural factor-on memory, myths, symbols, values, traditions, heroes and heroines of the past, history of great battles fought "together", literature, art and "a language" of the auld lang syne. Whatever links people "believe" to have bequeathed from their golden past as collectivity. An ethno-symbolist does not take them in their face value. Instead, rigorous historical investigation reveals the continuities and ruptures present in the claim of the "people". It is revealed that changes, though never smooth and continuous, always takes place within a broad paradigm of collective identity, though that should never be confused with modern nations and nationalism.

It is with the efforts and attempts of the intelligentsias that a redefinition of ethnic values and tradition takes, which, however, should not be simply seen as 'inventions' or 'constructs' of intellectuals. Rather, says Smith, "they are attempts to marry an understanding of Western processes of forming nations with a programme of rediscovering an ethnic past or pasts that will

elevate the people and their vernacular culture to centre stage, often in place of (or reinterpreting) the old religious traditions" (Smith 1991: 64). "This arduous undertaking" thus, says Smith, "helps to mobilize a formerly passive community into forming a nation around the new vernacular historical culture that it has rediscovered" (Smith 1991: 64).

In a similar tone argues John Hutchinson that, "the glory of a country comes not from its political power but from the culture of its people and the contribution of its thinkers and educators to humanity. It is with the re-creation of their distinctive national civilization that the intellectuals lead to a moral regeneration of the historic community. This involves the design to inspire a spontaneous love of community in its different members by educating them to their common heritage of splendor and suffering. They engage in naming rituals, celebrate national cultural uniqueness and reject foreign practices, in order to identify the community to itself, embed this identity in everyday life and differentiate it against other communities" (Hutchinson 1994: 124).

Also John Armstrong, in this regard, refers to certain 'border-guards' which too serve as important aspects of the myth-symbol approach. "These 'symbolic border-guards' could be architecture, dress, manners, gestures, drawings, musical sounds and the like" (Armstrong 1982: 143). For Armstrong, "this symbolic interaction is a type of communication between one ethnic group and others or among members of the same group… To an extraordinary degree ethnic symbolic communication is communication over the longue duree, between the dead and the living" (Armstrong 1982: 144-5). Thus, "the persistence of the symbol is more significant than its point of origin in the past. Persistence is closely related to the incorporation of individual symbols, verbal and non-verbal, in a mythic structure" (Armstrong 1982: 145).

"These individual mythic structures", according to Armstrong, "have over long periods of time the legitimizing power to be enhanced by fusion with other myths in a mythomoteur defining identity in relation to a specific polity" (Armstrong 1982: 145). As Armstrong demonstrated, there has always been "border

guards"--- symbols that differentiate "us" from "them" ("insiders" from "outsiders") (Bhattacharyya 2011: 69). These had been of immeasurable importance in the formation of "identity." (Armstrong 1982: 140-147) Analyzing the "myth-symbol complexes" and specially the mythomoteur (constitutive myth of the ethnie polity) over la longue duree can be of great help to a scholar to discover the links between a modern nation and an ethnie (Bhattacharyya 2011: 69).

But mere selection, imagination, invention or construction of any cultural repertoires is not likely to result in nations and nationalism and their prolonged durability; similarly "any shred and patches" are not likely to appeal to the emotions of the masses. Smith argues that "objective historicity may be significant in the long run, but for the mass of the population a narrative must have emotive 'resonance' as much as 'truth-content'" (Smith 2001: 82). Therefore, "the power and durability of nations and nationalism lies in the fact that the narratives and images of the nation strike a chord with the people to whom they are designed to appeal; and that 'the people' and their cultures can, in turn, contribute to the process of reconstructing the nation. Only when they can 're-present' to the mass of the population an acceptable and inspiring image or narrative of the nation can elites exert any influence and provide some leadership" (Smith 2001: 82).

In fact, "it is the habitual invoking and evoking of the popular myths, symbols and memories, that ethno-symbolists", argues Smith, "have seen the process of nation formation as not so much one of construction, let alone deliberate 'invention', as of reinterpretation of pre-existing cultural motifs and of reconstruction of earlier ethnic ties and sentiments" (Smith 2001: 83). What emerges finally is that ethnies are indispensable for the formation of "nations" and every nation has some ethnic base, weak or strong (Bhattacharyya 2011: 71). For the ethno symbolist, "the nation is inconceivable outside a world of ethnicity...while this does not mean that for every nation. There must have been a prior ethnie serving as its sole basis - for very few nations are not ethnically diverse - it does mean that

nations are specialized developments of (one or more) looser ethnic groups and that the ethnic community has historically served as the model and basis of many nations" (Smith 2001: 85-6).

There are some conclusive cases to prove that an enduring ethnie, spatio-temporally limited, has transformed" and "regenerated" from its state of degeneration and become a "nation". In other cases, the ethnie itself has not been that powerful to "transform" itself into a nation. Here, the elites had to "reconstruct" the "lingering memories of former greatness" and "the cultural differences or "markers" and transform it into a nation, giving it "a semblance of antique pedigree". There are other "rare" examples of "invented ethnie" like Bangala in the former Belgian Congo. But these extreme cases are more an exception rather than rule.

Therefore, in contrast to the constructionist outlook, "ethno-symbolic approaches insist on the need to place the rise of modern nations in the context of previous collective cultural identities in pre-modern epochs" (Smith 2001: 85). Thus, contrary to what the modernists argue, nationalism cannot be narrowed down to "political", leaving "ethnicity" and "culture" aside.

Conclusion

These two debates constitute one of the substantial debates on the perspectives of nations and nationalism. However, when it comes to the understanding of one of the crucial discourses of present day, that of nations and nationalism, more could have been said about issues of ethnicity and gender, about race relations, about post-modernist discourses of the nation, about post-colonialism, etc. But due to space crunch it has not been possible to include them all. Instead, we have concentrated on what we think are the main lines of general and theoretical debate concerning nationalism, as they have developed over several areas, issues and disciplines.

The world we live today is that of a nationalist world. Though we have come across a long way since the two World

Wars and are living in an extremely powerful 'Information Society' as a significant development of the post-modern world, nation and nationalism, still hold a place dear to our heart. In spite of being modern in time, nation and nationalism, always believes in its past. Following Kedourie, it could be ascertained that "nationalism rests on the assumption that a nation must have a past. It also rests on another assumption, no less fundamental, namely, that a nation must have a future. This assumption is a variant of the idea of progress which has been the dominant strand in modern European culture. Faith in progress has assumed many forms and variants, but essentially it is a belief that history will not let us down, that no catastrophe is final, no disaster irremediable. This is the prevailing note in modern culture" (Kedourie 1971: 93).

The constructionist theory of nation and nationalism is the most popular approach so far, which has rejected the perennialist and primordialist theory, denying outrightly the existence of ethnie or any past thereof. To quote Gellner, "the 'precise doctrines' are hardly worth analyzing. Generally speaking, nationalist ideology suffers from pervasive false consciousness. Its myths invert reality: it claims to defend folk culture while in fact it is forging a high culture; it claims to protect an old folk society while in fact helping to build up an anonymous mass society". Whether in Gellner or Hobsbawm, there is no room in either theorist's account for the concept of an unmediated or a primordial nation. As stated Nicholas Stargardt, "there is no primary, umbilical belonging, and so the nation cannot be said to 'cause' anything either. The history of national identities replaces the history of nations" (Stargardt 1998: 23).

On the other hand, Smith, besides acknowledging the fact that nation and nationalism are essential products of modernity, concedes at the same time, that the "smaller, kinship-based 'tribes' and the historic cultural-community, or ethnic community, must in turn be distinguished from the 'nation'. For, although it shares with the ethnic community a cultural basis and common way of life, a 'nation' proper is a more abstract ideal, a construct of nationalists; and hence its delineation is more difficult" (Smith 1983: 63).

The debate goes on. Bhattacharyya rightly said, that "the belief of the ordinary people in the rich cultural heritage they have inherited from the past is, in fact, the creator of the most passionate psychological bond of modern times - nationalism" (Bhattacharyya 2009: 120). Therefore, to him, "the national bond is never purely political; neither is it purely ethnic" (Bhattacharyya 2011: 74). As Connor noted, a nation is "a self-defined rather than another defined grouping" (Connor 1978: 37). There is no penultimate identity of a nation. As Connor titled his article: "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group…" Thus, aptly remarked Bhattacharyya, "the bond of nationhood is neither entirely civic/ political nor totally cultural/ ethnic but a "combination" of the two" (Bhattacharyya 2011: 74).

Besides, "it is through a shared, unique culture that we are enabled to know 'who we are' in the contemporary world" (Smith 1991: 17). From the perspective of nations and nationalism, the force of the sentiments which leads groups of 'us' in search of identity against 'them' can no longer be overlooked. In other words, "The dichotomy of 'us' and 'they'", for Hobsbawm, "is an universal situation, where 'they' can be, must be, blamed for all the grievances, uncertainties and disorientations…and who are 'they'? Obviously, and virtually by definition, those who are 'not us' - the strangers who, by their very alienness, are enemies: present aliens, past aliens, even purely notional aliens as in Poland where anti-Semitism continues to explain Polish ills in the total absence of Jews" (Hobsbawm 1992: 174). This very much explains that "despite the actual inequality and exploitation, ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson 1983: 7).

It is, in short, the passions of millions and not the interests that generate colossal sacrifices in the name of nation and nationalism. "Even if change is sudden and disruptive, short of

total destruction of the nation, it will produce new elements that can be culturally assimilated by the membership. It is the same with the transformation of nations, and it allows us to assume that the 'daily plebiscite' that constitutes the nation does in fact preserve it sufficiently for us to speak of the same nation from one generation to the next" (Smith 2001: 20). Therefore, to conclude, it would not be out of place to quote Ernest Renan, in this context: "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, the past and the present, constitute this spiritual principle. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrances; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage which all hold in common" (Renan in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 17).

Endnotes

Smith, Anthony (1991: 71) quotes from Earnest Gellner (1964) Thought and Change, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson

Deus ex machine means, an unexpected power or event saving a seemingly hopeless situation, especially as a contrived plot device in a play or novel.

Kedourie 1960 and 1971: Introduction

See also Gellner, Earnest (1983) Nations and Nationalism, Oxford, Blackwell

Indebted to Bhattacharyya, Arijit's unpublished thesis on Understanding Indian Nationhood: Ethnic and Civic Dimensions, 2011, Chapter 2.

Ibid, pg. 76.

See Bhattacharyya, Arijit's unpublished thesis on Understanding Indian Nationhood: Ethnic and Civic Dimensions, 2011, Chapter 2.

Ibid, pg. 117.

See Smith 1986: 16-18; 2001: 81-86; 2001a: 19-22.

See Bhattacharyya, Arijit's unpublished thesis on Understanding Indian Nationhood: Ethnic and Civic Dimensions, 2011, Chapter 2.

See Gellner (1983).

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Reading Habit: An Islamic Perspective
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"First we make our habits, then our habits make us."
- Charles C. Nobel

Abstract

Reading is the basic source of learning. Hence habit of reading is essential in human life. It helps one to acquire knowledge which is indispensable for the development of personality. This study intends to supply useful insight based on the concept and outcome of reading, which do enhanced the habit of reading in a community. Reading not only unlocks the unknown, but imparts enlightenment and enjoyment also. The article focuses on the importants of education processing personal development in the light of Islamic perspective. from internet.

Introduction

Learning is a continuous process. Consciously or not, one begins learning right from one's birth day. Learning means acquiring knowledge about different matters and understanding them properly. Reading is one of the most effective processes of conscious learning and enhancing one's knowledge.[1] A major weakness in life is being without reading and appreciation of cultural knowledge. Reading is very important to improve our minds and outlooks. It is essential for the progress of our career. Through reading, society can diversify paradigms about their field of expertise and add valuable knowledge.[2]

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It is mandatory for every muslim to seek knowledge and learning. Islam avers the right to education for all irrespective of gender. Addressing all people, the Glorious Qur'an asserts that people will be judged by their knowledge and understanding (39:9). Islam gives priority to education and knowledge to enhance human development on the whole. Principles of equality and justice are vital points in Islam. One can carry out one's duties properly by acquiring knowledge, wisdom as well as skills. While knowledge is needed to fulfill religious and spiritual responsibilities, it is also highly important for achieving social and economic development, for wellbeing of the community, and for ensuring social harmony, freedom and human rights. In Islam, the act of learning itself is considered an act of worship, provided that it is within Allah's limits and with a good motive behind it.[3]

Objectives

1. To focus on Islamic view point regarding reading habit
2. To understand the importance of reading habit in Islamic perspective
3. To highlight how the glorious Qur'an lays emphasis on education at every step of life.
4. To throw light on Islamic culture and literature
5. To reveal what Islam says about knowledge and learning
6. To enhance habit of reading among people in accordance with Islamic outlook
7. To focus on the Islamic axiom that Final Judgement will be established on the basis of knowledge and understanding

Importance of Reading

One of the important means to obtain knowledge is reading. Reading helps one to be benefitted by the experiences of other scholars, earlier or later. It is so vital that an earnest learner can scarcely evade it. Like food and drink, it is also a fundamental need. Man can never advance without reading, because reading enlightens hearts and spurs on straightforward thinking. Reading is not only a skill, but an art also. It requires concentration and focus. Some people devote a lot of time to reading, yet despite that they gain very little as they rush.[4]

Concept of Reading Habit

Habits are the amalgamation of small decisions and activities of daily life. Researchers at Duke University opine that habits account for about 40 percent of our behaviors on any given day. Habits measure the degree of one's success, happiness and even fitness.[5] Reading is a habit of compounding growth. Learn more and you'll generate ideas and enthusiasm for making other changes.[6] Reading habit is the art of personal investigation and self-study. It should be followed by self-thinking and analysis, and only this kind of self-study on one's own accord, can develop into good reading habit.[7]

The number and quality of books and the number of persons having reading-habit bench mark the progress and civilization of a nation. One's learning cannot be judged by one's formal education. A really learned person is one who is engaged in meaningful reading and research.[8] There are lots of persons having higher diplomas and degrees, but learned scholars and researchers are seldom found. After completing their formal education, most of the students keep the books aside and become engaged in other activities of life.

One of the best tools for training is a book. A good book always has a casts a healthy impact on a reader's mind and elevates his spirit and thoughts. His stock of knowledge is increased by it. Books help in correcting moral ineptitude.[9] Books are mediums of knowledge, and wisdom, and bring forth creative minds. Reading of books influences a reader more than any other source of obtaining knowledge. Sometimes, reading brings about a revolutionary change in the outlook of a person.[10] being the best pastime, habit of reading is able to keep a person busy even in his spare time. Persons having reading-habit can make the best use of their leisure time. Thus they keep themselves away from the stresses and strains of everyday life. A good book, for a reader, is better than visiting the best of gardens and scenic places.[11] Luqman, the Prophet, told his son,

'Spare some time in the day and night for reading and acquiring knowledge. If you stop reading, your knowledge will dissipate.'[12]

The Definition of Islam

Lexically, the word Islam is the verbal noun of the verb which means, "He resigned, or submitted, himself."[13] Islam, therefore, is the act of submitting oneself to Allaha. Accordingly, a "Muslim" is one who surrenders to Allaha. It is true that the word Islam and the Arabic word for peace (salaam) both come from the same root.[14] Indeed, there is a close connection between the two.[15] True peace comes only from Islam. Islam brings about a complete tranquility and peace of mind that is the result of realizing that one is believing and acting in accord with the guidance of one's Creator.[16] This internal peace can then spread to the family, the community, the society and the world as a whole.[17] The proper belief in Allah is the only source of this special tranquility. Allah says, "[This Qur'an] wherewith Allah guides all those who seek His Good Pleasure to ways of peace, and He brings them out of darkness by His Will unto light and guides them to a Straight Way" (5:16).[18] The followers of this path will causes the abode of peace as the ultimate reward. "For them will be the home of peace (Paradise) with their Lord" (6:127).[19] To sum up, Islam does not mean peace only, rather it is the sole source of true peace.

The Qur'an

While introducing educational curriculum, in the Qur'an lays emphasis on its on teaching -techniques to instruct its followers. Mainly, education curriculum in the Qur'an calls for teaching the person as a whole, connecting all aspects of life as the social, intellectual, and spiritual.[20] The Qur'an is also "transliterated as Qur'an, Koran, Al-Coran, Coran, Kuran, and Al-Qur'an, all referring to the same book but with differing pronunciations" (Donner, 1998, p. 173).[21] This paper uses the form "The Qur'an."

Through the angel Gabriel, the Qur'an was revealed by Allah to the prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him). "Allah," an Arabic word, signifies the one and only God. The Qur'an asserts that Allah is the same God of Ibrahim, Moses, Jesus, and all other prophets. Hence 'Allah' in this treatise refers to the God of all religions and people. The word Allah, the Supreme Divinity, cannot be changed into plural. Muslim throughout the world irrespective of their languages use the word Allah.

Allah reveals the Qur'an not only for Arabs, but for all people also. This is evident in: "O ye children of Adam! Whenever there come to you apostles from amongst you, rehearsing My signs unto you those who are righteous and mend (their lives) on them shall be no fear nor shall they grieve" (7:35). People all over the world are addressed in the Qur'an as the children of Adam. Allah never addresses the people of the Arabian Peninsula only.

The Qur'an is an Arabic term that means continuous reading.[22] "The revelation thus involves a recitation or something to be recited; and this indeed is the meaning of the original Aramaic word Qur'an, which came to signify the revelation in its totality as well as single parts of it" (Gatje, 1996, p. 5).[23] Allah advises the followers of the Qur'an to recite the Qur'anic verses: "And recite the Qur'an in slow, measured rhythmic tones" (73.4). This is why the muslim, from the time of the prophet to now, read parts of the Qur'an everyday. Moreover, performance of prayer five times a day is mandatory to every muslim and it is compulsory to recite a few verses of the Qur'an from memory during these prayers. Hence, to memorize parts of the Qur'an is a universal practice of the muslims besides, due to its rhythmic style, memorization of the Qur'an is easier than that of most other books.

According to the Muslims, the current Arabic edition of the Qur'an bears Allah's exact words as were first revealed. Allah protects the Qur'an from any changes, as stated in the verse "We who have sent down the dhikr, the Qur'an, and We will guard the Qur'an" (12:2). The Qur'an has 30 juz' (parts), 114 surahs (chapters), in it arranged systematically from longest to the shortest with an exception for the first surah named 'Al-Fatiha,' the opening. It is an introduction summarizing the main themes of the Qur'an in seven verses (Khaled, 2005).[24] Allah Himself

decided the order of verses and surahs of the Qur'an. The Prophet or his companions have no role regarding this matter. The same order is followed in case of memorization.

Educational Tenets of Islam

There is ample emphasis on education in Islam. A verse of The Glorious Qur'an proves the fact: "IQRA BISMI RABBIKAL LAZI KHALAQ"(96:1). It is quite enough to understand the importance of education in Islam. The verse begins with the word "IQRA" which in Arabic means "Read". It is a command which implies 'learning' 'exploring' and 'seeking enlightenment'.

The Qur'an emphasizes the importance of reading, reflecting and investigating, which are like divine commandments to all muslims.

Read: In the name of thy Lord Who createth,
       Createth man from a clot.
Read: And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous,
       Who teacheth by the pen,
       Teacheth man that which he knew not.
       (Source: Al-Quran 96:1-5, Surah-Al-Alaq)

Conclusion

Education is a lifelong process. Islam has advised its followers to pursue the path of learning till their last breath. Reading is one of the vital activities in human life and plays a pivotal role. A human being acquires knowledge as well as updates the existing knowledge through proper reading. The treasure house of knowledge is opened by the sincere habit of reading. Lastly, reading is such an instrument by which one can enhance one's knowledge and gain novel ideas. It is a key which unlocks the blockage of one's mind and enrich oneself.

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Classification of 'Dhvani'-
According to Kavikarnapura
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Gaudiya Vaishnavism (also known as Chaitanya Vaishnavism) is a Vaishnava religious movement founded by Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu (1486-1534) in India in the 16th century. Chaitanya Mahaprabhu rejuvenated the culture of Krishna bhakti. Gaudiya refers to the Gauda region (present day West Bengal & Bangladesh) and Vaishnavism means "the worship of Vishnu". Its philosophical basis is primarily Bhagavatapurana.

The focus of Gaudiya Vaishnavism is the devotional worship (bhakti yoga) of Radha and Krishna, and their many divine incarnations as the supreme forms of God- Svayam Bhagavan. Chaitanya Mahaprabhu requested a select few among his followers, who later came to be known as the six Gosvamins of Vrindavana to systematically present the eternal theology of Bhakti in their writings. The six are Rupagosvamin, Sanatanagosvamin, Gopalabhatta Gosvamin, Raghunatha Bhatta Gosvamin, Raghunatha Das Gosvamin and Jivagosvamin. In the second generation of the tradition Narottama, Srinivasa and Shyamananda, three students of Jivagosvamin were instrumental in spreading the theology across Bengal and Orissa. Rupagosvamin wrote three books on Vaishnava Sanskrit Poetics: Ujjvalanilamani, Bhaktirasamritasindhu and Natakachandrika.

Kavikarnapura, a great Vaishnava poet was born at Kanchrapara in Nadia district of West Bengal in the year 1524. He was the son of Sivananda Sen, a pupil of Mahaprabhu

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Shrichaitanya. Karnapura was a pupil of Shrinath Acharya. The word Karnapura is not a proper name, but only a title said by Chaitanya. In other places his name is indicated as Paramanandadasa or Puridasa. In front of Chaitanya he uttered a sloka in Arya metre and Chaitanya was very much pleased and said that you are ear ornament of poets or Kavikarnapura.

He wrote 11 books-
1. Chaitanyacharitamrita, 2. Chaitanyachandrodaya,
3. Gauraganoddeshadipika, 4. Anandavrindavanachampu,
5. Krishnahnikakaumudi, 6. Camatkaracandrika,
7. Varnaprakasha, 8. Brihadganoddeshadipika,
9. Aryashtaka, 10. Mritamohakavya and
11. Alamkarakaustubha.

Alamkarakaustubha is a great work of Kavikarnapura in the field of Vaishnava Sanskrit Poetics. The work deals with in ten kiranas all the important topics of Sanskrit poetics except dramaturgy. The ten kiranas are- 1. Kavya-samagri, 2. Shabdartha, 3. Dhvani, 4. Gunibhutavyangya, 5. Rasa, 6. Gunas, 7. Shabdalamkaras, 8. Arthalamkaras, 9. Riti and 10. Dosha.

The 3rd kirana of Alamkarakaustubha is devoted to the concept and classification of Dhvani. Karnapura defines Dhvani as follows-

"ṡabdArthAdibhiranyaiṡca dhvanyate asAviti DhvaniH".[1]

Dhvani is a kind of poetry where the word and conventional meaning suggest the intended or implied meaning. In fact, Karnapura is only reiterating the view-points originated by Anandavardhana and elaborated by Abhinavagupta.

There are two main divisions of Dhvani- Avivakshitavachya and Vivakshitanyaparavachya. Kavikarnapura says-

"ubhayorabhidhAmUlalakSaNAmUlayostayo
avivakshitavacyoånyastatra vAcyaM dvidhA bhavet".[2]

1. Alamkarakaustubhah (R. Nagar, Ed.) P. 65
2. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 66

Avivakshitavacya is based on lakshana and is also called Lakshanamula. Vivakshitanyaparavachya is related with the primary sense. Hence it is called as Abhidhamula. The two designations point to the characteristic features of these Dhvanis. In the first variety, the expressed idea is not intended to be accepted as such and in second it is certainly taken into account and ultimately leads to the manifestation of suggested sense. Avivakshitavachya Dhvani is again divided into two: Arthantarasamkramitavachya and Atyantatiraskritavachya. According to the author-

"arthAntaropasaMkrAntamatyantaM vA tiraskRtam".[3]

The second type known as Vivakshitanyaparavachya based on abidha has first two main subdivisions according to the perceptibility or otherwise of the sequence existing between the comprehension of the expressed and that of unexpressed. The author says that-

" ………………… sa ca dvaividhyamRcchati

koåpi lakShyakramavyaṡgyoålakSyavyaṡgyakramoåparaH".[4]

It is termed as Asamlakshyakramavyangya when the sequence between the cognition of the expressed and suggested meaning is imperceptible. Samlakshyakramavyangya is when the sequence existing between the cognition of direct and suggested meaning is clearly perceptible. Rasa, Bhava, Tadabhasa etc belong to the category of Asamlakshyakramavyangya because the readers are deeply absorbed in the relish of rasa that they don't notice the process-

"raso bhAvastadAbhAsau bhAvaṡantyAdirakramaH".[5]

Samlakshyakramavyangya Dhvani is divided first into three main varieties as it depends upon formal suggestiveness or Shabdashaktimula, material suggestiveness or Arthashaktimula and on both or Ubhayashaktimula. Kavikarnapura says-

" sa tu lakShyakramavyaṡgyaHṡabdaṡaktibhUrarthaṡaktibhUH ṡabdArthobhayaṡaktibhUṡceti tridhA".[6]

In Shabdashaktimula the suggested sense arises from words, in Arthashaktimula the suggested sense arises from the force of expressed meaning and in Ubhayashaktimula from the force of both words and sense units. Shabdashaktimula Dhvani is further divided into two types - Vastudyotaka and Alamkaradyotaka. When the suggested sense is a fact then it is Vastudyotaka. And when the suggested sense is an alamkara, then it is Alamkaradyotaka. According to the author-

"adyo dvidhaivAlaMkAravastunordyotanAdbhavet".[7]

Arthashaktimula Dhvani is further divided into three types-Svatasambhavi, Kaviprauroktinishpanna and Tannivaddhavaktripraurinishpannasharira-

"svayamudbhavI kaveH prauDoktiniSpanno vaktustatkalpitasya ca".[8]

Where the suggested sense is very regular and one can understand it very easily, it is called Svatasambhavi. The opposite form of Svatasambhavi is Kaviprauroktinishpanna. Where the suggested sense arises from the characters created by the poet, is called Tannivaddhavaktripraurinishpannasharira. In these varieties of Dhvani the suggestive matter may take the form either of Vastu (matter or fact) or of an Alamkara. The suggested thing also may in its turn be either a vastu or an alamkara. Thus Arthashaktimula Dhvani is divided into twelve categories. Kavikarnapura says-

"vastunA vastvalaMkArAvalaMkAreNa teSu cet

Vyajyete apyalaMkAravastunI dvAdaṡApi tat".[9]

In this way there are 18 varieties of Dhvani. Avivakshitavacya-2, Shabdashaktimula-2, Arthashaktimula-12, Ubhayashaktimula-1 and Asamlakshyakramavyangya-1. We can find these 18 varieties in sentence-

"vAkyeåSTAda?adhA tvime".[10]

We cant find Ubhayashaktimula Dhvani in word. Hence

3. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 66
4. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 69
5. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 70
6. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 71

7. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 73
8. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 73
9. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 74
10. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 81

there are 17 varieties of Dhvani which belong to a word-

"pade saptadaṡApare".[11]

varieties of Arthashaktimula Dhvani belong to a composition-
"pravandheåpyarthaṡaktibhUH".[12]

Rasadhvani has four varieties- Padamsagata, Varnagata, Rachanagata and Prabandhagata. This gives 51 varieties of Dhvani which are called suddha or unmixed Dhvani-

" bhedAstenaikapaṡcAṡat".[13]

If the Dhvanis are mutually mixed, then the number goes to (51x51) 2601. According to the author-

"tena candravyomartupakSasaMkhyakAH".[14]

This can be multiplied with three types of Sankara and one type of Samsrishti. So the number of Dhvani goes to (2601x4) 10404-

"saMkareNa trirUpeNa saMsRSTyA caikarUpayA

caturguNe kRte vedakhavedakakubhaH smRtAH".[15]

If one works out the possible varieties of Dhvani unmixed and mutually mixed, then the number goes to (51+10404) 10455-

"ṡuddhabhedairyutAste syuH ṡareSuyugakhendavaH".[16]

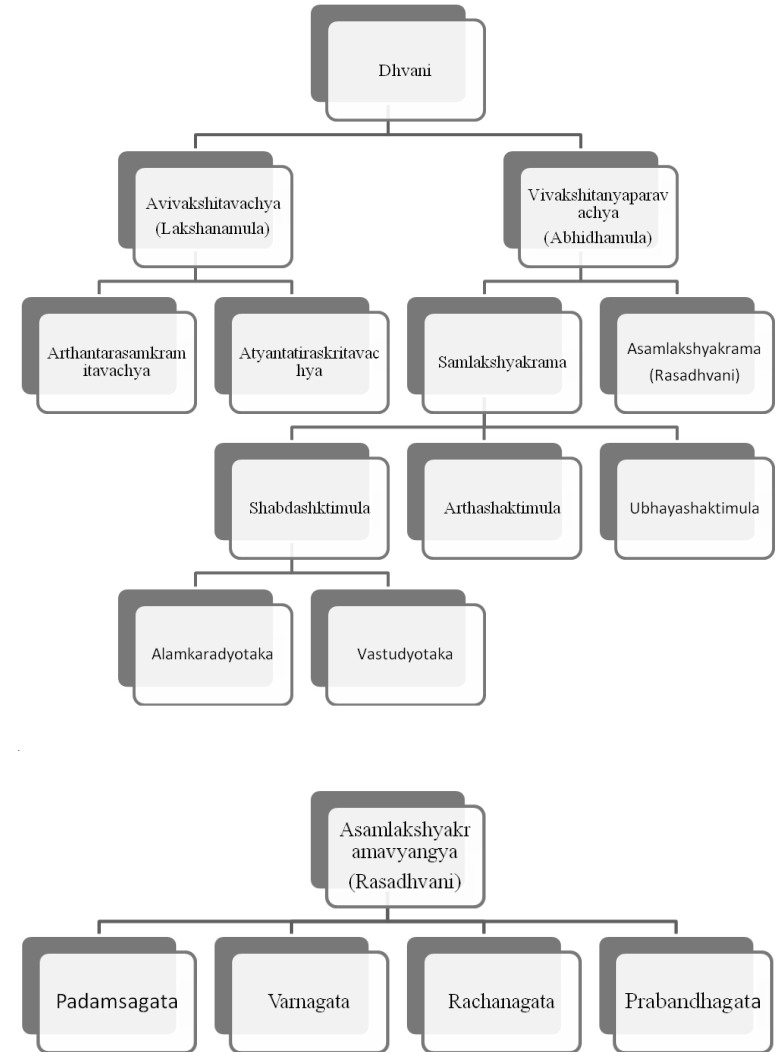
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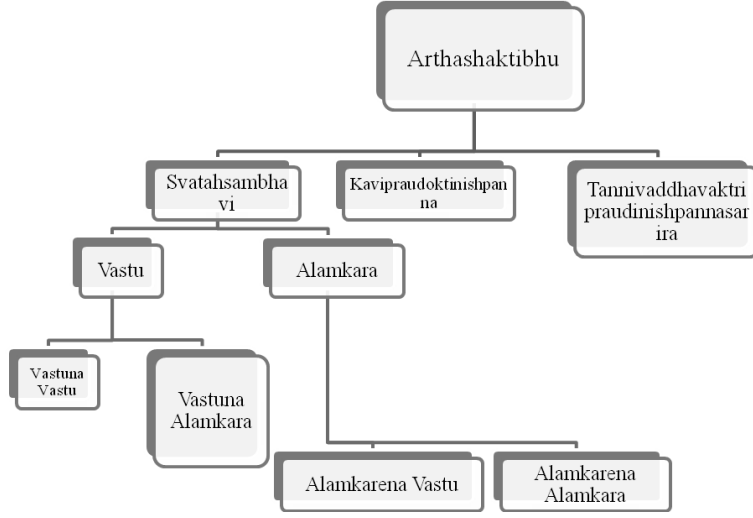12. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 86
13. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 89
14. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 97
15. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 97
16. Alamkarakaustubhah P. 97

CHARTS

Kavipraduroktinishpanna and Tannivaddhabaktripra-udinishpannasharira have same varieties as Svatasambhavi. Then Arthashaktibhu Dhvani has 12 varieties.

Lakshanamula-2+ Samlakshyakramavyangya-15 (Shabdashaktibhu-2+Arthashaktibhu-12+ Ubhayashaktibhu-1)+ Asamlakshyakramavyangya -1=18.

We can find these 18 varieties in sentence.

Vakyagata-18 + Padagata-17 + Prabandhagata-12 + Rasadhvani-4 =51

If the Dhvanis are mutually mixed, then the number goes to (51x51) = 2601.

This can be multiplied with three types of Sankara and one type of Samsrishti. So the number of Dhvani goes to (2601x4)=10404.

Unmixed-51+ mutually mixed-10404= 10455.

Notes : a-अ, A–आ, å-लुप्त–अकारः, i-इ, I-ई, u-उ, U-ऊ, n-न् , N-ण्, ñ-ञ्, s-स्,

S-ष्, ś-श्, r-र्, R-ऋ, t-त्, T-ट्, th-थ्, Th-ठ, d-द्, D-ड, dh-ध्, Dh−ढ, m-म्, M-

अनुस्वारः, ṃ-ङ्, h-ह्, H-विसर्गः ।

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Nehru-Subhas Controversy
The evolving relationship between Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, 1921-1940

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Introduction:

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, two prominent leaders of modern India, who played a very crucial role in India's Struggle for independence. Both of them were charismatic stalwarts of the Indian National Congress and joined the Indian National Movement at a crucial juncture under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. A common ideological route was found among them. Both saw themselves as socialist. Both championing the same cause within the national movement, i.e., without the participation of workers and peasants in this movement would not be fruitful. Both saw India's nationalist movement as a part of the global struggle against imperialism. However, with times their relationships were going towards a different direction. The assertive nationalism of Subhas often contrasted with Jawaharlal. On the other hand, the diluted personality of Jawaharlal was not preferred by Subhas. Their disagreement grew from their different viewpoints about the process of national movement, about Gandhi, and understanding fascism. Therefore, the relationship between these two great personalities became very attractive in historiographical trends. In this paper, we can try to discuss the various composition of their relationship.

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Formative Years of Friendship:

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose met for the first time in Calcutta in September 1921, during the special session of the Indian National Congress. Though this meeting was not so memorable because that meeting neither recalled in their memories. In the Indian Struggle, Subhas did not say anything about the meeting, but only said, 'And in 1921, Nehru Junior (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) was not so well known or experienced that he could have replaced his father.' On the other hand in his autobiography, Jawaharlal also made no comments in this meeting. The reason might be at that time both of them were newcomers in the Congress and there was not much scope or need for any personal meeting between them. After that Jawaharlal and Subhas, both involved in the Non-Cooperation Movement in Allahabad and Calcutta respectively and both got imprisonment. But when in 1922 the Non-Cooperation Movement was suspended on account of the Chauri-Chaura incident, both Jawaharlal and Subhas became very agitated with the decision of Gandhi. Jawaharlal Nehru in his Autobiography said Gandhi's abrupt and unilateral decision to suspend the movement after Chauri-Chaura was deeply resented by all the prominent Congress leaders and naturally even more by the younger people. In Indian Struggle, Subhas also expressed his disagreement with this decision of Mahatma. After the movement was suspended both of them became involved in the municipal politics in their province. So, during the time period between 1921-1927, there was not much scope for their meeting.

In the meanwhile, the health condition of Kamala, the wife of Jawaharlal became alarming and both of them sailed for Europe for treatment in 1926. In Europe, the understanding and ideology of Jawaharlal had undergone a radical transformation. In his Autobiography, he said, 'My outlook was wider and nationalism by itself seemed to me definitely a narrow and insufficient creed. Political freedom, independence, were no doubt essential, but they were steps in the right direction, without social freedom and socialistic structure and the state

neither the country, not the individual could develop much.' This ideological transition had an impact on the Indian political scenario when he came back from Europe in 1927.

Towards the end of December 1927, the annual session of the Indian National Congress was held at Madras. In meanwhile one important development occurred in Congress, i.e., the left-wing within the Congress became powerful and they demanded more radical and extremist ideology like Purna Swaraj instead of Dominion Status. Jawaharlal and Subhas became two important leaders of this group. With their influence in Madras Congress, along with many other resolutions, the resolution declaring the goal of the Indian people to be complete independence was also passed. According to Subhas this resolution regarding complete independence was a logical fulfilment of a process going within the Congress for a long time. All-important leaders of left wings like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Shuaib Qureshi were incorporated as General Secretaries of Congress for the coming years. So, we can say that in Madras Congress the left wings of the Congress became victorious. But Jawaharlal was suspicious that Gandhi didn't approve the resolution. That happened also, in Young India on 5 March 1928, Gandhi condemned the resolution and commented that this resolution was hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed. Jawaharlal was not at all happy with this reaction of Gandhi. Some sharp exchange of letters between them proved that both were unhappy with the other's attitude in this matter. But in that time Jawaharlal had no match with Gandhi by which he can think of going alone without the help of Gandhi. On the other hand, he also needed the help of Gandhi to set his footholds in Congress. So, he at last surrendered to Gandhi and said, 'Even in the wider sphere am I not your child in politics, though perhaps a truant and errant child?' After that Jawaharlal became reluctant in the proceedings of Nehru reports. However, Subhas was not as disheartened as Jawaharlal and attended the Congress proceedings of Nehru Reports with spirit. In these proceedings both Jawaharlal and Subhas were not in favour of Dominion Status and pressed for complete independence. But as these left-

wingers belongs to the minority group their opposition didn't work. At this time both of them had a common agreement that the new constitution should aim to set up a democratic, socialist republic. Both were also against the reservation of seats in Bengal and Punjab, because according to them if we take the demographic information into consideration in both provinces Muslims became the majority without reservation. But their ideas were not incorporated into the Nehru Report, so in the All-Party Conference in Lahore, they protested against this and established The Independent for India League to propagate the idea of complete independence.

Gandhi was aware of these developments within the Congress. Therefore, in Calcutta Congress in December 1928, under the presidency of Motilal Nehru, Gandhi moved a resolution that if the colonial government would not adopt the Nehru Constitution and the demand of Dominion Status by 31 December 1930 (later the time period was reduced to 31 December 1929) then all congressman organised Non-cooperation movement for complete independence. It was evident that Gandhi moved this kind of resolution to make the younger generation happy within Congress. But Subhas and Jawaharlal opposed this resolution and moved some amendments to this, but those amendments was lost by 973 votes to 1350. According to Subhas 'the votes could hardly be called a free one, as the followers of Mahatma made it a question of confidence.' Above all the Calcutta Congress brought Jawaharlal and Subhas very close to each other.

Another important thing to be noticed is that throughout 1928 and 1929, both Jawaharlal and Subhas were involved with youth and workers movements. Jawaharlal participated in the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference in Poona where he spoke to the students about the relationship between imperialism and capitalism. He also presided over the Socialist Youth Congress in December 1928, where he called for independence as necessary preliminary to communistic society. The first All Bengal Conference of Students was also presided over by him. In the middle of December, he also attended the annual session of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) and in 1929

he became the president of AITUC. Subhas was also involved in such movements. He also attended the All-India Youth Congress and many provincial youth conferences. In Indian Struggle, he submitted that he and Jawaharlal were among the few public men who encouraged and organised the students in that time. His involvement in the workers' movements was proved by his involvement in three big industrial strikes of that time, the strike of railway workers in Liluah, the strike of Jute workers in Calcutta and the strike in Tata Iron and Steel Corporation in Jamshedpur. Both of them also showed their sympathy to the accused persons in Meerut Conspiracy Case. All these things provide a clear picture of their intellectual bonding at that time.

In August 1929, a special meeting of AICC was called to decide the next Congress president. Here ten provincial Congress committees voted for Gandhi, five for Patel and three for Jawaharlal. But Gandhi wanted Jawaharlal as Congress president and decided to back the candidature of Jawaharlal. Jawaharlal's nomination as Congress president caused some tension within the friendship of Jawaharlal and Subhas. According to Subhas, this nomination was a diplomatic decision of Mahatma. After the Calcutta Congress, he divided the opposition by winning over some of the left-wing leaders. One can easily understand that this was referred to Jawaharlal. He also opined that 'For the Congress left-wing it (Jawaharlal's nomination as Congress president) proved to be unfortunate because that event marked the beginning of political rapprochement between the Mahatma and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and a consequent alienation between the later and the Congress left-wing.' Ramchandra Guha also submitted that 'the decision to make Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress president in the hope that responsibility will mellow and sober the youth and prepare them for the burden they must discharge.' So Gandhi wanted to suppress the radical socialist mentality of Jawaharlal by giving him big responsibility of Congress presidency.

But Jawaharlal had been unwilling all along to be president. In a letter to Gandhi in July, he said, 'I am very nervous about the matter and don't like the idea at all'. He continued, 'My personal inclination always is not to be shocked down to any office…. If I have misfortune to be president you will see that the very people who put me there, or many of them will be prepared to cast me to the wolves.' However, the wish of Mahatma and Motilal prevailed and Jawaharlal was nominated for the presidency of Lahore Congress. Throughout the 1929, no assurance had come from the colonial government that congress's demand of Dominion Status would be accepted soon. So, in November 1929 at Delhi, an All-Parties Conference was met. Here a draft was made known as the Delhi Manifesto, which appreciated the efforts of the colonial government to evolve a scheme of Dominion constitution suitable for India. At first, Jawaharlal was very much surprised because by this manifesto the signatories tried to rotate the clock back. Therefore, Jawaharlal along with Subhas didn't agree with this manifesto. But towards the end of the meeting, Mahatma prevailed upon Jawaharlal to sign the manifesto on the ground that as upcoming Congress president if he didn't sign the manifesto, then it would lose much of its value. After that Subhas became alone in opposing the manifesto and said, 'Jawaharlal has now given up independence at the instance of Mahatma.' To protest against this he also sent his resignation from the working committee. But this manifesto didn't work for long because when in December Mahatma and Jawaharlal met Lord Irwin, he expressed his inability to grant Dominion Status to India. Therefore, in Lahore Congress, Mahatma had no other option but to adopt the creed of Purna Swaraj, which he denied time and again from 1927.

In Lahore Congress, Jawaharlal gave a momentous presidential address. Here he once again attacked the concept of Dominion Status and talked about complete independence. Here he frankly confessed that he was a socialist and a republican. He also attacked Gandhi's pet 'trusteeship' solution for zamindar-peasant and capital-labour conflicts. But though in his speech there was clearly a socialist tone but he gave much emphasis to the idea of independence than radical socio-economic changes. But

Subhas's experience in Lahore Congress was not a good one. According to him though Jawaharlal was the president the Congress was dominated by Gandhi. Many decisions in this Congress were not preferred by Subhas. So, he put forward an amendment before the subject committee for immediate non-payment of taxes and parallel government in the country. He said, 'how we can reach our goal except by setting up a parallel government based on the goodwill of the people.' But his amendments were defeated. Therefore, although Congress accepted complete independence as its goal, no plan was made to achieve this goal. Subhas was also not in favour of the other resolution which condemned the bomb attack on the viceroy and congratulated him on his escape. But the difference between Calcutta Congress and Lahore Congress was that in Calcutta though Subhas's resolution was defeated he had the support of Jawaharlal, but in Lahore, as Congress president Jawaharlal remained silent. Therefore, their relationship was going in different directions.

But what happened after the Lahore Congress was more shocking. When the new working committee was announced for the coming years the name of two left-wing leaders Subhas and Srinivasa Iyengar was omitted from this committee. According to Subhas, as Jawaharlal Nehru the most prominent spokesman of the left-wing was won over by Mahatma, the others were excluded from the working committee. After this event Subhas openly criticised Jawaharlal. He said, '......... Mahatmaji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are now of one mind and there is no incompatibility of temper between them……. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has now more in common with his erstwhile friends of Dominion Status school than his erstwhile colleagues of the Independent League.'

Immediately after Subhas's return from Lahore Congress, he was arrested on his birthday on 23 January 1930. On the other hand, Jawaharlal was also involved in the Civil Disobedience Movement and was also arrested in April 1930. His father Motilal Nehru was also arrested but later released in September 1930 on account of his health condition. But his health condition didn't improve and at last on 6 February 1931 he passed away. The death of his father had a great impact on the life of Jawaharlal. In his autobiography, he admitted that 'My father's death had brought him (Gandhi) particularly near to me'. However as his relation with Gandhi became more generous, the gap within the friendship of Jawaharlal and Subhas became wider and wider. But what was more surprising was that Subhas, who in his Indian Struggle paid high regard for Motilal didn't pay any public statement or condolence on his death. The reason behind this is unknown to everyone. But when in March 1931 the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed and Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended, both Jawaharlal and Subhas were very much disappointed as they were after the suspension of the Non-cooperation movement. Both of them also agreed that if Motilal Nehru was alive then this blunder didn't happen. Jawaharlal recorded that '...... what might have happened if father had been there….' Subhas also submitted that if Motilal was there he could have influenced Mahatma for good. The execution of Bhagat Singh also had an impact on both Jawaharlal and Subhas. Both submitted strong sentiment against it. In the meantime, Gandhi returned from the Round Table Conference in London in let 1931 empty-handed and the second phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement was started. Then both Jawaharlal and Subhas were arrested. Jawaharlal was arrested in December 1931 and Subhas was arrested in January 1932. After they were released, Subhas went to Europe for treatment and Jawaharlal remained in India in and out of prison.

Friendship in Europe:

In June 1935, when Jawaharlal was imprisoned in India, his wife Kamala needed to go to Europe for treatment of tuberculosis. Bose, who had been exiled to Europe by the British, unsurprisingly took charge by accompanying her from Vienna to Prague where she was to receive initial medical care. But as Kamala's health condition didn't improve, the British permitted Jawaharlal to join her. Bose messaged Nehru on 4 October 1935: 'If I can be of any service in your present trouble, I hope you

will not hesitate to send for me.' At the end of February 1936, When Kamala breathed his last, Subhas was with Jawaharlal. He also helped Jawaharlal in making funeral arrangements. This association between them had a good impact on their friendship. Therefore, when Nehru left for India to preside over the Lucknow session of the All-India Congress Committee in 1936. Bose, still in Europe, wrote to Nehru to underscore: 'Among the front-rank leaders of today - you are the only one whom we can look up to for leading the Congress in a progressive direction.'

When Jawaharlal and Subhas were in Europe their ideology was evolving in a new direction. Therefore, the political developments of Europe basically fascism and communism had also influenced their ideological orientation and personal relationship. Before going to Europe Jawaharlal had already shown tremendous dislike about fascism. He said, 'I dislike fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost.' On the other hand, he was drawn to the economic development of the Soviet Union, but at the same time, he was sceptical about the method and approaches used by communists and the Soviet Union. However, Subhas in his Indian Struggle described the assessment of Jawaharlal about fascism and communism fundamentally wrong. Subhas believed that 'the next phase in world history will produce a synthesis between communism and fascism.' He submitted that Mussolini was a far better administrator than the democratic government in post-war Italy. He was also affected by the agenda of planning and development of the Soviet Union. But with time his views were altering. Therefore, in an interview given to R. P. Dutta in 1938, Subhas said when he wrote Indian Struggle, 'Fascism had not started on its imperial expedition, and I thought it was an aggressive form of nationalism.' About 'synthesis between communism and fascism' he said, what I mean was that 'we in India wanted our national freedom, and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of socialism'. So, we can say that he was in a state of intellectual transaction

112

which also shaped the relationship between the two great personalities.

Disagreement in Friendship

In 1936 Jawaharlal became the Congress president. But after the election of Jawaharlal as Congress president he also faced various difficulties in working committee to promote his program, where most of the members belonged to the right-wing. In this time, he also felt the absence of Subhas in the working committee. In July 1936 in the meeting of AICC, disputes broke out in the question of Congress's commitment towards socialism and Jawaharlal submitted his resignation. But after the meeting with Gandhi, he withdrew his resignation. Subhas also said about this dilemma of Jawaharlal: 'His (Jawaharlal) head pulls one way and his heart in another direction. His heart is with Gandhi.' He also got the prize for it. He was re-elected as Congress president for the Faizpur Congress in 1937.

In 1938 Gandhi put forward the name of Subhas for Congress president in Haripura. It is very surprising that Gandhi put forward the name of Subhas, which Subhas was not at all inspired by his ideology and in the past criticised various activities of him in various matters. Though Gandhi at first wanted veteran Andhra leader Pattabhi Sitaramayya as president, the mood among delegates decidedly favoured Subhas Bose, who appealed to the youth and the left-wing of Congress. Therefore, Gandhi who earlier told Patel that 'Subhas is not at all dependable', changed his mind and endorsed Subhas. When Jawaharlal was the president of Congress, most of the time Subhas was away in Europe or imprisoned, and when Subhas became the president in Haripura Congress this time Jawaharlal was away in Europe. But when Jawaharlal came back from Europe, Subhas wrote to him, '.......You can't imagine how I have missed you all these months.'. Subhas actually missed the company of Jawaharlal because soon after the return of Jawaharlal from Europe he was invited to be the president of the National Planning Committee. Subhas also said that 'You must if it is to be a success. Jawaharlal also accepted this proposal. As

113

Congress president Subhas met Muslim League leader; Jinnah in October 1938 for an amicable settlement of communal disputes in India. But the dialogue was not fruitful. Jinnah's point of view, regarding the Muslim League representing all Muslim community, was not acceptable to Congress as Congress was a secular party. Jawaharlal also wanted this Hindu-Muslim unity and contact Jinnah in 1938 December for communal settlement. Both Jawaharlal and Bose believed that Hindu-Muslim unity was not only vital but necessary for the anti-colonial struggle. However, Jawaharlal also faced the same intransigence of Jinnah as Subhas faced.

But various activities of Subhas as Congress president were not liked by the Congress high command. So, disputes broke out between Subhas and the old guard of Congress, in the question of socialism, uncompromising anticolonialism, radical socio-economic developments, federation, states people's movement, ministry formation in Bengal etc. Therefore, in the Tripuri Congress, Gandhi didn't want Subhas as Congress president, his first choice was Abul Kalam Azad. But Azad didn't want to contest. After Azad's withdrawal, Gandhi put forward the name of Jawaharlal, but Jawaharlal had no desire to be president again. So, at last Pattabhi Sitaramayya was nominated by Gandhi for the presidential election. On the other hand, Subhas in a press statement on 21 January 1939 made it clear that he would not withdraw his nomination as Congress president and said, '........as in other free countries the presidential election in India should be fought on the basis of definite problems and programmes so that the contest may help the clarification of issues.' This statement made it clear that in this upcoming presidential election Gandhi faced a direct challenge for the first time from Subhas. This became a matter of prestige for both of them. In this matter, Jawaharlal believed that Subhas should not stand for re-election, because according to him by holding presidential office his capacity for effective work would be lessened. But Subhas contested the presidential election and defeated Sitaramayya to 1580/ 1375 votes. Gandhi took this defeat personally and said 'his (Sitaramayya's) defeat is more

mine than him'. In a backhanded compliment, he also said, 'Afterall Subhas Babu is not an enemy of his country'. By this statement, Gandhi and the old guard of Congress made it clear that they couldn't work with Bose. Therefore, on 22 February twelve right-wing members from a committee of fifteen resigned. Jawaharlal's reaction to this resignation was very ambiguous. He neither joined those who resigned from the CWC nor joined Subhas. But sometime later he resigned on his own and gave justifications for his stand by saying that when twelve members had resigned from a committee of fifteen, there was not many committees left; the rump could hardly function as such. According to Tomlinson, Nehru's vague and unrealistic attitude to this whole affair lay not in any deep Machiavellian plot but rather in his temperamental unsuitability for, and instinctive shrinking from, the cut and thrust of power politics. The next tactic of Congress high command came in the name of the Panth Resolution on 7 March. By this resolution, the old guard submitted their confidence in Gandhi and requested the Congress president to nominate the working committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji. Therefore, we can say that this resolution was a sign of non-confidence towards Subhas. Jawaharlal also supported this because of his ultimate loyalty towards Gandhi. Therefore, Subhas tried his best for a compromise but failed and on 29 April submitted his resignation in the midst of a hostile situation.

In the meanwhile, some bitter letters were exchanged between Subhas and Jawaharlal. On 28 March he wrote to Nehru, 'I find that for some time past you have developed a tremendous dislike for me. I say this because I find that you take up enthusiastically every possible point against me; what could be said in my favour, you ignore.' In the Tripuri episode, Jawaharlal was only a silent spectator. But at the same time, his stand was ambiguous. Who is responsible for the deadlock in Congress? In answering this question, he said, the authoritarian tendencies of the Congress high command were responsible for this, but he added, the new leadership is far more authoritarian than any. To his nephew Subhas wrote on 17 April, 'Nobody has done more harm

to me personally, and to our cause in the crisis than Pandit Nehru. If he had been with us, he would have probably given us a majority. But he was with the old guard at Tripuri.' Jawaharlal sometimes though criticised various decisions of Gandhi, but later submitted his unconditional obedience to Gandhi. On the other hand, though Subhas respected Gandhi, he didn't submit his unconditional obedience to Gandhi. From the 1920s there were differences between them. But Jawaharlal knew very well that who was the sole spokesman of Congress? He was not so fool that he would part ways with Gandhi in hope of fragmented left-wing support. He knew very well that the alternative of Gandhi or right-wing was yet to emerge within Congress. According to C. R. Gopalachari, Jawaharlal's selfish motives were responsible for his diluted personality. According to Gopalachari 'Happy on the inside track, he (Nehru) allowed his only rival on the outer rails, to be pushed off the course.' We can divide the political career of Jawaharlal Nehru into two phases, i.e., before 1945 and after 1945. Earlier he was none other than like an obedient child of Gandhi. Though sometimes he had his observations, that was suppressed under Gandhian adherence. For this unconditional obedience, he was also rewarded by Mahatma in 1942, when he appointed Nehru as his successor.

However, it was not right to suggest that Jawaharlal was only responsible for the breakdown of the relationship between Jawaharlal and Subhas. At first, we have to remember that though on 28 March in a letter Subhas personally attacked Jawaharlal bitterly, Jawaharlal proceeded to rebut the points that Subhas raised in his letter with patience. He advised Subhas that an open confrontation with Gandhi was not desirable because by this stand the left alternative within Congress became ineffective. In Wardha Jawaharlal once again advised Subhas to compromise. On 17 April in a letter, Jawaharlal Requested Gandhi that, 'Subhas had numerous feelings but he is susceptible to a friendly approach. I am sure that if you make up your mind to do so, you could find a way out'. By this statement, Jawaharlal made it clear that not only Subhas but

also Gandhi was not doing enough to get rid of this problem. In this letter, he clearly expressed the view that Mahatma should accept Bose as president. In another letter on 20 April Jawaharlal told Gandhi, 'There are obvious differences between what Subhas says and what many others feel. But in actual practice, it is clear that there should be no basic change in our program and outlook.' All this letter made it clear that though Jawaharlal did not prefer many ideas of Subhas, he tried his best to resolve the deadlock within Congress. In the AICC meeting at Calcutta Jawaharlal also moved a motion calling upon Subhas to withdraw his resignation. And when the new working committee was formed under Rajendra Prasad Jawaharlal refused to serve in this committee.

After Subhas resigned from Congress president, he thought that there was a need for a united left front within Congress. Therefore, on 3 May 1939, Subhas started Forward Bloc, a forum within Congress. After the formation of Forward Bloc, the relationship between Jawaharlal and Subhas was deteriorating very first. Jawaharlal said he didn't approve it and didn't attach much importance to it. He continued Forward Bloc was nothing than 'a negative grouping, an anti-bloc, whose sole binding cement is dislike of or opposition to the individual or groups that control the Congress today.' And as it had an open-door policy, it is quite possible that the fascist and communal elements might also enter its folds. To counter this attack Subhas wrote, 'I would ask Panditji in the first place wherein he finds opportunism or fascism in the programme of Forward Bloc………………... I should rather label as opportunists those who would run with the hare and hunt with the hound- those who pose as leftist and act as rightist- those who talk in one way when they are inside the room and in quite different way when they are outside…' One can easily understand that this was a personal attack on Jawaharlal. Jawaharlal also gave a counter letter in reaction. At last, on 11 August 1939, the CWC removed Subhas from the chairmanship of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and any kind of post in Congress for three years in charge recusance. A new phase started in the life of

Subhas. Jawaharlal also became very busy in Congress activities. Therefore, their relationship was turned into a different direction.

Conclusion:

To conclude we can say that though Jawaharlal and Subhas had some differences in various matters but all that differences were more or less issue-based and political, not personal. And from the historical point of view, we can't judge this relationship in binary. Their relationship was sometime very cordial, something not so cordial, but they were ideological comrades-in-arms. Both had a common aim and that was to emancipate India from foreign domination. To emancipate India, both cherished the same kind of ideas in the let 1920s, but with time their understanding was evolving. Therefore, in the let 1930s, though both wanted India's freedom, their path was different. Both understand Indian politics differently from their different personalities. But these differences can't disrupt their permanent relationship. For this reason, many years later after the Tripuri episode, Jawaharlal confessed that he had let Subhas down because he had agreed with what Subhas had been trying to do. After Independence Jawaharlal also developed the idea of Subhas about planning and development and started the National Planning Commission. However, we have to give more priority to their ideas and works rather than their differences, because that had a farsighted impact on Indian politics, economy and society.

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