MOBILIZATION FOR BHOJPURI CULTURAL NATIONALISM: ITS SPECIFICITIES AND INSTRUMENTS

We have seen in the third chapter that Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs have devoted themselves to enlarge the solidarity resources of the community. They have created 'cultural capital' in the form of history of Bhojpuri language, literature and region. They have tried to standardize Bhojpuri language and have produced literature in verse and prose. Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs have also attempted to create a myth of distinct Bhojpuri national character. On the basis of their claims of distinct Bhojpuri identity, Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs have articulated some demands for the development of Bhojpuri language and preservation of culture. Now, we will discuss the demands of Bhojpuri movement, organisational structure of mobilization, leaders of Bhojpuri movement and role of Bhojpuri magazines.

1. Demands:

The major demands of the Bhojpuri language movement included:

(i) To open Bhojpuri Academies in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh;
(ii) Recognition of Bhojpuri by Sahitya Academy;
(iii) To include Bhojpuri in the eighth schedule of the Constitution;
(iv) Bihar and Uttar Pradesh governments should
include Bhojpuri as an optional subject in the provincial civil services examinations;

(v) Universities falling in the Bhojpuri region open departments of Bhojpuri and start its teaching at graduate and postgraduate levels;

(vi) To open a Bhojpuri university at Arrah which will protect the language, literature and culture of the region;

(vii) To provide primary education in Bhojpuri;

(viii) There should be a separate province of Bhojpuri speaking population.

In addition to these there are a number of minor demands too. These demands include that Radio Station at Patna should devote more time to Bhojpuri, and programmes in Bhojpuri should also be relayed from Ranchi, Bhagalpur, Gorakhpur and Arrah. A department of Bhojpuri should be opened at National Library, Calcutta.

These demands are voiced again and again from the platform of ABBSS and various other Bhojpuri associations.

It is significant to note that ABBSS and BA at Patna have refrained from asking for a separate state of Bhojpuri speaking population. Both of these organisations limit their efforts to the promotion of Bhojpuri language, literature and culture. At the annual meetings of ABBSS and BA resolutions are passed articulating the above mentioned demands. In the following paragraphs, we will discuss, each demand separately.
(i) To Open Bhojpuri Academies in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh

The demand to open a Bhojpuri Academy at Patna was first raised at second meeting of ABBSS, in May 1976. Bhojpuri Academy was opened at Patna in September 1976 as a non-Government body. On June 16, 1978 the Government of Bihar recognised it. The demand to open a Bhojpuri Academy in Uttar Pradesh was raised for the first time at fourth annual conference of ABBSS in December 1978. The then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh was also present in the conference. Written correspondence in this regard was done with Uttar Pradesh Government later but none of the leaders of Bhojpuri language movement could go to Lucknow to pursue the demand effectively. Bhojpuri Academy has not been opened in Uttar Pradesh even till today. In the meeting of ABBSS and other Bhojpuri associations the demand to open a Bhojpuri Academy is raised again and again.

(ii) Recognition of Bhojpuri by All India Sahitya Academy

The demand that Bhojpuri should be recognised as a language by Sahitya Academy was made in a forceful manner for the first time at 2nd annual conference of ABBSS. The proposal was sent to Sahitya Academy, Delhi. It also figured in the meeting of General Committee of Sahitya Academy. The proposal was opposed by scholars representing Hindi in the general committee and was turned down. It is significant to note that Dr Namwar Singh, a Bhojpuri speaking person, was a member of Sahitya Academy representing Hindi, when the proposal to include Bhojpuri
in the list of languages recognised by Sahitya Academy figured. He opposed the proposal fearing that it would not be in the interest of Hindi. Later on, in the eighth conference of ABBSS held at Amnor in Oct. 1982 was attended by Dr. Namwar Singh who admitted that his misconception about the nature of Bhojpuri movement was ill-founded. He said that recognition to Rajasthani by Sahitya Academy has not done any harm to Hindi. Similarly, recognition of Bhojpuri by Sahitya Academy shall not harm Hindi. This demand of Bhojpuri language movement remains unfulfilled so far. South Bihar Samaj Singhbhum, observed the Sahitya Academy Awards giving ceremony day as Blackday as a sign of protest.

At the second annual meeting of ABBSS, Kedar Pandey, Minister for Railways, had extended his 'unconditional support' for the cause of Bhojpuri. He had asked the leaders of Bhojpuri movement to come to Delhi. He promised them that he would go along with the office bearers of ABBSS to the members of Sahitya Academy and convince them to include Bhojpuri in the list of languages recognised by it. Kedar Pandey's closeness to power made the spokesmen of Bhojpuri movement somewhat hopeful but his sudden demise in March 1983 jeopardized the efforts of Bhojpuri scholars.

(iii) To Include Bhojpuri in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution:

The demand to include Bhojpuri in the eighth schedule of the constitution is a long standing one. This demand is raised from time to time in the various meetings of Bhojpuri Academy and ABBSS. The editorials of various
magazines published by Bhojpuri associations are replete with a sense of resentment as the demand remains unfulfilled. The leaders of Bhojpuri movement point with regret that politicians as well as different political parties have paid no attention to Bhojpuri.

In June 1971, Bhogendra Jha, Member of Parliament (C.P.I.), himself a Maithili speaker, had presented a bill in the Parliament demanding that Bhojpuri, Rajasthani and Maithili should be included, in the eighth schedule of the constitution. The bill was not passed.

A Bhojpuri leader says that there have been mainly two factors due to which Government has refrained from including Bhojpuri in the eighth schedule. Firstly, the fear that if Bhojpuri is included in the eighth schedule, the next step would be a demand for a separate Bhojpuri State. This impression is absolutely ill-founded.

Secondly, it is being held by Government that this step will not be in favour of our national language, i.e., Hindi. Both of these assumptions, he maintains, are wrong as leaders of Bhojpuri movement themselves do not favour a separate province for Bhojpuri speaking population and their efforts are strictly limited to develop the language. A supporter of Bhojpuri language movement said that the demand to include Bhojpuri in the eighth schedule was not raised in a forceful manner by Bhojpuri spokesmen because of the political implications of this demand.

The inclusion of Bhojpuri in the eight schedule of the constitution would have an impact on the entire future
The course of the movement. But as today this demand as many others, awaits its fulfillment.

(iv) To Include Bhojpuri as an Optional Subject in the Provincial Civil Services Exam. in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh

Leaders of Bhojpuri movements have requested Bihar and Uttar Pradesh Governments to include Bhojpuri as a subject in the provincial civil services examinations. In fact, the demand for including Bhojpuri as a subject in provincial civil services examination, to a large extent, is an outcome of Bihar government's decision to include Maithili as a subject in provincial services examination. The students who offer Maithili as an optional subject secure very high marks. This has made leaders of Bhojpuri movement aware of the instrumental value of Bhojpuri language. This aspect relates to the issue of employment. Commenting on this Rajmangal Mishra observed:

Now the issue of Bhojpuri is not a question pertaining to literature only. It has serious bearing for the future of students from Bhojpuri region. By including Maithili as a subject in Bihar provincial services examination has put Maithili students in an advantageous position. Our students can not secure so high marks in Hindi as is possible for Maithili in Maithili.

The appeals are made by Bhojpuri scholars to the Government to concede this demand. Government has not paid much heed to this demand and it has not been fulfilled.

(v) Teaching of Bhojpuri Language and Literature in the Universities Located in Bhojpuri Area

Then, there is the demand to start teaching Bhojpuri as a subject at Kashi Vidyapeeth, Banaras Hindu University.
Magadh, Gorakhpur Patna and Bhagalpur Universities have been raised from middle of 70s. Bihar University at Muzaffarpur and Patna University have started teaching of Bhojpuri at graduation level. The demand to start its teaching has been repeated at the annual meetings of ABBSS and BA. Many of Bhojpuri magazines and journals raised this demand in their editorials. The copies of resolution supporting this demand was once sent to the Vice-Chancellors of concerned universities. They were also approached personally and requested to start the teaching of Bhojpuri in their universities. The leaders of Bhojpuri movement are optimistic that this demand would be soon met.

(vi) Open a Bhojpuri University at Arrah

Bhojpuri Krantikari Morcha, a Bhojpuri organization at Arrah, raised the demand to open a Bhojpuri university at Arrah. A memorandum was given to Kedar Pandey, then Chief-Minister of Bihar, which included this demand. Some newspapers and magazines have been asking for long for a Bhojpuri university. This demand remains unfulfilled as yet.

(vii) Provision of Primary Education in Bhojpuri

While demanding for providing primary education to children in their mother-tongue Bhojpuri, leaders of Bhojpuri movement have argued that it is through Bhojpuri that children in this region perceive the surrounding world and through it the initial concept formation takes place. In the childhood it is through Bhojpuri that
culture is transmitted to them through grand parent's stories and tales. It is an irony that teaching Hindi to Bhojpuri speaking children is presumed to be teaching of mother-tongue. For the better development of childrens' personality and to encourage their expressive capacity, mother-tongue education is a must. Bhojpuri spokesmen argue that if primary education is provided in Bhojpuri in the Bhojpuri region, the learning process will be facilitated. And the educational use of Bhojpuri is likely to contribute to balanced development of Bhojpuri personality. Inspite of the frequent appeals of Bhojpuri journals and organisations this demand has not been conceded by the Government so far.

(viii) For a Bhojpuri State

The Statehood demand was first raised in a resolution of the first Bhojpuri Sammelan in March 1947. The resolution is like this:

The Sammelan believes that inhabitants of Bhojpuri region have had an old culture and style of its own. Due to their vested interests, Britishers divided Bhojpuri region into Bihar and United Province. This political arrangement is ridiculous. This is high time to bring the whole of Bhojpuri region into one province. This sammelan appeals to Legislative Assembly to grant statehood to Bhojpuri region. The sammelan also proposes to launch a movement to achieve this objective using peaceful and just means.

In December 1947 second Bhojpuri Sammelan was organised which was presided over by Rahul Sanskritiyayan. Presiding over the sammelan he demanded a separate province for Bhojpuri speaking population. In this presidential address he said:

It is ridiculous that we are divided between two provinces. We can not tolerate this injustice for
long. Now we are a free country....If we have a province of our own we can manage the things in whatever way we choose."

The demand voiced from Akhil Bhojpuri Sammelan did not lead to strong and continued follow-up action later on. At the initial stage of movement, people could not be mobilised on this issue. The Report of States Reorganisation Commission does not even mention about any such demand. When states were reorganised in 1956, primarily on the basis of language, the boundaries of Bihar and United Provinces were not altered. Since then spokesmen of Bhojpuri movement have concentrated on lesser demands, like the development of Bhojpuri language and culture. And they have refrained from making a demand for a separate state. The office holders of ABBSS and BA proclaim loudly from their platforms that they have no intentions for a Bhojpuri Province, and their is an absolutely pure literary and cultural movement for the development of Bhojpuri language and literature and preservation of culture. Still a few organisations, more militant in nature demand for a Bhojpuri state. A Bhojpuri newspaper (published twice a month) Tatka, of 'Krantikari Bhojpuri Morcha' at Arrah raised the demand for a Bhojpuri state very frequently. The editorial which appeared in Tatka repeatedly asked its readers: will you ever get your rights without fighting for the cause? It appealed people to launch a movement, bigger and stronger than Telangana movement, for Bhojpuri province. It expressed confidence that if Bhojpuri people organise under one banner and become militant within a week Government's attention will be focussed on Bhojpuri.
The paper many-a-times printed the map of proposed Bhojpur province which included Faizabad and Azamgarh also in its boundaries. Similarly 'Bhojpuri DeshQm' a political organisation at Varanasi aims at a separate political state for Bhojpuri speakers. The proposed province includes Varanasi, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Pratapgarh, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Ballia, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Deoria and Basti from Uttar Pradesh and Rohtas, Bhojpur, Chapra, Gaya, Seevan, Gopalganj, Eastern Champaran, Western Champaran from Bihar. The President of Bhojpur Desham is of the view that this region is the most underdeveloped one in India and can not be developed till a separate statehood is granted to it. He proposed Varanasi as the capital of 'Bhojpuri Pradesh.'

2. Bhojpuri Organisations

During 1940s and 50s there had been a few spordic efforts concerned with the promotion of Bhojpuri language and culture. Many litterateurs and scholars organised meetings in early 40s in which need was expressed to integrate the people of Bhojpuri region at literary and cultural level. Towards this end the first Akhil Bhojpuri Prantiya Sammelan was organised in March 1947 at Seevan. This sammelan was an outcome of efforts by a group of litterateurs and lovers of Bhojpuri language who thought that Bhojpuri is a very rich language. They shared amongst them the belief that it is an insult to refer it as a dialect. Rahul Sanskritiyayan, Udai Narayan Tewary and Durga Shankar Prasad Singh among others were interested in holding a meeting of influential personalities in the region. Their efforts were supported
by Banarasidas Chaturvedi who was leader of 'Janpadiya Andolan' in the Hindi region. These people formed a working committee. Its spokesmen expressed the belief that inhabitants of Bhojpuri region have a very rich and old culture. Due to their vested interests, British rulers divided Bhojpuri region between United Provinces and Bihar. The Sammelan passed a resolution to integrate Bhojpuri region so that intensive studies could be undertaken of its history, language, folk-literature, archeology, sculptures, paintings and culture. In another resolution Sammelan recognised Rajendra Prasad, Sachidananda Sinha, Jagjivanram, Jayaprakash Narayan, Sunitee Kumar Chatterjee and Rahul Sanskrityayan among others as patrons and requested these dignitaries to accept the patronship.

In Dec. 1947 second Bhojpuri Sammelan took place presided over by Rahul Sanskrityayan. After this, many meetings at various places on smaller scale were held but these efforts failed to crystallize in an organisation or association devoted to the development and preservation of Bhojpuri language and culture.

In 1957 Basudev Sharan Agarwal and Benarasidas Chaturvedi were serious for making organised efforts to develop 'regional dialects' in the Hindi region, but their idea failed to muster support from Hindi litterateurs. They were suspicious and even hostile towards any such plan. This constituted the biggest hurdle in the way of forming organisations for the development of Bhojpuri.
In 1960s at Varanasi a bunch of young students under the guardianship of Shivpujan Sahay, made efforts to mobilize people on the issue of language. They organised meetings of supporters of Bhojpuri and those who attended the meetings were requested to make people aware of the need to develop Bhojpuri language. Kavi Sammelans were organised which proved very popular among people. These were attended by a large number of people. 'Bhojpuri Vikas Samities' and literary associations were opened at Gazipur, Varanasi, Gorakhpur, and in some other districts also. The editor of Aaj (a daily newspaper in Hindi published from Benaras, which had its circulation mainly in Bhojpuri region) was an enthusiastic supporter of Bhojpuri language. He started a column in Bhojpuri 'Chaturi Chacha ki Chitthi' in Aaj. This column became very popular.

The editor of Aaj, Ishwarchandra Sinha along with Swaminath Singh and Raghuvansh Narayan Singh formed a 'Bhojpuri Sansad' at Varanasi. They also opened a Bhojpuri Press which published many collections of poems, essays and stories. Sansad also organised a Bhojpuri Sammelan in 1964 at Varanasi. At this occasion cultural programme and Kavi Sammelan were also organised. After the death of Swaminath Singh Bhojpuri Sansad became defunct. Later Raghuvansh Narayan Singh tried to mobilize students at Varanasi to develop Bhojpuri. He made clear at the very outset of his efforts that 'movement' will not turn political at any stage. These efforts are known as 'Benaras Andolan'. Till this stage efforts made by Bhojpuri litterateurs, scholars and supporters were more
of the result of personal devotion and interest of some individuals rather than in the nature of institutionalized programme. That is why whenever interested and active individual turned away his face from the efforts to develop Bhojpuri, for one reason or other, concerned organisation became defunct very soon. The supporters of Bhojpuri were well aware of this 'basic weakness' underlying their efforts. Moreover, many associations devoted to Bhojpuri language and literature were functioning in different places without much co-ordination among them. Till early 70s efforts of Bhojpuri scholars were sporadic and hence lacking in a central organisation. The group of Bhojpuri litterateurs and supporters for a long time felt a need for a central organisation. Activities of 'Bhojpuri Sansad', 'Bhojpuri Andolan' and other small organisations culminated in the formation of Akhil Bhartiya Bhojpuri Sahitya Sammelan (ABBSS) at Patna in 1975.

**Akhil Bhartiya Bhojpuri Sahitya Sammelan:**

It was realized by Bhojpuri scholars that a central organisation was needed to give a momentum to the movement and to coordinate scattered efforts of a number of Bhojpuri associations. They also came to realize that it was very difficult to attract the attention of Government towards Bhojpuri unless some political leaders come forward to pursue their demands with the Government. They approached Members of Parliament and Legislative Assembly who belonged to Bhojpuri region. Kedar Pandey, Jagjivanram, Daroga Rai and K.K. Singh showed some interest. Especially Kedar Pandey responded positively.
Bhojpuri litterateurs, scholars and supporters thus formed an organisation, i.e., ABBSS, which organised its first conference in March, 1975 at Allahabad. The primary concern of the ABBSS has been the development of Bhojpuri language and literature. To meet this end it, publishes a trimonthly magazine **Bhojpuri Sammelan Patrika (BSP)** which has played a leading role in the standardization of language. The functions of ABBSS include publication of books, holding of meetings of Bhojpuri writers, to organise annual conference and to articulate various demands relating to Bhojpuri. At present ABBSS is the main body devoted to the development of Bhojpuri language and literature. The mentors of ABBSS have approached MPs and MLAs from Bhojpuri region and discussed with them the step-motherly treatment extended to Bhojpuri by Government. Their efforts have made politicians aware of the grievances and discrimination suffered by Bhojpuri speakers due to non-recognition of their language by the Government. And one can say that their efforts have brought them fruits, though to small extent only. ABBSS was instrumental in the opening of the Bhojpuri Academy at Patna. The second conference organised by ABBSS was a great success. Within a year, since it took place, a great variety of literature was published which diversified literary-base of Bhojpuri. Stories, essays, novels, gazals, criticisms were produced. The sammelan published a collection of literary essays **Bhojpuri Nibandh Nikunj** in 1977 which the Sammelan considers as one of its major contributions to the development of literature.
The decade of 70s witnessed a marked literary revival in Bhojpuri. The efforts to produce literature gathered momentum from ABBSS who undertook the task of publishing books in Bhojpuri. The educated elite, teachers and writers began to explore the literary and cultural heritage of Bhojpuri. They displayed, in a growing number of books, pamphlets and journals, an awareness of their language. In the magazine published by ABBSS writers addressed themselves to the past glory of their land and they sang the songs praising the great heroes produced by this region. In their editorials BSP repeatedly called upon people to shed-off the shyness in speaking and writing in their mother-tongue and to take pride in their heritage.

ABBSS has also helped in giving publicity to Bhojpuri. Its members went door to door to collect money to organise second annual conference at Patna. In the process of collecting money they popularised the idea and programme of their organisation. Some professionals and students became involved in the efforts of ABBSS. The efforts of ABBSS have sensitized people towards Bhojpuri. ABBSS also arranges for a cultural programme and Kavi Sammelans, attended by a large number of people. As a result of efforts made by ABBSS, the hesitation in writing Bhojpuri among poets and writers was overcome and they started writing stories, essays and poems in Bhojpuri.

A very positive contribution that ABBSS has made to Bhojpuri language movement pertains to the removal of many misconceptions of Hindi litterateurs who have been skeptical of the implications of the development of
regional dialects' for Hindi. In its annual conferences and meetings ABBSS invite those Hindi scholars whose mother-tongue is Bhojpuri. The participation of these scholars in the conferences and meetings has convinced them of the 'non-political nature of the efforts made by ABBSS. Namwar Singh (who had opposed the move in Sahitya Academy for the recognition of Bhojpuri under the impression that it would not be in the interest of Hindi's status as the official language of our Union), while inaugurating the 7th ABBSS conceded that his perception of Bhojpuri and its possible repercussions for Hindi was mistaken.

A few Bhojpuri organisations are highly critical of the way ABBSS has carried out its functions so far. It has been criticised for limiting its efforts to paper-work only. The editor of Dagar makes following remarks about ABBSS-

It would be proper if ABBSS is renamed as an organisation of a particular family, of its kith and kin. If you look at the history of ABBSS you see that since its formation its office-bearers invariably belong to one family or very intimate friends of it. ABBSS has no concrete achievements to its credit. All it can boast of is the publication of a few books written by the members and friends of the same family. It has passed a number of resolutions, most of which remain unfulfilled so far.

In spite of such criticisms levelled against ABBSS, this organisation has provided a platform to Bhojpuri writers to come together and has been instrumental in the establishment of Bhojpuri Academy at Patna.
Bhojpuri Academy:

Bhojpuri Academy was opened at Patna in September 1976, by a group of Bhojpuri litterateurs, along with Kedar Pandey, as a non-official organisation. It was recognised by the Government of Bihar on 16th June 1978.

Bhojpuri Academy was established to promote and preserve Bhojpuri language, literature, culture and arts. Its objective as declared by its constitution is,

The preservation and promotion of Bhojpuri language, literature and culture within the broad parameters of national integration and enrichment and advancement of Hindi as the national language.

Having this end in view, Bhojpuri Academy resolved to undertake the following tasks:

a. collection of Bhojpuri folk songs, folk-lore, folk tales, dramas, music and other cultural items;

b. collection and publication of unpublished 'Sant Sahitya', and other such literature;

c. to promote Bhojpuri theatre;

d. to promote Bhojpuri culture through dramas, lectures, meetings, seminars, lectures etc;

e. to give awards to talented Bhojpuri writers, folk-singers and artists in order to encourage them and to bring their literature into limelight.

f. to encourage research in universities in Bhojpuri language, literature and different aspects of Bhojpuri culture;

g. to honour old literary figures and artists of the region;

h. to undertake research in Bhojpuri culture and region, its history etc;

i. to arrange lectures of learned persons who have worked on Bhojpuri literature culture, language and region;

j. to give wide publicity to Bhojpuri culture in the country and abroad;

k. to make arrangements for the inclusion of Bhojpuri in the syllabus of schools, colleges and
Almost one decade has passed since the formation of Bhojpuri Academy. In the view of Bhojpuri spokesmen, the achievements of the academy have not been satisfactory. However, Academy has published a number of books (both in prose and poetry). It also brings out a journal **Bhojpuri Academy Patrika (BAP)**. The Academy organises annual functions in which writers, scholars, and politicians belonging to Bhojpuri region are invited to participate. The fourth annual function of Bhojpuri Academy was inaugurated by Bindeshwary Dube, then Chief Minister of Bihar. Among others Revenue Minister and Minister of State for rural development also attended the function.

The Academy does not receive sufficient grants from Government to run it properly. The editor of **BAP** expressed his deep regret that due to non-availability of financial resources not a single issue of **BAP** could come out till September, 1985. He also mentioned that they have to pay quite a sum of money to the Press in order to get books published and Academy was in heavy debt and a stage had reached when press people refused to co-operate.

In his annual report of the activities of Bhojpuri Academy, presented at 4th annual function held at 10th July, 1985, its director said:

I think it is significant to bring to your notice that 3rd annual function of Academy was held in May 1982. It follows that in 1983 and 1984 no annual functions took place. During this duration Academy was run without a Director. It did not have enough financial resources to organise annual functions.
In the course of same report the director also pointed out that according to the constitution of Bhojpuri Academy its task was divided into five branches. These were 1. publication and translation, 2. grammar and dictionaries, 3. research, 4. library, and 5. organisational activities. Due to the lack of financial resources it was not possible to employ necessary staff to run these five branches separately.

Bhojpuri Academy has published about sixty books so far. The textbooks for Intermediate classes have also been published by Bhojpuri Academy. Academy has brought out collection of Bhojpuri Hori songs in two volumes. The other books include works on Bhojpuri grammar, collection of stories, novels, translations etc. Academy has honoured a few Bhojpuri writers by giving them medals and cash awards. Here too, the lack of financial resources comes down heavily on the plans of Academy. For instance, Academy had a plan to compile a list of Bhojpuri writers, poets and artists from Bhojpuri region. For this purpose information was also collected but this could not be published due to non-availability of funds. Bhojpuri Academy has also endeavoured in the making of Bhojpuri as a subject at university level. Patna, Bihar and Magadh Universities conceded the demand of teaching Bhojpuri as a subject in B.A. Bhojpuri Academy had earlier approached the Vice Chancellors of these universities to convince them for this. BA has also been advocating the demand for the inclusion of Bhojpuri as an optional subject in Bihar Provincial Civil Services examination. The Academy also keeps in touch with Bhojpuri poets, writers and scholars.
abroad in Mauritius, Kenya, Trinidad, Fiji, Soorinam etc. where Bhojpuri speaking population constitutes a significant proportion of the total population. Academy invites them to its meetings and cultural functions.

A number of Bhojpuri scholars are highly critical of the way the Bhojpuri academy is run. It has been charged by many that appointments in the academy are political. A large number of Bhojpuri literate allege that Bhojpuri academy has become a body to serve the interests of a particular family and members of a caste. Notwithstanding these criticisms the Academy has certainly contributed through its magazine BAP towards the standardization of language.

Bhojpur Desham:

Bhojpur Desham is a political organisation, at Varanasi, aiming at a separate state for Bhojpuri population. This organisation was formed in 1984. The President of Bhojpur Desham raised the demand for the formation of a Bhojpuri Pradesh for the first time on 28th March 1984. The proposed province includes 21 districts from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The constitution of Bhojpur Desham says that this region is the most underdeveloped one in India and can not be developed till it is made a separate province. It also points out that region has a very low rate of literacy (less than 12 percent) too. According to its estimate the proposed Bhojpuri State will have a population of around six crores. The main activities undertaken by this organisation include hunger strike in front of the office of District Magistrate at Varanasi in
support of the demand for Bhojpur State on 1 July, 1984 and demonstration and traffic jam for three hours in Varanasi on 16 July 1984. These activities were reported in leading dailies like Dainik Jagran and Janvarta, published from Varanasi. General Secretary of Bhojpuri Desham in a statement to the local press on 4th November 1985 condemned Shiva Sena’s move to drive out Bhojpurias out of Bombay. He maintained this act was against the spirit of our constitution which guarantees to every citizen of India to settle down in any part of the country and earn his/her livelihood. Narrating this incident he underlined the need to have a province of Bhojpuri speaking people so that they would not have to go out in search of livelihood.

Krantikari Bhojpuri Morcha:

Bhojpuri Krantikari Morcha, an organisation in 70s with its base at Arrah, aimed for a Bhojpuri Pradesh. This organisation published a fortnightly newspaper Tatka from Arrah, quite regularly under the editorship of Ramashankar Pandey, the President of Krantikari Bhojpuri Morcha. The editorials of this newspaper were replete with demand to create a 'Bhojpuri Pradesh', and an urgent need to step up the efforts for the inclusion of Bhojpuri in the eighth schedule of the constitution and recognition to Bhojpuri by Sahitya Academy. Tatka also published articles on Bhojpuri literature, region and culture. Details of activities undertaken by Bhojpuri associations were reported regularly. The paper many-a-times also published the map of the proposed Bhojpuri State. It appealed Bhojpuri people to organise and raise their voice.
for Bhojpuri state. The Krantikari Bhojpuri Morcha organised a demonstration at Arrah in December 1972 to raise the demand for Bhojpuri province. In this demonstration local journalists, writers, teachers and students participated in a large number. The organisation also formed a 'Bhojpuri Rajya Sangharsha Samiti' to mobilize people for Bhojpuri province.

Tatka, the mouthpiece of the Morcha, criticised Jagjivanram for keeping mum and not extending his support for Bhojpuri. It also asked to form a 'Bhojpur Development Board' for the development of region and a memorandum to Chief Minister was presented. After the death of Morcha's president Morcha gradually lost its edge.

In addition to these organisations there are many other literary and cultural organisations devoted to the development of Bhojpuri language and literature. Paschim Bang Bhojpuri Parishad at Calcutta, Bhojpuri Bhasha Sammelan at Patna, Bhojpuri Sansthan at Patna, Bhojpuri Sahitya Mandal at Buxar, Jamshedpur Bhojpuri Sahitya Parishad, Yuva Bhojpuri Manch at Buxar, Bhojpuri Vikas Samiti at Patna, Kunwar Singh Sikshaw Nidhi at Patna, Bhojpuri Vidyapeeth at Patna, Singhbhum Zila Bhojpuri Samaj at Jamshedpur, Janvadi Sanskritic Morcha at Motihari, Bhojpuri Sahitya Parishad at Chapra, Munger Jila Bhojpuri Parishad etc. are such organisations. The primary concern of these organisations has been to spread and develop Bhojpuri language and literature. To this end, these associations publish magazines and hold meetings of Bhojpuri litterateurs etc. None of the Bhojpuri organisations has a large membership of any
viable financial resources. There is no Bhojpuri organisation which carries any political weight in Bihar or Uttar Pradesh politics. The activities of Bhojpuri organisations do not receive coverage in the leading Bihar or Uttar Pradesh newspapers or magazines.

4. LEADERS

A distinction is worth making here between the 'cultural entrepreneurs' who devote themselves to enlarging the solidarity resources of a community and the 'political broker' who mobilizes ethnicity in a given situation, crystallizing collective aspiration in the social and political realm. In the present context, by leaders we refer to the office-bearers of important Bhojpuri organisations, editors of Bhojpuri magazines, Bhojpuri litterateurs, scholars and supporters who are in some way directly concerned to revitalize Bhojpuri language and culture. Bhojpuri cultural nationalism emerged first among a small coterie of linguists, historical scholars, litterateurs and journalists. This group was the first to feel the growing hegemony of Hindi licensed by the State in the name of 'national integration', disproportionate favour shown to Maithili, and a sort of discrimination against Bhojpuri. This group was sensitive enough to sense a sort of erosion and diffusion of Bhojpuri identity. They started attempts to develop and articulate 'Bhojpuri Cultural Nationalism' as an ideology. These persons who started publishing Bhojpuri magazines, arranged meetings of poets and writers, and formed various Bhojpuri literary organisations can be termed as
'cultural entrepreneurs'. One striking feature of Bhojpuri language movement is virtual absence of 'political brokers' and lack of a dynamic political leadership, who could utilize the cultural capital produced by Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs and bargain with Government. The political elites of Bhojpuri region have been integrated effectively into all-Bihar political movements and into the State Government on the basis of nationalist ideological and caste symbols rather than in terms of regional linguistic and cultural symbols.

Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs mostly belong to those professions in which they have been concerned with either the teaching of language and research in language or literature. Teachers of language and literature, in most cases Hindi, at colleges and Universities, research officers in Bihar Rashtrabhasa Parishad and officials of Rajbhasa Vibhag have been most active as spokesmen of Bhojpuri language movement. The founder Secretary of ABBSS works as Deputy Director in 'Rajbhasa Vibhag' at Patna Secretariat. The first director of Bhojpuri Academy was a officer retired from Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna. Pandit Mahendra Shastri, the father of Bhojpuri journalism was a Sanskrit teacher in a High school at Seewan. He has to its credit the first Bhojpuri magazine published from Patna in 1948. Viveki Rai, Rameshwar Singh Kashyap, Kuladipnarayan 'Jharap', Mukteshwar Tewary, Veerendra Pandey, Sipahi Singh 'Shreemant' and number of other individuals associated with Bhojpuri movement came from teaching profession.
The Bhojpuri language movement could not muster support from politicians of the region. Jagjivanram attended various meetings organised by Bhojpuri associations but he never came openly in support of movement. From the days of freedom struggle political leaders from the region, for instance, Rajendra Prasad, Sacchidananda, Jagjivanram, championed the cause of Hindi as the national language of India. The Congress has a large following in the region and Congress recognised Bihar and United Provinces as Hindi speaking States. Bhojpuri litterateurs nurture a sense of resentment towards the indifference displayed by Bhojpuri politicians for their mother-tongue. The ex-Secretary of ABBSS told:

We have passed a resolution in our last session at Amnor which condemned the attitude of Bhojpuri political leaders towards their mother-tongue. To talk of Bhojpuri language is stigmatised as a manifestation of narrow mentality. Political leaders have played a nasty role in popularising a wrong notion of 'national language.

At the time when efforts were on to form an all India body devoted to the promotion of Bhojpuri in the early 70s Kedar Pandey, then Chief Minister of Bihar, got involved. In the second conference of ABBSS held at Patna he played an active role. He had a significant role to play in the establishment of Bhojpuri Academy at Patna. He wanted Bhojpuri to be included in the eighth schedule, its recognition from Sahitya Academy to make Bhojpuri as a subject at University level and to make it the medium of primary education in Bhojpuri region. At the third annual conference of ABBSS he reiterated his 'unconditional support' for Bhojpuri movement. The active participation and interest displayed by Kedar Pandey in
the activities of ABBSS and Bhojpuri Academy had given much hope to Bhojpuri spokesmen. His death on 25th March 1983 came as a severe blow to Bhojpuri movement. Another politician who has shown concern for Bhojpuri and who has attended most of the conferences and functions organised by ABBSS and Bhojpuri Academy is Prabhunath Singh who has had many important portfolios in Bihar Government. Prabhunath Singh did not have the political weight which Kedar Pandey enjoyed.

Thus, because of the priority of political leaders for "nationalist symbols" and their fear of being dubbed as "parochial" and "narrow minded" they have refrained from giving a dynamic leadership to Bhojpuri movement.

4. Strategy and Tactics

The strategy and tactics of a social movement are interdependent with its ideology and its form of organisation. In the 40s the goal of Bhojpuri movement was to have a Bhojpuri state. Towards this objective they organised a few meetings of litterateurs and scholars. Resolutions were passed demanding a province for Bhojpuri people. The leaders convinced a group of scholars of a distinct identity of Bhojpuri language and non-congruence between linguistic and political boundaries of the region. They also approached political leaders and influential persons from the region and asked them to extend their support for the development of language and Bhojpuri province. They encouraged Bhojpuri litterateurs to form literary associations in many districts. Spokesmen of Bhojpuri movement realized that to convince political
leaders of the region for the a Bhojpuri province was almost an impossible task. SRC Report did not pay any heed to such a demand from Bhojpuri people. After the reorganisation of states in 1956, the demand for a Bhojpuri province receded into background as not even meager possibility existed of its fulfilment. Then, leaders of Bhojpuri movement opted out for more 'soft demands', for example, recognition of Bhojpuri from Sahitya Academy, provision of providing education in Bhojpuri at primary level etc. They concentrated their efforts on the development and standardization of language. Conferences and meetings of scholars, writers, linguists were organised.

The biggest hurdle in the way of Bhojpuri language movement was the suspicious and even hostile attitude of those Hindi scholars whose mother tongue was Bhojpuri. They were not ready to co-operate with the spokesmen of Bhojpuri and whenever approached refused to lend their support to Bhojpuri movement. They always expressed the fear that such a movement would jeopardise the efforts to establish Hindi as the national language on the firm footing. Faced with this problem, leaders of Bhojpuri adopted the strategy of proclaiming from their platforms that their movement staunchly supports Hindi as the 'national language' of India. They also tried to win over the hostile Hindi group by arguing that instead of doing any harm of Hindi, their efforts to develop Bhojpuri language and literature will enrich Hindi. The presidential addresses delivered at annual conferences of ABBSS never fail to express their whole hearted support to
An active supporter of Bhojpuri movement went to the extent to say that moment he is convinced that Bhojpuri development will be harmful for Hindi, he will immediately sever all his relations with Bhojpuri movement. This strategy adopted by Bhojpuri leaders has paid them. Gradually Hindi litterateurs have come forward in the support of Bhojpuri.

Bhojpuri leaders have also proclaimed loudly that the nature of their movement is purely cultural and literary and they do not have any political goals whatsoever. The two main Bhojpuri organisations ABBSS and Bhojpuri Academy are committed towards the non-political nature of their efforts. These organisations have concentrated on producing 'cultural capital' in the form of history of Bhojpuri language and literature, grammar, collection of folk songs, tales, folklores, etc. They have made serious efforts to produce a wide variety of literary-writings in Bhojpuri to counter the allegation that Bhojpuri does not have a literary tradition. The group of scholars have addressed themselves to the history of the region, cultural heritage of Bhojpuri etc. Attempts were made to make Bhojpuri a medium of expression of modern ideas and knowledge also. Many magazines and journals were started. Another important aspect of mobilization was the formation of a number of literary societies who appealed to people to take pride in their language and culture. These efforts to concentrate on Bhojpuri language and literature have paid but at the same time it has restricted the activities of Bhojpuri movement to a small group of educated scholars, teachers, litterateurs, linguists and students only. Their efforts and programmes fail to catch
students only. Their efforts and programmes fail to catch the imagination of larger bulk of rural and even urban section of population. Without any mass following Bhojpuri movement has almost failed to arouse consciousness among the people about their language and bring a sense of unity among people. ABBSS and a number of other Bhojpuri associations, in the absence of any mass support, have failed to act as pressure groups in the state politics and hence most of their demands remain unfulfilled so far.

A few organisations criticise the strategy adopted by ABBSS and BA. They have underlined the urgent need to adopt a more militant approach. They point out the importance of mobilizing people and enlarge the movement from a small circle of educated few. So far, the attempts to launch mass-movements have not brought any fruits.

5. Bhojpuri Journals and Magazines

In the history of Bhojpuri movement the role played by magazines and journals has been significant. It is through journals and magazines that various demands for the development of Bhojpuri have been articulated. The first magazine in Bhojpuri was ‘Bagsar Samachar’ a trimonthly, started by Jayaprakash Narayan in 1915. In 1917 when Gandhi started non-co-operation movement, then, Jayaprakash was jailed. It led to the discontinuance of the paper. Initially articles, stories and poems in Bhojpuri were published in Hindi magazines and newspapers. Hindu Panch, Matwala (1925) from Calcutta, Aaj from
Varanasi and Lakshmi from Gaya used to publish them. Mahendra Kumar Varma of Shahabad district first started Bhojpuri a weekly journal from Calcutta whose first issue came to the public on 15 August 1947. In 1948 Mahendra Shastri had started another journal Bhojpuri which was discontinued after its first issue. From 1952 Raghuvansh Narain Singh started publishing a monthly magazine Bhojpuri from Arrah. Quarterly Anjor from Patna under the editorship of Pandey Narmadeshwar Sahay and fort-nightly Gaonghar from Arrah under the editorship of Bhuvaneshwar Prasad Shrivastava 'Bhanu' have been two important journals. Anjor was published regularly till 1979. In the history of Bhojpuri journalism, Anjor enjoys a very special status. It was among the few magazines who were published regularly. Anjor was very standard literary magazine. It brought many Bhojpuri poets and writers into light and contributed to almost each genre of literature. Gaonghar was published regularly till 1962. After this its publication became irregular. In 1964 a weekly Bhojpuri-samachar was started from Ghazipur: this was a paper of Anand Marg which later on was published from Gorakhpur under the title of Bhojpuri-Varta. It discontinued after 1966. Later on, Bhojpuri Varta was published from Motihari and Patna.

A monthly magazine of stories Bhojpuri Kahaniyan was published from Benaras by Bhojpuri Sansad. This was started in 1964 and continued till 1977. This magazine was very popular. Sometimes even three thousand copies of Bhojpuri Kahaniyan were printed. A monthly Mati Ke Boli was started from Chapra in 1964. It continued till 1970.
In 1964 Jitram Pathak started a monthly Bhojpuri Sahitya. It was published regularly till 1968. Later on, it was published as the mouth-piece of Buxar Sahitya Mandal from 1975 till 1977. A monthly Hamaar Bol was launched in 1965 from Arrah. After some time it stopped. A paper Lukar was started from Jamshedpur in 1965 which continued till 1977. Bhojpuri Sansad, at Varanasi, started as its main organ a journal Purvaia, a quarterly; it continued for one year. A magazine Bhojpuri Janpad was started from Varanasi in 1968 which stopped in 1972. A fortnightly Kashika was started from Varanasi in 1969. It discontinued after some time. A monthly Bhojpuri Samaj was started in 1969 from Chindwad in Madhya Pradesh: after four issues this stopped. A monthly Hilor was started from Arrah in 1969: after two issues it stopped. A weekly Paharua was published from Chapra from January 1971 till March 1972. A weekly newspaper Bhojpuri Times was started in 1971 from Patna. It was published regularly for one year. Later on, it was published as Bhojpuri Samvaad. It was stopped after some time. From Arrah Tatka, a fortnightly newspaper was started in 1972. Since 1976 it was renamed as Tatka Rah. Lalkar, a monthly from Patna was started in 1972. It is still published as an irregular magazine. A magazine called Sanes was started from Nepal in 1972. After two years it was discontinued.

Other magazines in Bhojpuri which are published at irregular intervals are Mati Ke Gamak, Bhinsar, Log, Gohar, Ureh, Aheri, Samad, Bhojpuriah, Bhojpuri Sansar,
Kalash, Bhojpuri Milaap, Mojar, Bhojpuri Mati, Dagar, Dec, Chot, Bhojpuri Katha Kahani, Sanehia, Papihara, Lalmati, Pati, Aapan Gaon, Diari, Chak, Tarai, Kachnar, Jhakor, Sekhi, etc. Bhojpuri Sammelan Patrika (BSP) published by ABBSS and Bhojpuri Academy Patrika by Bhojpuri Academy, both from Patna, have been published quite regularly.

Bhojpuri journalism is a challenging task. Those who publish magazines and journals in Bhojpuri face the problem of lack of financial resources. An editor of a Bhojpuri magazine had thus to say:

If people are not ready to read what is published in Bhojpuri, then how long can a magazine continue? Bhojpuri people lack sentiment for their language. Nobody is ready today to take Bhojpuri magazines seriously. What could be more unfortunate for Bhojpuri!

In fact, one of the reasons for lack of enthusiasm among people to read Bhojpuri magazines has been that tradition of Bhojpuri newspapers and magazines is not very old. People have become used to reading Hindi magazines and newspapers. This makes the readership of Bhojpuri very limited. Moreover, due to the limited circulation of Bhojpuri magazines businessmen do not put advertisements in them. Lack of financial resources was the biggest difficulty in the continuance of Bhojpuri magazines. Running a literary journal in Bhojpuri is a non-profitable venture and only those imbued with missionary zeal undertook this task. Absence of writers who could write in Bhojpuri added to the difficulties of the editors. The editor of BAP expressed his disgust over the kind of literature produced in the name of Bhojpuri.
Bhojpuri journals, notwithstanding the lack of financial resources, limited size of readership etc, have spearheaded the movement for establishing Bhojpuri as a literary language and have helped in developing new idioms and new vocabulary in Bhojpuri language. Apart from being the vehicle of literary expression, Bhojpuri journals and magazines have also served as a chief media for articulating their grievances regarding the present status of Bhojpuri language. Short pieces in these magazines and journals took, however, a variety of literary forms which include poems, stories, essays, gazals, history of the region, etc.; contributors to these magazines are not necessarily academic specialists. Some of them are even civil servants, lawyers or engineers. In the editorial columns of these magazines editors have lost no opportunity in criticising Government's step-motherly treatment of Bhojpuri. Many a times they express a need for a more vocal and organised effort to pursue their demands. The editors of magazines have also expressed concern for the general apathy of people towards their mother-tongue. They have made appeals to people to shed off the 'inferiority complex' and to take pride in the heritage of Bhojpuri language and culture. The editor of BAP once called upon people to subscribe the magazine in large number. He pleaded:

> There is lying a collection of works in Bhojpuri Academy published over a few years. No one has come forward to buy books - because of this next plan of publication stands still now. It is ironical that from our platform we claim a large number of Bhojpuri speakers. Yet the number of subscribers to Bhojpuri 77 Academy Patrika is only seventeen.
Bhojpuri people, those who are educated, subscribe to Hindi and English magazine. That is why, inspite of a number of attempts to publish Bhojpuri journals and magazines, only a few have survived for long. From 1947 till June 1988, ninety two magazines and journals were started in Bhojpuri; at present only 6 or 7 are published regularly.

6. BHOJPURI FILMS

Bhojpuri was the first regional dialect among the dialects spoken in the Hindi region to produce films. The first film of Bhojpuri was Ganga Maiya Tohe Piavri Chadibe which was released in 1963. The film dealt with the problem of alcoholism. In this film the culture and social life of Bhojpuri region was portrayed authentically. The film was a great success at the box office too. The next film was Lagi Nahin Choote Ram which narrated the story of a dancing girl. The story was set in a rural background. The third film was Bidesia based on Bhikhari Thakur’s folk-play. Bhikhari Thakur himself played the role of main character. Bidesia is a story of a young woman whose husband has gone to Calcutta to earn livelihood. The problem of going to Calcutta and other far-off places in search of job while leaving the family back in the villages is a regular feature of Bhojpuri region. One more film which sincerely portrayed social life of the region was Loha Singh. These films were ‘well made’ and had become very popular.

Kab Hoiwe Gavanya Hamar, Balma Bada Naddan, Bahroan Shringar Karen Dulhania, Jekra Charnva Main Lagle Parna,
Naihar Choote Jaye, Bhauiji, Vidhna Nach Nachave, Seeta Maya, Nag Panchmi, are the movies in which regional culture family life, festivals and traditions were depicted. Most of the Bhojpuri films are made in Bombay by Punjabi directors who have no idea of Bhojpuri culture and society.

The culture which is shown on screen as Bhojpuri culture, points out one Bhojpuri scholar, has nothing to do with the Bhojpuri culture. These films present a distorted picture of Bhojpuri culture and society. The producers in Bombay who can not afford to make Hindi films due to heavy cost of production, make Bhojpuri films at a low cost budget. Bhojpuri movies do reasonable business. The films in Bhojpuri are not produced to present Bhojpuri language and culture authentically: profit is the prime motive for the producers.

One spokesman of Bhojpuri movement expressed his deep resentment for the very vulgar and distorted version of Bhojpuri culture on the screen. He suggested to choose artists, script writers etc. from Bhojpuri speech community who could realistically present Bhojpuri life.

Bhojpuri films production has completed its twenty five years in 1988. Bhojpuri films, in their history of twenty five years have failed to cross the boundaries of 'C' class films. In fact, the very success of the first Bhojpuri film became a curse for the future film production in Bhojpuri. As the first film was a great commercial success every Tom, Dick and Harry in the Bombay
film industry invested his money in low budget Bhojpuri films to earn profit. In the sixties the first film in Bhojpuri did a business of more than seventy lakhs whereas the actual cost of production was five lakhs only. It is ironical to note that from the profit earned from Bhojpuri films, same producers made multi-starrer Hindi movies later on.

In spite of the commercial success of many Bhojpuri movies only eighty seven films have been released so far. More than one fifty films are at some stage of production. Bhojpuri films, in spite of a big market they have, are struggling for an identity.

Thus, we see that leaders of Bhojpuri movement have made attempts to draw the attention of government towards their demands. Most of their demands still remain unfulfilled. Spokesmen of various Bhojpuri associations regret the fact that it has become ritual to pass a number of resolutions at annual meetings. These are not followed by persistent follow up actions. Moreover, the lack of support from political elites of the region has handicapped the efforts of Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs. Whatever limited success efforts of Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs have met, it has been largely due to the support extended by Kedar Pandey. His sudden demise left a void in Bhojpuri movement. Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs have sought the co-operation of political elites from the region. Till today political leaders have not come forward to champion the cause of their mother-tongue and in the absence of 'political brokers' the cultural capital created by Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs remains unused. Another
important aspect of mobilization was the formation of a number of Bhojpuri literary societies in various cities and towns. The magazines which these societies publish, have limited circulation. The vast majority of people, whose sole medium of communication is Bhojpuri, are illiterate and therefore the magazines or literature published by Bhojpuri organization are of no use to them. As it is primarily through Bhojpuri magazines and journals that various demands of Bhojpuri movements have been voiced, people at large remain unaware of such demands and efforts of Bhojpuri cultural entrepreneurs. In the next chapter we will present peoples perceptions and attitudes about Bhojpuri language, region and culture.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The editorials of various Bhojpuri magazines, for example, BAP, BSP, Navkalp, Bhojpuri Mati, frequently raise these demands.

2. These have been raised in all the annual conference of ABBSS. See, "Karya-Vahi", report of details of activities of ABBSS from Dec. 1978 till Mar. 1980, at Vth conference held at Motihari in March 1980 (in Bhojpuri).

3. See, the Presidential Addresses delivered at annual meetings of ABBSS.

4. Paschim Bang Bhojpuri Parishad, Bhojpuri Krantikari Morcha, Bhojpuri Vikash Samiti, and other associations have raised these demands again and again.

5. The office-bearers of Bhojpuri Academy and ABBSS in discussions vehemently rejected the idea of having a separate province for Bhojpuri speaking people.

6. For a detailed information see, "Karyavahi", a report of various activities undertaken by ABBSS read at VIIth conference held at Amnor (in Bhojpuri).

7. Interview with the secretary of ABBSS at Patna in June 1986.


10. Address by Kedar Pandey to annual Meeting of ABBSS held at Amnor on 29th Oct. 1982.


12. During discussions Bhojpuri leaders admitted this fact with a sense of dispair disgust and 'apology'.


15. Interview with Shailendranath Srivastava, ex-MLA: from **BJP**.

16. The office bearers of Bhojpuri Academy and other Bhojpuri associations are taking up this issue with a sense of urgency.


18. 'Welcome Address' delivered at 3d Annual Meeting of ABBSS, held at Seewan, 1977.


22. This view was expressed by Bhojpuri leaders in many a discussions with them at Patna during March 1986, June 1986 and June 1987.


24. Magazines and newspapers (for example - Bhojpuri Times, Bhojpuri Mati Ke Larkar, Tatka, etc.) have been articulating this demand for a number of years.

25. For details see the various issues of the magazines as metioned above.

26. The resolution was presented by the Assistant Editor of Aaj, but originally it was a brainchild of Durga Shankar Prasad Singh, grandson of Kunwar Singh (in Hindi).

27. See, Smarika published at 3rd conference of ABBSSS held at Seewan, 1977, p. 122.

28. ibid.

29. Many a Bhojpuri leaders admitted that still a few members of ABBSS favour the idea of a separate province for Bhojpuri speakers but they do not muster much support.

31. ibid. (November 1973).


33. Bhojpur Desham : Siddhanta and Uddaishya,
   (Varanasi:publication & the year not given)
   (in Hindi).

34. Smarika, released at 3rd conference of ABBSS, Opp. cit., p. 121.

35. ibid, p. 122.

36. ibid, p. 123.

37. This information was given by Shri Ishwar Chandra Sinha during interview with him at Varanasi in March 1987.

38. These details were provided by ex-Presidents, Secretaries and other active members of ABBSS during talks with them held at Patna, Varanasi, Ghazipur and Arrah during March 1987 and June 1987.

39. ibid.

40. One can refer to any issue of BSP.

41. See, the editorials of BSP.

42. This information was gathered from a number of meeting with Bhojpuri writers, poets and office-holders of various Bhojpuri associations.

44. "Bhojpuri Andolan Hawa Main", Dagar (March 1980) (in Bhojpuri).


46. ibid.

47. See, Report of Director of Bhojpuri Academy, in BAP (Sept. 1985).

48. ibid.

49. ibid.

50. The Director and Deputy-Director of the Bhojpuri Academy during meetings with them, gave these details about the functioning of the Academy.

51. ibid.

52. A number of Bhojpuri writers and supporters of Bhojpuri Movement expressed their unhappiness over the way the Bhojpuri Academy is being run.

53. See, Constitution of Bhojpur Desham (Varanasi: no details of publications are given)(in Hindi).

54. These details were collected from the President of Bhojpur Desham during an interview with him at Varanasi in March 1987; also see, Janvarta, (17 July 1984) (in Hindi).


57. ibid.(14 May 1976).
58. ibid. (any issue).
60. ibid.
61. For a detailed report of this demonstration see, ibid. (Feb. 1973).
62. ibid.
63. ibid.
65. Bhojpuri Academy, Akhil Bhartiya Bhojpuri Sahitya Sammelan, Bhojpuri Sansthan etc.
66. During an interview he expressed his deep sense of resentment towards politicians' callous attitude for their mother-tongue. This feeling is shared by all of Bhojpuri writers and supporters of Bhojpuri movement.
68. Hajari Prasad Dwivedi and Namwar Singh, were highly skeptical about the implications of development of Bhojpuri for Hindi.
69. See, Presidential Addresses delivered at annual conferences of ABBSS and Bhojpuri Academy.
70. Ex-editor of *BAP* made this statement in a meeting with him at Patna in July 1987.
71. For such a view-point see, Dagar (March 1980), Log (March 1978), Janta Lalkar (June 1983), Deg (1977), Pahrua (Jan.1971), Lukar (Sept.1977) (all in Bhojpuri).


76. For this point see, editorials of Pari Talaab (July-Sept.1982), Bhojpuri Mati (Jan.1985) and any issue of BSP and BAP.

77. BAP (Sept.1985)p.7.


79. ibid.


81. This suggestion was given by Rameshwar Singh Kashyap alias 'Loha Singh' (who acted as Loha
Singh in a movie by the same title) during an interview with him at Patna in July 1987.

82. Varma, 1976, op.cit.

83. This information was given by Bajrang Varma during an interview with him at Patna in March 1987.