CHAPTER - 6
Political Problem

The litterateur is one of the most sensitive sentimental beings of the society. All the social, economical and religious problems of the society along with the political course of events are fully familiar to him. He witnesses the problems of the society and the struggle of the individuals and tries to depict them vividly with probable solutions to them.

In the novels of Nagarjun, contemporary political consciousness got special exposure. His novels are based on the foundation of realism. He depicted the political environment and its problems both prior to and after independence of India very vividly in a realistic manner. He had a very deep relationship with politics of the country. His personal realization of economic inequality attracted him towards the leftist politics and remained as an active worker of the Communist Party. As a result, his political faith was mixed up with the communistic idealism. He made the mass life of Mithila and Darbhanga district the basis of his novels and made a realistic picture of the contemporary political parties, their idealism and movements. According to him, it was his ardent duty to create public opinion against exploiters and dictatorial powers. Being a communist he had faith in the principle of class struggle and therefore, the proletariat class was his idol. He believed that eighty percent people living around us were his Gods to be worshipped. He was related to them and in no way he was detached from them. He talked with his characters and smiled with them. Therefore, he wanted select representative from his own class.
For the sake of convenience of analysis, we classify the political problems as depicted in the novels of Nagarjun into following heads:

1. British principles of dominance
2. The Freedom Movement and its weakness
3. Oppression of the zamindars
4. Peasant Uprising
5. Abolition of the Zamindary System
6. Class struggle
7. Encroachment
8. Corruption
9. Bribery
10. Hooliganism
11. Weakness of administrative and judicial system
12. Selfishness of Congress Party
13. Shattering of dreams and
14. Socialistic ideology and its weakness

6.01: British principles of domination:

Nagarjun in his novels exposed the British principles of domination before our independence. His *Baba Batesarnath* is an open document of emperialistic domination of the British. The application of the "divide and rule" policy of the British got its full implication during the rule of Lord Curzon. The partition of Bengal was done under this principle on October 16, 1905. Baba in *Baba Batesarnath* said that the
educated as well as uneducated people of Bengal opposed this diplomatic move of the British administrators. Some members of the new generation also killed some of the white officers and as a result a new tradition of revolution got its way in India. The imperialist powers stood to the occasion and domination went on more powerfully.

The British began to oppress the Indians in their individual level. *Baba* told Jaikisun that brother in law of Jhan Sahab beat the grand father of Jaikisun because he failed to salute him. Next day Adhik Bhai had to bear the sign of hunters’s beating throughout his life.

The imperialists used both legal and illegal means to keep their position intact. Their oppression took a very hateful form where there was a rise of phonic consciousness after the leaders of the freedom struggle were arrested. There was no limit of oppressions of the imperialistic. The jails were overcrowded. There were unlimited use of *lathis*, hunters and even of bullets and yet the courage of the people did never diminished.

The British began inhumane treatment to the Indians. Jivnath had to leave his school as he did not say ‘*Angrej hamara raj hai*’ in front of a white. But the Indians did never retreated from their struggle for freedom. Even different forms of movement like the Satyagrah and picketing became some thing like ceremonies for them. When the police arrested one, ten took his place.

The land revenue was increased so much that it shattered the village economy. The farmers were compelled to sell their land to pay taxes. The new industrial policy began to kill the Indian Cottage industries. As a result, workers are thrown out of
their jobs. In this manner, the economic condition of the farmers who are the basis of Indian economy began to fall day by day.

The imperialists based their rule depending on the difference of color of human beings. During the British rule, the Indian were treated as second class citizens in their own land. The rights of the citizens depended upon the mercy of the British officials. In those days the white men became dreadful for the common people.

“इन दिनों गोरी का आम लोगों पर भारी आलंक था। लाहौर हो चाहे देहात, व्यापार, वाणिज्य का क्षेत्र हो चाहे किसान जमींदार का, जज कलकत्ता हो या सेक्टेटिस्ट सब जगह गोरी चमड़ी बालों की तूफ़ी बोलती थी। फानू और हुकूमत उनके बुटी की कीलों के नीचे थे। राजाओं के मुकट और जमींदारों के पुर्द़े रंगारंग फिरंगियों के रास्ते की धूल के जरिए बुरा दिखते थे।”

The British collectively exploited the Indians and individually they treated the Indians inhumanely.

“......प्रति बीच तीन कट्टा जमीन में गोल को खेती करने के लिए किसान मजबूर किये जाते थे। यह दबाव जमींदारों और सरकारी अफवाहों द्वारा डबलबाबा जाता था। जो नहीं भागता, उसे कई तरह से परेशान करते थे।”

*Baba Batesarnath* is Nagarjun’s only novel, where the exploitations and oppressions carried by the British has been depicted. From the point of time also, it is such a novel that covers a long period of time along with the exploitation of India by the British imperialists.

6.02: The freedom struggle and its weakness:

The role played by Nagarjun in the Freedom Movement of India is that of a soldier. But Nagarjun was not satisfied with the people who led the struggle and the way in which it was fought.
The third and fourth decades of the twentieth century remained to be a period of struggle. Accidentally Nagarjun's entry into the Hindi literary world was around 1930 and that is why his novels can be regarded as the political history of India during 1930 to 1968. In *Baba Batesarnath* the chronology of Indian political events were prepared for the period from the coming of the East India Company to India unto 1942. Under this period the events like the dictatorial attitude of the zamindars, different political movements, the administration of the Congress Party, abolition of Zamindary System etc came.

Nagarjun in his novels depicted almost all the major contemporary movements like the Non-Co-Operation Movement of 1920, the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930, the Quit India Movement of 1942 etc.

In *Balchanma* there is a picture of how people participated in the national movements. One Phul Babu studied both M.A. and law, but he jumped into the movement. Under the Civil Disobedience Movement people went to jails for preparing salt. Mohan Babu informed Balchanma that Phul Babu was going to jail. In *Nayee Paudh* also there is a reference to the Civil Disobedience Movement. Nilkanth Mallik left his job in the High School and joined in making salt. He was imprisoned for one year. Baba in *Baba Batesarnath* spoke of the civil disobedience where lakhs of people protested against anti-people laws. Mahatma Gandhi came out to break law by making salt. He was arrested for disobeying law:

"""मैं कानूनी नमक बनाना, सराब-अफीम और बिलात्ती कपड़े की दुकानों पर पिकेटिंग करना, तकली और चरखे पर सूत काटना, ढंग का ढंग सूत काटवाना, बुआबुआ खाल करना, विदेशी कपड़े जलाना, स्कूल- कॉलेजों का बहिष्कार , सरकारी नौकरियों से इस्तीफा......... यही प्रोग्राम था।"""
In both *Paro* 14 and *Abhinandan* 15 there are pictures of the Civil Disobedience Movement. In *Baba Batesarnath*, Nagarjun depicted the picture of Non-Co-Operation movement of 1920. He remarked that the age of non-co-operation was wonderful. All the nooks and corners of the country were moved and joined Disobedience Movement. Almost all the leaders except Gandhiji put into jail. Prominent among them were Motilal Nehru, Desh Bandhu Chittarajan Das, Lala Lajpat Rai and others. The number of such arrested persons rose up to 30,000. The movement was in its zenith. The Congress Party took the whole responsibility of the movement that it would lead the movement to the end.16

Baba in *Baba Batesarnath* related almost the entire Quit India Movement of 1942 and remarked:

“सन् 1942 का जन आंदोलन जैसिसुन के लिए ऑँखों देखा तमाशा था।”17

It is clear that in the first phase of the movement, the national consciousness was confined to the middle class people and most of the people taking part in the movement were middle class men of the society. The lower class people didn’t take part in the movement. But after 1942 i.e. after the Quit India Movement began, all classes of people took part in it. It became a movement of the masses. But Non Violent Movement of Gandhiji turned into a violent one. Because it was clear that the middle class leaders had no hold over the common people. These people did not understand what non violence was. But they knew that the British people were their enemies and the police force, which helped them were also their enemies. As a result, they rose against the police. Finally due to this, Gandhiji had to stop the movement.
According to Nagarjun there were certain weaknesses of the freedom movement. The withdrawal of the Satyagrah Movement in national level by Gandhiji was one of them. Later he made it in the individual level. In *Baba Batesarnath*, Baba explained the weakness of the movement:

"सन् 1925 और 1935 के दरम्यान क्रांतिकारियों ने जिन पहलूओं को राजनीतिक डैनेटेड के लिए दीक्षित किया, जाने कैसे, बजरंगीसिंह उनके संपर्क में आ चुका था?"\(^{19}\)

Some of the followers of Mahatma Gandhi also overturned his ideals and as such his ideals became half-broken. In *Balchanma*, Nagarjun depicted the weakness of this movement.\(^{20}\) Balchanma exposed the pseudo-patriotism of Radha Babu and the role of the Barhampura Ashram in the movement. Radha Babu belonged to royal family. During his school life he spent state and public money. Money in huge amount came to the ashram in the shape of donations. But there was none to look after the accounts. He spent them according to his own wishes.\(^{21}\) This indiscipline and chaos made the national movement weak.

6.03: Oppression of the zamindars:

Nagarjun depicted a very clean picture of oppression of the zamindars over the mass people. Being the landlord, the zamindars were economically strong ones and farmers and common people had to depend upon the zamindars. On the other hand, the zamindars exploited the situation and began to disturb the poor people in various ways. The zamindars got support from the Congress and government officials. In
Ratinath Ki Chachi, Nagarjun showed the influence of the zamindars over the Bihar congressmen.²²

_Balchanma_ begins with the oppression of the zamindars. The basic theme of the novel is to expose the inhumane oppression of the zamindars of Darbhanga over the mass people. The father of Balchanma committed a very trifle crime of plucking mango from the garden and he had to face inhuman oppression.²³

After the death of his father, Balchanma’s mother took a loan of rupees twelve from the Malik for which she had to mortgage her land. Grand father’s great grand father of Balchanma was sent to the son-in-law of the zamindars as a part of dowry. But Balchanma was the seventh generation.²⁴ The zamindars played with the honour and prestige of their tenants. Once the Malik caught hold of the hands of Balchanma’s sister Rebni and he said:

“तेरी उम्र में ही तेरी माँ का गौना हुआ था और इसीलिए पचौसों बार मैंने उसका हाथ पकड़ा होगा?”²⁵

The zamindars took labourers under the Begar System. It was a hateful and exploitative system of the feudal system under which the farmers or labourers were made to work without any wages. Nagarjun had depicted this system in his novels _Balchanma_ and _Baba Batesarnath_ very clearly. Balchanma, the hero of the novel _Balchanma_ remarked:

“यो खास काम मेरा फैसला था, फिर भी और कई काम थे जैसे बच्चों को खिलाना, पानी भरना, बाहर बैठक में झाड़ू लगाना, दुकान से नून-तेल, मसाला लाना और मस्लिखान के पैर चौपना।”²⁶
The Malkin forcefully made Balchanma work. Even the Malik awaked from deep sleep by kicking and asked him to drive away the mosquitoes from the buffalos. Being helpless at the oppression of the Malik he said:

“अदालत उनकी, हाकिम उनका, धाना-दारोगा उनका, पुलिस उनकी। गरीबों के लिए सिवाय लात-बूत के और ही क्या? अब तो थोड़ा जमाना बदला भी है, बाकी दस-पन्डित साल पहले देहातों में खुप अभिरा था। जिसकी लाटी उसकी खेस ?” 27

In this manner, the zamindars were the all-in-all in the villages.

In Baba Batesarnath there is a vivid picture of how the zamindars of the village Rupwooli took up the tenants for begar and his oppression over them. Before hundred years the zamindars were all in all in their own jurisdiction. The begar was their right. They regarded the lower caste people as insects:

“आज तो इन बातों पर सहसा विश्वास नहीं करेगा कोई, किन्तु सी वर्ष पहले दरबार अपने इलाकों में जनीदार सर्वसर्वा हुआ करता था। रियाया से बैठे बेगार लेना उसका सहज अधिकार था। वह रीढ़! वह दबदबा! यह अफसर! वह शान! वह तानाशाह! वह जुल्म! क्या बहाकै बेटा? छोटी आँखात के और नीची जाति के लोगों को तो खिड़क बड़ी-मकड़ी समहता ही था, अच्छी-अच्छी हैसियत के भले खासे व्यक्तियों से वक्त-बेवक्त नाक राहुलता था जनीदार!” 28

On the other hand, the people had to labour hard in the ceremonies like marriages and other festivals and musical entertainments etc. for them. Baba Batesarnath described about a marriage ceremony of a zamindars:

“कंघों पर बाँस रख कर सौलह बेगारी भारी सी तख़त़ोप़ दोने जा रहे थे, उस पर दरी और जानिम बिंदी थी। मग साज-बाज के एक रंगी उस तख़त़ोप़ पर नाज रही थी -तबला-हुंगी, सारंगी, मजीरा सब साथ दे रहे थे!” 29
In this manner the zamindars tortured the mass in various ways.

6.04: Peasant Uprising:

The Indian farmers began taking active part in politics during Freedom Movement. They now organized themselves to get rid of both the British exploitation of the feudal lords and zamindars and to have their own rights. The picture of the life of farmers loaded with distress is the main stay of the novels of Nagarjun.

Struggle begins from inequality. The zamindars were the owners of the farmers. The zamindars enjoyed all the facilities. They took the farmers as their slaves. The farmers began to fight for the solution of their basic problems. There was a feeling of dissatisfaction and of inequality in their mind and that was why they rose in rebellion from time to time. The communist uprising inspired the farmers to rise against the zamindars.

Nagarjun depicted the growing feeling of rebellion among the villagers of Shubhankarpur and its surrounding areas very clearly in Ratinath Ki Chachi. The slogan “Earners would consume” (Kamanewala Khayega) was outlined in that novel. Describing the struggle between the zamindars and the farmers Nagarjun said that the farmers began Satyagraha also. Now the landlords and the police began to co-operate:

“मालिक को लटौत और पुलिसस्वाले मिल गये। ऊपर कांग्रेसी मंजिले था, नीचे धरती माता थी। सत्याग्रही पृथ्वी-पुजा मिटने लगे तो खून से तिरंगा लाल हो उठा।”

30 Kamanewala Khayega
31
The *Kishan Kuti* for the farmers was raised by the side of Baluaha pond and the farmers donated to it wholeheartedly. Gauri, the aunt of Ratinath not only paid money but offered her old blanket also.\(^\text{32}\)

In *Balchanma*, there was a rising among the common people and they began joining the *Kishan Sabha*.

Nagarjun exposed the characters of the leaders, for whom the movement of the farmers became weaker. Ramapati Jha, one of the powerful leaders of *Zila Kishan Sabha* who united the tenants of Rajabahadur, got fourteen *bighas* of land free and got the loan of rupees twelve hundred written off. The young Brahmins of Shubhankarpur became the leaders of low caste farmers. Rajabahadur also presented two *bighas* of land each. Even then the farmers stood firmly. One small *zamindar* of the neighbourhood took up the land of Rajabahadur in Shubhankarpur through written document. The arm-chair leaders had already side-tracked the movement of the farmers.\(^\text{33}\)

Dayanath in *Baba Batesarnath* thought that the Congress Party was not in favour of solving any problem of the farmers. As such the farmers should organize themselves to fight for their rights.

In *Varun Ke Bete*, the farmers organized *Kishan Sabha* to fight for their rights. Nagarjun in his novels discussed the righteousness of the farmers' organization through realistic view. He himself was directly related to movement of the farmers. Because he knew and realized the problems of the farmers.

6.05: The abolition of *Zamindari System*:

The British Colonialism and their anti-people laws were the basic causes of the farmers' movement. In 1757, after the Battle of Plessey, British spread their
authority over India through the East-India Company. In 1793, Lord Cornwallis introduced permanent settlement in Bengal, Bihar and Orrissa and there by introduced the *Zamindari System* in India. The evil effect of the new settlement of land by the British was that the farmers had to pay taxes under all circumstances and on the other hand, their lands were snatched away by the *zamindars*. These *zamindars* worked as the agent of the British government. Again in 1937, as a result of the civil effects of the Congress government, the *zamindars* were profited most. But they now realized that after independence the *Zamindari System* would be abolished. As a matter of fact the oppression of the *zamindars* grew more and more after independence. As a result, the farmers began to unite together, against oppression and exploitation.

After independence the *Zamindari System* was abolished and restriction was put on the exclusive rights of the *zamindars* and their vast property. But they began selling their land to keep their property intact. As a result, the farmers had to fight for their rights. In *Ratinath Ki Chachi*, Nagarjun depicted such a picture of the *zamindari* of Bhutahi Zamindar:

"फिसलना-आंदोलन ने जोर पड़ा, रैयतों ने अपनी जोत को तीस बीघा जमीन छोड़ने से साफ़ इंकार कर दिया। मालिक उसे पड़ोस के फिल्मों के हाथ बेंडोबस्त कर देना चाहता था। जो पत्तीसीं वर्ष से उस जमीन की जोत थी -जोते और फसल काटते आ रहे थे, बे लोग ठप गए, "इस पर हमारा हक है!" 34"

In *Baba Batesarnath*, the novelist depicted the pitiful oppression and exploitation of the *zamindars* over the farmer’s generation after generation through the *vatvrix*. Under this process, he showed how the *zamindar* sold the public properties for their personal gain.
In *Varun Ke Bete*, there is a picture of the failure of abolitation of *Zamindari System* also.\(^{35}\)

### 6.06: Class Struggle:

The economic backwardness of the farmers and the labourers, according to Nagarjun, was due to the exploitation by *zamindars* and the capitalists. He was a communist novelist. As a result, class struggle is reflected in his novels. His first business was to create public opinions against exploitation and dictatorial administration. He depicted the symbols of movement so that they (the symbols) might create some type of influence over the mind of the common mass.\(^{36}\)

Being a communist, Nagarjun depicted a realistic picture of the class struggle in most of his novels like *Ratinath Ki Chachi, Balchanma, Baba Batesarnath, Varun Ke Bete* etc. The main factor of class struggle is economic inequality. He has tried to analyse the matter of caste and religion with economic inequality in his novels.

Balchanma in the novel *Balchanma* was conscious of his own right and joined the Freedom Movement. He believed that the Congress was not in favour of the farmers. In *Varun Ke Bete*, there is also a picture of class struggle. But the active struggle between the fisherman the *zamindars* were not reflected. The fisherman objected to the *zamindars* only from their residences.

In *Dukhmochan*, the family maids also showed their class consciousness. They were not prepared to work at the old rate. Therefore, they stopped work and began to strike.
We have already discussed about the class struggle as described by Nagarjun in his novels—Ratinath Ki Chachi, Balchanma, Varun Ke Bete etc. under the Peasant Uprising. Nagarjun in his novels depicted the problems in the mills and factories arising out of strikes by the workers along with the tussle between farmers and the zamindars. In their connection examples of Emratiya, Dukhmochan and Abhinandan may be cited.

In Emratiya, the struggle between the labours and capitalists are raised in the shape of strikes:

"चीनी के कारखानों में लाल झड़ड़ेलों ने हड़ताल कर दी है। पचास-पचास मजदूर पड़े गये। चिक्की रात बड़ी देर तक नारे लगाते रहे। जेलर से लेकर लेबर मिनिस्टर तक को मुद्दा बनाया जाता रहा। ........ हड़ताली हजारों में मांग जेलर को मंजूर करनी पड़ी। जमान में बड़ी ताकत होती है न? और कहीं उस ताकत के पीछे पड़े-लिखे समझदार लोगों की सूझ-बूझ भी हुई तो फिर क्या कहना? जमानिया की पैकूट में मजदूरों ने दो साल पहले भी हड़ताल की थी। लेकिन, वहाँ लाल झण्डा नहीं था, तिरंगा था।"  

Nagarjun had faith upon the international power of the proletariat. Dukhmochan, the hero of the novel Dukhmochan told Nityaa Babu that even in London there was peacelessness in great amount in those days. The labourers of the ship were going to organize strikes and the whole town was with them. The novelist raised the question of international situation to instigate the Indian labourers.

The mentality of our mill-owner can be compared with none. They knew only money and not human being, even if they are their own workers. They could do anything for money. They exploited their own labourers through falsehood, untruth and so on. Baba in Abhinandan depicted such negative aspect of the mill-owners of the pre
and the post independence time. There was strike in a newspaper press. As a result, no issue of the paper was published for twelve days. Two of the editors were in the side of the owner and another five were with the striking workers. The name of the newspaper was changed to daily Janwani from daily Lokwani. The Labour Department only ordered for a panchayat of their members to look into the matter.39

6.07: Encroachment:

The zamindars forcefully took over the land of the farmers. On the other hand, the farmers were not prepared under any circumstances to give their land. In Balchanma, the socialist leader Dr. Rahman and Radha Babu gave guidance to the farmers. The zamindars could not resist the farmers. The farmers used the slogan:

“कमानबाला खायेगा इसके चलते जो कुछ हो!”40

After independence the Zamindari System has been abolished. But the zamindars gathered money through encroachment and dispossession from their holdings. They tried to occupy illegally all the public properties like grazing, ponds, trees etc. The farmers opposed such activities. As a result, there was a tussle between the zamindars and farmers. The novelist depicted a true picture of an economically weak state like Bihar where there was a story of the oppression the farmers and the labourers. Being influenced by the communist ideals, the farmers and labourers demanded their right. Baba in his novels depicted the fragile character of the zamindars against the pro-people movement along with the new consciousness of the farmers and the labourers.
In *Baba Batesarnath* rich people like Jainarayan and Tunai Pathak bought from the *zamindars* in Rupwooli village all the land for public use, grazing, roads etc. The youths of Rupwooli village organized *Kishan Sabha* to revolt against it. This *sabha* had the intention to organize one coalition against encroachment with the help of neighbours in such matters. In this manner the novelist depicted how the poor class rose against the things that cause disasters to the society and the poor classes.

In *Varun Ke Bete*, the fishermen stood against the evil intention of encroachment by the *zamindars*. The *zamindars* occupied the ponds of the fishermen. On the other hand the fishermen was united and prepared to fight against the *zamindars* for their rights.

6.08: Corruption:

In the novels of Nagarjun there are the pictures of the feudal lords and *zamindars* prior to independence on one hand and there are the pictures of the weakness of the political leaders after independence on the other hand. After independence the political leaders i.e. the congressmen took the position of the *zamindars*. Nagarjun’s *Balchanma* realized that after independence only the high class people would get all benefits and not the lower class people:

"स्वराज्य मिलने पर बाबू भैया लोग आपस में ही दही-मछली बॉट लेंगे .... हम लोगों के हिस्से में सीढ़ी ही सीढ़ी पड़ेगी।"  

In the same novel, Balchanma remarked on old *zamindars* now turned into congressmen Radha Babu as followers:
“The political leaders and government officials inherited political corruption from the British imperialists.

Nagarjun in his novels exposed all that corruption spreading over the old political set up. Phul Babu in *Balchanma* represented the corrupted politicians. He got associated with the official who was in-charge of distributing grants to the flood affected people and misappropriates the money with them. Kunti told Balchanma:

> “नेलोग जुल्लाम करते हुँ भेदा, देते हुँ दो और कागज पर चढ़ते हुँ दस !”

In this manner, Nagarjun depicted a picture of the rescue activities and the weakness of the officials engaged in it in a realistic manner.

In the village level the *mukhiyas* who were the representatives of such corruption, began to cheat the people and fulfilled their own interests. In *Nayee Paudh*, the *Mukhiya* of the Naugachhiya village erected one bamboo in front of his house on the head of which the tricolor flew. But he exploited the illiterate people of the locality. He also distributed sugar and kerosene oil available for rationing to the people. But he was not ready to disburse these materials in the controlled rate. Along with these he had the permit for supplying cloth which he sold at a higher rate in co-operation with the Marwaris.

In *Abhinandan*, the novelist made a satire of the government machinery through the medium of Babu Narpatnarayan, a minister. This and such influential leaders
took the government officials under their command. Babu's son Nagendra was caught red
handed for doing illegal trade of hemp (ganja). But Babuji got him freed through political
influence. These leaders were not patriots and social servants. But they were blood-suckers of mass people. To misuse the public money was their easy games. Babu
Narapatrnayan Singh regarded this oppression as his legal right. He said:

"जिनके जीवन का दीप हमेशा औरों के लिए जलता रहा, ऐसे कार्यकर्ता निर्लिप्त भाव से यदि सार्वजनिक
निधि में से तौ- पचास लेते चले, तो इसमें बुराई कैसी?" 46

They employed their relatives in the social welfare services and village
industries and increased political corruptions. 47 They lavishly spent a huge amount of
hard earned money of the mass people in their feasts, musical ceremonies etc arranged to
welcome them. 48 The traders offered a huge sum of rupees seventy one thousands while
meeting the minister and this sum was regarded by the latter as offering to the deity. 49

6.09: Bribery:

Bribery is another type of corruption. Nagarjun also hinted at this type of
corruption. This bribery becomes a part of our society. In Balchanma, the Malik had one
unsuccessful attempt of rape on Balchanma's sister Rebni. When Balchanma objected,
the Malik lodged false charge against Balchanma and put him to the mercy of the police.
A false charge of theft was lodged against Balchanma. He was poor a man and the police
took him as criminal and he was never heard in the police outpost. Balchanma knew it
well those only bribes would save him, otherwise there was no way out for him:
In Baba Batesarnath, Tunai Pathak attempted a conspiracy to make the Peasant Uprising unsuccessful and paid money to get one dumb man killed. In this connection he paid bribes to the police and made the police charge falsely five persons for it. In Nayee Paudh, some youths complained against the Mukhiya, who illegally sold out the sugar and kerosene meant for public distribution. The supply inspector came for inquiry. But the Mukhiya brought the signatories of the complaint to his side by giving them cards. It shows how the Food Supply Department and the officials took bribes from the shopkeepers.

In Emratiya, the novelist showed how the police officers took bribes and allowed the people who sacrificed children in Jamaniya Math to go free. On the other hand, they reported to the government that some hooligans made conspiracy all the times to tarnish the good name of Sant Shiromani Babaji Maharaj. In the same manner, there is the story of how the government officers earned lakhs of rupees from bribes in Varun Ke Bete. Here the misuse of government fund in the Kosi Project has also been exposed.

6.10: Hooliganism:

A person who does something angrily without any thinking, which can even put his life in trouble, is generally called a hooligan (a gunda). Nagarjun, in his novels depicted a very realistic picture of such hooliganism of his time. Some people do hooliganism to fulfill their own interest, and nothing is done by the administration against them.
The *Balchanma* is a pitiful story of a landless farmer family. The family of Balchanma worked as farm labourer and worked hard at the residence of the zamindar. The oppression and exploitation of the zamindars is the background of this novel. Balchanma took active part when he witnessed how the Malik tried to rape Rebni and particularly when he met Phul Babu and Radha Babu. As a result, he became the victim of the conspiracy of the zamindar and there began the assault.53

In *Baba Batersarnath*, Tunai Pathak and Jainarayan got one Gangu Chamar killed only to entangle some progressive leaders of the village. Gangu was dumb and sly. His mother married for the second time after the death of his father in the village Rupwooli. In her second marriage also she had given birth to children. The new father had no interest in the son of old father. With the interest of entangling his enemies Pathak paid rupees one hundred and fifty to do away with the dumb man, who was found dead after two days.54 In this manner Nagarjun depicted the hooliganism that prevailed in the society in his novels.

6.11: *Weakness of the administration of the judicial system:*

Nagarjun in his novels depicted the picture of the disasters of the mass people, which was the result of the weakness of the administration and the judiciary.

The Police Department is one of the chief bases of the administration. But this department is always ready to oppress and exploit the common people. This basis or foundation of the administration becomes weaker due to two factors—one, to earn money and two, to satisfy the leaders.
In *Baba Batesarnath*, Tunai Pathak and Jainarayan got the dumb Chamar killed only to entangle the progressive leaders of the village. He also bribed the police and got some five persons arrested and instituted case against them. In the novel he was described as the *sardar* of dacoits. Tunai Pathak showed great respect to the police only to fulfill his self interest. At the arrival of the *daroga* he got mutton ready and made the *daroga* happy with the food and drink. There were enjoyment everywhere and even sweet songs of Lata Mangeshkar were played to give delight to the police personnel.

In *Abhinandan*, the police arrested Nagendra, the son of Narpatnarayan Singh, who committed illegal activities. But as soon as his father phoned the police, he was released. It shows that the police did not do their duties properly; they were there only to please the *netas*.

The police station works always under the guidance of leaders. In *Balchanma*, Nagarjun hinted at some conspiracy of the police with Khan Bahadur Sadulla of Mahpura, who oppressed the people. Nobody could do anything against the tyrannical *zamindar* alone. The *daroga* of the police station was at his back along with the collector of Darbhanga. The same police officer put false blame of theft on Balchanma when he protested against the attempt of rape on his sister by the *Malik*. Because he was a poor man, what Balchanma thought of the judicial system was definitely a shock against it:

“*दारोगा तो नहीं मानेगा। या तो छूस लेगा या बात को आगे बढ़ा देगा!*”

There is a picture of negligence on the part of the government officials towards common people in *Baba Batesarnath*. Dayanath and Hazi Karim Bokhs, on
behalf of the *Kishan Sabha* applied several times for the officers of the small irrigation project. But their requests were neglected. It shows that today's officers do not pay heed to justice.

In *Kumbhipak*, the Chief Minister regarded the firing on youths as justified, Rai Saheb remarked:

"सत्तार, पचहली वर्ष का चौथ मिनिस्टर अधारह-बीस वर्ष की उम्र के छोकरों पर गोलियाँ चल चुकने के बाद कहता है- 'हमारें जागरूक करके, सच्चा किया।""58

In *Ratinath Ki Chachi*, there is a picture of the pitiful condition of mass people in the courts in the name of justice. People knock at the door of the court as the last resort of justice. But the system in the court is so lengthy that people had to be restless there.59

6.12: Selfishness of Congress Party:

Nagarjun had given a clear picture of political environment of India prior to and after independence. In this connection, the novelist exposed the selfishness of the Congress leaders.

The Congress Party played a major part in the achievement of independence. So they enjoy the major portion of the advantage from it. Majority members of the Congress Party were from the capitalists’ and zamindars’ families. They had the intention to catch hold of the ruin of the country after independence. For Nagarjun the transfer of power from the British was nothing but a drama, Balchanma remarked:
Nagarjun has depicted the evil intentions of the Congress in a very powerful language.

The Congress Party was the party of the zamindars, seths and the lawyers. Therefore, it always looked after their own class. In *Baba Batesarnath* the remark of Dayanath is quite remarkable:

In *Abhinandan*, the discrepancies of the Bihar Congress Party and the worshipping of individuals had been reflected in a realistic manner. Here, the corruption of the contemporary administrators and their selfishness had been also exposed.

In *Varun Ke Bete* also, there is a description of the exploitation of the Congress leaders. These leaders used the labour of the workers but in return they were not properly paid.

In *Emratiya*, the Congress leaders even co-operated with traitors like Mathadish Baba of the *Jamaniya Math*. Baba said that the *tirangawale* co-operated with the *math. math* also helped them.  

6.13: Shattering of dreams:

The independence of India was the fruit of the self-sacrifice and immolation of the Indians for a long time. Therefore, everybody were waiting eagerly for
it with some dreams. But after the independence all the dreams, all the expectations began to shatter.

In *Balchanma*, Balchanma also thought:

“सीराज़ होने पर सबके दिन लौटेंगे, सबका भाग चमकेगा!” ⁶³

But these expectations of Balchanma proved to be false after independence. At last he realized that the farmers should be united and fight for them in the way in which the *zamindars* were united and snatched away authority from the British. ⁶⁴ Balchanma’s idea about freedom came true:

“स्वरूप मिलने पर बाबू घैमा लोग आपस में ही दही-मकली बौंट लेंगे, जो लोग आज मालिक बन बैठे हैं, आगे भी तर माल बही उड़ावेंगे। हम लोगों के हिस्से सीटी --ही- सीटी पहरेगी!” ⁶⁵

*Nayee Paudh* was written immediately after the general election of 1952. Although this novel is based on dissimilar marriage, yet there are certain references to the contemporary problems. The lower labour class character Chhakauri Khabas remarked:

“अंग्रेज़ लहू, पीला था तो ई लोग हड़ हटाएँ हैं!” ⁶⁶

Independence made no difference for another ordinary householder Phaturi Thakur also. ⁶⁷ The time of writing *Baba Batesarnath* was 1954. Here, in this novel there is a real picture of the uselessness and failures of the national government after independence. Dayanath went to the Congress M.L.A. Babu Ugramohan Das to get their old land and pond freed from encroachment. He received assurance. The M.L.A Ugramohan Das, and MP Kulanand Das regarded the village Rupwooli as under the influence of the communists and therefore, the villagers were deprived of small irrigation
project. There was exploitation of the mass people prior to independence. The fruit of independence was available only to a very few. In the words of Baba:

“आजादी के लिए आजादी की मिली है हमारे उपर बाबू का, कुलानन्द दास की ....... क्राइसी की टिकट पर जो चुने गये है उन्हें मिली है आजादी। मिनिस्ट्री को तो और कैबिनेट की आजादी मिली है। सोल्डेटेरिस्ट के बड़े साहबों को भी आजादी का फायदा पहुँचा है।”

This remark of Baba is the outcome of the shattering of dreams relating to independence.

6.14: Socialistic Ideology and its weakness:

Nagarjun was a supporter of socialism. He wanted that there should be rule of the proletariat and the capitalists as well as the zamindars should be destroyed. There should not be any type of exploitation and everybody should be happy. Everybody should enjoy equal rights.

In Balchanma, the characters like Swamiji, Sharmaji, Rahman and others were the representatives of socialistic thought. Nagarjun wanted to bring forth equality in the society though these characters:

“समूची जनता आपस में भेदभाव गूलकर उठ खड़ी होगी तभी अंग्रेज भागेगा। समूची जनता कैसे आपस में भेदभाव भूलेगी, कैसे एक होगी ? लोगों को जब विस्वास हो जायेगा कि जमींदार महाजन की फाजिल धन सम्पदा उन्हीं में बूंट जाएगी, दोस्त का खाना किसी को नहीं मिलेगा। सब काम करेगा, सब दाम पाएगा। लूट अर्गें बून बेकार सबकी जिम्मेदारी सरकार को उठानी पड़ेगी, पैसे के बल पर कोई फिसी को बंधुआ गुलाम नहीं बना सकेगा।”

The socialist’s leader Rahman arose political consciousness in the mind of the people. Being inspired by the socialist leaders the farmers were organized and
decided to struggle and raised slogans based on socialistic ideals that only workers would eat.\footnote{71}

*Birju bhaiya* in *Paro* also joined in the Socialistic Party for independence of the country. His view was:

"अपने-अपने सर्वस्व का माया-मोह छोड़ जब तक हम-आप स्वतंत्रता की बलिवेदी पर जाकर नहीं खड़े होंगे, तब तक देश की यही हालत रहेगी......."\footnote{72}

In *Nayee Paudh* Vachaspati also offered himself for socialism.\footnote{73}

In this manner, it is clear that when the Congress gave leadership to the high class, the socialist leaders represented the middle and the lower classes. Nagarjun had complete faith and confidence on the socialist leaders. Because of being a helping hand to the progressive consciousness, he stood along with farmers. Almost all his characters in the novels were the carrier of his progressive views. He taught them to be united and organized. The question of the farmers was the most important ones. The socialist leaders awaked the farmers that the government had the least thought for them but they (the government) fulfilled their own interest.

After independence, it became clear that the socialist leaders also had some weakness in them. These leaders now did not fight in the way they fought before. For their hesitating principles, the organization of the party was decaying. In *Baba Batesarnath* it is said that first the socialist party joined hands with the farmers in the village and organized *morchas* against the *zamindars*, where in most cases they were successful also. But gradually the socialists became weaker. The reason for such
weakness was not with the ordinary workers but with the topmost leaders. In the opinion of Dayanath, Joyprakash Narayan was a dhulmil yakin neta.\textsuperscript{74} 

**Solution:**

Like the social and economic problems, Nagarjun has depicted the political problems in his novels. There had been political rise and fall in India and still India is surrendered with many political problems. Nagarjun tried to give some solution to these problems.

In *Baba Batesarnath*, Nagarjun depicted how the Indian people were successful in the Freedom Movement against the British domination. To go to jails by the volunteers was a glorious tradition. The people did not care for all troubles and oppressions like to be arrested to bear the cuts of *lathis*, to bear the shots of, boots of the police and military men etc. The *satyagraha* and piquetting became ceremonies for them.\textsuperscript{75}

The novelist offered *mantras* to the organization of farmers and labourers by depicting picture of the oppressions of the *zamindars*. Nagarjun stood with them by supporting the peoples’ movement. The *vatvrix* made the united force known to Jaikisun.\textsuperscript{76}

In the same novel, Jivnath who was released from jail established the village committees-*Kishan Sabha* and *Naujawan Sabha*. Both Dayanath and Jaikisun explained the purpose of the *Kishan Sabha*. They also raised the proposal for fighting against the *zamindars* immediately. Coalition *morchas* against encroachment of village
In Varun Ke Bete, the fishermen made practical attempt for the abolition of Zamindars System. The zamindars of Satghara introduced section 144 in the village and the fishermen were debarred from fishing in the ponds. But to debar them from fishing was equal to kill them through hunger. It was the only means of livelihood for them. The new landlord tried to take away their livelihood through force with the help of the police. But the fishermen came to know that as a result of the abolition of the Zamindary System, the Zamindars had no authority over the public ponds and the authority goes to the government. Therefore, the fishermen did not like to bow down before the zamindars under any circumstances. Now the public pond- the Gorhpokhar was practically a government property. In the mean time the memorandum from the fishermen reached higher authorities in Patna and Delhi. They also informed the district authority several times. Now they decided that they would not allow the new authority to reach the boundary of the Gorhpokhar.

In Balchanma, the novelist opposed the zamindars and wanted to solve the class-struggle. The farmers and the labourers are always oppressed and exploited by the zamindars and capitalists physically, mentally and economically. It is therefore, very important that, to get rid of this exploitation, the farmers and labourers should be ready to fight against the exploiters. Balchanma bore all the oppressions of the zamindars. He grew by using all the rotten food and cloth given to him by the zamindars. His Malik even tried to disgrace the dignity of his mother and sister. It was only when Balchanma rebelled:
In *Baba Batesarnath*, Nagajun showed how the farmers were united and struggled against encroachment. Being successful in their movement they opened the path for their freedom, peace and progress. During the juncture of the feudal and capitalists system, the zamindars, mahajans, government officials and the police oppressed the people in inhumane ways. The zamindars illegally usurped public place like the grazing, ponds, trees, land etc. Against all these adversaries the farmers of the villages were organized under new generation who were influenced by communistic consciousness. Nagajun in his novels showed continuous struggle by the people for their rights. The vatvrix blessed the new generation and praised their works.  

Nagajun in his novels exposed corruption, bribery, hooliganism and the weakness of the administration and the judiciary. These things entered our society in such a manner that they were beyond removal. The whole administration began to mark at their hint. The common people knew about these diseases of the society very well. But they looked on them like dumb ones. In *Kumbhipak*, the sentry at the gate of the minister said that he protected the injustice inside the fort. The government was imprisoned in the Bungler and they would need ten to twenty years to meet the people.  

In *Balchanma*, it is showed that the judicial system was in the pocket of the high class people and the officials. The court, the magistrates, the police station with daroga and the people belonged to them, not for the poor:
In Batesarnath, Jainarayan and Tunai Pathak got one dumb *chamar* killed and five young people were made falsely entrapped in that crime. These five people had to undergo troubles to get justice due to weakness of the administration and the judiciary.

Nagarjun in his novels, made an intensive attempt to depict the shattering of dreams of the people after independence. Yet he was hopeful about the future. In *Baba Batesarnath*, Baba said that the golden era of the people was due now.

The novelist also realized well the weakness of the socialists and the congressmen. He regarded the Communist Party more hopeful towards the labourers and the farmers in comparison to Congress and the Socialist Party:

Nagarjun’s political ideals remained accelerated with time. He witnessed that the Congress leaders were already corrupted and the ideals of the socialist leaders were not firm like the beginning. Therefore, Nagarjun now wanted that his hopes and faith be fulfilled by the Communist Party. The character of Mohan Majhi in *Varun Ke Bete*, Abhayanand in *Emratiya* and Virbhadra in *Baba Batesarnath* were communists. Mohan Majhhi left the Socialist Party and joined the Communist Party. He was a worker
of the National Freedom Movement. He was ready to fight for the mass.\textsuperscript{85} In *Emratiya*, Abhayanand challenged the cruel and corrupted Baba of *Jamniya Math*.\textsuperscript{86}

In *Baba Batesarnath* Birbhadra believed in violence. He scorned at truth and non-violence and called Mahatma Gandhi as the agent of the capitalists. He wanted the Indian people to follow the Russian path through which the farmers, labourers and militaries moved for revolution and he regarded it as the only way for Indians.\textsuperscript{87} The *Kishan Sabhas* began to solve the problems of the farmers on the basis of the Marxist ideals. The young generation of the village also joined the *Kishan Sabhas* and took active parts to introduce the class consciousness among the people:

"अनेक प्रकार की सामाजिक और ग्रामीण विपथियों से प्रत्य, मौजूदा शासन-व्यवस्था की विषमताओं से तबाह, तीस-चालीस गाँवों का वह परोपकार (परणान) इस किस्तान-संगठनों की तरफ भरोसे की निगमों से देखने लगा। उच्च वर्ग के स्वेच्छाचारियों से अपनी हिफाजत के लिए, तानाशाह अधिकारियों से वाजिब हक हासिल करने के लिए बीसी देहाती तरण आगे निकल आए-जीवू भाई उनके रहनुमा थे। उनमें कोई प्राइमरी स्कूल का बेरोजगार मास्टर था, कोई मैट्रिक पास करके बेचक बैठा हुआ पड़ा बाबू था, फारसाने में चौंटी के बाद देहात की वापस आया हुआ कोई मजादूर था, कोई भूपूर्वी मौजूदी जनान था, स्ट्राक्स के बाद हाईस्कूल या कॉलेज से निकला हुआ कोई विद्यार्थी था, खाल-पीते किस्तान खानदान का कोई आदर्शवादी तरण था......"\textsuperscript{88}

**Conclusion:**

After analysing the political problems as depicted in the novels of Nagarjun, we can come to the conclusion that man lives in the society and politics has organic relationship with the society. Therefore, in his novels the contemporary political situation and problems related to it are clearly exposed. His novels, where the various problems of the society are reflected, also exposed the political history in details. The
British theory of domination, Freedom Movement and its weakness, oppression of the zamindars, Peasant Uprising, abolition of the Zamindari System, class-struggle, encroachment, corruption, bribery, hooliganism, the weakness of the administrative and judicial system, selfishness of the Congress, shattering of dreams, the weakness of socialist ideals etc. were the subject matter of Nagarjun’s novels. He openly objected to the selfishness and principle of looting others of the political leaders, thrashed the leaders for their selfish attitude, grouping in the party, exploitation and corruption. According to Nagarjun, the hopes of the lower class could only be fulfilled through the path of communism. He with the help of his characters made publicity of the communist ideals and was trying to establish socialistic society through them. He had firm belief that only the communist party could do welfare of the poor struggling mass and could change their fate.
END NOTE

1. Premchandottar Upanyason Main Pragatisilta, Dr. Nirmal Kumari Vershneya, P.88
2. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanyas, Part-1, Baba Batesarnath P.385
3. Ibid, P.379.380
4. Ibid, P.392
5. Ibid, p.406
6. Ibid, P.395
7. Ibid, P.379
8. Ibid, P.379
9. Premchandottar Upanyason Ki Shilp- Vidhi, Dr. Satyapal Chugh, P.613
10. Hindi Ke Rajnitic Upanyaso Ka Anushilon, Dr.Brajbhushan Singh 'Adarsh' P.419
11. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanayas, Part-1, Balchanma, P.45-47
12. Ibid, Part 2, Nayee Paudh, P.296-297
13. Ibid, Part 1, Baba Batesarnath, P.391
14. Ibid, Paro, P.564
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16. Ibid, Part 1, Baba Batesarnath P.390
17. Ibid, P.398
18. Nagarjun Rachnawali 4, Ed. Shobhakant, Baba Batesarnath P.423
19. Ibid, P.415
20. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanayas, Part -1 Balchanma,p.80
21. Ibid, p.81
22. Ibid, Part 2, Ratinath Ki Chachi, P.196
23. Ibid, Part-1, Balchanma, P.11
24. Ibid, P.57
25. Ibid, P.60
26. Ibid, P.13
27. Ibid, Balchanma, P.44
28. Ibid, Baba Batesarnath, P.353-354
29. Ibid, P.353
31. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanayas, Part 2, Ratinath Ki Chachi, P.207
32. Ibid, p.196
33. Nagarjun Rachnawali 4, Ed. Shobhakant, Ratinath Ki Chachi, P.74
34. Ibid, P.83
35. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanyas, Part 1, Varun Ke Bete P.254
36. Hindi Ke Rajnitiic Upanyaso Ka Anushilon, Dr.Brajbhushan Singh, p.406
37. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanyas, Part 1, Emratika, P.488
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40. Nagarjun Rachnawali 4, Ed. Shobhakant, Balchanma, P.22
41. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanyas, Part-1, Baba Batesarnath, P.424-425
42. Varun Ke Bete, Nagarjun, P.27
43. Nagarjun Ke Sampurn Upanyas, Part 1, Balchanma P.117
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45. Ibid, P.117
46. Ibid, Abhinandan, P.213
47. Ibid, P.214
48. Ibid, P.223-226
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50. Ibid, Balchanma, P.72
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