

ISSN 2277-1425
e-ISSN 2277-1433

*A Bi-annual Peer Reviewed
Multi-Disciplinary
Research Journal*



Himachal Pradesh University Journal

Vol.07, No.2, December 2019

A Bi-annual Multi-disciplinary Research Journal
of Himachal Pradesh University

EDITORIAL BOARD

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Prof. Sikander Kumar

Vice Chancellor

Himachal Pradesh University

EDITOR

Prof. Harish K. Thakur

Department of Political Science

Himachal Pradesh University

Shimla - 171005

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Prof. Saraswati Bhalla

Department of Hindi

Himachal Pradesh University

Shimla - 171 005

Prof. R.P. Sharma

Department of Mathematics & Statistics

Himachal Pradesh University

Shimla - 171 005

Prof. A. J. Singh

Department of Computer Science

Himachal Pradesh University

Shimla - 171 005

Prof. Mamta Mokta

Department of Public Administration

Himachal Pradesh University

Shimla - 171 005

Prof. Arvind Kumar Bhatt

Department of Biotechnology

Himachal Pradesh University

Shimla - 171 005

Prof. Vikas Dogra

Department of Journalism

& Mass Communication

Himachal Pradesh University

Shimla - 171 005

Contents

1. A brief profile of prevalent traditional systems of medicine in Himachal Pradesh <i>Maneesha Kohli, Mamta Devi, Kalpana Thakur, Virender Kumar Santavan and Arvind Kumar Bhatt</i>	3-13
2. Ethnobotanical Study of Wild Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Una District of Himachal Pradesh, India <i>Sunil Jaswal</i>	14-26
3. Metaphysical Foundation of Aurobindo's Concept of Swaraj <i>Abha Chauhan Khimta</i>	27-29
4. Satyagraha and Non-Violence : A Gandhian Perspective <i>Vikas Singh</i>	30-34
5. Theorising the Philosophy of Ends and Means <i>Abha Chauhan Khimta, Bharti Gupta</i>	35-42
6. India and Canada: The Century of Engagement <i>Harish K. Thakur</i>	43-48
7. Indo-Canadian Partnership over Trade and Development: A Contemporary Analysis <i>Bhawna Sharma</i>	49-64
8. Tibetan Refugees and India - Canada Relations <i>Mini Pathak Dogra</i>	65-68
9. Indo-Sri Lankan Relations in 21st Century: Issues of Conflict and Cooperation <i>Rattan Lal, Joginder Singh Saklani</i>	69-82
10. Indian Governance System: A Critical Assessment <i>Anuj Kumar, L. R. Verma</i>	83-91
11. A Critical Review of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir <i>Lalit Kumar Sharma</i>	92-102
12. Evolution of Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) in Delhi <i>Lalit Kumar Sharma, Jai Parkash Sharma</i>	103-111
13. Conceptual Framework of HRD Practices in Public Sector Undertakings in Himachal Pradesh <i>L. R. Verma, Charan Singh</i>	112-115
14. World of Virtual Currencies <i>Puneet Bhushan, Yashwant Gupta</i>	116-121
15. Organizational Commitment: A Comparative Study of Public and Private Sector Bank <i>Purnima Gupta, Yashwant Kumar Gupta</i>	122-132
16. Comparative study of vocational aspiration among rural and urban IX grade students in Himachal Pradesh. <i>Surender Kumar Sharma</i>	133-137
17. Water Quality Assessment of Ground Water Resources in Urban Shimla <i>Sunil Jaswal, Sudhir Kumar</i>	138-146

18. An Analytical Study of Mental Imagery Components Sensation of Taste and Sensation of Smell Level among Boxers and Judokas of Himachal Pradesh <i>Sanjay Sharma</i>	147-152
19. Internet Communication and Academic Performance among Adolescent Boys and Girls: A Correlational Study <i>Sonia Bhatt, Gayatri Raina</i>	153-162
20. Problems of Finances of Panchayati Raj Institutions <i>Rajneesh Kumar</i>	163-173
21. Catholic Women Missionaries, Education and Knowledge Production in Colonial North India <i>Molly K. A.</i>	174-184
22. The Silent Sufferers of Child Sexual Abuse: An Overview of Legal Mechanism in India <i>Bhanvi Vaid</i>	185-192
23. Interjection of the Protection of Girl Child and Human Rights <i>Ruchi Sapahia</i>	193-199
24. Flowers of the same Bud: Poetry of John Keats and Abdul Ghani Khan <i>Daisy Verma</i>	200-211
25. Empowerment of Women Characters in Manju Kapur's <i>Difficult Daughters</i> <i>Neeta Singh, Sandhya Sharma</i>	212-224
26. The Relevance and Scope of Translation in Indian Literature <i>Snigdha Bhatt</i>	225-231
27. Indian Music Therapy and Spirituality <i>Tek Chand Koul</i>	232-240
28. सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल: व्यक्ति और विचार <i>योग राज</i>	241-248
29. श्रीमद् भागवत पुराण का धाज्जा लोकनाट्य पर प्रभाव <i>आचार्य परमानन्द बंसल</i>	249-253
30. जीवन यथार्थ का दस्तावेज : जूठन <i>नरेश कुमार</i>	254-262
31. हिन्दी महिला उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में नारी अस्मिता <i>सुनिता</i>	263-268
32. आधुनिक भारतीय राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित करने में पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का योगदान <i>सिकंदर कुमार, सन्नी शुक्ला</i>	269-278
33. लोकमत परिष्कार से भारतीय लोकतंत्रीय व्यवस्था होगी मजबूत : पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय <i>सन्नी शुक्ला</i>	279-296

A brief profile of prevalent traditional systems of medicine in Himachal Pradesh

**Maneesha Kohli, Mamta Devi, Kalpana Thakur,
Virender Kumar Santavan and Arvind Kumar Bhatt**

ABSTRACT

Since ages traditional medicines and medicinal plants are known to play a key role in human health care to cure various diseases and disorders. Himachal Pradesh, one of Himalayan states is bestowed with rich flora and is a storehouse of many important medicinal plants. These medicinal plants are basis of various alternative medicinal systems existing in the state like Ayurveda, Sowa-Rigpa, Unani and Homoeopathy. These systems are of tremendous relevance as these ensure health security to the people of the area. In this study an effort has been made to illuminate historical background and basic information of various traditional medicinal systems operating in the state. This study can help the investigators involved in research on medicinal plants and their evaluation.

Keywords: Traditional medicines, alternative medicinal systems, Ayurveda, Unani, Sowa- Rigpa.

Introduction

This has been observed that traditional systems of medicines are being used world over to cure health related problems and to obtain better health by people of different cultures. The alternative medicines in traditional systems are prepared from herbs, organic matter and minerals whereas herbal drugs are derived from medicinal plants only. Medicinal plants used in traditional systems of medicines are easily available, with no side effects, non-narcotic and cost effective and provide a source of primary healthcare to poor people. Alternative or traditional medicines are popular among the masses who cannot afford to buy conventional medicines. About 60% of world's

population uses alternative or traditional medicines mainly in developing countries but its demand has also increased in developed countries in the last few decades for better wellness of health (Ballabh et al., 2007). India has pluristic medicinal systems and its recognised traditional medicinal systems; Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani, Yoga and Naturopathy and Homoeopathy are in practice to cure diseases. Homoeopathy arrived in India in 18th century and with passage of time got completely mingled in the Indian culture and became an Indian System of Medicine (ISM) in 1973. These traditional medicine systems are either Indian in origin or came from outside, got completely absorbed into Indian culture over a period of time and now known as Indian System of Medicine (ISM), (Prasad, 2002). Later ISM was established as an institution and Department of Indian System of Medicine and Homoeopathy (ISM&H) was created in 1995 and in 2003 it was renamed as Department of AYUSH. Subsequently, AYUSH Department was elevated to an independent ministry on 9th, November 2014 (Rudra et al., 2017) as Ministry of AYUSH, Government of India. Sowa Rigpa or Amchi system of medicine is a Tibetan Medicine system and being an alternate for Ayurveda is very popular among the people in Himalayan region. This system was given official recognition as one of the Indian Medical systems in 2010. On 27th September, 2010 amendment bill was passed in Lok Sabha to provide legal status to Sowa Rigpa and the Gazette of India, Ministry of Law and Justice officially published the Central Council for Indian Medicine Amendment Act for legal status of Sowa Rigpa (Kloos, 2016).

All these revival attempts for traditional medicine systems are being made for easy access of medical facility to the rural population, standardization and mass production of alternative medicines for better commercialization of indigenous products. India is the largest producer of medicinal plants with around 15000 recorded medicinal plants out of these only 7000-7500 plants are used medicinally to cure diseases (Parasuraman et al., 2014). The extent of use of medicinal plants in different systems of medicine has been depicted in (Fig.2).

Ancient science of Ayurveda is highly acceptable in Himachal Pradesh as way of treatment because it is easily afforded by the people of the state. To facilitate the people of state Government has created a separate department called Department of Ayurveda on 7th November, 1984 as per Rules of Business. This department includes Ayurveda, Yoga, Unani, Siddha and Homoeopathy. In Himachal Pradesh four medicine systems Ayurveda, Sowa-Rigpa, Unani and Homoeopathy are prevalent (Fig. 1). Now Sowa Rigpa too has been recognised as one of the Indian systems of medicines catering the health needs of the people of state. With special efforts of Government, the department of Ayurveda expanded immensely after its bifurcation from Health & Family Welfare Department (Ayush- Ayurveda Department Himachal Pradesh). There are maximum number of Ayurvedic health centres in the state (1175 centres) followed by Homoeopathy (14 centres), Sowa-Rigpa(4 centres) and Unani (3 centres),(Table 1). In Himachal Pradesh Ayurveda is the most dominating traditional medicine system whereas other systems like

Homoeopathy is also providing healthcare to the local people. Whereas, Amchi and Unani systems of medicine are restricted to particular area and provide healthcare services to the people of that particular area. In this paper an effort has been made to highlight the general information and conceptual basis of different aspects of AYUSH systems prevailing in the state. This study can also help readers to familiarize with these systems.

Ayurveda

Ayurveda is one of the oldest traditional medicinal systems of India having its roots in folk medicine. It is also known as the “Mother of All Healing” and have been derived from combination of two Sanskrit words “ayur”(life) and “veda” (science or knowledge) which means “the science of life”. It focuses mainly on balance in all areas of life including body, mind and spirit. The philosophy behind Ayurveda is living a long healthy life by restoring balance in the body. This can be achieved by eliminating the root cause of disease by use of natural elements and at the same time adopting healthy life style can avoid recurrence of imbalance in the body (Adhikari, 2017). Role of nutrition and good diet is to rejuvenate the body and restore balance in the body. Being an interactive system, success in eliminating root cause of disease can be achieved with the active participation of patient. Ayurveda Significantly helps the patient to get self-empowered and responsible, plays a role in achieving freedom, and long life of poeple (Pandey, 2013).

The history of Ayurveda can be traced back to the period between pre-vedic periods (4000 BC- 1500 BC). Atharvaveda, the last of four Vedas serves as authentic text with discussions on nature of existence, health and disease, pathogenesis and their principles of treatment. Atharvaveda contains healing verses of Ayurveda in the form of 114 hymns. These hymns are related to formulations for cure of diseases like fever, leprosy, wounds, headaches, eye and ear diseases, rheumatism, epilepsy, poisoning and heart diseases (Parsuraman S et al., 2018). The use of various healing methods: plants and animals, charms, natural forces and human contrivances make it a unique ancient medical system. From the knowledge gathered from Atharvaveda two schools, first school of physicians referred as 'Dhanvantri Sampadaya' and second school of surgeons called as, 'Atreya Sampradaya' were developed. These schools have their respective texts- Charaka Samhita for school of medicine which focuses on causes of diseases and Sushruta Samhita for school of Surgery which emphasizes on Ayurvedic surgery. Charaka Samhita contains chapaters dealing with around 600 drugs of plant, animal and mineral origin. Sushruta Samhita deals with theory and fundamental principles of surgery. It has documentation of more than 100 kind of surgical instruments including scissors, scalpels, specula forceps etc. and about 650 drugs have been mentioned in the text. Vagabhata's 'Astanga-Hridaya' is another treatise of Ayurveda. Above mentioned three documents are known as 'Brihat trayees (major three). In addition to these three major treatises a vast compilation of literature covering a period of 1500 and more is available (Ravishankar et al., 2007).

Ayurveda is also known as Astanga Ayurveda- means it has eight branches namely: Kayachikitsa (Internal medicine), Shalakya (Otorhinolaryngology and Ophthalmology), Kaumar Bhritya (paediatrics), Shalya (Surgery), Bhootavidya (Psychiatry), Agada Tantra (Toxicology), Rasayana (Geriatrics) and Vajikarana (Aphrodisiac and Eugenics), (Ravishankar et al., 2007).

The fundamental doctrine of Ayurveda describes that universe (macrocosm) is composed of five elements: Jala (water), Vayu (air), Prithvi (Earth), Teja (Fire) and Akash (Space/ether). These five elements mentioned as Pancha Mahabhoota in Ayurveda present in human body in different combinations (microcosm). These five elements present in human body in varying combinations form the three basic humors known as “Tridoshas” namely Vata, Pitta and Kapha. These humors control and govern the basic physiological functions in the body (Ravishankar et al., 2007). Vata is believed to govern catabolism, Pitta metabolism whereas Kapha is to control anabolism.

Ayurveda believes that in addition to these three humors, there exist seven basic tissues in human body (Saptha dhatus)- Rasa (tissue fluids), Meda (fat and connective tissue), Rakta (blood), Asthi (bones), Majja (marrow), Mamsa (muscle) and Shukra (semen) and three Malas (waste products) of the body, viz. Purisha (faeces), Mutra (urine) and Sweda (sweat), (Jaiswal et al., 2017). Coordination of these seven tissues with each other is required for proper physiological functioning of the human body. Optimum equilibrium among the three doshas and the nature elements gives healthy condition to the body. Any imbalance between the three due to any reason may cause a state of disease or illness. The development and growth of the body depends upon nutrition it gets from food. Food composed of basic five elements is considered to be source material to nourish and replenish the components of body due to the action of bio-fire (Agni). The tissues of the body are considered as the structural entities and the humours are considered as physiological entities, derived from different permutations and combinations of the five basic elements (<http://www.indianmedicine.nac.in>).

In the doctrine of Ayurveda, Tri Malas (three waste products) are also considered as other important factor along with doshas and dhatus. Due to metabolic and digestive activity in the body three types of waste products Mutra (urine), Purisha (faeces) and sveda (sweat) are formed. Ayurveda explains that any imbalance between Tridosha may affect elimination of waste products which can lead to various complications like constipation, diarrhoea, rheumatoid arthritis, asthma and other complication (Lad, 2002). External factors like changes in climatic conditions and microorganisms can also result in manifestations of disease conditions. Any imbalance or unevenness in fundamental standards of body i.e. Panch Mahabhoota, Tridoshas, Sapta Dhatus and Trimalas may cause diseases (Adhikari et al., 2017). It implies that in Ayurveda bodily constitution, the Dosha characteristics, pathological history, life style and environmental conditions in an individual's routine may prompt a specific kind of disease, investigation of these

factors help in planning treatment strategies for the patient.

Ayurveda employs different type of treatments: Shodhana therapy (purification treatment), Shamana therapy (Palliative treatment), Pathya Vyavastha (prescription of appropriate diet and activity), Nidan Privarjan (avoidance of causes and situations leading to disease or disease aggravation), Satvajaya (psychotherapy) and Rasayan therapy (adaptogens-immunomodulators, anti-stress and rejuvenation drugs). Vitiated doshas can be pacified by using Dipan and Pachan (digestion and assimilation) enhancing drugs. This therapy is employed to improve the 'agni' (digestive power) to dissolve the accumulated and vitiated doshas. Drugs are available in tablet, decoction, powder, medicated ghee, medicated oil, fermented products, lotions, capsules, syrups, creams ointments and granules form. In severe cases 'Panchkarma' (a purification process) is supplemented with the above therapy for better results. Various processes of Panchkarma help in cleansing, rejuvenation of body and enhancing longevity. Panchkarma lays emphasis on removal of toxins from body tissues. It consist of five karmas (actions): Virechan (purgation through use of decoctions, pastes, or powders), Rakta moksha (detoxification of blood), Basti (use of enemas prepared from oils), Vaman (forced therapeutic emesis using some medicines) and Nasya (administration of medicines like oils, decoctions and fumes through nasal passage). Panchkarma, primarily consist of three steps namely Poorva karma (therapy for the rejuvenation of the body), Pradhan karma (the main process in the therapy) and Paschad Karma (consisting of processes to be followed to bring back the body to normal state by restoring its digestive and absorptive regimens). These three steps can be achieved by applying Karmas for purification process (<http://www.indianmedicine.nac.in>). With a rich knowledge of plants, minerals and animal based products, and the above mentioned principles of doctrine, Ayurveda has achieved its widespread acceptance globally (Premila, 2006).

Sowa-Rigpa

The inhabitants of Lahaul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh practice Sowa-Rigpa, an ethno- medical system to cure ailments. It alleviates illness and promotes health through herbal medicine, diet, lifestyle advice, mental and emotional support, manual body therapies and spiritual guidance. This system is commonly known as Tibetan or Amchi system of medicine and is based on available bio resources, minerals, traditional practices and beliefs. 'Amchi' derived from Mangolian word "Am-rjay" (superior to all) and practitioners of this medicine system are known as Amchis (Gurmet 2003). This is well documented and one of the oldest surviving medicinal systems of world. Yuthog Yonten Gonpo (8th to 9th Century) is the most prominent figure in the Tibetan Medical history and is known as father of Tibetan medicine.

Sowa-Rigpa (science of healing) is popular medicine system in Tibet, Himalayan regions of India, Bhutan, Magnolia, Nepal, few parts of China and some parts of Soviet Union. Origin of this traditional medicine system has conflicting views.

According to some scholars this system has originated in India; some consider it Chinese in origin and others believe it to be Tibetan in origin. Earlier in pre-Buddhism period inhabitants of Tibet, Lahaul Spiti and Ladakh practised shamanism that was prevalent by the name of 'Bon' in northern Asia. Later with the advent of Buddhism in Tibet, more or less the entire region got converted to Buddhism. In due course of time amchis, the religious people, overshadowed earlier forms of medical treatments and established a medicine system known as Medicine Buddha (Men-la). India is birthplace of Buddha and Buddhism (Kala, 2005). Available literature reveals that Tibetan medicine system shows influence of Ayurveda as Baudha Bhikshus along with sermons of Lord Buddha carried the knowledge of Ayurveda from India to propagate it in Tibet. That is why practice and theory of Sowa-Rigpa shows similarity with Ayurveda. Besides India, Magnolia, China, Nepal and Persia have contributed in the evolution of the Tibetan medicine. Over a period of time Tibetan medicine system was enriched with its own folklore along with knowledge and skills of neighbouring countries. Recently this medicine system has been recognised as one of Indian medicine system (2011) due to its close similarity with Ayurveda (Kloos, 2017). Fundamental literature of this medicine system available in the text book Rgyud-bzi of Sowa-Rigpa, is believed to be taught by Buddha and with time got enriched with Tibetan folklore in Tibet (Gurmet 2003). Tibetan medicine also focuses on spiritual factors while dealing with diseases. In Tibetan medicine meditation, working with prayer wheels, prayer flags and chants are given special emphasis while treating illness.

Sowa-Rigpa is mainly based on five elements/ Panch Mahabhuta (Jung-wa-Ina), three humours/tri doshas (Nespa-gsum) air, bile and phlegm. In a healthy body balance of seven physical constituents (Luszungs-Idun), three humours (Nespa-gsum) and three excretions (Tema-gsum) with five senses of body is required. Any imbalance may cause illness resulting in unhealthy condition of body. Buddhist philosophy believes that ignorance is root cause of three mental poisons namely desire, anger and mental darkness in the body which may act as a cause of illness in human body. Sowa-Rigpa physician have developed three tools to examine a patient viz. inspection, palpitation and interrogation. Diagnosis is followed by treatment with four components- diet, behaviour, medicine and external/accessory therapies of the patient. Treatment is given according to the condition of the patient; minor diseases can be treated with diet and behaviour regulation and in medium state medicines are prescribed as treatment whereas advanced stages illness can be treated by application of external/accessory therapies like moxibustion (heat therapy in which dried plant materials called 'moxa' are burned on or near the surface of the skin), puncturing of veins, surgery, cold and hot water bath and massage etc. Medical formulations given by amchis are ethno-medicinal formulations with plants as major constituents besides animal products, salts and mineral are also used in Tibetan Medicine. Most of the amchis use medicine in pills form obtained from pharmaceutical companies and professional Tibetan drug manufacturers (Kala

2005). There are about seventeen different categories of medicinal preparations out of which important ones are pills, decoction, powder, linctus, bhasmas, medicated ghee, paste, medicated wine, medicated bath (Gurmet 2003).

Unani

Unani system originated in Greece and believed to be established by Greek physician and philosopher- Hippocrates (460-377 BC). The Arabian scholars and physicians urbanized this system into a descent medical science. Many renowned scholars played a great role in the development of Unani system with the support of Islamic Rulers. Arab and Greek scholars namely Galen (131-212 CE), Raazes (850-925) and Avicenna (980-1037) contributed for its significant development and came to be known as Greco-Arab Medicine (Adhikari et al., 2017). In India around 1350 AD, Unani System of medicine was introduced by Arabs and now it is being utilized by a large segment of population in India. Basic principle of Unani system explains that human body is made up of elements: earth, air, water and fire with four different temperaments i.e. dry, hot, wet and cold. Four humors have been given by Hippocratic hypothesis namely blood, black bile, yellow bile and phlegm. Imbalance in humors and body functions may cause disease in human body. The human body is considered to be made up of seven components, which have direct bearing on the health status of a person. They are 1.Elements (Arkan), 2.Temperament (Mijaz), 3.Humors (Aklat), 4. Organs (Aaza),5. Faculties (Quwa), 6. Spirits (Arwah), 7.Capacities (Afal). These components are taken in to consideration by the physician for diagnosis and also for deciding the line of treatment (Khaleefathullah, 2002). Examination of pulse (most important), urine and stool are undertaken for disease diagnosis.

Treatment recommended in Unani system consist of four types of therapies viz. Regimental therapy (massage, exercise, douches, Turkish bath etc.), Dietotherapy (based on dietary regimen), Pharmacotherapy (Use of drugs) and Surgery. The drugs used are mainly obtained from plants and some of the drugs are derived from animals and minerals (Ravishankar et al., 2007).

Homeopathy

In India, Homoeopathy is the 3rd most popular medical system of disease treatment after allopathy and ayurveda. It was introduced in India in the 19th century and flourished in Bengal later it spread throughout India. It was recognised as one of the Indian Systems of Medicines in 1973 and Central Council of Homoeopathy (CCH) was established to regulate its practice and education in India (Gosh, 2010).

Homoeopathy was invented by a German physician SCF Hahnemann in 1796 CE. This method of treatment was introduced in India in 1839 and gained popularity all over India as intellectual and respectable persons were supporting this new science of therapeutics (Gosh, 2018).

Homoeopathy is based on the laws of “immunological memory” (recognize

antigen), “memory of water” (water can retain a memory of solute even after a number of serial dilutions) and “like cures like” (similarities in the pharmacological aspects of drug and the disease). Medicines used for treatment of pathological condition initially produce symptoms similar to that of disease by aggravating the pathological condition then treating it (Jaiswal, 2017). The holistic approach of homoeopathy includes body, mind, spirit and emotions for management of disease. Diagnosis includes history, examination and investigation of patient. Treatment of diseases in homoeopathy can be done by using mother tinctures or aqueous extracts of drugs (mainly plants, animal origin substances, minerals and venoms) are diluted and after specific mixing and shaking as per Pharmacopeial methods to prepare the formulation of very low potencies (Jaiswal, 2017).

Conclusion

The rich knowledge of Ayurveda is based on plants, animal and minerals based products. Its principles of doctrine are making this system of medicine accepted and prevalent worldwide. Despite the fact that modern society depends more on modern medicines, use of traditional medicines is continuing in developing countries as these medicines are of low cost and with less side effects. Traditional medicines help in promoting overall health by eliminating the root cause of disease whereas modern medicines help in speedy recovery with many side-effects. In all the traditional medicinal systems studied in the paper, body and mind are given equal importance to gain health and wellness of body. These traditional systems of medicine extend solutions to the treatment of various diseases which otherwise do not have any treatment. An integration of the knowledge of latest analytical techniques with traditional systems can help these age old precious systems of medicine as future living traditions. This study mainly focuses on two traditional systems of medicine prevalent in Himalayan region i.e. Ayurveda and Sowa Rigpa. Theoretical literature depicts the impact of Ayurveda on Sowa Rigpa which justifies recent inclusion of Sowa Rigpa into Indian medicinal systems. Integration of these two systems can contribute to the world of medicine and can be a boon to the ailing humanity of the region. Furthermore due to side effects of modern medicines, popularity and acceptance of traditional medicines has also increased in the developed countries in the last few decades. Due to positive features of traditional medicines there is growing concern to improve and protect the quality of traditional medicines.

References

1. Adhikari, P.P. and Paul, S.B. 2017. History of Indian Traditional Medicine: A Medical Inheritance. *Asian Journal of Pharmaceutical and Clinical Research*, 11: 421-426.
2. AYUSH. 2015. AYUSH, India. <http://www.indianmedicine.nic.in>.
3. Ballabh, B. and Chaurasia, O.P. 2007. Traditional and Medicinal plants of cold desert Ladakh- used in treatment of cold, cough and fever. *Journal of*

- Ethnopharmacology, 112:341-349.
4. Chandra, S. and Patwardhan, K. 2018. Allopathic, AYUSH and informal medical practitioners in rural India a prescription for change. *Journal of Ayurveda and Integrative Medicine*, 9: 143-150.
5. Dash, B. (1994). *Indian contribution to Tibetan Medicine*.
6. Dhaleta, S. 2018. *Ayurveda in Himachal*. Himvani, 1-3.
7. Fradwley, D. and Ranade, S. 2001. *Ayurveda, Nature's Medicine*. Lotus Press; USA.
8. Ghosh, A.K. 2010. A short history of the development of homeopathy in India. *Homeopathy*, 99: 130-136.
9. Gosh, A.K. 2018. History of development of Homoeopathy in India. *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 53: 76-83.
10. Gurmet, P. 2003. "Sowa Rigpa": Himalayan art of healing. *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge*, 3: 212-218.
11. Hankey, A. 2001. *Ayurvedic physiology and etiology: Ayurvedo amritanaam*. The Doshas and their functioning in terms of contemporary biology and physical chemistry. *Journal of Alternate and Complementary Medicine*, 7: 567574.
12. <http://www.indianmedicine.nac.in>.
13. Jaiswal, Y.S. and Williams, L.L. 2017. A glimpse of Ayurveda- The forgotten history and principles of Indian traditional medicine. *Journal of Traditional and Complementary Medicine*, 7:50-53.
14. Junaid, A.B. and Nasreen, R. 2017. Regulatory aspects of Traditional Medicine: Focus towards Unani cosmeceutical products. *International Journal of Pharmaceutical Science and Research*, 1768-1781.
15. Kala, C.P. 2005. Health traditions of Buddhist community and role of amchis in trans-Himalayan region of India. *Current Science*, 89: 1331-1338.
16. Khaleefathullah, S. 2002. *Unani Medicine*. Traditional Medicine in Asia WHO-Regional Office for South East Asia, 31-46.
17. Kloos, S. 2016. The recognition of Sowa Rigpa in India, How Tibetan medicine became an Indian medical system. *Medicine, Anthropology, Theory*, 3
18. Kurup P.N.V. 2002. *Ayurveda in Traditional Medicine in Asia India*. WHO-Regional Office for South East Asia, 3-16.
19. Lad, V.D. 2007. *Ayurveda, Fundamental principles of Ayurveda volume*

- One. The Ayurvedic Press. Albuquerque, New Mexico.
20. Pandey, M.M., Rastogi, S. and Rawat, A.K.S. 2013. Indian Traditional Ayurvedic System of Medicine and nutritional supplementation. Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine, 2013:1-12.
 21. Parasuraman, S., Thing, G.S. and Dhanraj, S.A. 2014. Polyherbal formulation: concept of Ayurveda. Pharmacognosy review, 8:73-80.
 22. Prasad, L.V. 2002. Indian System of Medicine and Homoeopathy Traditional Medicine in Asia. WHO-Regional Office for South East Asia, 283-286.
 23. Premila, M. 2006. Ayurvedic Botanicals A clinical guide to the healing plants of Traditional Indian Medicine. The Haworth Press, Inc.; Binghamton, New York: pp 368.
 24. Rajesh, M.N. and Anjaria, A.K. 2017. Biopiracy: Right over Tibetan Medicine. Deccan Chronicle
 25. Ravishankar, B. and Shukla, V.J. 2007. Indian Systems of Medicine: A brief profile. African Journal of Traditional, Complementary and Alternative Medicines, 4:319-337.
 26. Roy, V. 2015. Time to sensitize medical graduates to the Indian Systems of Medicines and Homeopathy. Indian Journal of Pharmacology, 47: 1-3.
 27. Rudra, S., Kalra, A., Kumar, A. and Joe, W. 2017. Utilization of alternative systems of medicine as health care services in India: Evidences on AYUSH care from NSS 2014, PLoS ONE : 12, 1-20.
 28. Yadav, R.J., Pandey, A., Mathur, S. and Yadav J. 2012. Utilization of Indian System of medicine and Homoeopathy in Uttar Pradesh. Health and Population, 35: 193-201.

Figures

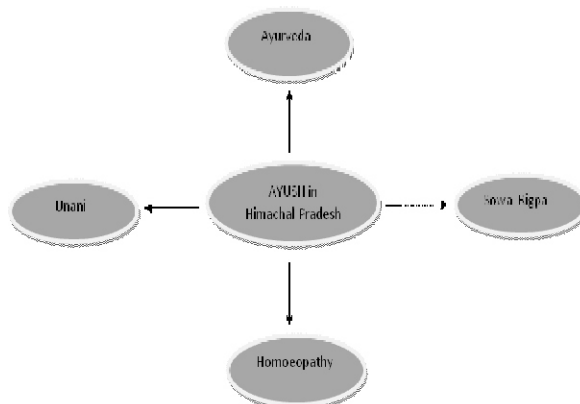


Fig. 1: Recognised systems of Indian Medicinal Practices in Himachal Pradesh.

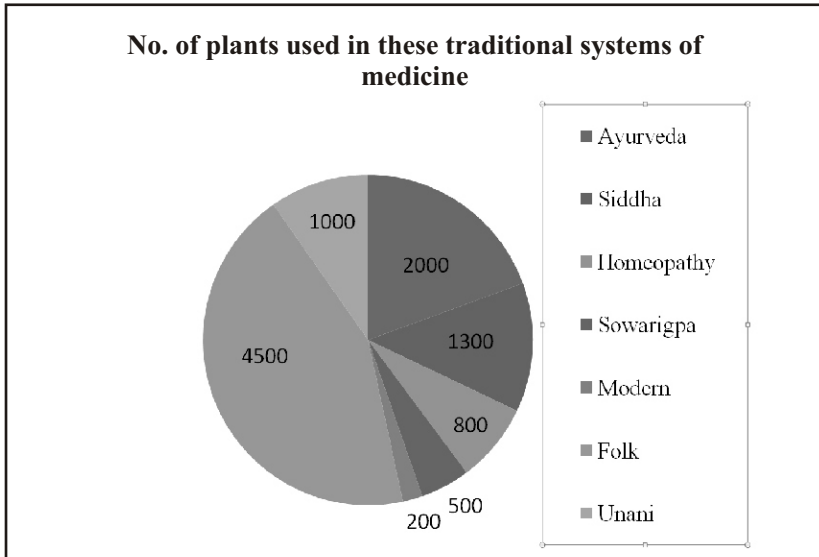


Fig. 2: Proportion of use of medicinal plants in medicinal systems.

Table 1: Health centres of different AYUSH systems prevailing in Himachal Pradesh

Health centre of Traditional Systems of medicine	Number of centres
Ayurvedic	1175
Unani	3
Homoeopathy	14
Sowa-Rigpa	4
Total	1196

(Source: AYUSH-Ayurveda Department of Himachal Pradesh)

Ethnobotanical Study of Wild Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Una District of Himachal Pradesh, India

-Sunil Jaswal

ABSTRACT

Plants have always sustained human civilization from the ancient time till today and the human quest for more knowledge about plant's habitat, biology and adaptation to new environment is continuing. Plants not only play an important role in preserving human health but also have curative properties and are used by the local people as & when required. During the course of thousands of years of human existence, many natural phyto-medicines were obtained for combating human ailments through various ways. The most important aspect of indigenous knowledge is traditional use of local floral diversity as a remedy for the treatment of various kinds of ailments by the native inhabitants and traditional healers since ancient time. Himalayan region being one of the richest hotspot in floral diversity, Himachal Pradesh which is the integral part of Himalayas, is also very rich in floral & faunal diversity due to its topography and some of the traditional healers and vaidyas of this holy land have a very rich legacy in the indigenous knowledge (ethno-botanical) of using the plants existing in this agro climatic zone in the treatment of various diseases caused by different pathogens and others factors. The plants are used by the local inhabitants for food, fodder, fiber, medicines, fuel and many other purposes. In present study, those medicinal plants are enlisted which are used by some of the traditional healers or vaidyas in the Una district of Himachal Pradesh which falls in the lower Shivalik hills of Himalayas. The information tabulated in this study can be used to validate the therapeutic effectiveness of the plants enlisted here against the various ailments for which these are used through technological interventions and hence the developments of effective drug delivery system without any side effect.

*Sunil Jaswal, Assistant Professor; Department of Interdisciplinary studies,
Himachal Pradesh University Shimla-5, India*

Keywords: Agro-climatic zone, Himalayan region, Ethno-botanical, Topography, Effective drug delivery system.

Introduction: The ethno-botany is the study of relationship of plants & people. Use of medicinal plants by ancient people and passing over the information about the medicinal uses from one generation to next generation led to the study of plants covered under ethno-botany, where relationship between humans and plants can be taken care of in health care programs and also for exploration of various lives supporting species (Radha and Puri, 2019c). Since the beginning of human civilization, man has been using many herbs and herbal extract as medicine. The ancient literature like Rigveda, Atharvaveda, Charak-Samhita and Sushruta-Samhita are the classical evidences of the use of plants by our ancestors. It indicates that the human beings from ancient time use to obtain herbal medicines from plants because of the rich indigenous scientific knowledge in plant use as drugs, by our ancestors.

Due to the geographical and climatic conditions of Bharat, it is known to be the rich repository of medicinal plants. The forests in India is the principle repository of large number of medicinal and aromatic plants, which are largely collected as a raw materials for manufacturing of drugs and other products. Indian traditional systems of curing diseases like Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha (Dikshit, 1999) enlisted around 2000 plant species which are used to treat various human ailments. This indigenous knowledge of these plant drugs has come through generations verbally and falls within the purview of Ethno-botany (Dhiman & Khanna, 2001). Indian subcontinent is being inhabited by over 538 millions tribal people in 5000 forest dominated by villages of tribal community and comprising 15% of the total geographical area of Indian land mass, representing one of the greatest emporia of ethno-botanical wealth (Prakash & Aggarwal, 2010). Approximately 500 species of medicinal importance and 150 species of aromatic importance have been reported which represents quite a high percentage of medicinal plants out of the 3500 recorded plant species in Himachal Pradesh (Chauhan, 1990). Herbal medicines are getting popularity in the modern health care system due to their natural origin (Sharma and Samant, 2013; Radha et al., 2019a; Radha 2019b), high efficacy and no side effect. Many studies have been carried out on the use of the economical & medicinal values of plants in the Himachal Pradesh viz. Kangra valley (Ahluwalia, 1952; Uniyal & Chuahan, 1971) and Kullu valley (Rastogi, 1960; Shabnam, 1964). Comparatively, information pertaining to folk and ethno-botanical practice is scanty for Himachal Pradesh in general but such kind of studies has not been attempted in this area of study. Hence, an attempt has been made to document the precious indigenous wisdom on the medicinal usage of plants from the Una district of Himachal Pradesh with a view not only to conserve it from being lost irreversibly due to growing anthropogenic pressure but also using them as valuable clues for social forestry endeavors, therapeutic agents &

sustainable management of species as well as their habitat.

Material and Methods:

Study Area: The state of Himachal Pradesh is located in Northern part of country in lower Himalayas. It is bordered by states of Jammu & Kashmir on the North, Punjab on the West, Haryana on the South-West, Uttarakhand on the South-East and the Tibet autonomous region on the East. Himachal Pradesh lies in the Western Himalayas, covering an area of 55,673 square kilometres, it is a mountainous state. Most of the state lies on the foothills of the Dhauladhar Range. It is a small state both in terms of population and size. It has total population of 6,864,602 as per the final results of the census of India, 2011. This is the only 0.57% of India's population. It experiences pleasant climate throughout year. The winter month bring enormous snowfall in the region due to its close proximity to Himalayas. The normal weather of the region in the state varies according to the altitude. Himachal Pradesh is rich in flora and fauna.

District Una lies in the South-Western part of Himachal Pradesh, with the beautiful Shivalik hills of the Himalayas gently rolling on one side. Una has a latitude of 31°28'4" N and a longitude of 76°16'13" E. The Satluj river passes alongside of the Shahtalai hills, known for the shrine of Baba Balak Nath. The altitude varies from more than 350 meters in the city to over 1000 meters in Chintpurni. Una district is bounded by the river Beas on the North and the river Satluj in the East. The district has a geographical area of 1540 sq. kms out of total 55,673sq. kms of Himachal Pradesh. It covers 2.8% area of the state. The climate the district is mostly subtropical. Most part of the year remains cool due to winter season in October to February. Summer starts from March and remains till July. July to September is mostly rainy due to monsoon effect in the region. The temperature hits between -3.5 °C in winter to 48 °C in Summer. The average rainfall is 1253mm. The highest peak of the district Una i.e. Chintpurni witnessed heavy snowfall in 2012. Una nestles between Shivalik ranges and forms part of the lesser Himalayas. It has a diverse landscape made of hills, valley with predominant zone, terraces etc. The elevation of the land surface in the district varies from 340m in South-Eastern part to 1041m above sea level (amsl) in Eastern part of the district. There are three hill ranges i.e. Chmukha dhar with maximum elevation of 1041m amsl, which borders with district Hamirpur; Dhinosar dhar with maximum elevation of 950m amsl and Ramgarh Dhar with maximum elevation of 997m amsl. In the South-East along the border with Punjab, Shivalik hills range from hilly upland area with elevation upto 666m amsl. The vast area between the North-Westerly & South-Westerly hill ranges, on both sides of river Soan is known as Una valley.

Soil: Two types of soils are observed in the district viz. alluvial soil and non-calcic brown soil. Most of the area in the district is covered with alluvial soil and only

about 25% of the area i.e. hilly area in the district is covered with non-calcic brown soil. Soils are rich in nutrients and thus are fertile.

Flora and Fauna: Una is full of flora and fauna as the area is covered by forests. Eucalyptus and populus are the predominant trees. Una is home of many species of Neel Gai, Wild pig, Deer, Porcupine, birds and Leopard also.

Data Collection: A questionnaire containing the vernacular name, plant habit, part/parts used, mode of application and medicinal uses was prepared for documentation of the ethno-medicinal details. Personal interviews were conducted with local residents, traditional healers and some local practitioners to collect the information about the medicinal uses of the plants used by them in healing the various ailments. 11 persons were interviewed and 32 medicinally important plants used by locals to treat various ailments in the study area were enlisted and documented according to the information provided by the practitioners, vaidyas and some aged persons who have the knowledge of medicinal plants.

Results and Discussion: During the present study, ethno-medicinal data on 32 species was collected. Information regarding their botanical name, vernacular name, family, part used and their ethno-medicinal uses are listed here. In the present study 32 plants species belonging to 23 families were reported after undertaking the survey. It was found that dominated medicinal plants of this region are main source of primary health care. These plants are used in the form of decoction, juice, powder, paste and whole plant extract. Sometime plant species were dried and made in the powder form, stored and used when required. Beside this certain plants species were also used as food supplement. Almost all the aromatic and medicinal plants grow wild in valley, forest, pasture and occur as weeds in or around fields and village habitations. Traditional knowledge provide useful leads for scientific research, being the key to identify those plants which have high economic value and requires conservation in near future, thereby emphasizing the need for such studies. The information collected from the different informants is tabulated as:

S.No	Name of informant	Address	VN	Part of plant used					Medicinal uses
				L	S	B/R	F	WP	
1.	Ranjeet Singh	Malookpur, PO Sanoli, Una (H.P)	Puthkanda		✓				Anti-inflammatory, Cough & Asthma.
			Bahera				✓		Piles, Ear pain cure & cough.
			Gloe					✓	Fever, Jaundice & Diabetes.
			Ashwagandha					✓	Diabetes & Bacterial infection.
			Adveara		✓				Skin disease, Piles & Ear pain.
			Datura					✓	Snake bite & Urinary disorder.
2.	Bharat Bhushan	Nangal road, Distt. Ropar	Bil	✓					Fever, Skin disorder, Cardiac disorder, Respiratory problems & Gynaecological disorders.

			Pudina	✓					Fever, Headaches & Digestive disorders.
			Arjun					✓	Heart diseases.
			Anar				✓		Fever.
			Amla				✓	✓	Jaundice.
			Bhang					✓	Sedative & Anti-inflammatory.
			Mako	✓			✓		Anti-oxidant, Cardiac pain, Blood purifier & Chronic fever.
			Sadabahar					✓	Dysentery & Diarrhoea, Skin diseases, Eczema & Eye infection.
			Bana	✓					Cough, Asthma, Cold, Dysentery & Jaundice.
			Tun	✓					Astringent, Febrifuge, Tonic & Antiperiodic.
			Aru				✓		Gastritis, Whooping cough, Bronchitis, Vomiting & Skin disorders.
			Tulsi	✓					Fever, Skin disorder, Cardiac disorder, Respiratory problems, Gynaecological disorder & Skin disorder.
			Neem	✓					Cough, Asthma, Ulcers, Piles, Intestinal worm, Dental treatment, Urinary infection & Antipyretic.
			Erand				✓		Cathartic, Laxative & Skin infection.
			Aloevera		✓				Skin disorder, Burns & Pimple.
3.	Amrita Singh	Malookpur, PO Sanoli, Una (H.P)	Aam				✓		Astringent & infection of the throat.
			Amla				✓		Anticancer & Antioxidant.
			Jamun				✓		Diarrhoea & Diabetes.
4.	Amarjot singh	Malookpur, PO Sanoli, Una (H.P)	Gloe					✓	Jaundice ,Diabetes, Rheumatoid & Arthritis.
			Pudina	✓					Carminative stimulant, Fever, Headaches & Digestive disorders.
			Arujan					✓	Heart disease.
			Peepal				✓		Gastric problem, Infections & Sexual disorders.
			Neem	✓					Cough, Asthma, Ulcers & Piles.
			Amrood				✓		Constipation & Diarrhoea.
			Bahera				✓		Piles, Cold & Cough.
			Kaali basuti	✓			✓		Asthma.
			Ambla	✓			✓		Anticancer & Heart diseases.
5.	Bhagat Ram	Jawahar market, Nangal Punjab	Erand					✓	Anthelmintic & Skin infection.
			Kali basuti	✓					Asthma.
			Bana	✓					Cough, Asthma, Jaundice, Kidney & Gall bladder stone.

			Nimbu				✓	Indigestion & Skin diseases.
			Amrood				✓	Constipation & Dental treatment.
			Toot				✓	Dysentery & Tapeworms removal.
6.	Bindu Sharma	Rajpura Nagar, Adda market, Anandpur sahib, Punjab	Ambla				✓	Antioxidant.
			Peepal				✓	Gastric problems.
			Tulsi	✓				Fever, Skin disorders & Respiratory problems.
			Nimbu				✓	Indigestion.
7.	Kanta Devi	Malookpur, PO Sanoli, Una (H.P)	Bana					Cold, Small pox & Dysentery.
			Chukkah				✓	Laxative & Mildly tonic.
			Sadabahar				✓	Eczema, Dermatitis & Diabetes.
			Amrood				✓	Dental treatment.
			Jamun				✓	Diabetes.
			Toot				✓	Dysentery.
			Kari leaf	✓				Blood purification, Antioxidant, anti-inflammatory, Vomiting & fever.
			Erand				✓	Skin infections.
8.	Shiv Ram	Malookpur, PO Sanoli, Una (H.P)	Khabal (Drubh)		✓		✓	Skin rashes, Piles & Constipation.
			Gandhla		✓		✓	Vomiting & Fever.
			Sadabahara		✓		✓	Diabetes.
9.	Kuldeep Kaur	Malookpur, PO Sanoli, Una (H.P)	Bana	✓				Small pox, Fever & Cough.
			Patharachat	✓				Jaundices, Cough, Asthma & Cold.
			Nimbu				✓	Indigestion & Facial purposes.
			Peepal				✓	Sexual disorder, Asthma & Diarrhoea.
			Amla				✓	Antioxidant.
			Aam				✓	Astringent.
			Kali tulsi				✓	Asthma.
10.	Ravinder Singh Sandal	Shivalik Avenue, Nangal, Distt Ropar, Punjab	Pudina	✓				Headaches & Digestive disorders.
			Anar				✓	Fever.
			Papeeta				✓	Skin problems.
			Khati ambi	✓				Asthma.
			Nimbu				✓	Facial purposes.
			Santra				✓	Facial purposes.
			Ambla				✓	Anticancer & Hair growth.
			Toot				✓	Urination & Diarrhoea.
			Ashwagandha				✓	Diabetes & antibacterial properties.
			Amrood				✓	Dental properties.
			Daruhaldi/Kas hmal			✓		Diarrhoea.

11.	Amita Sharma	Malookpur, PO Sanoli, Una (H.P)	Neem	✓				Ulcers, Piles & Intestinal worms.
			Jamun	✓			✓	Diarrhoea & Diabetes.
			Gandhla	✓				Antioxidant & Blood purification.
			Erand			✓		Skin infections & Laxative.
			Khatti ambi	✓				Asthma.
			Khabal (Drubh)				✓	Skin rashes, Utricular injuries, Vaginal & Menstrual problems.

Where:-VN: vernacular name, L: leaf, S: stem, B/R: bark/roots, F: fruit and WP: whole plant.

In the present study 33 plants belonging to 24 families were enlisted from the study area. The plants were used by the local inhabitants/traditional practitioners to treat different diseases like jaundices/liver disorder, bleeding gums, toothaches, pain, snake bite, dysentery, sugar, skin diseases, fever, swelling, cold, diarrhea, vomiting, asthma, sexual disorder, diabetes and stomach troubles etc. by using different parts of the plant such as leaves, roots, bark, fruits, stem or may be whole plant.

Table 2: List of plants with their medicinal effects against diseases from Una.

[illegible]

16.	<i>Mentha longifolia</i>							✓					✓				✓
17.	<i>Calitropis gigantea</i>						✓										
18.	<i>Cannabis sativa</i>																✓
19.	<i>Tinospora cordifolia</i>	✓						✓									
20.	<i>Emblica officinalis</i>	✓														✓	
21.	<i>Pogostemon benghalensis</i>					✓					✓				✓		
22.	<i>Solanum nigrum</i>					✓											
23.	<i>Rumex crispus</i>							✓	✓						✓		
24.	<i>Catharathus roseus</i>						✓								✓		
25.	<i>Melia azadirachta</i>							✓									
26.	<i>Aloe barbadnesis</i>							✓									
27.	<i>Achyranthes aspera</i>	✓						✓									
28.	<i>Vitex negundo</i>							✓			✓						
29.	<i>Bryophyllum pinnatum</i>							✓			✓						
30.	<i>Cedrela toona</i>	✓	✓							✓	✓					✓	
31.	<i>Prunus persica</i>	✓								✓	✓				✓		
32.	<i>Citrus limon</i>	✓															
33.	<i>Berberis aristata</i>											✓					
	Total	7	5	3	4	4	1	7	8	3	6	8	3	2	3	7	5

Where : **J**-Jaundices/liver disorder, **B**-Bleeding gums, **T**-Toothaches, **P**-Pain, **S**-Snake bite, **Dy**- Dysentery, **Sg**- Sugar, **Sk**- Skin diseases, **F**- Fever, **Sw**- Swelling , **C**-Cold, **D**-Diarrhea, **V**- Vomiting, **A**- Asthma, **Sd**- Sexual disorder, **Dia** -Diabetes and **St**-Stomach troubles.

Table 3: List of plants with their parts used for medicinal purpose

S.No.	Botanical Name	Family	Parts used					
			Leaves	Root	Bark	Fruit	Stem	Whole Plant
1.	<i>Morus nigra</i>	<i>Moraceae</i>				✓		
2.	<i>Ficus religiosa</i>	<i>Moraceae</i>			✓	✓	✓	
3.	<i>Mangifera indica</i>	<i>Anacardiaceae</i>	✓					
4.	<i>Morus alba</i>	<i>Moraceae</i>	✓			✓		
5.	<i>Psidium guava</i>	<i>Myrtaceae</i>	✓			✓		
6.	<i>Syzygium cumin</i>	<i>Myrtaceae</i>	✓			✓		
7.	<i>Azadirachta indica</i>	<i>Meliaceae</i>	✓		✓		✓	

8.	<i>Ocimum sanctum</i>	Lamiaceae	✓			✓		✓
9.	<i>Terminalia bellirica</i>	Combretaceae	✓			✓		
10.	<i>Withania somnifera</i>	Solanaceae	✓	✓			✓	
11.	<i>Murraya koenigii</i>	Rutaceae	✓				✓	
12.	<i>Ricinus communis</i>	Euphorbiaceae				✓		
13.	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i>	Poaceae						✓
14.	<i>Oxalis corniculata</i>	Oxalidaceae	✓		✓			
15.	<i>Terminalia arjuna</i>	Combretaceae	✓					
16.	<i>Mentha longifolia</i>	Lamiaceae	✓					
17.	<i>Calitropis gigantea</i>	Apocynaceae					✓	
18.	<i>Cannabis sativa</i>	Cannabaceae						✓
19.	<i>Tinospora cordifolia</i>	Menispermaceae		✓			✓	
20.	<i>Emblica officinalis</i>	Phyllanthaceae				✓		
21.	<i>Pogostemon benghalensis</i>	Lamiaceae	✓	✓		✓		
22.	<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	Solanaceae						✓
23.	<i>Rumex crispus</i>	Polygonaceae						✓
24.	<i>Catharatus roseus</i>	Apocynaceae						✓
25.	<i>Melia azedarachta</i>	Meliaceae						✓
26.	<i>Aloe barbadensis</i>	Asphodelaceae	✓					
27.	<i>Achyranthes aspera</i>	Amaranthaceae			✓			✓
28.	<i>Vitex negundo</i>	Lamiaceae	✓	✓		✓		
29.	<i>Bryophyllum pinnatum</i>	Crassulaceae	✓					
30.	<i>Cedrela toona</i>	Meliaceae		✓	✓			
31.	<i>Prunus persica</i>	Rosaceae				✓		
32.	<i>Citrus limon</i>	Rutaceae				✓		
33.	<i>Berberis aristata</i>	Berberidaceae		✓				
	Total	24	16	6	6	13	6	8



Morus nigra



Ficus religiosa



Mangifera indica



Morus alba



Psidium guava



Syzygium cumini



Azadirachta indica



Ocimum sanctum



Terminalia bellirica



Withania somnifera



Murraya koenigii



Ricinus communis



Cynodon dactylon



Oxalis corniculata



Terminalia arjuna



Mentha longifolia



Calotropis gigantea



Cannabis sativa



Tinospora cordifolia



Emblica officinalis



Pogostemon benghalensis



Solanum nigrum



Rumex crispus



Catharanthus roseus



Melia azadirachta



Aloe barbadensis



Achyranthes aspera



Vitex negundo



Bryophyllum pinnatum



Cedrela toona



Prunus persica



Citrus limon



Berberis aristata

Conclusions: It is concluded from this study that jaundices/liver disorder, bleeding gums, toothaches, pain, snake bite, dysentery, sugar, skin diseases, fever, swelling, cold, diarrhea, vomiting, asthma, sexual disorder, diabetes and stomach troubles are being treated by *seven, five, three, four, four, one, seven, eight, three, six, eight, three, two, three, seven, seven and five plant species respectively*. Hence total eighty three total uses of all theses plant species have been recorded in this study from the study area. It is also evident that there are sixteen, six, six, thirteen, six and eight plant species whose leaves, roots, bark, fruits, stem and whole plants are used respectively to cure the different diseases.

References:

- Chauhan, N.S. (1974). Medicinal Plants of Una Forest Division, Una District, HP. *Lying in Shivalik Range-I. Nagarjun*. 31-3.
- Chauhan, N.S. (1990). Medicinal orchids of Himachal Pradesh. Journal of the Orchid Society of India. *Vol.4 No.1-2 pp.99-105*.
- Chauhan, N.S. (1997). Pharmaceutical significance of medicinal and aromatic plant resources of Western Himalayas, India. *Session 2.61, AB 235, 35th World Congress on Natural Medicines, Tirupati, India*.
- Chauhan, N.S. (2004). Medicinal and aromatic pants for ameliorating rural economy and improving livelihoods. *Proceedings workshop on,*

Participatory Research for Natural Resource Management and Augmentation of Rural Livelihoods” Himalayan Forest Research Institute, Shimla-9, March 24-25: 36-3.

- Chauhan, N.S. (2003). Important medicinal and aromatic plants of Himachal Pradesh. *Indian Forester*. 129(8): 979-998.
- Dhiman, A.K. and Khanna, D.R. (2001). Notes on Medicinal Flora of Guru Nanak Dev University Campus, Amritsar. *Environ. Conserv. J.2(i): 45-47.*
- Kumar, M and Sharma, B. (2014). Commonly used medicinal plants in Tehsil Baijnath, district Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, India. *Research in Pharmacy*, 4(2): 11-15.
- Meenu Sood and Chauhan, N.S. (1994). Himachal Pradesh Ke Sajavati Podhon Ki Aushadhiye Upyogita. *Audhyaniki Evam Vaniki*. 8(1, 2): 46-52.
- Negi, V and Chauhan, N.S (2009). Medicinal and Aromatic plant wealth of a tribal distt, Kinnaur in Himachal Himalaya. *Indian Forester*, 123(2): 838-843.
- Radha and Puri, S. (2019c). Assessment of wild medicinal plant used by migratory shepherds in alpine area of Rakchham-Chitkul Wildlife Sanctuary of district Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh. *Plant Archives*, 19(1): 418-429.
- Radha and Puri, S. (2019e). Survey of ethnomedicinal plants used by migratory shepherds in Shimla district of Himachal Pradesh. *Plant Archives*, 19(1): 477-482.
- Sharma, P and Samant, S.S. (2013). Diversity, distribution and indigenous uses of medicinal plants in Parbati valley of Kullu district in Himachal Pradesh, North-Western Himalaya. *Asian J. of Adv. Basic Sci.*: 2(1), 77-98 ISSN (Online): 2347 4114.
- Uniyal M.R. and Chauhan, N.S. (1971). Medicinal Plants of Uhal Valley in Kangra Forest Division, H.P. *J. Res. Ind. Med. VI (3): 287-289.*
- Uniyal, S.K., Singh, K.N., Jamwal, P. and Lal. B. (2006). Traditional uses of medicinal plants among the tribal communities of Chhota Bhangal, Western Himalaya. *J Ethno & Ethnomed*. 2:14.

Metaphysical Foundation of Aurobindo's Concept of Swaraj

- Abha Chauhan Khimta

ABSTRACT

Sri Aurobindo was a great saint and patriot and his early writings show spiritual and political fervor. Till 1910, Sri Aurobindo devoted his life to political activities and national freedom struggle. In the later phase of his life, he retired from active politics and decided to devote himself completely to the pursuit of spiritualism at Pondicherry. The concept of Swaraj finds a prominent position in the nationalist thought of Sri Aurobindo. While tracing the word swaraj from the Vedas, he emphasized that Vedas say that if we pursue real happiness we must seek the great, the universal. He further argues that the Vedas explain that the universal is independent, self-protecting and stands Sva-mahimni. The Sva-mahimni is synonymous with Swaraj. According to the Vedanta, which is only the philosophical exposition of the Vedas, every individual self is nothing but divinity itself and should stand by and in its own greatness. To be impressed with the dignity of one's own self; to realize its identity with the universal is the goal of our aspiration, the end of our being. He stated, "Swaraj emphasizes the idea of self-sufficiency and insists on it. It mitigates against the idea of there being any limit to our expansion. We must be full, we must be perfect, we are the divinity in embryo and when fully developed we shall be co-extensive with God himself. This is what Swaraj unmistakably means. It, at once embodies the ideals of independence, unity and liberty. It can never compromise itself with anything having a limit."

Aurobindo considers man a 'complex being' comprising of three elements – infra rational, rational and supra rational. He argues that the infra rational element in man is "a human enlargement of the little animal sector" and is concerned with satisfaction of physical and vital life. The rational element differentiates man from

animals and is concerned with the development of mental faculties. It enables man to understand and control himself and his environment. The supra rational element is turned towards the absolute “its special power is to realize the infinite in the finite, the eternal unity in all divisions and differences.” However, Aurobindo contends that these three elements do not play the same role in every individual. Thus, in one individual infra rational element may play a predominant role, while in another rational element may play a decisive role. He says, “These three powers of being, the supra rational, rational and infra rational are present, but with an infinitely varying prominence in all our activities.”

Aurobindo also holds the view that man is an evolutionary being. He believes that man has the potentiality to go beyond his mental and rational capabilities because the real truth of man is found in his soul. According to Aurobindo, the true aim of individual is, “not only to expand inwardly and outwardly, but to grow upward, wonderfully, exceeding himself as he has wonderfully exceeded his animal beginnings, into something more than mental, more than human, into a being spiritual and divine... Man's consciousness of the divine within himself and the world is the supreme fact of his existence and to grow into that may very well be the intention of his nature.”

Aurobindo advocated swaraj in both spiritual and political sense. To quote him, “If this is the object of an individual life, the nation also should set its heart on the same ideal. The nation also should try to know itself, to work out its potentialities, to realize its mightiness and identify with the universal. Such an ideal does not at all brook the notion of dependence. The very radical meaning of the term swaraj excludes it.”

He stressed that an inner spiritual realization of swaraj became the pre-requisite for political achievement. To quote him, “For it is in the spirit that strength is eternal and you must win back the kingdom of yourselves and all else will be added to yours social soundness, intellectual pre-eminence, political freedom.”

References to swaraj as an individual spiritual value are scattered throughout Aurobindo's writings. To quote him, “Christ said to the disciples who expected a material kingdom on the spot, 'the kingdom of heaven is within you'. To them too he might say, “the kingdom of Swaraj is within you.” According to Aurobindo, like the individual the society is also an evolutionary being. He tells about three stages of social evolution. He argues that the social evolution beings with the infra rational stage. In this stage the society does not govern its action by reason. The social action is determined in response to desire, need and circumstance and is motivated by its instincts, impulses and vital intuitions. The next stage of social evolution is the rational stage, in which reason becomes the motive force behind the social action. In this stage the society develops high ideals and tries to attain perfection. However, it is not able to achieve these ideals because of inability of reason to deal with things in their totality. The final stage of social evolution would be a supra-rational or spiritual age in which the collective man develops a supra-rational, spiritual and finally a

Gnostic consciousness. It is in this third stage of social evolution that the ideals and the aspirations of a perfect society can be attained. According to Aurobindo, the evolution of society is dependent on the evolution of the individuals.

Aurobindo emphasized the spiritual revolution which is based on three basic concepts Sachchidananda or supreme reality, super-mind or truth consciousness and evolution. To enter supra-mental awareness was to live consciously in the Sachchidananda (the Absolute, Bliss, Brahman). Aurobindo conceived the whole of reality as a process of spiritual evolution. Spiritual evolution for Aurobindo becomes a pressure from above and an impulse from below which together permit a gradual unfolding of the Absolute. It is the means by which consciousness liberates itself. He emphasized that swaraj could not be granted by others and swaraj was life, Amrita and Mukti. Aurobindo referred to the Upanishads, which held that so long as man enjoyed the sweets of this world, he seemed to be enslaved by the Maya of the world. It was by coming across bitter experiences that this Maya was dispelled and man became conscious of his real self. He realizes that he is free by realizing the Paramatma who is his own highest self. Aurobindo applied his argument by individual swaraj to national swaraj. He argued, "We in India fell under the influence of foreigners Maya which completely possessed our souls. It was Maya of the alien rule, the alien civilization, the powers and capacities of the alien people who happened to rule over us. There were as if so many shackles that put our physical intellectuals and moral life into bondage." He added that the foreigners Maya would be dispelled through the repression used by the Britishers, and Indians would find Swaraj within themselves.

In the political sense, Aurobindo's ideal of swaraj meant complete independence of the nation. He said, "our ideal is that of Swaraj or absolute autonomy free from foreign control. We claim the right of every nation to live its own life by its own energies according to its own nature and ideas. We reject the claim of aliens to force upon us a civilization inferior to our own or to keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of superior fitness." He further said, "We preach the gospel of unqualified Swaraj. There are some who fear to use the word 'freedom' but I have always used the word because it has been the mantra of my life to aspire towards the freedom of my country."

Aurobindo did not have any admiration for the British connection and differed widely from moderates. He refuted vehemently moderatist misconceptions and superstitions such as their belief in British justice and the benefits bestowed by a foreign government on India. He raised the slogan of complete independence. He was among the first political leader to openly demand Purna Swaraj as the aim of political action in India.

Satyagraha and Non-Violence : A Gandhian Perspective

- Vikas Singh

ABSTRACT

Mahatma Gandhi spread the message of truth and non-violence not only to India but to the whole world. As an inspired prophet he always believed in the path of Satyagraha and non-violence to achieve the highest value of sarvodaya. By believing in ethical values, he supported the unity of the whole world. Gandhi says that the way of truth and non-violence are the methods of a brave and not for coward. He used this method as an exercise against injustice, exploitation and oppression of any kind in the society. Since, truth is the ultimate reality so it should be safeguarded through non-violent means which are very broad and have universal application. Satyagraha is not a mean for social and political disintegration rather a wilful obedience towards the laws of the state to judge just or unjust. Gandhi uses moral force in the path of Satyagraha by having a strong faith on God the ultimate reality. It is a way and means to bring out public opinion against the evil doer and an authoritative state so that fall of the despotism can be ensured and the heart of the opponent can be won. Gandhi used this not only against the British imperialism but he also used this weapon against all unrighteousness, injustice and untruth. Gandhi integrated truth and non-violence in his philosophy of life. He believed that God is truth and truth is God that can be attained through non-violent means. Hence, one who is a believer of Satyagraha is a believer of non-violence as a duty in his life.

Keywords : Satyagraha, Non-violence, Sarvodaya, Moral values, Truth, God.

The self-exceeding character of human being can be seen in a multifarious way and in different strata of evolutionary process of society. it is not only seen in history and sociology but in modes of other experiences like religion and political science.

Human society is always a constant object of value judgment so he always think for a fairer society which is just and more free than he is living in present. When a man is endowed with a leadership quality he can translate his dreams and thoughts into action in that society which can result in significant change by directing the social and political structure.

A man by his morality naturally likes to achieve the objectives and aims with his fellow human beings to share in the society. For this the lifetime of a human being is very important to him. Although Mahatma Gandhi was not a political philosopher and systematic thinker but as an inspired prophet he always believed in the path of Satyagraha and non-violence to achieve the highest value of sarvodaya. Gandhi accepted metaphysical idealism and believed in the supremacy of ethical values and Satyagraha. His philosophy of sarvodaya is based on the concept of unity and existence. it implies a perpetual fight against cruelty to human being and animals. It has its root in the famous mantra of the YajurVeda- 'Isavasyam Idam Sarvam'- the entire universe is permeated by the supreme God. This idealistic philosophy necessarily include the values of eternal truth and justice.¹ For Gandhi the universal love should be the only way to live. One should not be satisfied only with the progress and well-being of a particular class but should work for the emancipation and realization of the welfare and prosperity of all being. So the greatest good of all can be achieved through the path of non-violence so that the ideal can be realized.

Gandhi gives importance to non-violence and says that the religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the Rishis and Saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of brute. Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not means submission to the will of the evil doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. The ideal society being based on non-violence the control of the federation over the units will be purely moral and in no way coercive.² Gandhian Satyagraha is an exercise against injustice, exploitation and oppression of any kind in the society. The purest soul force has an attribute of suffering and trust. Satyagraha for Gandhi is the exercise of this purest soul. He believed in the supreme concept of truth as a natural outcome. Because truth has ultimate reality so the criteria is to safeguard it through non-violent means in the society. It has supreme power of innocence which does not endangers the opponent but have the capacity to change the mind and behaviour of opponent towards the notion of well being to all the creation of the nature. The notion of Satyagraha can be applied against any government or leaders which are harming the humanity by their power or authority. Due to its inherent quality as a birth right of any one it also works as a sacred duty. It directs the man to have the capacity to disobey the government if it begins dishonesty and terrorism or if it does not represent the will of the people.

Satyagraha, Gandhi believes that, is broader and universally applicable. It can be applied in every strata of human society even from family to the state if anyone sees untruth and injustice. Right from the earlier stages of life one can learn non-

violence which can be extended from domestic to national and even to international level. The condition with the Satyagraha is that anyone who wants to engage in this kind of fighting should show a special regard for truth- should have the strength that flows from truthfulness. That is to say, such a man should depend on truth alone. It is absurd to suggest that Satyagraha is being restored to only by those who are deficient in physical strength or who, finding physical strength unavailing, can think of no alternative but Satyagraha. Those who hold such a view, it may be said, do not know what this fight means. Satyagraha is more potent than physical strength which is as worthless as strain when compared with the former.³

Gandhi does not believe in the idea of the tradition where ends justify the means. For him means should be pure to achieve the pure end. It is never good and acceptable to Gandhi to achieve Nobel end by using un-affair means. The essential ingredient is the purity of ends. So he applies Satyagraha as a non-violent struggle against injustice, dictatorship and exploitation. Gandhi believes in peace linked with truth and non-violence. Through the concept of Satyagraha he want to transform individual to the path of Sarvodaya. For him truth and non-violence are the way of strength and complete emancipation of fear by practicing non-violent means and Gandhi always practiced this in his entire life. Gandhi acknowledged his indebtedness to many great teachers and books as far as the evolution of the idea of non-cooperation with, and resistance to, evil is concerned. He was inspired by the philosophy of passive resistance evolved by other. K.P. Karunakaran in his book 'Indian Politics from Dadabhai Naoroji to Gandhi' expresses the views of Gandhi as- it was the 'New Testament' which really awakened me to the rightness and value of passive resistance. The Bhagwad Gita deepened the impression and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within You' gave it permanent form.⁴

For Gandhi Satyagraha is not a means for social and political disintegration. It is a wilful obedience towards laws of the state. By obeying the laws of society one is able to judge that whether the particular ruler is just or unjust and use his position on the way of Satyagraha through civil-disobedience of certain laws in a proper and well-defined circumstances. Gandhi's contempt for use of violent means was based not only on the fact that he thought power was dangerous, that evil means had an inevitable tendency to enter into ends and corrupt them. That is why he insisted on non-violence and Satyagraha over the concepts of boycott and passive-resistance. He believe that means to be means must always be within our reach, and so Ahimsa is our supreme duty. He derived these ideas from Thoreau, Emerson and Tolstoy as well as Jain tradition.⁵ Satyagraha that was first tested as a public moment in South Africa, Gandhi developed into an outstanding politician and a great strategist of the Indian National Liberation Movement through paradoxically combining ethical idealism and political pragmatism. He first displayed the ability to do so while in South Africa.⁶

For Gandhi moral discipline is a necessary force on the path of Satyagraha. One must have a strong faith in god, so that one can bear the physical atrocities perpetrated on

his person by the authorities with the superior force of command or violence. Wealth and fame not have any importance to him. He should always be Fearless and firm in his belief and should be away from personal gain. The whole stress is given on purity as a criterion of power. Only pure means can serve the righteous cause. Different techniques are employed in the way of Satyagraha. Fasting and voluntary migration are one of them. It can be applied in a different forms like non-cooperation with the evil doer which is in a mild form. The strong and extreme form of Satyagraha is civil-disobedience of the laws of the government. Disobedience as a refusal to render obedience to every law made by a state can be very powerful movement. By bringing the public opinion against the evils of an autocratic state the fall of despotism can be insured. The ways and means to achieve it is to win the heart of opponent by self-suffering. Satyagraha for Gandhi signifies readiness to undergo self-suffering without ill will and malice and thereby make the opponent realize the justice of one's cause. The Satyagrahi use the moral weapon of love and truth. He seeks to conquer hatred by love, untruth by truth and violence by suffering.⁷ Gandhi visualized a social transformation that could be accelerated through the principle of non-violence and trusteeship. He stressed more on compromise and co-operation. He realized that if the society is dominated by economic motive than social aim, the life will be dominated by violence and exploitation. He had more faith in the power of non-violence and love than hatred and enmity. He gave more importance to people's power than state ownership.⁸ He was sure in his thought that the method of nonviolence can curb the class-war. Gandhi believes that non-violence required more bravery than violence and forgiveness is more manly than punishment. It is not a weapon of coward rather is a method for brave only. Indians have a better work to do and a better mission to deliver to the world than the punishment of Dyres. His belief was that if India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory but then India will cease to be the pride.⁹

Gandhi made the clear difference between passive resistance and Satyagraha. He believed Satyagraha more dynamic than passive resistance because it contemplates a mass movement against injustice. It can be practiced at all levels of domestic, national and international. Due to its merits of purity of mind it does not have any place for hatred. The base of Gandhian way is End-Means continuum. Along with it Gandhi was most enamored of the words Aparigraha meaning, non-possession, and Samabhava, meaning equality. In studying the meaning of these words, Gandhi realized that he could not follow God unless he gave up everything. Although he might have property, he should act only as a trustee rather than the owner. He would continue to ponder these ideas while continuing public life.¹⁰

Thus Satyagraha is always a weapon of conflict resolution with purity of means through truth and non-violence which also leads an immense faith in God as truth by purifying sufferers, making a direct appeal to the soul of the oppressor to intensify desirable public opinion. In Gandhi's experiment of Satyagraha, Ahimsa was a crucial variable. Not only did it enable Gandhi to provide a new conception of

anti-colonial politics, it also gave him an opportunity by completely avoiding ill-feelings towards those in opposition, to politically accommodate in his fold those who, so far, had remained periphered and his approach was very cautious.¹¹ So Gandhi's experiment with all these pure means results in unity and perseverance through the struggle with the help of purity of means along with Ahimsa, truth and non-violence. Gandhi believe that one adheres to truth and non-violence event towards his every enemy has all worldly gifts and the power of God is always with him. Ill-will and hatred cannot stand near truth and non-violence but for applying all these one should always be of strong will power because it is a weapon of brave. As an act of morality it is a weapon of creativity and not a political weapon. It has a strong faith in human being and God. The common feature of the belief is that every human being is capable of doing and thinking good. It aims at self-suffering to win the other through truth and non-violence. It liberates the oppressed and force the oppressor to behave humanely.

References

1. Dr. Vishwanath Prasad Varma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra, 1980, P. 345.
2. N. Jayapalan, *Indian Political Thinkers- Modern Indian Political Thought*, Atlantic Publishers & Distributers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2012, P. 179.
3. A. Appadorai, *Political Thoughts in India- 400 B.C.-1980*, Khanna Publishers, Delhi, 2018, P. 190.
4. K.P. Karunakaran, *Indian Politics from Dada Bhai Naoroji to Gandhi- A Study of Political ideas of Modern India*, Gitanjali Prakahsan New Delhi, 1975, P. 163.
5. V.R. Mehta, *Foundation of Indian Political Thought- An Interpretation- From Manu to the Present Day*, Manohar Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 2016, P. 228.
6. Prof. B.N. Ray and Prof. R.K. Misra, *Indian Political Thought- Reading and Reflections*, Kaveri Books, New Delhi, 2015, P. 214.
7. A. Appadorai, *op.cit.*, P. 187.
8. Dr. K.S. Bharathi, *Gandhi and Nehru*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1990, P. 89.
9. Louis Fischer, *The Life Mahatma Gandhi*, Harper & Row Publishers, New York, 1983, P. 194.
10. Patricia Cronin Marcello, Mohan Das K. *Gandhi- A Biography*, Atlantic Publishers & Distributers (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, P.75.
11. Bidyut Chakrabarty & Rajender Kumar Pandey, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2009, P.45.

Theorising the Philosophy of Ends and Means

**Abha Chauhan Khimta
Bharti Gupta**

ABSTRACT

An end is something we want to secure and means represent the way in which we endeavor to attain it. In the twentieth century many political concepts and styles of thinking were born. It appears to be common to most schools of thought to accept a sharp dichotomy between ends and means, a distinction that is deeply embedded in our ethical, political and psychological vocabulary, rooted in the rigid European presuppositions regarding the very nature of human action. Distinctions have been repeatedly made between immediate and ultimate, short term and long term, diverse and common, individual and social, essential and desirable ends, as also between attainable and utopian goals. Discussion about means has not ignored questions about their moral implications and propriety, or about the extent of their theoretical and contingent compatibility with desired ends or widely shared values. But despite all these reservations the dangerous dogma that the end entirely justifies the means is merely an extreme version of the commonly uncriticized belief that moral considerations cannot apply to the means except in relation to ends, or that the latter have a moral priority.

Keywords: Ends and Means, and different thinkers views on ends and means.

Ends & Means plays a very important role in the literary & experimental phase of human life. One of the moral principles - spiritual, cultural, historical, social and political are discussed in our country concerns the relation between Ends and Means. In the periods of rapid socio-economic changes when everybody thinks of quick results in an atmosphere of unpredictability and insecurity, this problem assumes a lot of changes and qualitative importance. Ends & Means in turn generally comes to be understood as the criterion that distinguishes well from bad and right from wrong behavior. This pattern gives rise to the possibility of a balance

system of values or principles which helps to maintain the ideal. The identity may come from inside or outside the society. The action or process of converting something of the society has led to the abandonment of such religious governance and has given rise to attempted consistent system of values or principles that is directly or indirectly, explicitly, related to the human enterprises. However, in the emphasis placed on human enterprise of developing or evolving Ends and Means or code of conduct the notion of interests or an act of some individual or group of individuals in the society being served and its standardising the interpersonal conduct within the society cannot be ignored. In other words, it is sometimes claimed that the origin and sanction of ends & means, functions as an instrument for the guidance to fulfill the demands of individual or group of individuals. It evaluates the good or bad conduct through the typical divisions of these accepted social rules or principles. The principles converting the distinction between right and wrong or good and bad behavior is a form of life which serves to attain the human purposes and aims.

When we choose the End you choose simultaneously the Means also. The Means is chosen keeping in mind it the end. It is suitable because it leads to the desired goal. You can't employ any Means to secure a specific End. It must be effective and capable of securing the End otherwise it ceases to be the Means. For instance if someone wants to go to Calcutta to see his / her ailing mother then he does not purchase a plane ticket to London. If a person is in need of food he does not approach a carpenter or a goldsmith. One can't get a bottle of brandy by collecting pebbles on the seashore. This ideology in its own ways has contributed a great deal in development of mankind in the economic political, philosophical, psychological, geographical dwellings, ethical sense and in accidental discoveries of science.

The doctrine that the end justifies the means goes back to Kautilya in India and to Machiavelli in the West, and is connected with the notions of self - preservation at all costs. It has been argued that any means is legitimate that is indispensable at least for internal security or to defend society against its external enemies. The sole (Huxley, 1962) reason for restricting the choice of means is expediency rather than principle, prudence rather than morality. It is taken for granted that cunning and force must unite in the exercise of power may be justified as a means to a higher end but in the attempt to employ any and every means to secure and maintain power it becomes an end in itself.

The doctrine that the end justifies the means does not even require any special justification for the Marxist who accepts no supra - historic morality, no categorical imperative, religious or secular. In the Marxist ideological framework ends of social justice and classless society justify the revolutionary praxis of bringing about social change and transformation. In the Marxist model, commitment to the end of realizing a Marxist model, commitment to the end of realizing a non - exploitative society, conducive to fulfillment of human life is so total that violence becomes

inevitably an acceptable means when everything else has failed to realize it. Because The Marxists argue that the root of social contradictions is the exploitation of one class by another in all stages of historical development, with the exception of "primitive communism". In the contemporary phase of human history, they maintain, the exploiting class is the bourgeoisie, and the exploited class, which is overwhelming majority, the proletariat. The exploitation by the bourgeoisie, which is thus the cause of the class contradiction, cannot be ended or mended without the use of force, argue the Marxists, not only because the bourgeoisie has the power of money, but also because the state itself is merely an instrument of exploitation in the hands of bourgeoisie. A violent class struggle and armed revolution are, therefore, necessary to defeat the force used by the bourgeoisie through the state in order to remove the "class contradiction" and to establish liberty, equality and fraternity (Bandyopadhyaya 1969: 381).

Although Marx and Engels were moved by ethical consideration for a just and morally defensible society, they least bothered about adoption of a morally sanctified mean or method. Engels declared in 1889 that "any means that leads to the aim suits me as a revolutionary, whether it is most violent or that which appears to be most peaceable" (Iyer 1973: 365). Application of violent method or non - ethical means for the attainment of a noble objective like socialism is an inalienable part of Marxian brand of scientific socialism. Not only violent means or method is condoned, it has been sanctified and given the seal of approval by Marx and Engels as the legitimate and morally justifiable method (Pradhan 1980: 200).

While Marx and Engels were primarily theoreticians elaborating the tactics for the communists, Lenin played the role both of a theoretician and strategist of the Bolshevik Revolution. Marxism was modified to suit the objective need of economic revolution, yet instead of modifying the Marxian emphasis on the violent overthrow of the bourgeois socio economic machine, added emphasis was placed on violence. Not an industrially under developed country on the threshold of only violent method was accorded moral sanction, Lenin himself became a party to violent overthrow of Tsardom and an architect of the blood - bath that followed in its trail. Hence, as it has been observed, "Lenin viewed his world in kill or is killed terms - he who struck first and best would rule: the laggard would die" (201).

In his pamphlet on Socialism and War Lenin said that Marxists differed both from pacifists and anarchists in their belief that the justification of each war must be seen individually in relation to its historical role and its consequences. "There have been many wars in history, notwithstanding all the horrors, cruelties, miseries and tortures, inevitably connected with every war, had a progressive character, i.e. they served in the development of mankind, aiding in the destruction of extremely pernicious and reactionary institutions ... or helping to remove the most barbarous despotism in Europe"(Iyer 1973: 365-366).

A means can only be justified by its end .But the end in turn needs to be justified.

Whether an action is justifiable or not simply depends on what historical end it serves. Unlike Engels and Lenin, Trotsky stressed what he called the dialectical interdependence of means and ends. He argued that the means chosen must be shown to be really likely to lead to the liberation of mankind. “Precisely from this it follows that not all means are permissible. When we say that the end justifies the means then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation, or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organization, replacing it by worship of the leaders” (366). This is clearly an improvement on Lenin, for it at least provides a criterion by which a collectivist regime or revolutionary leaders could be criticized for pushing an exclusively utilitarian creed to extremes of practical ruthlessness in perpetuating a monopoly of power and privilege. Although Trotsky denied that the end justifies any and every means, he still insisted that a means can be justified only by its end, which for him is the increase of the power of man over nature and the abolition of the power of man over man (366).

To Stalin the end justified the means. But what was the end? Socialism? But what is socialism? If socialism meant the public ownership of the means of production and the extension of class war to the establishment of a strong dictatorship, Stalin's methods were certainly successful and effective. But if socialism meant something more, if it meant a change in human relations, an enlargement of human freedom, and the development of human dignity, his methods were unsuccessful and ineffective, for the great technological, scientific and material achievements under Stalin were accompanied by the deprivation of individual freedom, contempt for human life, tyranny, cruelty, deceit, untruthfulness and liquidation of human beings. In the name of building socialism hundreds and thousands of innocent beings were massacred. Labour camps, prisons, mental asylums were filled with anguish of thousands suspected of dissent or difference.

As Sinyavsky observed, “so that prisons should vanish for surrounded ourselves with a Chinese wall. So that work should become a rest and a pleasure, we introduced forced labour. So that not one drops of blood be shed any more, we killed and killed and killed” (Damodaran 1969: 102). The result is, unfortunately, that the first socialist country born out of the Russian Revolution of 1917 could not fully fulfill the hopes and aspirations created by Marxist humanism among the downtrodden humanity.

The Guevara, the architect of Guerrilla Warfare of Cuba publicly proclaimed the principles of secretiveness, treachery and surprise attacks the essential elements of his revolutionary struggle against Batista dictatorship. War was viewed as a struggle for success and recourse to tricks and stratagems were considered legitimate and morally defensible means to attain the goal. His aim was no doubt noble “to establish a new society, to break the old moulds of the outdated, and to achieve,

finally the social justice” (Pradhan1980: 201). Yet the strategy adopted by him, the technique of craft and cunning puts to shade the violent methods advocated by Marx and Engels and the strategy of craft and chicanery prescribed by Lenin and Stalin. Not only such strategy was recommended as a device to wrest success from the enemy, it has been bestowed with a type of dignity and nobility unheard of earlier. Speaking about his strategy Che Guevara said " All these disparaged qualities acquire a true nobility, the nobility of the end at which they aim; and it becomes clear that we are not speaking of distorted means of reaching an end” (202).

Thus, scientific socialists in the past and revolutionary socialists in modern times with the exception of Bernstein and his school of social democracy with the vision of a golden age devoid of exploitation and disparity of income, wealth, economic power and privilege, have somehow not attached any importance to the nature and character, the quality and purity of the means to be adopted for the attainment of the objective. Although their emphasis differs they are unanimous in respect of the fact that a just, egalitarian and saner socio - economic order can emerge out of a pool of blood, and a reign of terror. While Marx and Engels not only condoned but prescribed violence as the grand strategy for socialist transformation, Lenin added to it a system of craft and cunning, hypocrisy and unscrupulousness and Che Guevara attributed a type of nobility to such methods. They had a profound faith that the nature of the means, its nobility or ignobility, purity or perversity, morality or immorality, have no relevance in the context of the ultimate objective. End justifies the means and if a just and morally defensible social order is the objective, the means, however ignoble, is morally defensible too. Once the revolution occurs the path is paved for an egalitarian Society and all sins are washed away. Ethics for them is not absolute but relative and particularly socialist ethics can well adopt a double standard. Thus, according to them only out of chaos, order shall emerge, out of dissolution and disintegration a new society shall take its birth (Coker1962: 480).

Fascists believe that liberal democracy is obsolete and regard the complete mobilization of society under a totalitarian one party state as necessary to prepare a nation for armed conflict and to respond effectively to economic difficulties. Such a state is led by a strong leader-such as a dictator and a martial government composed of the members of the governing fascist party-to forge national unity and maintain a stable and orderly society. For Fascism, society is the end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its end. By society, the Fascists mean, almost invariably nation, and a nation they explain, is based on persistent biological similarities that reveal themselves in unities of language, custom and religion, differentiate the whole group from other national groups, and define the direction and limits of its development. Such a naturally coherent group has a life more continuous, permanent, and important than the lives of its members. The state is the organic structure of the nation, so that state - ism and nationalism embody essentially the same sort of appeals to the emotion and reason of the citizens. Fascism stands for the absolute sovereignty, moral and legal, of the

national state. The interest of the latter may sometimes harmonize, at other times conflict, with the interests of its living citizens, but they must always take precedence. A war for the preservation, expansion, or exaltation of a nation may be supremely justifiable, even though it may frustrate the special interests of every lesser group and destroy the lives of the nation's most worth - while citizens . Fascists generally and Mussolini in particular, have been explicit in defense of violence as a means of achieving political aims. Violence - in destroying property and maiming and killing people - played a major part in the movement through which the Fascists secured their pre - dominance in Italy. Mussolini defended the illegal burnings and assaults as practically and morally necessary. Following the suppression of the general strike in August 1922, he said: "After having made use of it (violence) systematically for forty - eight hours, we got results we should not have obtained in forty - eight years of Sermons and propaganda. When, therefore, violence removes a gangrene of this sort, it is morally sacred and necessary"(480). the theory that a good end justifies all means is dangerous in practice and ethically unsound. The theory permits violence and instead of helping us advance on the path of progress, leads us to regard human beings as means. This crushes our subtler feelings and results in oppression and cruelty. "The travel image ", T.V. observes in provocative article " Democracy and Human Destiny ": Explains man's inveterate subservience to the distinction between means and ends, Anything for the sake of something else, if the something else be both future and roseate ... How far this travel - image can lead men astray from both reason and benevolence is seen luridly in communism, though communism but exaggerates a tendency resident in every political ' ism '. The Marxist end - a classless society - is made so glorious that it always recedes like a lovely mirage, to keep from being dissipated through any concrete approach. The utopianism of communism but warns us of a dangerous element in all our natures"(Bondurant 1959: 229)

It is ironical that while the doctrine that end justifies the means is increasingly taken for granted by some Benthamite planners and Kautilyan diplomats in Gandhi's India, it has been openly questioned even in the most powerful society that has adopted Marxism as a state religion . The Russian poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, has stated that Stalin was forgiven much in his life time because Soviet citizens were led to think that his acts were necessary for some higher purpose. To quote him: They steadily impressed upon us that the end justified the means. A great pain gives birth to a great ' flow of energy ' as Stalin once declared. But even as we lamented him, many of us recalled our kin and our friends who had perished in the prisons. Naturally, to lock up such an enormous number of people required a truly prodigious amount of energy '. But people did not ponder on the fact that the aim itself may cease to be great, if one strives after it only with great energy and without paying much attention to the means. We realized that the means must be worthy of the end. This is an axiom, but an axiom that has been proved through much suffering (Iyer 1973: 367-368).

The Utopian socialists like Saint Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen were impassioned socialists whose sense of compassion was stirred at the sight of abysmal poverty, destitution and deprivation of the many in the face of unparalleled prosperity of a handful of the privileged and they aspired to solve the human problem in their own modest ways by tinkering with the then existing economic system. They were advocates of piece - meal reform instead of radical transformation of socio - economic fabric. They found sense and meaning in the application of the method of persuasion, appealing to the good sense of the emerging bourgeoisie and the co-operative effort of the workers or the proletariat. They were advocates of non - violence. As Marx and Engels have observed “They reject all political and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, by necessarily doomed to failure and by the force of example to pave the way for the new social gospel” (Pradhan1980: 98). Thus, they did not believe in the view that the end justifies the means.

Aldus Huxley has expressed his views on this vital issue in his book *Ends and Means* (1937), which he wrote at a turning point in his personal life and at the time when fascist violence and Gandhi was employing non - violence as a means to attain freedom in India . While talking about the relation between ends and means Huxley has argued “Good ends can be achieved only by the employment of appropriate means. The end cannot justify the means. The means employed determine the nature of ends produced. Men aspire to do well and yet so frequently achieve evil, because their means are bad. It is in the light of our conceptions of right and wrong that we can make real progress in private, political and economic life” (Huxley1962: 4).

According to Huxley violence cannot achieve anything except the inevitable results of violence. Any reform which requires violence for its imposition will fail to produce good results. Violence can produce only the effects of violence counter violence, suspicion, resentment, more violence. Violence ends liberties, and has been the main cause of the rise of totalitarian and imperial tyrannies. The effects of violence can be undone only by acts of non - violence. Violence begets violence and more violence. Thus, by making use of evil means, even the well meaning planners produce results which they did not desire, According to Huxley good things cannot be achieved by inappropriate means. To quote him “Results are disastrous when attempts are made to replace the ethical first principles of civilized humanity by other first principles in accord with the prevailing emotions and interests. All new moralities like communism, fascism or nationalism affirm that the end justifies the means, justify the unlimited use of violence and cunning, preach the subordination of the individual to the state, inculcate the minor virtues but disparage the higher virtues without which the minor virtues are merely instruments for doing evil with increased efficiency.” (Huxley1962:96). Thus, Huxley has argued that the means employed determine the nature of the results. The end may be very good, but its

goodness is powerless to counteract the effects of the bad means we use to reach it. Good things cannot be achieved by inappropriate mean. After analyzing above views of the literary and experimental recourses, we can conclude that there is no absolute end of anything in this world because every end becomes a means of something else. Historically, this paper is compiled with some literary and experimental resources like Kautilya, Gandhi, Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, Machiavelli, Stalin, Smith, fascism, Huxley's views on ends & means. It means that even if the means is not noble, but the end is noble; it is justifiable since this end becomes the means for something else and one can easily say that they are using the noble means to achieve the noble ends. While means are as important as end and one must avoid following evil means to achieve noble ends as a matter of routine, it may be preferable if the benefits of the noble end (as a means) to the society is greater to the loss of the (ignoble) means for achieving this end. Hence, the end-justifies-means and end-and-means-are-same need not contradict each other, if understood properly and used wisely.

References

- Bandyapadhaya, J. (1969). Social and Political Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi . New Delhi: Allied Publishers.
- Bondurant, J. V. (1959). Conquest Of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict. Bombay: Oxford University Press.
- Coker, F. W. (1962). Recent Political Thought. Calcutta: The World Press.
- Damodaran, K. (1969). Theory and Practice Social Impact and Contemporary Relevance. (S. C. Biswas, Ed.) Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- Huxley, A. (1962). Ends and Means. Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Iyer, R. N. (1973). The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi. Delhi: Oxford University press.
- Pradhan, B. (1980). The Socialist Thought of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol 1. Delhi: GDK Publications.

India and Canada: The Century of Engagement

- Harish K. Thakur

India and Canada are the two large democracies of the world and both of them share a common colonial experience and British hegemony. Today they are members of Commonwealth of Nations (CHOGM) and several international organizations and contribute constructively towards international collaborations and peacemaking projects. Both the countries have a long record of cordial bilateral relations built upon shared traditions of democracy, pluralism, multiculturalism and strong interpersonal connections. Today Indians have been contributing greatly to the state of Canada in different sectors as Canada homes around 1.2 million Indian diaspora. Indo-Canadian relations are the longstanding bilateral ties built upon a "mutual commitment to democracy" "pluralism" and "people-to-people links", according to the government of Canada. Being large democracies the engagement of the two states in the new century is not only important for their economic growth but also for the world on account of their multicultural models of diversity management and accommodation.

While Canada and Australia received Dominion Status from the British in 1901 Indian struggle ended with full independence in 1947. However, the first Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had close association with the two Canadian Prime Ministers Louis St. Laurent and Lester Pearson who served during his time. Over different international issues like the Korean crisis, Suez Canal dispute, and the Hungary crisis the two states had shared common viewpoint, although in case of Hungary crisis India had voted against the UN Resolution. In the process of state-building of India Canada contributed significantly under Combo Plan since 1951. In the past five decades India has been one of the largest recipients of Canadian bilateral aid, amounting to over \$3.8 billion Canadian dollars. It also contributed liberally towards several projects and plans.

India's nuclear policy has remained one of the grey areas between the two. While the

Indian understanding and view of nuclear policy is determined entirely by different environment and security challenges Canada shares the western view of nuclear nonproliferation. In the light of India's nuclear test of 1974, therefore, the bilateral ties between the two witnessed a historical decline. The Pokhran-I damaged the relations between India and Canada and it took years to repair and rebuild them. Even the Pokhran II was unwelcome for the latter but under the changed global scenario and post-cold war dynamics Canada chose to overlook the event and strengthen ties with India. India's consistent stand against signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in the current shape and the pressures from the U.S. and Canada have exhausted now, especially in view of India's security challenges from its neighbours like China and Pakistan, and the two have realized the significance of a stronger India and preferred to carry along with the ongoing disagreements.

After the 1992 economic reforms in India Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien paid a diplomatic mission to India in January 1996 with two cabinet ministers and 300 business figures. India's Foreign Minister I.K. Gujral also paid an official visit to Canada in September 1996. Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy reciprocated with a visit to India in January 1997 during which at Chandigarh he inaugurated the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner. Against terrorism a Counter-Terrorism Working Group of Canada-India was also established in 1997, bringing together on an annual basis several departments and agencies of the Canadian and Indian governments. Romeo LeBlanc, the former Canadian Governor General undertook a state visit to India in March 1998.² Prime Minister Stephen Harper took an official visit to India in November 2009. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Canada in June 2010 for the G20 Summit in Toronto.

The Century of Engagement

The bilateralism between India and Canada primarily hinges upon the nature of their states, kinds of democracies, state of economies, the trade and the business. Besides the cultural, academic and political incentives of the past the explorations in science, technology and economics have laid a strong foundation for the development of their mutual relations. According to Bisaria (2018), Indian High Commissioner at Canada, "The Strategic India-Canada economic partnership was moving to the next level in business and political terms and often the business led the political side. We are working on trade agreements and having a conversation on investment protection agreement. There is a strong inflow of immigrants and students from India to Canada. India is investing in human capital in Canada and Canada is exporting financial capital to India."

Commercially a significant event took place in 2011 when the Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce co-hosted with the government of India the regional Pravasi Bhartiya Divas¹. The conference represented the Indian diaspora and was also christened as the "Year of India in Canada," The conference was attended by about 1000 delegates from different sectors like business, science, medical,

commerce and social work. It was accompanied a grand cultural programme including International Indian Film Academy Awards (MEA).

The current BJP government has witnessed a furthering of multilateral ties with Canada. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Canada on April 14, 2015 was significant on account of interaction with businessmen, academicians and leaders. While touring around Ottawa, Toronto and Vancouver Prime Minister Modi held wide-ranging dialogue with them and also addressed more than 10,000 PIO's and friends of India at Toronto on 15th April 2015.

During the visit the two sides entered into several agreements and MOUs. MOUs were signed between ISRO and the Canadian Space Agency concerning Cooperation in the field of Space; the Ministry of Railways India and Department of Transport of Canada on Technical Cooperation in Rail Transportation; Ministry of Civil Aviation and Department of Transport of Canada on Deepening Cooperation in Civil Aviation. A Letter of intent was signed between Department of Biotechnology, Ministry of Science and Technology and Grand Challenges Canada for the implementation of Collaboration in disease elimination and Saving Brain Initiative. However, the most significant achievement was the signing of an agreement between the Indian Department of Atomic Energy and Cameco of Canada for long-term supply of uranium to India, an issue foiled in the past by Indian nuclear tests (Web, April 15, 2015).

In the following years the two Prime Ministers Modi and Trudeau have met several times and the relations have paced well. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau spent a week in India on a state visit in February 2018. Most commentators called it a failure or a disaster because of Canadian tolerance for the Sikh separatists operating in Canada. Justin Trudeau signed several agreements with India and declared that the corporate India has committed USD 1 billion worth of investments in his country, which will create over 5,000 jobs (Business Standard 2018).

India and Canada today invest handsomely under the new governments. The trade between the two states has doubled in six years from \$ 3.21bn in 2010 to \$6.05bn approximately in 2016. However, there is lots of scope in expanding the trade as India accounts for only 1.95% of Canada's global trade. Major items that India exports to Canada include gems, jewellery and precious stones, pharmaceutical products, readymade garments, textiles, organic chemicals, light engineering goods, iron & steel articles, etc. India's import from Canada include pulses, newsprint, wood pulp, asbestos, potash, iron scrap, copper, minerals and industrial chemicals, etc. (MEA 2018)

The Indian FDI, in Canada in 2016 was more than double of Canada standing at \$ 2093.53 million as against Canadian FDI of US\$ 901.16 million in India. Indian companies have invested especially in the IT, software, steel and natural resources sectors. India and Canada in a joint statement committed to pursue specific measures in this regard including early finalization of the Bilateral Foreign

Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA). The two Prime Ministers again committed to the agreement on road map to expeditiously conclude a progressive, balanced and mutually beneficial CEPA. The Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) was initiated by UPA government in 2010. The tenth round of CEPA was held in August 2017.

India and Canada have also established institutionalized mechanisms to promote bilateral economic ties including Ministerial Dialogue on Trade and Investment; Trade Policy Consultations at the level of Additional Secretary, Department of Commerce; and the Economic and Financial Sector Policy. The India Canada CEO Forum was constituted in 2013 to improve bilateral trade and investment flows. The inaugural meeting of the Forum was convened in November 2013 in New Delhi. The secretariat for the Forum is provided by the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) and the Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE). The Forum identified natural resources, infrastructure, education, information and communication technology and financial services as priority sectors (MEA).

Nadir Patel, Canada's High Commissioner to India, remarks that growing Canada-India trade ties and significance of the large Indian diaspora in Canada have enormously added to their trade quantum in the last decade. Over the last five years (2013 to 2018) the bilateral trade between the two increased by 61 per cent to \$9.4 billion in 2018. In the first three quarters of 2019 they saw a 38 per cent increase in trade, it is expected to touch the hall time high of \$10 billion in 2020. The investments from Canada I India have been in diverse areas. In 2018 about 8 per cent of the steel manufactured in India used Canadian natural resources (ET). It is also providing architectural and engineering services to India. Canadian firms are providing the design and engineering for many of India's top Smart Cities. Indian mobile carriers like Airtel and Jio use Canadian software that allows millions of subscribers to manage their accounts every day. Canadian software is helping Indian tax-payers e-file their income taxes. Canada has also contributed in many hydro projects providing engineering services and hydro technology. Operators and technicians also rely on Canadian training and capacity building to operate those stations. Canadian companies like Brookfield and Fairfax Holdings have invested over \$25 billion in india. Strategic investments by Canadian institutional investors over the past five years exceed \$45 billion and are aligned with the Government of India's priorities including renewable energy, infrastructure development, and urban infrastructure growth (Basu).

India has reciprocated well to this Canadian gesture. Indian companies have invested heavily in Canada. Tech Mahindra recently opened a software development centre in Vancouver in addition to its existing facility there. The company also announced a strategic partnership and investment in Canada which is key to the Government of Canada's Super clusters initiative. Infosys opened its first office in Canada in 1997. Currently, it has offices in Calgary, Montreal and Toronto,

employing 500 people and generating a revenue of \$76.9 million (CAD 100 million). Paytm started out in Canada in 2014 and now has a 55-member team of software, data and machine learning engineers who make this payment gateway secure for users (ET).

Canada continues to be one of the leading destinations for Indian students looking to study overseas. In fact 200,000 Indian students went over to Canada to pursue higher education in 2019. The two countries have significantly enhanced education and skills training through various institutional collaborations and MOUs. In fact, there are about 300 MoUs between institutions of higher learning in India and Canada. The MoU on Higher Education (2010) with Canada was renewed in February 2018. Under this MoU, 2nd Joint Working Group meeting was held on 26-28 February 2019 in Ottawa to oversee and implement the MoU (Live Mint, 9 November 2019).

For the exchange of expertise in different fields the two sides also agreed to establish an institute to coordinate and collaborate in 1970.3 Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute initially focused to encourage University level Canadian teaching and research on India. With an emphasis on the humanities and social sciences, the SICI programs funded fellowships and distributed Indian books and journals to the libraries of its Canadian member institutions. The growing interest in India Studies among Canadian academics led to a reciprocal interest in Canada among Indian scholars. In the early 1980s, SICI began to promote Canadian Studies in India. More recently, its activities have broadened further into the field of development studies and sustainability. Institute started supporting research in the area of Science and Technology as it became binational in the Year 2005. Today, the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute maintains offices in Canada and India. Our Canada office is located on the premises of the University of Calgary, which are provided to us at no cost by the University's Board of Governors. Our India Office is located in central New Delhi and was built by Canadian Government funds on land provided by the Government of India (SICI).

The twenty first century has brought a new thinking in the bilateral relationships as the two states have moved away from the areas of disagreements to the newer horizons of collaborations and investments. Indian security issues and challenges that determine its nuclear policy have gone well with the US and the Canadian think tanks that deem it urgent in consonance with the national interests of India. Science, education, health, technology, agriculture, information and technology and infrastructure building are the new areas of investments. The huge Indian diaspora in Canada, its contribution to Canadian economy and electoral politics have further boosted their relations. The cultural roots of the two are deep now and growth in the economic activities and cooperation in the field of science; technology and agriculture under various joint endeavours have further consolidated their relations. Their social diversities and the evolution of distinct multicultural models

have helped the world develop better understanding of the issues related with identities, social diversities and the ethnic questions. The engagement of the two in the twenty first century is definitely going to be important for the growth of democratic values and peace projects of the world.

Notes and References

Notes

1. Pravasi Bharatiya Divas is a celebratory day observed (starting in 2015) on 9 January by the Republic of India to mark the contribution of the overseas Indian community towards the development of India. The day commemorates the return of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa to Mumbai on 9 January 1915.
2. The Canada-India Working Group on Counter- Terrorism was also established in 1997, bringing together on an annual basis several departments and agencies of the Canadian and Indian governments. Former Governor General Roméo LeBlanc undertook a state visit to India in March 1998.
3. It was renowned political scientist Michael Brecher of McGill University who first conceived the idea of establishing the institute for the exchange of ideas, scholastic works, academic activities and expertise to accentuate the bilateral ties and cultural and economic relations between the two states. . In 1966, Brecher informally broached the idea to the visiting Indian Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari who then followed the suit calling it a splendid idea. In 1967 through a joint declaration by the Governments of Canada and India, the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute was founded.

References

Bisaria, Ajay. "India Canada Trade on Greater Trajectory". indiainc.group.com. last accessed on Oct.14, 2019

Business Standard February 18, 2018.

Basu, Nayanima. "Trudeau's disastrous trip makes way for focus on trade in India-Canada ties". *The Print*, Jan. 27, 2020.

Live Mint. <https://www.livemint.com/education/news/over-2-lakh-indian-students-went-to-us-for-higher-education-in-2018-19-report-11574084967916.html>.

MEA.(Ministry of External Affairs. http://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Canada_October_2017.pdf

SICI. Web: <http://shastriinstitute.org/history>

The Economic Times. Web, 5 November 2018.

Web: April 15, 2015. "Canada and India Announce Funding for Innovations to Improve Child Health". <http://www.grandchallenges.ca/wp-content/uploads/NewsRelease-India-2015Apr15-EN.pdf>.

Indo-Canadian Partnership over Trade and Development: A Contemporary Analysis

- Bhawna Sharma

ABSTRACT

Canada is middle power in international relations, as it holds position in the middle of international power spectrum. Canada favour multilateral foreign policy and the formation of coalitions instead of unilateral decision making in foreign policy. Canada has large or moderate influence and international recognition. Canada is one among the oldest constitutional democracies in the world. It's founding constitution, the British North America Act (BNA act), which unites Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the Dominion of Canada, was enacted by the parliament in 1867. (Russell 2010:21) This does not mean that Canada's constitutional system has been frozen in time, in fact Canada's constitutional development has been a story of evolution and adaptation. The Indian Constitution is also a deliberate and cool-headed product of a galaxy of top-ranking leaders of India who were assembled in the constitution assembly. They prepared the draft after studying all the known constitutions of the world. The scheme of distribution of powers between centre and state, Quasi-federal form of government, Advisory Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and Residual power to the centre, the source of all this in the Indian constitution is the Canadian Constitution. For both the democratic entities; India and Canada constitution is the supreme law.

During the cold war, Canada joined the power bloc and become an ally of the United States of America while India advocated the policy of non-alignment. Regarding this policy Nehru said that we have proclaimed devising this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any group. This has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity or anything else. If there is a big war, there is no particular

reason why we should jump into it..... we are not going to join a war if we can help it, and we are going to join the side which is to our interest when the time comes to make the choice. (Palmer and Perkin 1997: 729) This basic difference of alignment still gives its reflection, although it is true that scholars say that in globalised world; it does not have much relevance. Both the countries are current member states of the Commonwealth of Nations. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India was invited to address the Canadian Parliament in the House of Commons. Nehru visited Canada in 1949 for three days that is from 22nd to 26th October. This was an effort to establish a good rapport with the then 12th Prime Minister of Canada Louis Stephen St. Laurent who was an enthusiastic proponent of Canada's joining NATO in 1949. Canada provided aid to India; during the cold war, especially the Canadian support of Canada India Reactor Utility Services (CIRUS) in 1954 was an important linkage to India. CIRUS is a symbol of growth of the country's civil and strategic atomic programme, but as per our commitment under Indo-US civil nuclear cooperation agreement, we had shut down CIRUS on 31st December 2010.

After the 1971 Indo-Pak war and the subsequent Indo Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation and further India's first successful nuclear bomb test on 18th May 1974, Indo Canada relations took a dip. The redefining movement finally came in 1996 when 20th prime minister of Canada Joseph Jacques Jean Chrétien decided to push forward the relations to new heights and undertook aggressive re-engagement. (Singh 2018: E-221) The common features between the democratic structure of the two nation-states are the inherent values of liberal democracy, unique histories, commonwealth membership, the factor of diaspora, membership in G 20, the raising understanding of shared interests in the global arena by them all this provides the basis for the comprehensive relationship. The bilateral relations between India and Canada further ground on, Rule of Law, secularism, unity in diversity, Pluralism, expanding economic engagement, regular high-level interactions and people-to-people relationship. Both India and Canada have vibrancy in culture and they pursue bilateral relations through the dialogue mechanisms such as ministerial level- strategic, trade and energy dialogues, foreign office consultations and joint working groups in other specific sectors. Since 2019 Joint Working Group on Higher Education, 16th Joint Working Group on Counter Terrorism, Joint Committee Meeting on Civil Nuclear matter and Inaugural edition of Consular Dialogue with Canada were held (MEA). This reflects that the two democratic entities are putting their efforts in raising their bilateral relations to the better advanced level.

Trade and Investment

The economic criterion is one of the of the foundational pillars in bilateral

relationship. Trade has raised between India and Canada after 1990 however, after India conducted nuclear tests again in 1998, Canada once again went on an alert as far as its trading relations with India were concerned. But in 1999, after the Indian visit of the then Secretary of State for Asia Pacific, Raymond Chan, India Canada Trade Relations were resumed once again and further begin to grow with new pace. Bilateral trade relations between the two nation-state grew by 60% in the last five years to USD 9 billion and is expected to triple to USD 30 billion in the next few years, and the overall target is to take this growth up to USD 50 billion (The Hindu:15July). At present the scenario is that, that this trade is well below the potential of two countries growing relations, but both the countries are keen to strengthen their relations, as per the statement of Canada's High Commissioner to India Mr. Nadir Patel.

More than 1,000 Canadian companies have invested in India and this Investment has gone up to over USD 25 billion from USD 4.5 billion in last few years. Along with this the remarkable feature is that the feedback of these companies operating in the state has been very positive. Indian companies in Canada are active in the field such as information technology, software, steel, natural resources and banking sectors. It is remarkable that Indian companies which have invested in Canada include ICICI Bank, State Bank of India, Mahindra Tractors, Tata Steel Minerals Canada, Tata Consultancy Services, Jaguar Land Rover, Tata Communications, Zee Group, Aditya Birla Group, Jubilant Life Sciences, Infosys Technologies Limited, Tech Mahindra, ESSAR Steel, Gujarat State Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited, IFFCO Canada Enterprise Ltd., Abellon Energy corporation, Wipro Technologies, Prime Focus World and Polaris Financial Technologies. (MEA 2020)

Some of the main items imported by Canada from India are: garments, textile products, cotton yarn, carpets, floor spreads, rugs, leather articles, footwear, jute, Jewellery, handicrafts, spices, coffee, tea, fruits, nuts, organic chemicals, iron and steel articles, rice, cereals, processed foods, marine products, and software. The main items exported by Canada to India are: paper, pulp board, wood pulp, minerals, machinery equipment, electronic goods, ships, resin, plastic, asbestos, vegetable oil, peas, copper, industrial chemicals, newsprint and Iron scrap. (business.maps of india). Till now, Canadian Pension Funds have invested around USD 22 billion in India. Canadian Pension Funds cumulatively pledged to invest around USD 42.5 billion in India and are increasingly viewing India as an attractive destination for investments. (MEA 2020). There are many Canadian firms operating in India. Few eminent ones are Bombardier, Canadian Aviation Electronics (CAE), Nova Scotia, The Royal Bank of Canada (RBC), SNC-Lavalin and McCain Foods Limited. Through, all this India and Canada want to amplify their importance and value to each other through trade and economy. Negotiations are going on to take their bilateral relations up to the higher level. As trade ties are the key between the

two countries so since 2010, India and Canada launched Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) and a Bilateral Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement. (BIPPA/FIPA). Constructive discussions are going on related different aspects between Canadian and Indian officials and they agreed to continue their engagement over the coming months to advance the CEPA and BIPPA/FIPA negotiations. In 2006, under the leadership of Stephen Harper greater emphasis was given on foreign direct investments (FDI), technology transfers, trade agreements and leveraging diaspora links towards expanding ties with India. (Mehta 2019:7)

Biswajit Dhar Professor at JNU said that we are following The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) approach and the hybrid model is beneficial for us because we have given up a lot of market access in services, especially financial services in others free trade areas (FTAs). Head at Centre for Regional Trade, Ram Upendra Das said that we need to see how trade and investment linkages can be harnessed in the CEPA. This can be done if Canadian investments come in manufacturing of goods, which ultimately India can export to Canada after getting tariff concessions. (The Economic Times: 19 Feb.)

Canada is also negotiating a FIPPA with India to protect investments through legal obligations. Despite the fact that an India-Canada FIPPA was concluded in 2009, the negotiations are going on for its ratification. The issues over investor-dispute settlement mechanisms are stagnating the FIPPA. India wants that a due process of exhausting domestic judicial routes should be followed before one approaches to the tribunals at international levels, Canada is concerned about slow judicial decision making in India, means delays in the disposal of cases, so Canada wants to go to international tribunals without a judicial lengthy approach. In 2010, Peter Van Loan, Canadian Minister of International Trade, launched negotiations for a Free trade agreement (FTA) in India, means an arrangement that establishes unimpeded exchange and flow of goods and services between trading partners, regardless of national borders of member countries. Further the negotiation was preceded on the results of a joint study on the potential benefits of a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) between Canada and India. (international.gc.ca)

FTA is repressed on two issues. First the Ratchet issue, that if India liberalises any policy, its benefits would apply to Canada also. India says doing so will lead to policy space being lost for Indian government. Second issue is Most-favoured-nation (MFN) forward issue, it means if India extends any concession to any country in the world, it be applied to Canada also, but, India opposes it saying all FTA's are not the same but have some uniqueness and such MFN forward will lead to trade imbalances. (Singh 2018: E- 223)

As per World Development Indicators in the year 2018, India has a growth of 6.8% in its GDP whereas Canada has a growth of 1.9% in its GDP. Further according to

country economy.com in the last quarter of 2019 Canada was placed 9th in the ranking of quarterly GDP of the 50 countries while India was placed 4th in the ranking of quarterly GDP of the 50 countries. Although, in 2019 India has lost its spot as world's fastest growing economy. But still India continues to attract foreign investors due to high potential domestic market and availability of cost-effective workforce. Investment and trade form the heart of the relationship. The bilateral relationship has become more instrumental and transactional, less saddled by political (diaspora) or security (nuclear) issues (opencanada.org). When Indian PM Narendra Modi visited Canada, Minister of Finance of British Columbia Mike de Jong on 14th April 2015 said the trade opportunities for Canada in the huge Indian market are obvious, but if a new, more open and prosperous partnership is to develop, leaders in both countries will have to continue working long after the speeches and state dinner are over. Further he added, the cultural ties between the countries are very, very strong, have been, continue to be. The challenge we both face is to convert that incredibly strong cultural link into a more powerful economic link. (theglobeandmail).

This all, reflects that brain storming is on to take relations to new heights but we cannot ignore the contemporary international scenario. At present Brexit, increased nationalistic sentiments among nations, upset in global trade with the U.S.-China trade war, future of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) looks uncertain, at this point of time Canada looks to “diversify” and it seems keenest to strengthen its ties with India. US, experts said notwithstanding the outcome of its ongoing NAFTA negotiations with the US, the Canadian government and its business houses have decided not to put all their eggs in one basket. From health and education to renewable energy and indigenous research in infrastructure, Canada is already engaging with India for fruitful future alliances. (Economic Times).

At present juncture of global economic crisis marred due to prevailing Corona Virus disease: COVID-19 pandemic, it will be a matter of great interest to see if the cooperation in trade and economy sector between the two countries is able to grow at the same pace and vigour in the near future.

Developmental Relations

One of the foundational pillars in a country's development is its focus on developmental cooperation with other countries both in terms of exchange of expertise and framing relations with one another in different fields. Which includes cooperation in energy sector, civil nuclear area, outer space field, education and at many more divisions. Canada a middle power recognises, the opportunity of collaborating in the areas of interest with India and India is also interested in establishing good rapport with Canada.

Energy Field

In the modern times, energy is the basic requirement for development. Energy

security is also our one of the top priorities. Canada is an energy rich nation-state, there are diverse and reliable renewable and non-renewable energy sources including oil, natural gas, hydroelectricity, coal, nuclear source (uranium), solar, wind, tidal and biomass. Canada is the fifth largest energy producer in the world and the eighth largest consumer of energy. India's energy requirements are enormous and the demand is growing day by day but our resources are limited both in physical and financial terms. Canada has been identified as a potential partner in terms of energy sector. There is Canada-India Energy Forum since 2010. This Forum was established under the MoU on energy co-operation signed in 2010. India-Canada have ministerial level energy dialogue since 2013. Power generation, Hydrocarbons and Coal are the three core dimensions of energy dialogue. Canada - India Energy Forum brings together leaders and experts from both countries to discuss oil and gas investment, crude oil trading and refining, unconventional gas development and oil and gas sourcing from Canada. India -Canada Energy Forum provides an excellent opportunity for Canadian producers as well as providers of energy technology and services to learn more about India's energy needs.

Since 2009, the two nations have cooperation in crude oil and India has been importing oil from Canada. Dharmendra Pradhan, India's minister of state for petroleum and natural gas, told in July 2017 in the gathering of thousands of people that the terminal would import liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Qatar, United States, Iran and Canada.

In 2016, during India-Canada energy dialogue in New Delhi, MoU between the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas (PNG) of the Government of India and the National Research Council (NRC) of the Government of Canada was concluded. NRC is the primary organization in science and technology research and development. PNG is responsible for the exploration, production, refining, distribution, marketing, export, import, and conservation of natural gas, petroleum, petroleum products, and liquefied natural gas in India. Further, an expression of intent on collaboration between Indian Oil Corporation Limited (IOC) which is an Indian government owned oil and gas company and is the largest commercial oil company of India and The Alberta Petroleum Marketing Commission (APMC), which is a provincial Crown corporation and is responsible for marketing Alberta's conventional crude oil royalty and other energy related activities such as development of new energy markets. The last India and Canada Ministerial Level Energy Dialogue was held in New Delhi in February 2018, the scope of the Energy Dialogue was expanded to additionally include electricity, energy efficiency and renewable. Indian Oil Corporation has a 10% participating interest in a Liquid Natural Gas project in British Columbia (MEA 2020).

Civil Nuclear Cooperation

The fourth summit of State leaders of G 20 took place in Canada from 26th to 27th June 2010. On the side-lines of this summit Prime Minister of both the countries Manmohan Singh and Stephen Harper reached an unprecedented agreement on civil nuclear cooperation. on Monday 28th June 2010; signing of this agreement was described by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as “breaking new ground in the history of our cooperation in this sector.” Further Manmohan Singh said, “It reflects the change in international realities.” (The Hindu: 29 June) A Nuclear Cooperation Agreement (NCA) with Canada was signed in June 2010 but came into force in September 2013. The Appropriate Arrangement (AA) for the NCA was signed in March 2013, under this agreement a Joint Committee on Civil Nuclear Cooperation was constituted. Canada has about 8% of the world's unmined uranium resources, but accounts for some 25% of the global primary uranium production. Canadian Mining and Energy Corporation; Cameco is the world's largest publicly traded uranium company, first shipment of uranium from Canada marks Cameco's first supply of uranium to India. As India is a non-signatory to NPT despite having acknowledged good non-proliferation credentials. The first shipment of uranium from Canada to India was sent on 3rd December 2015 (World Nuclear News).

Outer Space Field

One among the different elements of cooperation, which strengthen the partnership envisages cooperation in the field of science and technology in general, and space technology in particular. Space collaboration has been at the forefront in bilateral relations between India and Canada. Both countries have successful cooperative and commercial relations in the field of Outer space and this relationship goes back to 1990s. They are pursuing relations mainly on space science, earth observation, satellite launch services and ground support for space missions. The Indian program has been implemented by the Central Government's Department of Space (DOS), which spends millions annually on space activities. Due to the very high priority accorded to the space sector, the DOS has been put directly under the office of the Indian Prime Minister. The DOS implements the policies put forward by the Space Commission and carries out space research and other related activities through the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO); India's space agency. Space is an area of strategic importance, the successful history of ISRO added stars to the confidence and technological prowess of India.

Canada is in this arena of space technology is almost from the starting of the space age. Canada became the third country in the world to design and build its own satellites when it launched the Alouette I research satellite in 1962. (Ram Jakhu 2008 :6) Then Canada decided to establish a single governmental entity, known as

the Canadian Space Agency (CSA), for space research and development. The main objectives of the CSA, as specified in the 1990 Canadian Space Agency Act, are “to promote the peaceful use and development of space, to advance the knowledge of space through science and to ensure that space science and technology provide social and economic benefits for Canadians.” The ISRO and CSA have signed cooperative agreement on Space in Bangalore, India on 15th October 1996. Cooperative Agreement was signed between the then President of the CSA, Mac Evans and K. Kasturirangan the then President of the ISRO (ISRO).

Further Memorandum of Understanding was signed between ISRO and CSA in Bangalore on 27th March 2003. This reflects Reaffirmation of mutual pursuit in international space cooperation for peaceful purposes. The MOU was signed by Dr K Kasturirangan, Chairman, ISRO, and Dr Marc Garneau, President CSA. At this moment Dr K Kasturirangan said that we share common needs for telecommunications, meteorology, disaster warning as well as natural resources management and environmental monitoring. This renewed cooperation between ISRO and CSA demonstrates our mutual commitment to pursue common projects benefiting both the countries, now and in the future. (isro.gov.in)

So, the successful cooperation in the field of space is being chased through two Implementing Arrangements in the field of Satellite Tracking Network Operations, and in the field of the Ultra Violet Imaging Telescope (UVIT) Detector Subsystem, in support of the ASTROSAT astronomy mission in December 2003 and June 2004, respectively. There are diverse opportunities for research in the field of peaceful uses of space technologies. (pib.gov.in).

Advancement in Cooperation continues, further MoU was signed between ISRO and CSA in Canada on 15th April 2015. This MoU lead to the establishment of joint team, consisting of members from ISRO and CSA, to chart out the plan of action including examination and defining cooperative projects. The UVIT, which was jointly developed by India and Canada has been used by ASTROSAT which is India's multi-wavelength astronomical satellite. The ASTROSAT was launched on 28th September 2015 from Satish Dhawan space centre, Sriharikota, Andhra Pradesh, India. The UVIT was gifted by the Canadian Space Agency to the Indian Institute of Astrophysics. Canada provided three detectors for UVIT and one twin ultraviolet and visible imaging telescope. (Singh 2018: E-224) Success of this mission made India to stand with the US, European Space Agency, Japan and Russia. Motivated with the success of ASTROSAT, India planned for AstroSat-2. ANTRIX, which is the Commercial arm of ISRO with an objective is to promote the ISRO's products, services and technologies, Canada has a strong commercial relationship with India through ANTRIX. (hciottawa.gov.in) ISRO has launched several nanosatellites for Canada since 2008. So far, ISRO has launched thirteen satellites for Canada out of 319 satellites of 33 countries (wikipedia).

ISRO has launched a microsatellite, SAPHIRE for Canada along with Near Earth Object Surveillance Satellite (NEOS) as auxiliary satellite on the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) C-20 in 2013. The PSLV C-23 was launched with two Canadian satellites CanX-4 and CanX-5 from the University of Toronto's institute for Aerospace Studies Space Flight Laboratory (UTIAS SFL) on 30th June 2014. On 22nd June 2016 India's PSLV C-34 launched two Canadian satellites M3M which is maritime monitoring and messaging micro-satellite and GHGSat-D, nicknamed "Claire", which is built by Canadian Research and Development consortium to monitor greenhouse gases, respectively. Canada's M3M was built for the Canadian Department of National Defense, and is a communications satellite. Initially, this satellite was to be launched from Russia through Soyuz rocket. But, due to international restrictions on trade with Russia because of the Crimea and Ukraine crisis, Canada decided to go ahead with India (affairscloud.com).

ISRO in its 100th Satellite PSLV launched on 12th January 2018, also flew Canadian first Telesat LEO satellite, from Indian spaceport Sriharikota, Andhra Pradesh. So, in this manner over the years, Canada and India have collaborated in several areas of space research and technology, including launching of several Canadian satellites from Sriharikota, Andhra Pradesh. India's largest knowledge and technology conference and exhibition held in New Delhi on 14th and 15th November 2017. Canada was partner country with India at this 23rd Tech Summit, this Summit was organized by the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and the Indian Department of Science and Technology (DST). The main focus of the summit is to highlight the role of women in science and business as well as promoting the start-up and incubator communities in India and Canada. This Tech Summit highlighted range of research and innovative areas where India and Canada are world leaders. The themes were Advanced Manufacturing which includes advances in aerospace, Automotive and Robotics, Transportation which includes Intelligent Transport Systems, Aviation, and Infrastructure, Artificial Intelligence highlighting ICT, Data Sciences, Life Sciences, and Agricultural Technology, and Energy which covers Clean Technologies and Extractive Technologies (outlookindia).

During inaugural address of the two-days India-Canada Technology Summit on 14th and 15th November 2017 in New Delhi, Dr. Harsh Vardhan, Union Minister for Science & Technology said that as partners in the 21st century knowledge economy, Technology Summit reinforces their common belief in the power of science and technology in contributing to the present and future strategic Indo-Canadian partnership. In this way the new chapter of industrial research and innovation cooperation opens in the bilateral relations between India and Canada (pib.gov.in)

Further in this on 15th November 2017 in New Delhi at 6th meeting of joint Science and Technology cooperation both countries reviewed the status of ongoing

programs and finalize the Action Plan for the next year. This plan envisages collaboration in emerging technologies such as Artificial intelligence, Nano-technology, 3-D printing etc. (hciottawa.gov.in)

Education Field

Canada at present is one of the most popular education destinations among Indian students because of the huge range of courses and safe environment. As a result, Education becomes a key area of mutual interest. Recently India becomes the main source of foreign students with 203000 Indian students studying in Canada. There are about 300 MoUs between institutions of higher learning in India and Canada in February 2019, Both sides are willing to expand the collaboration in the areas of student and faculty mobility. Reputed Canadian faculty members have visited India under the Global Initiative of Academic Works (GIAN) scheme, an initiative of MHRD, India for teaching assignments in Indian institutions. Canada is one among the 28 countries covered under the Scheme for Promotion of Academic and Research Collaboration (SPARC) whose, aims is to improve the research ecosystem of our Higher Educational Institutions by facilitating academic and research collaborations to solve problems mutually of national and/or international relevance. The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute is a major connecting link between India and Canada. It is a binational non-profit organization with registered charity status in Canada. The Institute supports the creation of binational links between academia, government, the business community and civil society organizations by funding research and hosting seminars. So in this manner since 1968, this institute is fostering, education and cultural cooperation between India and Canada. As part of commemoration of 550th Birth Anniversary of Guru Nanak Devji, Government of India decided to establish Knowledge centre named after Guru Nanak Dev as Chair on Guru Nanak Devji in a Canadian University. In spite of all this, we find that in debate and discussions on foreign policy analysis in the Indian media Canada is usually missing, we still have Bilateral Track 1.5 dialogue between both countries means still conversations are at the level where mix of government officials and non-governmental expert official and non-official actors cooperate in conflict resolution. Here government officials, participate in an unofficial capacity. Regarding this three-year initiative between the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Gateway House: Indian Council on Global Relations, has been taken to explore areas for deeper cooperation among both countries. For this experts, government officials and business leaders will convene annually to encourage bilateral economic growth and innovation in today's digital economy. This is an effort to bring out long term viable solutions (mea.gov.in). So, in this manner, along with economy, energy, science and technology entertainment industry linkages we see our promising future in education sector also.

Khalistan Knot

Till date after efforts at different level, to elevate the standard of relationship between the two countries; still the relations between the India and Canada are strategically thin. We still do not have political-diplomatic, defence and economic co-operation to our full potential. On the contrary, we know Canada has little to offer India with core strategic objectives which includes Pakistan, China, the subcontinent, the maritime security in the Indian ocean and beyond. Karthik Nachiappan in his article “India Canada relations remain frozen in time” said worse, is that Canada even does not appear interested in engaging on such issues. To, the best of my knowledge and the literature review done by me, one of the root causes behind the lack of strategic core is the albatross of Sikh separatism and proclivity of Canadian political leaders to associate with pro Khalistan elements. India, geographically located in south Asia, where it faces cross border terrorism and nuclear peril from Pakistan in the west and China in the north. In such scenario the Khalistan knot dominate in relations and made India more apprehensive towards Canada. But it is also a fact that one affair cannot defines ties. The signing of agreement on civil nuclear cooperation is a sign of trust between India and Canada.

Actually in the whole world one of the largest Sikh diaspora communities is in Canada. In 2011, Sikhs accounted for 1.4% of the total Canadian population with over 400,000 residents and it is expected to rise up to 700,000 till 2021. Nikita Khurana in his article titled “Assessing the Relationship of Sikh-Canadians with Canada and India” published on 9th December 2019 wrote that a Sikh separatist movement; the Khalistan movement helped in creating a strong Sikh community within Canada. When Justin Trudeau become Prime Minister in 2015, in his ministry out of 30 cabinet members 04 are of Indian descent. Trudeau has desire to engage with the subcontinent this reflection we see in his joke that he has more Sikh ministers than Modi, (Carmichael 2018:2). After next federal election in 2019 again Justin Trudeau got opportunity to become Prime Minister and once again at present out of 36 cabinet ministers 04 members are of Indian descent and holding important portfolio. Navdeep Singh Bains minister of innovation, science and industry. Harjit Singh Sajjan, the minister of national defence. Bardish Chaggar minister of diversity, inclusion and youth and Anita Anand minister of public services and procurement, (Hindustan times: 21 Nov.).

This observation says that Sikh community is highly influential and rich. They have great influence on Canadian Politics. In the 1980s, number of people from Punjab migrated to Canada, and in this Liberal government policy; persuaded to make family reunification. But soon Indian concern arises towards the Khalistan sympathisers in Canada, which endorses Punjab's secession from India. After Operation Blue Star in Amritsar and 1984 riots in which hundreds of Sikhs were killed; the tension reached

to its apex in 1985. Further Sikh extremist blew up Air India Flight 182 on 23rd June 1985 killing all 329 passengers. It was the deadliest act of aviation terrorism until 9/11. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) were accused of negligence and for causing significant delays in the investigation. This monster of Sikh extremism raises its head time to time. Although to repair ties bilateral extradition treaty is signed in 1987 further in 1997, bilateral Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism (JWGCT) is formed to coordinate against Khalistan separatist groups, (Mehta 2019:5). Since then, meeting of the India-Canada Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism is taking place. India is going to host the 17th meeting of the JWGCT in 2020.

The severity further deepens in 2017, when Member of Provincial Parliament Harinder Malhi, of the Liberal Party moved a private motion in the Ontario assembly, that described the 1984 anti-Sikh riots as “genocide”. He said assembly should “condemn all forms of communal violence, hatred, hostility, prejudice, racism and intolerance in India and anywhere else in the world, including the 1984 Genocide perpetrated against the Sikhs throughout India, and call on all sides to embrace truth, justice and reconciliation,” (Hindustan times: 8 April). Obviously, this immediately irked Indians then the official spokesman on 7th April 2017 stated: “We have noted the passage of a Private Members' Motion in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario on April 6. We reject this misguided Motion which is based on a limited understanding of India, its constitution, society, ethos, rule of law and the judicial process. Our views have been conveyed to the Government and political leadership in Canada.”(MEA).

Public Report on the Terrorism Threat to Canada released by the Canadian Government in December 2018 stated that “Some individuals in Canada continue to support Sikh (Khalistani) extremist ideologies and movements.” The report further prescribes that Babbar Khalsa International and the International Sikh Youth Federation were listed as terrorist entities under Canada's Criminal Code, (The Diplomat: 8 March). Justin Trudeau during his visit to India said Canada's 2018 Report on the Terrorism Threat to Canada; his government removed the word 'Sikh'. Ostensibly to “eliminate terminology that unintentionally impugns an entire religion” (Verma 2019:3). In my opinion the sentiments of Indian people had taken into consideration while removing the word 'Sikh' from the report. In October, 2018 Canada's Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer visited India, he said that the Conservative Party does not engage with any group or individuals who choose violence to achieve a political agenda and we stand for united India. (Hindustan times: 11 Oct.) This reflects that understanding is developing between the two countries but the latent energy which should be used in collaboration is time to time consumed to overcome differences.

Conclusion

India and Canada share various complementarities as well the relations between the two are multidimensional but still, till date relations are bilateral not strategic. Geographically distant location of Ottawa and New Delhi may be a major reason behind lack of understanding to take into consideration the India's strategic realities, this lack of understanding further deteriorates the relations off and on. Ideological differences during the Cold War period; further the presence of Khalistan sympathisers in Canadian politics are the root cause for dip in relations at times. Immense majority of Sikh community in Canada is peace loving, but there may be few people whose view point may not accord with that of India.

But now it's time to reroute and pay heed away from politically contentious issues. We should focus on to conclude and develop Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) and a Bilateral Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement. (BIPPA/FIPA), this advanced framework of cooperation has abundant possibilities and will be more pragmatic. Both countries have very good bonding in developmental co-operation especially in the field of an active and multifaceted science and technology which includes energy field civil nuclear cooperation, outer space field and education field. Trade and investment along with science and cutting-edge technology are reshaping the life of the people in the globalised world.

Despite, tumultuous challenges between relations among two countries India will remain a better viable option for economic and developmental partnership after corona pandemic because China is perceived as the main cause of it. US President call corona COVID-19 as Wuhan virus and whole world is suffering a lot because of it. India and Canada are superb partners who can benefit from one other's expertise. There is still both power and potential for future enlargement of relationship.

Works Cited:

1. Calgary Herald; "India port project expects LNG supply from Canada"; 19th July 2017, Reid Southwick
<https://calgaryherald.com/business/energy/india-port-project-expects-lng-supply-from-canada>
2. "Canada-India Free Trade Agreement Negotiation," Government of Canada, 18th March 2017.
<https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-commerce/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/india-inde/fta-ale/info.aspx?lang=eng>
3. "Canadian Space Agency; Canadian Space Milestones"
<https://www.asc-csa.gc.ca/eng/about/milestones.asp>
4. Carmichael Kevin; How India-Canada business ties can bloom; 15th February 2018, Gateway House

- <https://www.gatewayhouse.in/india-canada-business-ties-bloom/>
5. Hume Mark; Indian PM Narendra Modi's visit to Canada stirs emotions in local diaspora; Vancouver, 14th April 2015 updated 14th May 2018
<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/indian-pm-narendra-modis-visit-to-canada-stirs-emotions-in-local-diaspora/article23963448/>
 6. High commission of India(Ottawa), Bilateral Relations Setting-up Business in India hciottawa.gov.in/pages?id=3&subsid=14
 7. High commission of India(Ottawa), Brief on India Canada Relations
<http://www.hciottawa.gov.in/newsevent?id=72>
 8. Hindustan Times; "Canadian PM Trudeau includes 4 Indian-origin ministers in new cabinet" Chandigarh 21st Nov. 2019, HT Correspondent and Reuters
<https://www.hindustantimes.com/indians-abroad/canadian-pm-trudeau-includes-4-indian-origin-ministers-in-new-cabinet/story-lwLLprZZGbXefu9tA0GN6I.html>
 9. Hindustan Times;"Ontario passes motion calling 1984 riots genocide, India says move misguided" Toronto 8th April 2017, Anirudh Bhattacharyya
<https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/ontario-passes-motion-describing-1984-anti-sikh-riots-as-genocide/story-1YPs2tiMkvtW2Tp7UDyydK.html>
 10. Hindustan Times; "We don't engage with those who choose violence: Canada's Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer" Chandigarh 11th October 2018, Sukhdeep Kaur
 11. India-Canada Energy Forum, 17th July 2014 McDougall Centre, Calgary, Alberta
<https://cloudfront.ualberta.ca/-/media/business/centres/cibs/documents/canada-india-energy-forum-pkg.pdf>
 12. India loses place as world's fastest-growing economy, 31st May 2019
<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-48478028>
 13. ISRO to Launch M3M Satellite
<https://affairsccloud.com/isro-to-launch-m3m-satellite/>
 14. India's Space Research Organisation and Canadian Space Agency to Strengthen Space Cooperation; Department of Space, Indian Space Research Organisation; 27th March 2003
<https://www.isro.gov.in/update/27-mar-2003/indias-space-research-organisation-and-canadian-space-agency-to-strengthen-space>
 15. India Canada trade relations
<https://business.mapsofindia.com/trade-relations/india-canada/>
 16. Jakhu Ram; The case for enhanced India- Canada space cooperation; Research Report August 2008 pg6.

17. Khanna V. N. Chapter -24 India's Policy of Peace and Non-Alignment, International Relations: The World community in transition book by Norman D. Palmer and Howard C. Perkins, A.I.T.B.S. Publishers and Distributors 1997, ISBN: 81-7473-069-9
18. Khurana Nikita; "Assessing the Relationship of Sikh-Canadians with Canada and India" published on 9th December 2019
https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2019/12/09/assessing_the_relationship_of_sikh-canadians_with_canada_and_india_114904.html
19. List of international prime ministerial trips made by Jawaharlal Nehru
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_international_prime_ministerial_trips_made_by_Jawaharlal_Nehru
20. List of foreign satellites launched by India
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_foreign_satellites_launched_by_India
21. Ministry of External Affairs Government of India
http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Canada_2020.pdf.
22. Mehta Ketan, India and Canada relations: The long road to recovery: 16th Oct. 2019, p-7.
<https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-and-canada-relations-the-long-road-to-recovery-56681/>
23. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Media Briefings, Official Spokesperson's response to a question regarding passage of a Private Members' Motion in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, 2017)
http://www.mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/28354/Official_Spokespersons_response_to_a_question_regarding_passage_of_a_Private_Members_Motion_in_the_Legislative_Assembly_of_Ontario
24. Nachiappan Kartik; With Singh, a new chapter for Canada India relations: A look at the history of the bilateral relationship and what Jagmeet Singh's activism means for its future. 20th Nov. 2017
<https://www.opencanada.org/features/singh-new-chapter-canada-india-relations/>
25. Canada chosen as partner country for 2017 Technology Summit, New Delhi: Outlook: The News Scroll, 17th Oct. 2017, Source: ANI
<https://www.outlookindia.com/newsscroll/canada-chosen-as-partner-country-for-2017-technology-summit-new-delhi/1170360>
26. Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Cabinet appraisal of MoU between ISRO and Canadian Space Agency (CSA) on cooperation in the field of outer space; 15th June 2016 <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=146221>

27. Research N-reactor CIRUS to shutdown permanently on December 31; Daily News and Analysis, source; PTI, updated :18th Dec. 2010
<https://www.dnaindia.com/mumbai/report-research-n-reactor-cirus-to-shutdown-permanently-on-december-31-1482987>
28. Russell Peter H. chapter-2 Constitution; The oxford handbook of Canadian Politics edited by John C. Courtney and David E. Smith, OUP 2010, ISBN: 978-0-19-533535-4
29. Singh Pavneet; “International relations” McGraw Hill Education (India) Private Limited 2018.
30. The Diplomat, Grant Wyeth “India's Sikh Sensitivities and Canadian Politics,” 8th March 2019
<https://thediplomat.com/2019/03/indias-sikh-sensitivities-and-canadian-politics/>
31. The Hindu, Business line; “India-Canada trade agreement not likely soon” :15th July 2019
32. The Hindu; “India, Canada sign civil nuclear deal”:29th June 2010, TCA Srinivasa Raghavan
<https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/India-Canada-sign-civil-nuclear-deal/article16271233.ece>
33. The Economic Times; “For trade talks with Canada, India offers 'Hybrid' model of positive & negative lists” 19th Feb. 2018
34. The Economic Times; “Canada looks to 'diversify', bolster India relationship”:20th Sep. 2018, Raghav Ohri
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/foreign-trade/canada-looks-to-diversify-bolster-india-relationship/articleshow/65879701.cms?from=mdr>
35. Verma Mohit; “India Elections 2019: An opportunity for Canada to revamp the relationship” 27th May 2019
<https://www.asiapacific.ca/blog/india-elections-2019-opportunity-canada-revamp-relationship>
36. World Nuclear News; “India receives first uranium shipment from Canada” 4th December 2015
<https://www.world-nuclear-news.org/UF-India-receives-first-uranium-shipment-from-Canada-0412155.html>

Tibetan Refugees and India - Canada Relations

- Mini Pathak Dogra

ABSTRACT

India and Canada are two big nations which share not just the physical features like being large in size but also the way they are full of Diaspora making them plural societies and multi-culture. Canada is second largest in terms of geography just after Russia and India stands at seventh place. Somehow Canada is connected to the ideals of democracy and pluralism in the same way as India is adhering to them. Historical ties between the two countries go back to late 19th century when Indians began migrating in small numbers to British Columbia.¹ Canada is home to over 1.2 million persons of Indian origin. The first Indian migration to Canada was in 1897 on the west coast of Canada with the arrival of lumber workers and laborers from Punjab for railway construction. It was only after World War II that the migration of Indians shifted towards the east coast. The second major wave of immigration to Canada started in early 1970's. The point system played a decisive role in the evolution of the profile of the Indian Diaspora in Canada. Greater Toronto area has the largest Indian community estimated at around 650,000 followed by Vancouver at around 300,000. It is estimated that two-third of Indo-Canadians are Punjabi speaking, followed by those who speak Gujarati. The community is culturally active and has organized itself in various organizations.²

Indo-Canadian relations are earmarked by many ups and down since India gained. Since India's independence, Canada has recognized the country as major power in Asia as it was crucial maintaining the balance of power in the region. Canada's association with the British Commonwealth, its federal democratic character, and its rich ethnic diversity laid foundation for bilateral relations between India and Canada.³ However the foundations of these bi-lateral relations were built keeping in view the background of cold war.

During the cold war period, the personal equation between Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Canadian counterparts, Louis St. Laurent and later Lester

Pearson helped to develop some strategic understanding between the two sides. During this period India became the largest recipient of Canadian external assistance. Under the cold plan, Canada provided grants to India's civil nuclear program, which it believed would highlight the importance of the nuclear energy. Moreover, Canada's assistance was aimed at furthering bilateral cooperation by mutually beneficial research and industrial activities of both countries. However, Canada's status as a founding member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was at odds with the Non-Aligned Movement membership and its aim to maintain strategic neutrality between the cold war blocs.⁴ Fault lines first emerged in 1948 when Canada supported a plebiscite, followed by a ceasefire in the Indian State of Kashmir a position that was antithetical to India's interests.

In the 1980's India's relevance in Canada's foreign policy rose as Punjab accounted for significant number of immigrants to Canada, a dynamic that was encouraged by the liberal government policy to make family reunification the basis for immigration. However India soon expressed concerns regarding the activities of Khalistan sympathizers in Canada, it espoused Punjab's secession from India. This again created tension in the relations and the bilateral ties reached one of its lowest ebb in 1985, when Sikh extremists blew up Air India Flight 18 left Vancouver airport for India, killing all 329 passengers.⁵

However these have not constrained the relations between India and Canada which proves right on the front when we view the case of Tibetan refugees. Tibetan's arrived in India in late 1950's and early 1960's when Chinese atrocities in Tibet forced Dalai Lama to take refuge in India.

Here it would not be out of place to state Canada's relation with Tibet. Canada's connection to Tibet dates back more than a century. In 1895, a Canadian Protestant missionary, Dr. Susanna Rijnhart, became only second western woman to enter Tibet. Born in 1868 in Chatham, Ontario, Susanna Carson graduated later from Trinity college in Toronto with a medical degree. In 1894, she met Petrus Rijnhart who was on a lecturing tour across Canada, soliciting funds in order to return to Tibet and continue his missionary work. In September of that year Carson and Rijnhart were married and soon after they departed for Tibet. In September 1898, tragedy struck during their excursion to Lhasa. Bandits attacked their caravan, wounding one guide and stealing several horses. With the subsequent desertion by their guides, Petrus Rijnhart left his wife behind in search of assistance for the wounded guide. He was never heard from again. Susie Carson failed to reach Lhasa due to a lack of guides, resources and no remaining money. Canadian interest in Tibet has grown since the late nineteenth century and the migration of Tibetans to Canada only occurred several decades later.

In 1959, a national uprising by Tibetans against the Chinese occupation of their homeland forced thousands to leave their homes. By the 1960's close to 100,000 Tibetans were displaced and fled to India and Nepal. Initially, displaced Tibetans were unwelcomed in Nepal, as a result, a majority of those who fled their homes

went to India. The Indian government was unable to provide assistance to every refugee. As a result the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, became involved in the daily care of refugees. In 1966, the UNHRC began discussing the resettlement of Tibetan refugees with the Canadian government. The UNHRC hoped that Ottawa could resettle these refugees since many of them were agriculturalists. The international organization also sought group relocation of the refugees in order to meet their spiritual and cultural needs. Although the federal government refused any plan involving group settlement, Canada's High Commissioner to India, James George, suggested to federal officials that Canada could still resettle a small number of refugees.

A year later an interdepartmental committee representing five federal departments was organized to consider the plight of Tibetan refugees and their admission and resettlement in Canada. In July 1970, the Dalai Lama was informed by Canadian officials that Ottawa would consider the resettlement of 240 Tibetan refugees. In its first year of operation, the Tibetan Refugee Program was to cost approximately \$794000. In March 1971, the first Tibetan refugees arrived. This small group of newcomers to Canada became one of the earliest examples of non-European refugees accepted into the country. At the time the settlement of these refugees called for Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia to accept an equal number of refugees. The Tibetan refugees were settled in 11 municipalities across Ontario, Quebec, Alberta and Manitoba. The federal government decided that the future acceptance of Tibetan refugees would depend on the successful settlement of this first group of 228 individuals.

A refugee program established in 1972 saw 230 Tibetans relocate from northern India. Although we see a paradox in Canada's policy towards Tibet because China claims Tibet as part of its territory, and Canada officially recognizes China as the Government of Tibet. In 2006, the House of Commons voted to give the Dalai Lama honorary Canadian citizenship. That move also drew criticism from China. Up to 1000 exiled Tibetans are moving to Canada as part of federal program.⁶ But initially also many refugees struggled to adjust to their new environment since Canadian immigration officials disapproved of group resettlement.

According to the 2006 Canadian Census the Tibetan community comprises over 4250 individuals. Approximately 3215 Tibetans reside in Toronto which constitute over 75 percent of the entire Canadian Tibetan community. Similarly, Calgary is home to approximately 300 Tibetan Canadians (7 Percent), While 100 individuals reside in Vancouver (2 Percent). Approximately, 85 percent of the Canadian Tibetan community resides in Toronto, Calgary or Vancouver. On 17 October 2007, the Tibetan Canadian Cultural centre was established in Etobicoke, Ontario. The centre is open to members of the public and provides various programs and services including Tibetan languages courses, performing arts and Buddhist philosophy classes. During this same period, negotiations were held between Dalai Lama and the Canadian government for the resettlement of displaced Tibetans living in

northern India. Three years later the Canadian government announced on 18 December 2010 that it would resettle approximately a thousand Tibetan refugees living in Arunachal Pradesh, India.⁷

Canada, the second largest country in the world in area, occupying roughly the northern two-fifth of the continent of North America. Despite Canada's great size, it is one of the world's most sparsely populated countries. Although Canadians are comparatively few in number however, they have crafted what many observers consider to be a model multicultural society, welcoming immigrant populations from every other continent. In addition, Canada harbours and exports a wealth of natural resources and intellectual capital equaled by few other countries.⁸

Tibetans themselves feel Canada to be their home. When new Tibetan families or individuals go to Canada they need to be sponsored. Some Tibetan people are voluntarily involved in rehabilitation of their community members in Canada. The sponsors agree to provide support for the refugees for one year, providing housing and helping them to integrate into Canadian life. "If some of them are capable of being independent sooner, that's great. They find a job, they want to move out," said Khymisar, noting that about 75 percent have functional English. He said they continue to look for more sponsors across Canada and for donations. About 1000 Tibetans are estimated which continue to leave the Chinese controlled region each year, trekking across the Himalayans. About 6500 Tibetans live in Canada now.⁹

Tibetan refugees are playing important role in strengthening India Canada relations. They have become a bond of cultural exchange between the two countries. The relations of both the countries were on the lowest ebb when Punjab was in turmoil but no such incidence has happened in the case of Tibetan refugees. Grant of honorary citizenship to Dalai Lama is testimony to building of good faith between the two nations irrespective of the stand that China has taken in case of Tibet.

References

1. <http://www.hciottawa.gov.in/newsevent?id=72>
2. Ibid.
3. Quoted in Ketan Mehta, India and Canada relations: the long road to recovery, occasional Paper No. 217, October 2019, 7. Observer research Foundation, <http://www.orfonline.org/research/india-and-Canada-relations-the-long-road-to-recovery-56681/>
4. Ibid
5. Ibid
6. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/political/exiled-tibetans-start-move-to-canada-under-resettlement-plan-1.2445180>
7. <http://pier21.ca/blog/jan-raska/tibetan-immigration-to-canada>
8. <http://www.britannica.com/place/Canada>
9. <http://www.vancouversun.com/news/Tibetan+refugees+arrive+Canada+from+India+part+federal+deal/deal/9289805/story.html>

Indo-Sri Lankan Relations in 21st Century: Issues of Conflict and Cooperation

**Rattan Lal
Joginder Singh Saklani**

ABSTRACT

Both, India and Sri Lanka have plural society consisting of different races, languages, ethnic and religious groups. Both countries remained under the British colonial rule for more than a century. In India there was a long drawn national movement for independence, but the Sri Lankan got independence without any long struggle either through non-violent mass movement or by armed struggle against British rule. Both India and Sri Lanka have been members of commonwealth and also been members of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Both nations have common views on international issues like colonialism, racialism, disarmament. They also shared common views on national liberation of colonies, question of the Indonesian Independence, issue of Suez Canal in 1956 and USSR's intervention in Hungary. But it does not mean that there were no differences between these two nations. They have conflicts on various bilateral issues like issue of Indian Tamils or ethnic conflict, issue regarding the sovereignty over Kachchativu island, fishermen issue, citizenship issue, and language issue etc. Even in the 21st century especially in the post LTTE era, the issues such as human right and 'China-Sri Lanka Axis', have also been effecting the bilateral relations of India and Sri Lanka. This research paper covers the same issues which influenced the bilateral relations of both countries. The paper is historical and analytical in nature therefore, therefore we have applied historical, analytical, chronological and descriptive methods.

Rattan Lal Assistant Professor of Political Science at Vallabh Government Degree College Mandi, (H.P.) & PhD Research Fellow, Department of Political Science, Himachal Pradesh University, Summer Hill, Shimla-5 (H.P.) Email: 123rattan123@gmail.com

Dr. Joginder Singh Saklani Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, ICDEOL, Himachal Pradesh, University Shimla-5.

Keywords: Sri Lanka, Ethnicity, Kachchativu, Fishermen, LTTE, Tamils.

Introduction

Sri Lanka, an island nation which lays South of India across the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Strait in the Indian Ocean, is one of India's closest neighbour. India and Sri Lanka both nations share common colonial experiences and have close cultural and ethnic ties. Both countries have plural society consisting of different races, languages, ethnic and religious groups. India has a strategic interest in Sri Lanka because of its geographical location, close historical, ethnic and cultural continuity. Both countries adopted democratic set up after independence. Despite formal democratic setting, both neighbors are also not free from certain internal turbulences and challenging, passing serious threats to the unity and integrity of the two neighbors. The inter-state and intra-state conflict has also effected the relations many times. Domestic factor is the most important factor in Indo-Sri Lanka relations. Indo Sri Lanka Relations become very close when Buddhism spread from India to Sri Lanka in the Third century B.C. during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa, a branch of the sacred tree at Buddhagaya under which the Buddha had attained enlightenment, planted at Anuradhapura by a Buddhist nun believed to be a daughter of Ashoka. This tree still survives at Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. A close link was also forged between the state and Buddhism. Devanampiya Tissa himself granted a royal park in the capital city of Anuradhapura, as a residence for the ordained priesthood. This was the beginning of the Mahavira, the historic centre of Buddhist orthodoxy in ancient Sri Lanka (Silva, 2005:12). The rapid spread of Buddhism was potent factor of unification, primarily cultural no doubt, but one which strengthened the prices of potential unification with in the Island.

Historically, in the modern era, India and Sri Lanka had been under the British colonial rule for more than a century. In India there was a long drawn national movement for independence and get independence on 15 August, 1947 and its great leaders Mahatma Gandhi and J.L. Nehru also inspired the people of Ceylon. Sri Lanka attained independence on 4th February 1948 with a brief political movement. The Sri Lankan elite did not have to fight for independence either through non-violent mass movement or by armed struggle against British rule. Sri Lankan Progress from Semi-responsible government to dominion status has been rather peaceful (Gopal, 1988:82). Both India and Sri Lanka have been members of commonwealth and also been members of NAM and SAARC. Both nations have common views on international issues like colonialism, racialism, disarmament. They also shared common views on national liberation of colonies, question of the Indonesian Independence, issue of Suez Canal in 1956 and USSR's intervention in Hungry. But it does not mean that there were no differences between these two nations on various bilateral issues like issue of Indian Tamils, Kachchativu,

Fisherman Citizenship, Language etc. Even during the Bondung Conference, Pandit Nehru differed from Kottewala on the question of “communist colonialism”. Kottewala stated in the house of representative that, We respect Pt. Nehru, we accept him as an honorable and honest man who wants to have peace in the world and if South India goes communist as it is going now and invades us can he defend ourselves with 30,000 people we have to fight for us against these south Indian?.” He also said, “We have friends to support us at all times that being so, I will stand by the commonwealth and by British as long as I can until they do not want us or insult” (Peiris, 1958:23). There were some problems in Sri Lanka which constitutes the biggest irritants in the post colonial phase of Indo-Sri Lanka relations. There are three important factors that have determined the India's relations with Sri Lanka initially after their independence till early eighties. The issue of citizenship of Indian Tamils, dispute over Kachchative, language issue and the Sri Lanka's pro-west approach were the factors that contributed to this divergent perception. But in the 21st century, even after the end of civil war or Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka, the problem of ethnic still existed and affects Indian Tamil people. At present, the issues such as- fisherman issue, issue of human right and 'China-Sri Lanka Axis', have also been effecting the bilateral relations of India and Sri Lanka. This research paper covers the same issues which influenced the bilateral relations of both countries. The paper is historical and analytical in nature therefore, therefore, we have applied historical, analytical and descriptive methods.

Ethnic Conflict and Issue of Citizenship of Indian Tamils

Ethnic conflict means conflict among the groups who differ from one another on the basis of their language, culture, religion etc but fight for their ethnic group's position within society. With in contemporary Sri Lankan studies, the term conflict is defined almost exclusively with reference to the enduring ethnic conflict between the Island's Sinhalese and Tamils. After independence, Sri Lanka's relations with India had been uneasy due to the ethnic conflict especially Tamil question. Although the Tamil issue did not assume substantial proportion to affect bilateral relations till the early 1980s, there had always been dormant tension in Sri Lankan society over this as India was viewed with suspicion by the majority Sinhalese (Chatterjee, 2017:29).

Ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka have an impact on India's national politics because the large Tamil population in peninsular India has living links with the Tamil of Sri Lanka. Any kind of injustice against them in Sri Lanka generated support and sympathy in India and particularly in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu state politics always made concern about Tamil problem of Sri Lanka. Beside this, government of India tried her level best to maintain good relations with Sri Lanka. Ethnic composition of

Sri Lanka is that both majority (Sinhala) and minority (Tamils) communities claims for its origin from India. Due to this factor, India cannot afford to ignore the problem of its neighborhood (Gosh, 1989:154). Thus, Indo-Sri Lankan relations have been caught in a complex web of domestic politics from which neither nation is able to extricate itself. Moreover, the issue of Tamil of Indian origin caused strain between the neighbours. In Sri Lanka, the Indian origin of Tamils are Up-country Tamils or as hill country Tamils or simply Indian Tamils. They are the Tamil speaking people who had migrated to Sri Lanka from South India during the British Colonial rule. The Sri Lankan government led by Prime Minister D.S. Senanayale of United National Party (UNP) in the first parliament enacted Citizenship Act of 1948 and 1949. Through this legislation the basic political rights of the minority Indian Tamil were curtailed as a result, the majority of Indian Tamil became Stateless.

The first major attempt at negotiation had done in June 1953 when Indian Prime Minister Pt. Nehru and Ceylon Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake met in London and discussion processed in this meeting was Indian residents in Ceylon and their citizenship. But Pt. Nehru refused to accept repatriation in principle as it might create a precedent for other African and Asian countries (Kumar, 1977:36). Another attempt was made in 1954 when Nehru-Kotel-Wala Act was signed. According to this Act both the governments show their determination to suppress illicit immigration traffic between the two countries and will take possible steps in close co-operation with each other (Kotelawala, 1956:253).

Citizenship issue between these two nations becomes a matter of concern and affected the bi-lateral relation. Under the leadership of Bandaranaike some drastic changes taken place in the foreign policy of Sri Lanka. Before assuming the office of Prime Minister, he had declared in the House of Representative that Sri Lanka should adopt neither anti-west nor pro-west but pro-Sri Lanka policy. He believed that in view of friendly attitude of India towards Sri Lanka, the fear of predecessors were not only unfounded but also irrational (Bindra, 1984:293). During his regime, language issue became major factor of ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. The official language Act of 1956 creating Sinhala as the Official language made the tension between Sinhalese and Tamils. This Act was treated by the Tamils as an instrument of ethnic discrimination. The Tamils felt that this Act struck at the heart of Sri Lankan Tamil Identity (Kearney, 1985:905). The Tamil language had been discriminated since independence, has been one of the most important cause of Tamil Movement.

Indo-Sri Lankan relations again suffered during Indo-Pakistan war in 1971. Sri Lankan government provided air facilities through Colombo from West Pakistan to East Pakistan (East Bengal) when government stopped Pakistanis over flight as it was believed that Pakistani troops were being transported in the disguise of civilian. Sri Lankan government allowed Pakistani aircraft to refuel at its airport during the

December 1971 war. Despite this, Mrs. Indira Visited to Sri Lanka from 27th to 29th April, 1974 (Sridharan, 2016:51). She discussed the issue of stateless Tamils with her counterpart. The Indian Prime Minister agreed to the speed up of the repatriation process and India would absorb over the next eight to nine years a progressively increasing number of Sri Lankan residents of Indian origin who had opted for Indian citizenship, from 35000 persons annually to nearly double the figure. The duration of the agreement was also extended up to 1982 (Kodikara, 1982:36).

Even during the 'civil war in Sri Lanka',¹ since 1982, while opposing the LTTEs military and terrorist struggle for a separate state of Tamil Eelam, India has supported greater rights for Tamils and other minorities. India further intervened by dispatching the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in the north and east of Sri Lanka, and concurrently impelled the government of Sri Lanka to sign the 'Indo-Lanka Agreement to Establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka', referred to as the 'Indo-Lanka Accord' (Bose 1994). The Indo-Lanka Agreement to Establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka', was signed by Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in Colombo on 29 July 1987. The accord also made Tamil an official language. However, the LTTE refused to surrender more than token number of weapons, contrary to the agreement that called for disarmament. With this difference between the LTTE and IPKF intensified. LTTE refused to disarm and its activity instigated violence against the other Tamil groups; LTTE subsequently alleged that IPKF intended to cut the LTTE out, the outcome was break out of hostilities between the IPKLF and LTTE. India decided to forcibly disarm the LTTE (Chand, 2012:115). This made India's relations with Sri Lanka troublesome and by and large conflictual. Thus India's involvement in Sri Lanka between 1983 to 1990, was unavoidable due to two main reasons-first India's security concern and secondly, India's concern about Tamil's who have deep ethnic connection with South India especially with Tamil Nadu. But military involvement was not the best way for India to respond to internal conflict of the island. The induction of the IPKF was a means to ensure the implementation of the accord. That, the IPKF largely failed to achieve its objectives due the changed attitudes of the concerned parties.

Moreover, in 1991, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by suicide bomber believed to be a member of the LTTE. After the assassination government of India declared LTTE as a terrorist organization and changed its policy towards the Sri Lanka. Prime Minister P.V.N. Rao said that India would not desire to take any active part in resolving the problem of Sri Lanka. These problems would have to be solved by the Sri Lankan themselves, regardless whether they were Sinhalese or Tamils. Mean while in Sri Lanka LTTE increased its activities to attain the objective of separate Tamil Eelam (Singh, 2018:69). Since 1991 to 2005, India adopted a 'hand off' policy and shown least interest in the ethnic conflict even though Tamil regional

political parties also not get involved as it was in earlier. Eelam War-IV started in Sri Lanka in 2006 and lasted in 2009; during this period, Indian government had supported Mahinda Rajapaksa's government indirectly. Due to China's presence in Sri Lanka, India got sucked into providing major assistance to Colombo for opening an unlimited line of military credit for Sri Lanka extending critical naval and intelligence assistance, India provided sustained war support despite a deteriorating humanitarian situation there (Chellaney, 2009:17). Indian governments had provided help to train Sri Lankan military personal and also supplied non-lethal weapons.

In 2009, end of LTTE does not mean the end of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The minority issues and dominance of Sinhalese in political and economic field was still matter of concern in Indo-Sri Lanka Relations. After the ends of LTTE, thousands of civilians were displaced and India's main concern was the resettlement of these civilians and bringing a lasting political settlement of the ethnic issue. India has been in favour of politically negotiated settlement acceptable to all sections of Sri Lanka society within the framework of a united Sri Lanka, and consistent with democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights (Manoharan et. al., 2016:256). However, the Eelam War-IV left a long trail of devastation, especially in North Province.²

In the post LTTE era, both countries have agreed that with the end of military operations in Sri Lanka, the time is to opportune to focus attention on four 'R'- 'Relief, Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Reconciliation', as well as a permanent political solution of the ethnic conflict (Chand, 2010:26). India had provided sufficient economic aid to Sri Lanka to help Sri Lankan Tamil. Mahinda Rajapaksa assured Indian government that his government will work on four 'D'- 'Demilitarization, Democracy, Development and Devolution'. But after Civil War, the progress on each of the four D was very poor. Mahinda Rajapaksa has taken a u-turn and the reconciliation process has indeed suffered. In post war era, China has also emerged a major factor in Indian response to Sri Lanka (Wedagedara, 2013:71). Even at the present time, during the Modi led NDA government, India and Sri Lanka have strengthening their economic and cultural relations but the question of Tamils are still exited their and sometime it create tension among the Tamils of both the countries.

Kachchativu Island and Fishermen Issues

Another major contending problem like statelessness of the Indian Tamils, Kachchativu island dispute were also emerged between both countries during 1960s, the relation were affected because of Sri Lankan governments decision to use its strategic location against the Indian interests. Basically, the coastal boundary of India and Sri Lanka is divided into three different points in different seas- the Bay of Bengal in the north, the Palk Strait in the middle and the Gulf of Mannar in the south.

The rights over the Kachchativu island and islets in the maritime boundaries had been a bone of contention between the two countries till 1970s. Kachchatuva, a tiny barren island in the Palk Strait was a bone contention; Sri Lanka made a claim on the ground that its ownership of the island was tacitly accepted by British Indian government while Tamil Nadu state of India maintained that the island was the part of Ramanathapuram Samasthanam-Zamindari of Raja of Ramnad (Mayilvaganam, 2007:399). But the countries have signed bilateral agreements in June 1974 in the maritime boundary in the Gulf of Mannar and in March 1976 on Bay of Bengal against the objection by the Dravid Munetra Kazhagami (DMK) Government in Tamilnadu.. India recognized Sri Lanka's sovereignty over Kachchativu Island in 1974; in return, Sri Lanka recognized India's sovereignty over Wedge Bank in 1976 (Raju et. al., 2006:2). These agreements to an extent diluted the intensity of differences between the two countries and paved way to improve the bilateral relations but these did not reflect realities on the ground because the people concerned, namely fishermen, were not consulted. Later in 1980's, the issue assumed greater concern when Sri Lanka began objecting the Indian fishermen moving in the region adjacent to Kachchativu which adversely affected the livelihood of many Indian fishermen. The mining and fishing rights of both the nations around Kachchativu area became contentious and the main problem with Indian fishermen is that a large number of them are dependent on fishing in Sri Lankan waters, which is prohibited by the 1976 Maritime Boundary Agreement.³ A large number of Indian fishermen are dependent on trawling which is banned in Sri Lanka.

Even in the post LTTE period, the Indian state government of Tamil Nadu claims that it has pursued proactive policies for the 'retrieval' of Kachchativu and the restoration of traditional fishing rights of Indian fishermen since May 2011. On June 9, 2011, Tamil Nadu's legislative assembly passed a unanimous resolution to implead the revenue department based on the writ petition filed by Chief Minister Jayalalitha in 2008, challenged the maritime boundary agreements. The resolution, moved by the Chief Minister, cited the Supreme Court's ruling in 1960 in the 'Berubari case'⁴ that any agreement on the cession of Indian territory to another country should be ratified by Parliament through an amendment of the Constitution. However, contrary to the verdict of the Supreme Court, Katchatheevu was ceded, under the 1974 and 1976 agreements, to Sri Lanka without the approval of two Houses of Parliament (The Hindu, 2011).

During the Modi led NDA government, in 2014, the Centre informed the Chennai high court responding to a PIL that Sri Lanka's sovereignty over Kachchativu is a settled matter and fishermen from India do not enjoy any right to engage in fishing activities in the region. In 2015, Sri Lanka's prime minister Ranil Wickramasinghe stoked a controversy in an interview for Chennai-based Tamil Channel (Thanthi TV), suggesting that Indian fishermen may be shot if they intrude into Sri Lankan

waters and on 23 July, 2016 a Sri Lankan minister has said it is easier to shoot the fishermen rather than arresting them (Ruff, 2017). These are not simple issues. Can we shoot a fisherman of any country, we even arrest terrorists who enter with sinister designs and put them under trail. We do not shoot if Sri Lankan fishermen enter Indian waters. Sri Lanka is said to a friendly country.

The proposed solution for this problem is either get back the island of Kachchativu on 'lease in perpetuity' or permit licensed Indian fishermen to fish within a designated area of Sri Lankan waters and vice versa. The first action would let Sri Lanka maintain ownership of Kachchativu but give back the island on lease in perpetuity, so that Indian fishermen could continue to fish in and around Kachchativu (Suryanarayan, 2016:4). It can also be suggested that here is a glaring need for institutionalization of fishing in Indian waters by the government of India so that alternative means of livelihood are provided. Further, government will also have to mark up a comprehensive plan to reduce the dependence of Indian fishermen on catch from Palk Bay. India and Sri Lanka have agreed to set up a Joint Working Group (JWG) on Fisheries between the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare of India and Ministry of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Development of Sri Lanka in November, 2016, as the mechanism to help find a permanent solution to the fishermen issue.

Human Rights Issues

During the civil war in Sri Lanka (1982-2009), many of civilian were killed and most of the time India was in favour of common masses of both the countries. After the end of the war, India also diplomatically supported Sri Lanka in international forums on the human right issue. On May 28, 2009, a special session of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) was held to investigate the reported war crimes and atrocities committed by both the LTTE and the Sri Lankan armed force. India was among the 24 countries that voted for the U.S. draft resolution on Sri Lanka's accountability in respect of human rights violations which was passed at the 19th meeting of the UNHRC at Geneva. India's vote for the U.S. resolution may be considered a major departure from the past in India-Sri Lanka relations.

To investigate the issue of human rights violations, which had occurred during Eelam war-IV, Mahinda Rajapaksa govt. appointed 'Lesion Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC). It submitted its report in Nov 2011, with 285 recommendations. India was not happy with the implementation process of LLRC recommendation and voted in favour US-sponsored resolution of March 2012 at the UNHRC. The move was not to upset Colombo but the positive intension to take the process of reconciliation forward (Manoharan et. al., 2016:258). The decision of India to vote in favour of UNHRC resolution sponsored by USA in March 2012 was viewed in Sri Lanka as a sudden change in the course of action pursued by India

in post war context. It signified the shrinking support base of Sri Lanka at the international level. By this move India wanted to create pressure on Sri Lanka for the implementation of 13th Amendment of Sri Lankan Constitution.⁵ India's vote in favour of the US resolution also signaled the ineffectiveness of the China factor in Indo-Sri Lanka relations (Wedagedara, 2013:70). However, the UN vote shows that India will continue to have a role to play on ethnic question and to pressurize the Sri Lankan government over the issue, despite China factor. Basically regarding the human rights issue, the United Nations put resolution related to human rights violation against Sri Lanka in General Assembly in 2009 and 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015. India voted twice in 2012 and 2013 for the resolution against Sri Lanka mainly under internal political pressure from Tamilnadu. While China again voted against the resolution in 2012 and 2013 which helped Sri Lanka to saw China as a good friend and keep healthy relations with it. Under President Mahinda Rajapaksa, Sri Lanka had rejected all resolution of 2012, 2013 and 2014. However, the Sirisena-Wickremasinghe (2015-19) has earned the supports of the West by accepting the fourth resolution (2015), which has protected Sri Lanka's interest by allowing an internal investigation. The fifth consensus resolution of 2019 has given Sri Lanka time 2021 to implement the commitments on human rights issue (Sahadevan, 2019:15). Therefore, on the human right issue, India always argued that it is with the common masses of Sri Lanka and if there will be any human right violation in future, India will criticize it too.

Sri Lanka -China Axis and Issues of Indian Security

In the 21st century, especially after 2005, China has been paying renewed attention to its ties with Sri Lanka. There has been a large rise in Chinese investments in various projects in Sri Lanka. Beijing has also diplomatically supported Colombo on various issues, especially on charges of human rights violations. In return, Sri Lanka has played an important role in helping China enhance its influence and prestige in the South Asian region. Notably, since taking over as president, Xi Jinping has accorded special focus to this relationship. Xi visited Sri Lanka in September 2014, the first visit by any Chinese President, in 28 years.

The period under Rajapaksa was marked by major initiatives to strengthen the relationship with China. The warmth between China and Sri Lanka grew after 2009 because China was one of the few countries that continued to supply arms and defence equipment to the Sri Lankan Army during its war against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Beijing also prevented the issue of genocide and killing of Tamil civilians from being taken up by international organisations. But these were not the only reasons for Rajapaksa's strong pro-China tilt; perhaps it was also because of his personal anti-India agenda, in the latter half of his tenure. However, China has begun to pay renewed attention to Colombo under Xi Jinping.

With the proposed 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) initiative and the 'Maritime Silk Road' (MSR) project;⁶ the Chinese Government started paying greater attention to the way Beijing and Colombo perceived each other, particularly with granting Sri Lanka an important hub in the MSR initiative (Singh, 2018:3). President Xi Jinping articulated the new approach in 2018, while congratulating Sri Lanka on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of its independence from British rule, when he said: "I pay high attention to the development of China-Sri Lanka relations, and I am willing to make concerted efforts with President Sirisena to push the China-Sri Lanka strategic cooperative partnership of sincere mutual assistance and long-standing friendship to keep achieving greater development in the better interest of the two countries and its people" (Indian Express, 2018).

Under the policy of 'string of pearls'⁷ China has strengthened its relations with Sri Lanka for encircling India. China has invested in Hambantota port and Colombo port of Sri Lanka. These ports are strategically very important to make control in Indian Ocean and economically, it is way for new silk rout or other trade activities. Over the last few years the military cooperation between China and Sri Lanka has also been deepening. The Chinese Government had gained a large number of contracts for various infrastructure projects under the Rajapaksa government. The long drawn civil war had left Sri Lanka in need of assistance for growth, which the Chinese investments promised to meet. These Chinese investments were welcomed as Sri Lanka was in a dire need of development aid and loans. Therefore, the increasing 'warmth' between China and Sri Lanka naturally caused concerns in India, especially in the context of growing Chinese involvement in the building of infrastructure projects of strategic significance, regionally, as well as domestically.

Economic Cooperation

Indian assistance to Sri Lanka in terms of non-lethal weapons, financial assistance and training to enhance human capital in the services came mostly after 2001. In 2001 India sold Sukanya-class Advanced Offshore Patrol Vessels (AOPV) to the Sri Lankan navy. In June 2005 the Indian government provided military radar. In December 2005 they provided financial assistance to repair the runway at Palaly airport, which was damaged by LTTE artillery in 2000, virtually cutting off the Sri Lankan military in Jaffna from the south (an event during which the Indian government refused to provide the assistance the GoSL asked for). Moreover, in November 2006, the Indian air force trained a batch of six Sri Lankan air force personnel in Mig-27 planes (Wedagedara, 2013:80). Even during the Modi led NDA government, between the years 2015-2017 India's exports to Sri Lanka amounted to 5.3 billion dollars and its imports amounted to 743 million dollars (Sen, 2017). Till 2017 India had provided development assistance worth over 2.5 billion dollars to Sri Lanka. India and Sri Lanka had signed a MoU in 2017 in which

a Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) plant was setup in suburban Colombo and a solar power plant in Sampur in Trincomalee. It enhanced the use of natural gas in Sri Lanka. In July 2018 the Indian government funded emergency ambulance service was launched in Sri Lanka and also announced financial assistance of 45.27 million dollars to help Sri Lanka upgrade its Kankesanthurai (KKS) Harbour in the north into fully a commercial port. India is investing in the development of railways and airports (e.g. Mattala airport, near to Hambantota) of Sri Lanka too. Therefore, to strengthen the relations with Sri Lanka, India is giving economic assistance to it and through this India is also trying to reduce China's involvement in Sri Lanka and in Indian security concerns.

Conclusion

There are many contentious issues of conflict between India and Sri Lanka such as ethnic conflict and reconciliation process, sovereignty of Kachchativu island and fishing problem, China involvement in Sri Lanka etc. which underlying mutual mistrust and suspicion in the bilateral relations of India and Sri Lanka. India's soft diplomacy succeeded neither in bringing about a political settlement of the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict, nor in bringing down the ethnic tensions. The bi-lateral relations between India and Sri Lanka in the postwar era are also based on India's internal politics and the parties' interest who govern the coastal states of India especially of Tamil Nadu. The Tamil Nadu politics play an important role in this regard, by influencing to the central government to intervene to the Sri Lanka Tamil issues during the civil war in Sri Lanka. This also further complicated by fishermen issue. It is very clear the ruling Modi led NDA government seek to protect its popularity with the help of AIDMK in Tamil Nadu amicably with support of Sri Lanka. As both countries have a democratic setup there is scope for broadening and deepening the ties. Both countries should try to work out a permanent solution to all the issues through bilateral engagements. Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) must be signed to improve the economic cooperation between both countries. India needs to focus more on its traditional and cultural ties to improve relations with Sri Lanka. Mutual recognition of each other's concerns and interests can improve the relationship between both countries.

Notes

1. The Sri Lankan Civil War took place in the country from 1982 to 2009. In fact, in 1982, there was an intermittent insurgency against the government by the Velupillai Prabhakaran led LTTE (also known as the Tamil Tigers), which fought to create an independent Tamil state called Tamil Eelam in the north and the east of the island due to the continuous discrimination against the Sri Lankan Tamils by the Sinhalese dominated Sri Lankan Government.
2. The main affected regions of North Province was Jaffna, Vanni region (mostly

Welioya and Vavuniya regions), Mannar area which consists the coastal location of Silavathurai, Madhu Shrine and Adampan regions.

3. India and Sri Lanka signed an agreement on 23rd March 1976, which was related with the maritime boundary settlement in Gulf of Manaar and the Bay of Bengal. This Agreement replaced the Agreement of Boundary in Historic Water and Related Matters of 1974.
4. Berubari was disputed region between India and Pakistan. In 1958, the Prime Minister of India entered into an agreement with the Prime Minister of Pakistan for its settlement in which India transferred a part of Berubari Union to Pakistan. After that Indian Supreme Court held that this transfer of region involves the question of cession of national territory, and for this a Parliamentary law under Article 3 is not sufficient. It held that a law under Article 368 which means a formal amendment was necessary. Hence, it was resulted as the Ninth Amendment of constitution.
5. In fact, the 13th Amendment of Sri Lankan Constitution was brought up as part of 'Indo-Sri Lanka Accord' in 1987 and provincial councils were set up as part of devolution of powers, particularly for Tamil minorities. This Amendment also made Sinhala and Tamil as the official languages of the country and English as the "link language". But till date, Sri Lanka is not implemented this amendment properly in its country.
6. China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative, unveiled in 2013, provides Sri Lanka with a unique opportunity to fast track its economy along the path to development. China's OBOR grand plan, if prudently managed, provides the countries of the region, especially Sri Lanka, which is fortunately sitting strategically in the middle of the Indian Ocean and the Maritime Silk Road, the capital to propel their economies forward.
7. China is creating a ring around India which is named as 'String of Pearls. Basically, it is a geopolitical theory related to potential Chinese intentions (military, commercial, sea line communication and diplomatic) in the Indian Ocean region. It includes container facility in Chittagong (Bangladesh), facility at Karachi and Gwadar port in Pakistan and at Colombo or Hambantota (both in Sri Lanka) and other facilities.

References

- Bindra, S.S. (1984). *India and her neighbours*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.
- Bose, S. (1994). *States, nations, sovereignty: Sri Lanka, India and the Tamil Eelam movement*. London: Sage Publications.

Chand, Gurnam (2010). "Changing political relationship: Post 1990 phase". *Mainstream*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 25, June 11-17.

Chand, Gurnam (2012). *Dynamics of India-Sri Lanka relationship since independence*. New Delhi: Swastik Publications.

Chatterjee, Aneek (2017). *Neighbours major powers and Indian foreign policy*. Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan.

Chellaney, Brahma (2009). "Behind Sri Lankan bloodbath". *Mainstream*, Vol. XLVII, No. 45, October 24.

Ghosh, Partha. S. (1989). *Co-operation and conflict in South Asia*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.

Gopal, Krishan (1988). "Eithericity and conflictual nationalism in Sri Lanka: Ramification and emergent scenario". in Gopal Singh (ed). *South Asia: Democracy, discounted and societal conflicts*, Delhi: Anamika Publisher.

Indian Express (2018). "Xi Jinping says improving China-Sri Lanka relations have his 'high attention'". *Indian Express*, February 4. Retrieved from <https://indianexpress.com/article/world/xi-jinping-maithripala-sirisena-saysimproving-china-sri-lanka-relations-have-his-high-attention-5051390/>

Kearney, Robert. N. (1985). "Ethnic conflict and the Tamil separatist movement in Sri Lanka". *Asian Survey*, Vol. XV, No. 9 September.

Kodikara, Shelton. U. (1982). *Foreign policy of Sri Lanka: A third world perspective*, Delhi: Chanakya Publisher.

Kotelawala, John Lionel (1956). *An Asian prime minister's story*. London: G.G. Harrap.

Kumar, Lalit (1977). *India and Sri Lanka: Sirimavo-Shastri pact*. New Delhi: Chetana Publication.

Manoharan, N. and Chakravarty, Priyanka (2016). "India-Sri Lanka relations: Managing the ups and down". *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 03, July-September.

Mayilvaganan, M. (2007). "Indian perceptions on Sri Lanka: Changing dynamics". *World Focus*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 11-12 Nov-Dec.

Peiris, Denzil (1958). *1956 and after: Background to parties and politics in Ceylon today*. Berkeley: The University of California.

Raju, Adluri Subramaniam and Keethaponchalam (2006). *Maritime Cooperation between India and Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies.

Ruff, Abdul (2017). *Katchatheevu should be brought back to Indian control in order*

to ensure safe fishing by Indians, South Asian Journal, Blog, 16 March. Retrieved from <http://southasiajournal.net/katchatheevu-should-be-brought-back-to-indian-control-in-order-to-ensure-safe-fishing-by-indians/>

Sahadevan, P. (2019). "India's changing relations with Sri Lanka". Indian Foreign Affairs Journal, Vol. 14, No. 1, Jan-March.

Sen, Amiti (2017). "Trade pact: India, Sri Lanka to iron out differences in services, rules of origin" The Hindu Business Line, January 30. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/trade-pact-india-sri-lanka-to-iron-out-differences-in-services-rules-of-origin/article9510053.ece>.

Silva, K.M. De. (2005). A history of Sri Lanka. Delhi: Penguin Books.

Singh, Gunjan (2018). "Evolution of China- Sri Lanka relations". Vivekananda International Foundation, September.

Singh, Manoj Kumar (2018). Indian relations with South Asian countries. New Delhi: The Reader Paradise.

Sridharan, Eswaran (2016). "Indo-Sri Lanka Relations: Geopolitics, domestic politics or something more complex?". In Sumit Ganguly (ed.). Engaging the world: Indian foreign policy since 1947. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Suryanarayan, V. (2016). "The India-Sri Lanka fisheries dispute: Creating a win-win in the Palk Bay". Carnegie India, 9 September.

The Hindu (2011). Resolution passed on Katchathivu, The Hindu, 9 June. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/resolution-passed-on-katchatheevu/article2090176.ece>

Wedagedara, Amali (2013). "The 'ethnic question' in India-Sri Lanka relations in post LTTE phase". Journal of Strategic Analysis, Vol.37, No-1, January-February.

Indian Governance System: A Critical Assessment

Anuj Kumar
L. R. Verma

ABSTRACT

Governance means the process as well as the result of making decisions for the benefit of the society. This article aims at making the readers aware about Indian governance and reviewed some of the important act and policies such as Right to Education, Right to Employment, Right to Information, 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, as well as strengthening Public Distribution System and increasing women representation in governing system to keep in mind for countering the menace of existing governing system. Researcher tried to clarify in this paper that existing structure of third tier government i.e. local self governance need a drastic change according to present time and space. Researcher adopted diagnostic research method based on secondary data sources and personal observation along with suggesting required changes in the existing governing system of the country.

Keywords: Governance, System, Rights, Authority, Sovereign, Representatives etc.

Introduction : Government refers to the machinery and institutional arrangements for exercising the sovereign power. Sovereignty is the most important elements of the state. Governance means the process as well as the result of making decisions for the benefit of the society. Citizen centric governance is the requirements of the day which reflects about the governing process in such a manner in which government is people friendly and ensure utmost priority to the interest of the governed. Government have been taken the responsibility to uplift the society by various mean through which interest of the people could be ensured by the

Anuj Kumar, Research Scholar, Department of Public Administration, ICDEOL, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla - 171 005.

Prof. L. R. Verma, Department of Public Administration, ICDEOL, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla - 171 005.

landmark of acts and policies such as Right to Education, Right to Employment, Right to Information, ensuring adequate women representation in politics as well as strengthening local self government, public distribution system and so on. In citizen centric governance, all the organs of the state focus on the well being of its citizens. It promotes participating governance, wherein the citizen does not feel that they are merely the subjects of the government, but tends to be participating effectively.¹

It predominantly requires various means of 'good governance'. It is dynamic and endless concept which encompasses fast changing political, social and economic milieu, along with international environment and conditions of operational governance. It is search for ideal administration, just as the political science experts have been searching for the 'ideal state'. It is a matter of speculation in which 'good' is the value loaded expression interpreted in terms of societal values. It also entails about sustainable and economic development that draws upon adequate infrastructure and equitable development of the society as a whole.²

It is important to introduce about the present administrative structure that encompass various division between legislature, executive & judiciary. The executive is further divided into central and state level. Thereafter, follows the various fingers of district administration, law & order administration, local government etc. Landmark development of important steps / policies taken by these organs which have been transformed the life of the citizen's at large need to review time and again to upscale the society at the new rung. This article aimed to make the reader aware about Indian governance and reviewed some of the important act and policies such as Right to Education, Right to Employment, Right to Information, 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, as well as strengthening Public Distribution System and increasing women representation in governing system to keep in mind for countering the menace of existing governing system.

Right to Education:

Though, formal education system in the country has been traced ever since childrens were taught in Gurukul (since Vedic age), it was improved and institutionalized when universities such as Nalanda, Taxila & Vikramshila came into being. Religious knowledge imparted by sagas and ulemas also inculcated as a form of formal educational curriculum. During British period, as per the Charter Act 1813, first time in Indian history, British Indian Government took the responsibility to educate the Indian masses. After that several acts and policies were formulated on the subject of education. Finally, citizens of country got Right to Education as a form of fundamental rights by 86th Constitutional Amendment Act, 2002, formally implemented in 2009. This Amendment inserted a new article 21-A through which it declared that the state shall provide free and compulsory education

to all children of the age of 6 to 14 years in such a manner as state may determine. It means higher or professional education is still kept outside the preview.

Before this landmark constitutional amendment, the constitution contained a provision for free and compulsory education for children under Article 45 in DPSPs of Part IV. However, being DPSPs, it was not enforceable by the courts. Now there is scope of judicial intervention in this regard. Article 45, now reads as the state shall endeavor to provide early childhood care and education for all children of 0 to 6 years. Education is designed by the state where governments do have responsibility for quality education. Indian governing system is appreciated at international platform by the menace that citizens of the country are duty bound to provide adequate opportunity for education to his child or wards between the age of 6 to 14 years by Article 51-A of Fundamental Duties.³

In this aspect, we cannot deny that governments have been working to reform the existing educational model through amendment in education policy. Recently, Rajya Sabha gave consent on the Education Policy 2020 through which Indian education system is expected to transform the life of the citizens at large. This new policy on education tried to consider on several issues such as remote learning, evaluation system, equal respect to all subjects, better training of educators, technology based education, personalize education as well as teaching of pupils about the purpose of education in their real life. Thus, the New Education Policy 2020 is comprehensive framework to guide the development of the educational system of the country.

Right to Employment:

Policy of give and take is one of the essential elements of economic development. To enable the fulfillment of the basic needs of food, water, clothing and shelter and above all, for the real development of the person, they need to reach up to the self-actualization, for which they require more than just the basic requirements than only a person's life to exist on earth. Everyone does have equal rights on natural resources to exploit them for earning livelihood. The ethos of Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights have been given a due consideration, when India got sovereign rights to frame the policy for their citizens.

Constitution of India does not explicitly recognize the right to work as a fundamental right, it placed in part IV i.e. Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution, which is not enforceable in the court of law. Over the period of time 'Right to Employment' became a fundamental right through judicial interpretation. While interpreting Article 21 by the Hon'ble Supreme Court in "Olga Tellis & Ors. Vs Bombay Municipal Corporation & Ors. (AIR 1986 SC 18)" it was emphasized that 'Right to Work' recognized as a fundamental right inherent in the 'right to life' of

Article 21 in Indian Constitution.⁴

The successive government at both tier i.e. Centre and States govt. have been made several laws and formulated various programmes and policy for implementing Directive Principles of State Policies in terms of giving value of Right to Employment and empowering citizens at grass root level to keep in mind of equitable development. These plans and policies transformed life of the citizens at large. Both employee and employers are influenced by Minimum Wage Act (1948), the Payment of Bonus Act (1970), the Bonded Labour System Abolition Act (1976), Amendment in Trade Union Act (1926), the Factories Act (1948), the Mines Act (1952), the Industrial Disputes Act (1947), the Amendment in Workmen's Compensation Act (1923) etc. Khadi and Village Industries Board, Small Scale Industries Board, National Small Industries Corporation, Handloom Board, Handicrafts Board, Coir Board, Silk Board etc. have been set up for the development of Cottage industries in rural areas. Minimum Needs Programme (1974), Integrated Rural Development Programme (1978), Jawahar Rojgar Yojna (1989), Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna (1999), Sampoorna Grameena Rozgar Yojna (2001), National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (2006) and so on have been launched for raising the standard of living of the citizens.⁵

State wise Shop & Establishment Act aims to regulate the payments of wages, terms of services, holidays, leaves, working conditions, working hours etc. for persons employed in shops and other commercial establishments of unorganized sectors. Labor laws formulated by the state governments ensured that the workers do not face hurdle due to unethical practices of employer and addressing victimization of the employee.

The world famous Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act or MGNREGA enacted in 2005 by central government aims to guarantee the right to work. Its objectives is to enhance livelihood and security in rural areas by providing at least hundred days of wage employment in a financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. It is implemented mainly by Gram Panchayats and involvements of contractors are not entertained. Apart from creating durable assets such as roads, canals, ponds, wells etc. it helps in protecting the environment, empowering rural women, reducing rural-urban migration and fostering social equity at grass root level which realize their right to employment as abiding rights to the citizens of the country.⁶

Right to Information Act 2005:

Right to Information implies secrecy in public administration. It refers about freedom of people to have access to government acts and activities through which they can directly or indirectly participate in governing process and make viable and people friendly administrative system. Right to Information implies that the

citizens of the country should enjoy a reasonable free access to all files and documents pertaining to governmental operations, decisions and performance. It promotes openness and transparency in the functioning of the government. Political experts observed that “secrecy in government is fundamentally antidemocratic, which reflect bureaucratic errors. Open discussion based on full information and debates on public issues are vital to our national health”.⁷

In 1766, through a direct constitutional provision, Sweden was the first country in the world to introduce the right to information where access to government documents is a citizen's right and non-access is an exception. Sweden was followed by other Scandinavian countries such as Finland enacted the Freedom of Information legislation in 1951, Denmark & Norway in 1970, US in 1966, France, Netherlands & Austria have made similar legislations in the 1970. In South Africa, the right to information is guaranteed by constitution itself which was further reinforced by enacting legislation in 2000. In Britain, the Fulton Committee (1966-68) found too much secrecy in public administration. Later on, UK Freedom of Information Act came into force on Jan. 1, 2005.⁸

Constitution of India has no direct provision expressly conferring 'Right to Information' to the citizens. Hon'ble Supreme Court, time & again stating since 1975 that it is an intrinsic part of right to freedom of speech and expression (Art 19) and Right to life and personal liberty (Art 21). Parliament have move further and in 2005, enacted a new legislation i.e. Right to Information Act which have been transformed the governing structure of the country. It was a landmark in Indian governing system that confers on all citizens the rights of access to information and correspondingly, makes the dissemination of such information an obligation on all public authorities. It has the widest possible reach covering central and state governments, Panchayati Raj Institutions and Urban Local Bodies as well as recipients of government grants.⁹

RTI Act 2005 was introduced with high Fervour and citizens were aspiring open, responsive and transparent government as well as hope to make Indian democracy work for people in the real sense. But, over the period of time, people losing this hope due to denied information by several offices and vague definition of the term public authority. For instance, on query seeking details of PM Care Fund was denied by the Prime Minister Office. It was stated that the Prime Minister Care Fund is not a public authority. Also, the SBI refused to give these details on the ground that it was third party information held under fiduciary capacity.

Low public awareness, huge backlog and delay in disposal of cases, dilution of the law, issues of enforceability and secrecy etc. are the underlying challenges at present which need to acknowledge and resolved so that it can serve the need of the information societies.

73rd & 74th Amendment Act 1992:

73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act is one of the very important landmark development in the governing system of the country which provides constitutional status of Panchayati Raj Institutions and Municipalities respectively. Concerned state governments are under the constitutional obligation to adopt the new panchayati raj system in accordance with provisions of the act. The act has given a practical shape to the article 40 of the Indian constitution which states that "The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self government."¹⁰

73rd Amendment Act, 1992 added Part IX, entitled as 'The Panchayat' and consist of provisions from Article 243 to 243-O, in addition to this, 11th schedule was also added to the constitution of India. In the same way, 74th Amendment Act 1992 added Part IX-A, entitled as 'The Municipalities' and consist of provisions from article 243-P to 243-ZG, in addition to this, 12th schedule was also added to the constitution of India.

Provisions under the 73rd Amendment Act, grouped into the categories of compulsory and voluntary. Compulsory provisions of the act have to be included in the state laws creating the new panchayati raj system whereas voluntary provisions may be included at the discretion of the states which ensures about the right of the states to take local factors such as geographical, politico-administrative etc. into consideration while adopting new panchayati raj system.

74th Amendment Act 1992 empower the states to constitute three types of municipalities i.e. A Nagar Panchayat for traditional area which is an area in transition from rural to urban, A Municipal Council for a smaller urban areas and A Municipal Corporation for a larger urban areas. A transition area, a smaller urban and a larger urban area are specified by the concerned governor of the state by public notification for this purpose.

73rd and 74th Amendment Act of the constitution is a significant landmark in the evolution of grass root democratic institution in the country which revitalized and strengthened Panchayati Raj System and Urban Local Bodies respectively so that they function effectively in the form of third tier of the governing system. It transfers the representative democracy into participatory democracy where real requirements use to be addressed by local representatives and marked a revolutionary concept to build democracy at the grass roots level in the country.¹¹

To keep in mind of development at the time, this institution now needs to be strengthened further and challenges faced at the time need to be countered at par with the globalization of the country. In terms of financial aspects, share of financial add

need to be facilitated directly from GST pools, equal provisions of funds allocation on the theory of peoples representatives like to Member of Parliament Local Area Development Funds need to also given for the panchayat representative in the form of 'Panchayat Local Area Development Fund, placing local self government into concurrent list for equal implementation of laws all over the country, abolition of concept of Panchayat Pati and empowering women representative itself etc. are the important suggestions to strengthened this grass root level governing system.

Right to Food:

In September 2013, Government of India enacted the National Food Security Act 2013. It was a land mark in terms of ensuring right to food as a justifiable right to the citizens of India. It was comprehended that 'right to food' is inherent to a life with dignity of Art 21 and it should be read with Art 39 (a) and Art 47 of DPSP which states adequate means of livelihood and enhance level of nutrition and standard of living respectively is the constitutional obligation of the concerned states. National Food Security Act 2013 guarantees subsidized food to around half of the urban population and three-fourth of the rural population of the country. Rice, Wheat and Corse grain at very low price use to be provided to priority households, similar to BPL families through Public Distribution System.¹²

Public Distribution System:

During world war II, PDS was introduced as a war time rationing measure. Gradually, it was strengthened and streamline to improve its reach in hilly, remote and inaccessible areas to benefits a substantial section of the underprivileged class. In 1997, central government launched the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) with a focus on poor and the plan of Antyodaya Anna Yojna was streamlined with this.

PDS is a mechanism through which management of scarcity could be done successfully and public services could be enriched at the beneficiaries. It is a joint responsibility of Central and State government. The centre procures food grains from farmers by MSP and sells it to states at Central Issue Prices. Centres are responsible for transporting the grains to godowns in each states. States further bear the responsibility of transporting food grains from these godowns to each fair price shop (ration shop). Many states further subsidises the price of food grains before selling it to the beneficiaries.¹³

There are several issues of leakage of food grains and storage, challenges with procurements, real identification of beneficiaries and so on which need to address through technology based reforms of PDS and role of Aadhar Card related to the problems of inclusion and exclusion errors.

Representation of Women in Politics:

India is famous for world's largest democracy with second largest population. Although, women constitute nearly half of the total population, despite of this fact, women representation in national and state politics remain around twelve percent. In other words, just around one tenth representations are women. India is ranked 149th out of 193 countries in terms of representation of women in politics. In India, equal opportunities in terms of political participation and representation have been granted to women ever since independence of the country. However, societal and historical biases against women have created rigid structure that hindered women's accessibility to the position of power. Thus, women's reservation in both Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assembly looks reasonable to increase women participation in politics although one third reservation has been granted in local politics through 73rd & 74th Amendment Act of the Indian Constitution which grants constitutional status of panchayati raj institutions and urban local bodies.

Representation of Women in Judicial System: There is lack of women's representation in judicial system of the country. Less representation could be traced in prosecutors, judges and even police officers. At present, Justice R. Bhanumathi is the only women judge among 29 judges of Supreme Court. The apex court of the country has seen only six women judges out of total 230 judges appointed since independence of the country. Fewer representations of women in Indian law enforcement institutions translate into a rising assault on the peace and security of women. Adequate measures of reservation policy need to apply to increase women's representation in judicial system of the country.¹⁴

Representation of Women in Corporate Sector: As per the World Bank's Report, 2017, India has among the lowest female labour force participation rates in the world. It drag on gross domestic product (GDP) of the country and obstacle in terms of reaching a higher growth path. Global Entrepreneurship Summit, 2017 (Hyderabad) theme "Women First, Prosperity for All" need to brought into focus to curb women participation in corporate sector of the country.¹⁵

Conclusion:

The present Indian administration draws heavily from the administrative set up developed by the British while they ruled over the country. In fact, this system was well known for its efficiency and effectiveness. Over a period of time, now citizens of the country aspiring for good governance. Good governance is the motto of the present time which uses to be facilitated by the tools of E-governance. ICT enabled governing system of the twenty first century revolutionize whole structure of the administration. The land mark in Indian governing system which has been discussed herewith denotes the political route to people's empowerment as well as effective and responsive administration. Inadequate representation of women in all spheres of

governing structure focused upon need of empowering the women and facilitating equal development opportunity to step up governing system at the new height.

References:

1. Arora, R.K. & Batra, S. K. *Governance and Development*, Aalekh Publications, Jaipur, 2011, P⁷⁸.
2. Vayunandan, E. & Mathew, D. *Good Governance Initiatives in India*, Prantice-Hall of India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2003, P²⁷.
3. The Constitution of India. 1950.
4. Olga Tellis & Ors. Vs Bombay Municipal Corporation & Ors., AIR 1986, SC 18.
5. Laxmikanth, M. Indian Polity for Civil Services Examination, Third Edition, Tata McGraw Hill Education Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2012, P8.8.
6. <https://www.nrega.nic.in> Date: 18-10-2020, Time: 11:15AM.
7. Laxmikanth, M. Public Administration for the UPSC Civil Services Preliminary Examination, Fourth Edition, Tata Mc Graw Hill Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2008, P233.
8. Ibid.
9. <https://www.rti.gov.in> Date: 20-10-2020, Time: 10:35AM.
10. The Constitution of India, 1950.
11. Singh, S.R. Bureaucracy and Rira; Development, First Edition, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1989, P61.
12. <https://nhrc.nic.in/press-release/right-food-fundamental-right> Date: 18-10-2020, Time: 9:10PM.
13. <http://epds.nic.in/> Date: 18-10-2020, Time: 9:20PM.
14. <https://www.thepeninsula.org.in>india-election> Date: 18-09-2020, Time: 9.43PM.
15. <https://www.feminisminindia.com> Date: 19-09-2020, Time: 6.35PM.

A Critical Review of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir

- Lalit Kumar Sharma

ABSTRACT

All the Princely states except Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh acceded to India or Pakistan by August 15, 1947. Maharaja Hari Singh the ruler of J&K delayed his decision as it was for him not an easy, his state was contiguous to both dominions and while he was a Hindu his subjects were predominantly Muslim. According to the 1941 census 77.11 percent of the population of Jammu and Kashmir was Muslim, 20.12 percent Hindu and 1.64 percent Sikh and the total area of Princely state J&K was 2,22,236 sq. kilometers. When the British left India in 1947, they gave the Princely states an option to stay independent and not join either India or Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh declared that he would stay independent, the Muslim in a majority in J&K Pakistan expected its accession. When it did not take place, Pakistan sent its irregulars backed by the regular troops. In that Maharaja sought the help of India which insisted on the accession before sending its troops. Maharaja Hari Singh's signing of the instrument of accession on October 26, 1947, had brought Jammu and Kashmir into India, its terms restricted New Delhi's jurisdiction over the former Princely state to matters of foreign affairs, defence, currency and communication. This "statutory autonomy" was later inserted into India's constitution as Article 370, but the autonomy covenanted in the latter was unremittingly abraded beginning in 1953. In 1953 Sheikh Abdullah provoked rearticulated independence as one of the "Possible options' open to the state's people voting in a plebiscite.

Nehru's government arrested Abdullah in August 1953, sent to Kodaikanal detention house at Tamilnadu, in the south and eighth class passed Bakshi Ghulam

Mohammad became Prime Minister of J&K. In 1952, the Shyama Prasad Mookerjee-led Praja Parishad launched an agitation seeking the complete merger of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian union. As Jammu reverberated with his popular slogan “Ek desh mein do vidhen, do-nishan, do-pardhan, nahin chalega, nahin chalega”. Jan Sangh founder Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was arrested and sent in jail at Kashmir. In jail he died on 23 June, 1953. Article 370 took place in the 1960s including changes concerning the nomenclature of the 'head of the state'. Article 370 represents a compact between the state of J&K and the Union of India, but it was a temporary arrangement between the two, the entire Princely state of J&K is an integral part of India. On August 5th overturn Article 370 of the constitution, ending the special status that Jammu and Kashmir enjoyed for 10 years.

Keywords: Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, Praja Parishad, Princely State.

Introduction

On August 5, 2019 Union Home Minister Amit Shah moved two bills in Rajya Sabha to overturn Article 370, downgrade and bifurcate the state of Jammu and Kashmir into two Union Territories,¹ after a long discussion in the Rajya Sabha has approved these bills and on 7th August, 2019, a debate that lasted close to seven hours the Lok Sabha passed J&K, U.T., with 351 members voting in its support and 72 against it, while one member abstained but Ladakh UT was passed by 370 votes in favour and 70 against it.² The President of India Ram Nath Kovind gave his assent to the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill 2019, on August 9, the U.T. of J&K will have a 107 members assembly while the U.T. of Ladakh will have no assembly.³ Modi's government dedicating its decision to abrogate Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir to Sardar Vallabhai Patel, on 31 October his 144th birth anniversary at the statue of unity in central Gujarat, Prime Minister Modi said unity in diversity is our Pride and our identity 4, CPI head, D. Raja said that Sardar Patel was not very enthusiastic about Kashmir being a part of the Indian Union, but after the tribal invasion and consequent accession, he took the lead and himself travelled to Srinagar with Sardar Baldev Singh, he was first Defence Minister of independent India.⁵

The two Union Territories would start functioning independently nearly three months after abrogation of Article 370, downgrade and bifurcation of J&K into two UTs on August 5, 2019. The Chief Justice of Jammu and Kashmir High Court, Geeta Mittal would administer an oath of office to the two L-Gs in separate events in Srinagar and Leh. The L-G of Leh Ladakh, Radha Krishna Mathur, would be sworn in at Leh first at 9 a.m. while L-G of Jammu and Kashmir Girish Chandra Murmur would take oath at the Srinagar Raj Bhavan at 12:45 p.m. On 30th October he was received at the Srinagar airport by the J&K Governor's advisor Farooq Khan and State Chief Secretary, BVR Subramanyam, among others. L-G of Ladakh Radha Krishna Mathur, was given a Warm Welcome at the Khushak Bakula Rinpoche airport at Leh.

He was received by members of Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council and the Ladakh Affairs Commissioner Secretary Rigzin Samphel and others officers.⁶ Centre's decision setting new terms of engagement with J&K by reorganising it as Union Territories ending its special status under Article 370 and 35A.⁷

Decision to separate Ladakh from Jammu and Kashmir and to constitute it into a UT is a historical one. It would get unprecedented central assistance, both financial and administrative, for socio-economic development which the people of Ladakh as a part of the state could not have dreamt of.⁸ Though the demand for Union Territory status picked up momentum in Ladakh in the 1990, its spread was limited to the Leh district of Ladakh. The Shia Muslim population of another district Kargil has consistently opposed such a call as it fear Buddhist domination in the new setup.⁹ The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) appointed senior IPS Officer S.S. Bhandare as the first 'Head of Police; of the Union Territory of Ladak, Senior IAS Officer Umang Narula of the 1989 batch has been appointed as advisor of Lt. Governor to R.K. Mathur¹⁰ Union government announced a allocation of ₹30757 crore for J&K an ₹5958 crore for Ladakh in Union budget.¹¹ Before the removal of Article 370, Mehbooba Mufti a former Chief Minister of J&K gave a public statement warned the centre against such a move saying "Touching Article, 370 and 35A will be like touching a dynamite, it will burn not just the hand but also the entire body will turn to ashes."¹²

Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan criticised India's decision to end J&K's special status and said this would lead to more violence. They have gone against their constitution, against the verdict of the Supreme Court, against the verdict of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court, against the U.N. General Assembly Resolution and against the Shimla Agreement.¹³ But, what Pakistan did with Gilgit and Baltistan regions by de-facto-creating a separate province in 2009. Govt. of India has often objected the Chinese infrastructural projects in POK and also opposed Islamabad's decision to separate it from the rest of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir.¹⁴ Pakistan illegally gifted 5137 sq. kilometer Indian territory from Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK) to China under the so-called China-Pakistan Boundary Agreement in 1963, Ministry of external affairs, spokesperson Ravish Kumar said.¹⁵

The United Nations resolution for a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir or, the Shimla Agreement between Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Pakistan's Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has lost relevance. The situation today is different.¹⁶ Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that 'We hope that the difference between them will be resolved by political and diplomatic means on a bilateral basis in accordance with the provisions of the Shimla Agreement of 1972 and the Lohar Declaration of 1999.'¹⁷ A group of 20 members of European Parliament (MEPS) at the end of their two day visit of Jammu and Kashmir said the abrogation of Article 370 is an internal matter of India and we fully support the 'country in its efforts for lasting peace and end of terror,'¹⁸ they also pave the way for more openness in the state, more such

delegations which would help the government with its claims of normalcy in Jammu and Kashmir¹⁹ and also said terrorism is a severe problem in Kashmir, most terrorists were killed, they have come from abroad in fact they came from Pakistan. We support India in fighting for a solution to the problem.²⁰ Reducing the “Kashmir Problem” into easily digestible capsules. The BJP's rhetoric has long focussed on the abrogation of Article 370, which is projected as a blasphemy against the cult of national integration, but countless scholarly works have shown that Article 370 had already been neutered over the course of roughly two decades after its inclusion in the Indian constitution. On October 17, 1949 while Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, signing at the instrument of accession on October 26, 1947.

Historical Fact

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has had an identity, a Persona, since 1846, domestically and internationally²¹ the treaty of Amritsar in 1846 with Maharaja Ranjeet Singh gave Maharaja Gulab Singh the title over the valley. The unique multi-regional, multi-linguistic, multi-religious and multi-cultural, state of Jammu and Kashmir, was thus the handiwork of the Dogra rulers who have not received adequate attention or credit for this from historians. The Dogra rulers were able to successfully administer it for exactly a century from 1846 to 1947. Four successive rulers of Dogra's dynasty i.e. Maharaja Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Maharaja Pratap Singh, Maharaja Hari Singh, despite the fact that the state had an 80 percent Muslim population. It is remarkable how the Dogra were able to kept the state together, ably assisted mainly from the talented Kashmiri Pandit Community.²² Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who had sharpened his political skills in the anti-Dogra movement of the 1930s was reputedly the most respected leader in the valley not so much in the other regions. In Kashmir valley Abdullah speaking for his countrymen idea insufficiently accommodating of Kashmir distinctiveness with in Muslim community. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's sympathy and indirect support for the popular movement against Maharaja Hari Singh, which was led by Sheikh Adbullah.

Dogra's founded, Dogra Praja Parishad, a party mostly of ex-state officials and large landlords acting with Hindu right wing groups such as the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. In 1952 the Shyama Prasad Mookerjee-led Praja Parishad launched an agitation seeking the complete merger of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union. As Jammu reverberated with his popular slogan “Ek desh, mein do vidhan, do-nishan, do-pardhan, nahin chalega, nehin chalega.”²³ According to the 1941 census, 77.11 percent of the population of Jammu and Kashmir was Muslim, 20.12 percent Hindu and 1.64 percent Sikh. At the time of accession, the portion of the state where Jinnah's Muslim league had its support lay not in the Kashmir valley but across the Pir Panjal, in Mirpur and the old Poonch Principality of the feudal state of Jammu and Kashmir, is a muslim majority state where the Kashmiries were the largest single ethnic group. Despite efforts by Maharaja Hari Singh's Prime Minister Ram Chandra Kak in eliciting the Sheikh Abdulla's support for

independence.²⁴ Sheikh Abdullah spoke for Kashmir at the United Nations in February 1948 as part of a delegation led by N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar firmly, declaring “We shall prefer death rather than join Pakistan. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar sponsored Article 370 in India's Constituent Assembly.

A change to over 4,000 years of history and geography of Jammu and Kashmir, has faced first episode of 1953, when Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah was arrested in August and its aftermath, the Muslim militant forced 3.50 lakh Kashmiri Pandit to leave Kashmir and their motherland in 1990. It seems August 5, 2019 became third major rupture in J&K politics, which is far sure going to redefine its politics, people and times for ever.²⁵

Focus

Union Home Minister Amit Shah moved two bills in the Raja Sabha to annul article 370 and downgrade and bifurcate the state of Jammu and Kashmir into two Union Territories.²⁶ The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill, 2019 is an internal matter concerning the territory of India.²⁷ The constitutional guarantee of Article 370, which read with Article 369, provided temporary power to parliament to make laws for Jammu and Kashmir. Under sub-section 3 of this Article, the president of India can revoke Article 370 only on advice from the 'Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir'. The constituent Assembly was dissolved in 1957. It was replaced by the Legislative Assembly, but a constituent Assembly, that formulated Article 370 was illegal, why was no-such legislative assembly formed in other states? All illegal provisions has been removed in the most legal way, Ram Madhav said; he also said, the people of Kashmir are looking forward to lead a life without Article 370, before August 'Amarjeet Singh Dulet, Ex Chief of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and former Special Director of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) said 'Why we should raise issue of Article 370 or 35A? There is nothing left in Article 370. It is only a Fig leaf.²⁸ Its abrogation has tackled the feeling of separateness and uniqueness in the valley.²⁹ On abrogation of Article 370 from J&K, Govt. of India justified in the Supreme Court in its reply, the centre said that Article 370 in its original form, was constitutional described as a temporary provision with respect to Jammu and Kashmir.

It was on August 15, 2019, Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi, hoisted the tricolour at the Red Fort and said that the country has finally become one nation with one constitution with the abrogation of Article 370³⁰ from Jammu and Kashmir, L-G Girish Chandra Murmu also said that Article 370 was a road block in the development and deprived the people of J&K of many welfare schemes of the centre govt. and grass root democracy in the form of three tier system could not be established earlier.³¹ The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, also said that, our country never recognised Article 370 in J&K of a formula of over all development.³² In Jammu and Kashmir communities particularly Gujjars, Backwards, Pharies and Gaddies to tell about the advantages of removal of Article 370 and 35A, including

reservation for the scheduled caste/scheduled tribes, who form 11 percent of the state's population,³³ first of all, the new Assembly in J&K under the Reorganisation Act 2019 is to have 114 seats, of which 24 seats have been kept aside for areas under Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) which means assembly elections will be conducted for 90 seats. The old assembly had a strength of 111 seats (again 24) kept aside for (POK) with four seats for Ladakh region, that means seven extra seats will be added to the effective strength of the House. The delimitation exercise will also take into account reservation of seats for the scheduled castes, and the scheduled tribes as provided for under the constitution. There is also a significant population of those who were displaced during the partition in 1947-48 and settled in Jammu, who have had no voting right so far in the assembly polls; a ball park figure puts the number of these persons around 8 lakh.³⁴ Jammu and Kashmir has seen 45,783 casualties in the past 29 years of terrorism.

Why the Article 370 had to be scrapped and the state reorganised as two union territories was the need to address, issue such as development of state and militancy. On this Ravi Shankar Prasad Union Law Minister said that the government was bringing an entire system for J&K's development, employment and planning, he also said the government would give the benefits of reservation, in education and jobs. Union Home Minister Amit Shah said in Parliament, that because of Article 370, the people of the Kashmir valley were living in "qurbat" (Urdu for Poverty) and did not get the benefits of reservation and welfare schemes. There was injustice against women and the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.³⁵ If Article 370 is a dead letter, Article 35A remained a live wire. Article 35A of the Indian constitution added through a Presidential Order in 1954, reserved certain entitlements within the state to "Permanent residents", namely the rights for acquire immovable property, to vote in election, marriage and eligibility for certain government positions and scholarship. Prime Minister Modi in his address to the nation on August 8, 2019 has described Article 35A, along with Article 370, as fodder for Kashmiri Muslim separatism. Millions of people in India feel that Article 370 and 35A are an undue favour to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.³⁶ Deprivation of minorities tribals, scheduled castes and other down trodden people class, due to powerful men being in cahoots with the law and order machinery, these negative steps are damaging our social fabric.³⁷

The law of citizenship, ownership of property and fundamental rights of the residents of J&K was different from the citizens living in the rest of India, under Article 370 citizens from other states could not buy property in Jammu and Kashmir and the government of India had no power to declare financial emergency in the erstwhile state of J&K and Article 35A gave the J&K legislature full discretionary power for decide on who the "permanent residents" special rights and privileges regarding employment, acquisition of property, scholarship and other forms at aid that the state government provides.³⁸ Even after Article 370 and 35A

were scrapped, the sadness of Kashmiri Pandits, the injustice meted out to them and the humiliation they faced, were never fully addressed, on fateful night of January 19, 1990, loudspeakers perched on top of mosques across the Kashmir valley blared slogans of Azadi, large crowds gathered outside shouted anti-Pandit, anti-India slogans, threatened the community to either convert to Islam or leave Kashmir, from that day onwards, till the end of 1990, it is believed that 3,50,000 Kashmiri, Pandits were forced out their own houses.³⁰ Arun Jaitley former Union and Defence and Finance Minister said that Kashmiriyat, is shifting from 'regional' to religious and that Sufism is giving way to Wahheebism.⁴⁰ The presence of the security forces in the valley in 1990 was very thin and their preparedness was inadequate for deal with full blown insurgency sponsored by Pakistan.⁴¹ The families that did not migrate were mostly living in the Pandit dominated areas in Kashmir, till today 417 temples of Pandits in Kashmir were broken and their premises have turned into garbage bins.⁴² Kashmiri Pandits a minority community in the valley form an important part of the 'Kashmiri identity' as conceptualised by secular nationalists.⁴³

Although Article 370 was not directly linked to Pandits and their rehabilitation, but due to migration, Pandits who face on identity crises. Its unique cultural traditions are on the decline, as the new generation has lost its emotional connect with the valley. Its religious heritage has been vandalised, historically, Pandit of Kashmir have been at the receiving end since the 13th century but the past three decades have been the worst phase in their chequered history, they faced threats from militant groups especially the Hizbul Muhajideen and opposition from separatist groups in the valley.⁴⁴ Restored of Article 370 in J&K Congress has dropped this demand in its political resolution in the presence of Ghulam Nabi Azad, Azad admitted that the abrogation of Article 370 was an election promise of the BJP, but Party should rise the demand of statehood and job and land rights for natives of J&K.⁴⁵ The delimitation Act will soon be brought into force and the centre is already working on it and our party also wants to restore statehood status to J&K said BJP General Secretary Ram Madhav.⁴⁶ Founding Member of PDP and former Deputy Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussain Baig said that Mehbooba Mufti's statement none would be left to hold the Tricolour in Jammu and Kashmir if Article 370 was tampered will resulted in downgrading of a historical and vast state into two union territories. He also raised a demand from Govt. of India to ensure domicile safe guards, land and job rights to the people of J&K on the line of northern states.⁴⁷ A blend of models like Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Arunchal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalya, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and parts of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh can provide solution for the protection of these rights to the people of J&K. The J&K is also a hilly region and unempoloyment is a major problem here.⁴⁸

The Frustration of Kashmiri's with regional political voices suddenly so overwhelming that they may decide to go with a strong centre leadership who is sincere for state development.⁴⁹ On February 3, 2019 Prime Minister Narendra

Modi addressing a function at the Sher-e-Kashmir international convention centre Srinagar said that our government break the backbone of militancy in the Kashmir valley, just 11 days later 19 year old Fidayeen from Gundibagh village in South Kashmir carryout the biggest attack in the history of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir⁵⁰ is symbolic of how the disastrous political machinery in the state of J&K have given a fillip to home grown jihadi terrorism.⁵¹ Sheikh Abdullah-led Plebiscite Front in the 1960s to the Muslim United Front in the 1980s to the Hurriyat leadership since the 1990s. These also holds true for militant groups.⁵² For plebiscite front Sheikh Abdullah caught and sent to Kodaikanal, detention house in Tamilnadu for 12 years and eighth class pass Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was installed as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir following the unceremonious exit of Sheikh Abdulla.⁵³ On February 14, 2019 improvised explosived device attack on a CRPF convoy at Lethpora in Pulwama resulted 44 brave soldiers lost their lives on this, Pakistan based Jaise-e-Mohammad immediately claiming responsibility for the suicide attack.⁵⁴ On this attack Prime Minister Narinder Modi vowed to avenge the deaths of the security personnel stating, I want to tell the terror outfits and those aiding and abetting them that, they have made a big mistake. They will have to pay a heavy price for their cowardly action,⁵⁵ 12 days later Indian air Force conducted air strike on Balakot (Pakistan) J-e-m launch pad by Indian war plans, dropped heavy bomb and killed, hundreds of militants. Indian Army is known as professional army in the world, it is trained to face the enemy at the border.⁵⁶

The problem in Kashmir is largely due to 50-odd political families there. They have been milking the issue. They don't want any benefit to be given to ordinary Kashmiris. People of Kashmir want freedom from such political families who have been preying on their emotions for 50 years. the situation in Kashmir is such that people want change, whether it is about article 35 A or 370⁵⁷ it was a temporary.⁵⁸ The state could have merged with Pakistan, but preferred to integrate with Secular India. No doubt, the Hurriyat is a divided home some led by Gilani, want the state to join Pakistan, and the other's led by Yasin Malik demand azaddi, Jammu the Hindu majority part would like to join India, the Buddhist Majority Ladakh, wants Union territory.⁵⁹ Kashmiris do not want any level of merger with Pakistan, they want to live with dignity on natives and not in this state of siege⁶⁰ former member of the state legislature A.R. Badhana said, that we always supported India and are proud of it removing Article 370 is welcome he adds, but full statehood should have remained a 12th standard student Rafq Ahmed said, if removing Article 370 can bring jobs, Peace and Security. Our lives will change⁶¹.

Conclusion

Solving the Kashmir problem into easily digestible capsules, the BJP's rhetoric has long focused on the abrogation of Article 370, which is projected as a blasphemy against the cult of nation integration. It is undoubtedly the most important act by any central government on Jammu and Kashmir since the one headed by First

Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru gave the state its special status through a Presidential order in 1949. By overturning Article 370 early in his second term Prime Minister Narendra Modi has fulfilled a key demand of the million of Indians, BJP and its ideological flagship, the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) to have "One nation, One constitution" by getting Parliament's, stamp of approval. Modi governments achieved a political consensus of sorts and effectively shut the door on all those fighting for the valley to merge with Pakistan or demanding Azadi Particularly a section of all parties Hurriyat Conference and separatists.

References

1. Singh Vijaita. 40 injured in J&K stoning incidents, The Hindu, August. 14, 2019, p. 1.
2. Phukan Sandeep. Lok Sabha endorses centre's decisions on Kashmir. The Hindu, August 7, 2019. p. 1.
3. Joshi Arun. J&K ceases to be state, 2 UTs come into effect. The Tribune, October 31, 2019. p. 1.
4. Dasgupta Manas. Patel inspiration behind abrogation of Article 370. The Tribune, 1. November 2019. P. 07.
5. Tribune News Service. Vallabhai was in Favour of 370, Says CPI. The Tribune, November 1, 2019. p. 07.
6. Fazili Ehsan. Swearing in of Lt Governors today. The Tribune. October 31, 2019. p. 10.
7. Singh Vijaita. Kashmir Valley remains cut off for second day. The Hindu. August 7, 2019, p. 1.
8. Joshi Arun. Ladakhis happy without exception, but here some lingering fears; C Phunsog. The Tribune, 10 December 2019, p. 10.
9. Puri Luv. The news Facts on the ground for Kashmir. The Hindu, August 7, 2019. p. 9.
10. Singh Vijaita. J&K all set to be twin UTs from Today. The Hindu October 31, 2019. p. 10.
11. H.T. Correspondent. J&K gets Rs 30757 crore, Rs. 5958 Crore for Ladak. Hindustan Time February 2. 2020. p. 16.
12. Bhakto Anando. Under Siege. (2019) Frontline, August 3. p. 9.
13. Safraz Mehmam. Imran Warns of more Violence. The Hindu, August 7, 2019. p. 01.
14. Puri Luv. The new Facts on the ground for Kashmir. The Hindu, August 7, 2019. p. 9.
15. Tribune News service. India Snubs China for opposing new UTs says its internal matter. The Tribune, November 1. 2019. p. 1.
16. Nayar Kuldeep. Kashmir First Pakistan letter. (2016) Mainstream. Vol. LIV. No. 38. P. 10.

17. Special correspondent. Carry out changes in J&K by Indian Constitution, Says Russia. *The Hindu*, August 11, 2019. P. 11.
18. Correspondent. EUMPS with India on terror fight, 370. *The Tribune*, October 31, 2019, p. 1.
19. Editorial. Visiting Kashmir. *The Hindu*, 31 October, 2019. p. 8.
20. Ashiq Peerada. Terror in Kashmir a big Problem: MEPS. *The Hindu* October 31, 2019. p. 1
21. Noorani A.G. Murder of insaniyat. (2019) *Frontline* pp. 14-15.
22. Singh Karan. Retracing the rich history of J&K. *Hindustan time*, Feb, 10, 2020. p. 07.
23. Bhakto Anando. Operation Kashmir. (2019) *Frontline* June 21. pp. 5-6.
24. Habibullah Wajahat. Kashmir has been cut to the quick. *The Hindu*, August 7, 2019. p. 8.
25. Ashiq Peerzada. When Jammu and Kashmir's geography become history. *The Hindu*, August 11, 2019. p. 06.
26. Singh Vijaita. 40 injured in J&K Stoning incidents. *The Hindu*, August 14, 2019. p. 1.
27. Bhattacharjee Kallal. India tells China to avoid commenting on Ladakh. *The Hindu*, August 7. 2019. p. 1.
28. Katakam Anupama. The Kashmir issue is Convenient whipping boy. (2019) *Frontline* March 15. p. 16.
29. Khosla Aishwarya. J&K statehood will be back once situation is normal. *Hindustan Times*, December 16, 2019. p. 03.
30. David Robin. One Nation One constitution? *The Times of India*. September 7, 2019. p. 10.
31. Khujuria Ravi Krishnan. Article 370 deprived J&K people of Development. *Hindustan Times*, November 20, 2019, p. 07.
32. Joshi Arun. Kashmir not Syria, but wants normally, Envoys. *The Tribune* 13 January-2020, p. 10.
33. Nath Damini. With N.C, PDP in choppy waters, J&K's Political Climate uncertain. *The Hindu*, August 11, 2019, p. 11.
34. Hebbar Nistula. J&K Assembly polls likely in March Next. *The Hindu*, August 14, 2019. p. 1.
35. Raja Lakshmi T.K. Nailing a lie. (2019) *Frontline* August 30, p. 28.
36. Bhakto Anando. The RSS wants to change the demographics of the state. (2019) *Frontline* August 30, pp. 10-11.
37. Mukherjee Sadhan. Communal Harmony. (2014) *Mainstream* December 12. p. 23.
38. Sharma Artee. J&K Makes care for domicile Policy. *The Sunday Tribune*, 12 January, 2020. P. 08.

39. Tikkoo Vani Tripathi. Kashmir's heading Process must include rehabilitating Kashmiri, Pandits their Suffering has been ignored too long. *The Times of India*, February 22, 2020. p. 10.
40. Jaitley Arun. For Kashmir, Against Terror. (2019) *India Today*. p. 40.
41. Bhan Ashok. Return of the terror phase in the Valley. *The Tribune*. 7 November 2019. p. 09.
42. Khan M. Aamir. No Sign at return to homeland for them. *The Sunday Tribune*, 19 January 2020. p. 06.
43. Bhat Mehroog Ud Din, and Aijaz Ashref Wani. Return of Pandits to Homeland; need for a Humanistic and not Political approach. *Mainstream*, Vol. LIII. No. 29. p. 13.
44. Hakhod Sumit. Kashmiri Pandits at cross roads of history. *The Sunday Tribune* 19 January 2020. p. 6.
45. Manhotra Dinesh. Congress drops demand of restoring Article 370, seeks statehood for J&K. *The Tribune*. 19. January 2020. p. 06.
46. Khajuria Sanjay. J&K will be granted statehood in near future says Ram Madav. *The Times of India*, December 28, 2019. p. 06.
47. Khajuria Ravi Krishan. J&K's problems could not be solved by coercing the P.M. *The Hindustan. Times*, January 10, 2020. p. 03.
48. Manhotra Dinesh. J&K leaders on same page over domicile issue. *The Tribune*, 13 January. 2020 p. 10.
49. Raina Badri. Wonders will never cease. (2014) *Mainstream* Vol. LII, No. 51. p. 21.
50. Yaseen Faisul. Living tragedies. (2019) *Frontline* March 15. pp. 12-13.
51. Venkitesh. Pulwama and After. (2019) *Frontline*, March 15. p. 5.
52. Behera Chadha Navrita. An abrogation of democratic Principles. *The Hindu*, August 13, 2019. p. 8.
53. Cherian John. Terror next door. (2019) *Frontline* March 15. p. 18.
54. Bhakto Anando. Militant Surge. (2019) *Frontline* March 15, pp. 21-24.
55. Chengappa Raj. Hard Choices. *India Today*, March 3. 2019. p. 39.
56. Panday Sandeep. BJP's Singlistic Thinking likely to Complicate the Kashmir issue. (2016) *Mainstream*, Vol. LIV. No. 38. p. 5.
57. Raj Chengappa. *The. India Today* September. 2019. p. 34.
58. Saran Shyam. *The Morning after. India Today* August 26. 2019. p. 10.
59. Nayar Kuldip. Political of Kashmir. (2014) *Mainstream* Vol. LII. No. 36. p. 7.
60. Qurashi, Humra. GOI's insincerely in solution the basic of Kashmir Issues. (2016) *Mainstream*, Vol. LIV. No. 38. p. 4.
61. Bhalla Abhishek, with Shouhat Dasgupta. Kashmir, Info wars. *India Today* August 26, 2019. p. 8.

Evolution of Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) in Delhi

Lalit Kumar Sharma
Jai Parkash Sharma

ABSTRACT

In India the need for a citizen-oriented parties are being felt for quite some time due to the growing gap between politicians, major political parties and the common people. This disconnect has been observed from Panchayat to parliament. The distance between the existing major or state political parties and the common people owes to lack of transparency, political opportunism, lack of vision and rampant corruption. In Delhi political sphere the uncommon rise of a common man's party since 2013, surprised political analyst. The party's populist promises have impacted different classes, particularly upper middle and lower middle class which looks towards the party with freebies of day to day needs. AAP is also an by product of Anna Hazare's social movement for Lok Pal and India against corruption. AAP's citizen-centric agenda, ability to cut across the barriers of caste, class, colour, creed, community and focusing on people attracted basic issues of the ordinary people.

Keywords: Aam Aadmi Party, Bharatiya Janta Party, Indian National Congress, Freebies, Party system.

Introduction

The birth of Aam Aadmi Party (Common Man's Party) on 26 November, 2012 was a spectacular event in the history of Indian politics. The announcement to form a political party on 2 October 2012 and its inauguration on 26 November 2012 were historic, coinciding with the dates of birthday of Mahatma Gandhi and adoption of India's constitution respectively¹, in March 2013 “it was registered as a political party

Dr. Lalit Kumar Sharma, Project Officer, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies Institute of Integrated Himalayan Studies, UGC Centre of Excellence, HPU, Summer Hill, Shimla-171005

Dr. Jai Parkash Sharma, Asstt. Professor, Political Science, Govt. College, Chaura Maidan, Shimla-4

by the Election Commission of India² and Jharoo (broom) is allotted election symbol. Its emergence on the Indian political system marks the rise of a new phenomenon in party politics in contemporary India, aiming to provide a political alternative of existing parties ensuring clean politics, good governance and corruption free India, it has received attention from political observers, analysts, thinkers, civil society, organisations, the media and the informed citizenry across the country.

The political landscape in Delhi began changing from Anna Hazare's Jan Lokpal Bill and anti-corruption movement in 2011. Ironically, Arvind Kejriwal, Kiran Bedi and Santosh Hegde were key figures in this movement but Arvind Kejriwal parted away³ with Anna and movement turned to launch a political party with Munish Sisodia, Prashant Bhushan, Shaziailmi, Kumar Vishwas, Gopal Rai, Sanjay Singh and Yogendra Yadav in 2012, before launching a political party, Arvind Kejriwal acted as a social activist, he founded many societies, NGO's aiming at the welfare of the poor people and reforming the governing patterns of government.

In 2013, Delhi assembly election AAP has won 28 seats out of 70. The AAP victory was spectacular considering the fact that it is a new party, formed very recently, just after the Anna movement. In the conditions of rapid fall and disappearance of the traditional congress the AAP and Kejriwal have been seen as the alternative, after an initial hesitation the Aam Aadmi Party decided to form a minority government with outside support of the Congress left party, but after 49 days Arvind Kejriwal took decision to quit from the government.⁴

However, running a minority government is never an easy proportion and Kejriwal AAP soon realised that they needed a majority in order to fulfil its popular promised made in its election manifesto. The failure of being able to do something compelled Kejriwal to resign on February 14, 2014 hoping that the Delhi election will be held along with the General election, which was due in may, but Modi government decided to extend the president's rule in Delhi for one year. In 2014 General election Kejriwal decided to fight against BJP Prime Ministerial candidate Narendra Modi from Varanasi, with a declaration that Varanasi will be developed as the spiritual capital of the world and hence it will get the status of a holy city,⁵ but he lost that election with a big margin.

In Delhi Assembly election 2015 has thrown up a surprising result with the AAP's broom sweeping off the BJP and wiping out the congress. For the first time ever a non-congress and non-BJP government has been elected with thumping majority. The vote share of the winning party (AAP) has been the highest ever 54.3 percent and the winning margin 21.5 percent with 67 seats out of 70, it was an uncommon rise of a common man's party and the congress party has not been able to win a single seat fair the first time since independence. The apprehension is broadly based on the voting pattern of the past few elections.

In the 2014 Lok Sabha election the BJP got a 46.40 percent vote share, while the congress got 15.10 percent and the AAP got 32.90 percent. In the 2015 Assembly election in Delhi, the AAP's vote share rose for 54.3 percent and the Congress to 9.7 percent, two year later, the BJP swept Delhi's Municipal election with 36 percent votes against Congress 21 percent and AAP's 26 percent.⁶ According to these figures, the Delhi electorate had different yard sticks for Lok Sabha and assembly elections, and hence there was no question of the BJP replicating the Lok Sabha (May 2019) with vote percentage of 56.58 and all seven seats, but February 2020 Delhi's assembly election, electorate gave 62 of the 70 seats to the AAP with 53.57 percent vote, just five seats short of its 2015, assembly election. The BJP improved its tally marginally from three seats in 2015 to eight seats with 38.51 percent vote and the Congress which had ruled the state for three consecutive terms from 1998 to 2013, drew a blank just as it did in the 2015 assembly election with 4.26 percent vote.⁷

From Movement to Political Party

Before launching a political party Arvind Kejriwal acted as a social activist founded many societies with himself and others, aiming at the welfare of the common people, and reforming the government patterns. There were many crusaders with a cause and Arvind Kejriwal winner of the Ramon Magsaysay Award for Emergent leadership in recognition of his involvement in the grassroots level movement, "Parivartan" with Manish Sisodia had resigned from the government service.⁸ Later on he joined RTI movement with Aruna Roy, he also co-founded Kabir and the PCRf the other societies to serve the common people. Further, he founded India Against Corruption (IAC) with Anna Hazare, N Santosh Hegde, Prashant Bhusan, Kiran Bedi, Manish Sisodia. In 2011, Arvind Kejriwal joined Anna Hazare's Fast at Janter Mantar and continued with his efforts till he left ways with Anna to launch a political party with Yogendra Yadav, Manish Sisodia, Prashant Bhusan, Shazia Ilmi, Kumar Vishwas, Gopal Rai in 2012. Arvind Kejriwal and Anna Hazare had successfully created a rare movement of national awakening about IAC and Lok Pal, the urgent need for reforms in governance. IAC became an activist AAP which then became an angry AAP.⁹ In 2014, the Chief Minister of Delhi Arvind Kejriwal decided to sit on a dharna in the heart of the capital.¹⁰

Converting from Mass movement to a political party the AAP has established support base which includes member of the upper middle, lower middle class, urban poor living particularly in small houses including slums. It is an uncommon rise of a common man's party, the common man has started feeling empowered the idealism of the Anna Hazare anti corruption movement has been compromised by the harsh realities of electoral politics. Anna always used to say that politics is dirty, but Kejriwal and other activists stress that if we want to clean the system, then we have to enter the dirty politics. After some time Kejriwal's reluctance to build a second line of leadership has meant that the AAP is still burdened, like many regional outfits

with the one leader show tag.¹¹ Kejriwal running AAP in an autocratic manner. Among the leaders who left or were shown the door were Kumar Vishwas, Yogendra Yadav, Anand Kumar, Prashant Bhushan, Ashutosh, Ashish Khetan and H.S. Phoolka many had been Kejriwal colleagues since the movement of Lok Pal and India Against Corruption (IAC) days.¹² Its not just that the Kejriwal has stressed the party away from being a collegium of consensual decision making to a self censoring autocracy nor it is that movement borne out of an anti-corruption agitation gave a little over 50 per cent of its tickets to candidates with criminal records. He did not hesitate to give tickets to candidate who had came to his party from the Congress. But should a seven year old party give up on its idealism so quickly.¹³ In 2012, Kejriwal launched AAP against Congress corruption and a year later went on to form a minority government in Delhi with the outside support of the Congress the very party whose "corrupt" government's at the centre and Delhi he had been agitating against corruption. It was a short lived engagement, and was the first indication that Kejriwal was ready to make compromise to seek political power.

Delhi's outsized influence on the national polity upsets people outside the city. Arvind Kejriwal's emphatic victory in 2020 assembly election is seen by many political analysts as yet another opportunity for him to emerge AAP on the national sphere, even though Delhi has only 14 million voters and seven members of Parliament. The AAP's launched a national wide campaign for rashtraniirman (nation building) on February 11, 2020, immediately after the Delhi election result were announced¹⁴ with a target of 1 crore membership throughout India. The AAP has so far contested six polls in the capital two Lok Sabha, three assembly and one Municipal election, but this was the first time Kejriwal involved a professional strategist in the form of Prashant Kishor and his agency I-PAC. Which has previously worked on campaigns for Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar, Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh and West-Bengal Chief Minister Mamta Banerjee.¹⁵

Delhi is the gateway to the recognition of the AAP nationally and internationally¹⁶ and this time Kejriwal won because he convinced Delhi's voters that his priority is the establishment of a Welfare state.¹⁷ Delhi is not even a full-fledged state and its Chief Minister is actually a glorified Mayor. As the party in power at the centre, the BJP was already in control of key department like the Police, land authorities and bureaucratic appointment's Kejriwal could be no more than an irritant at worst.¹⁸ He has, more or less, managed to do that in his five year term in India's most high profile, yet numerically less consequential state.¹⁹

AAP Focus on Performance

The AAP focus is on the Arvind Kejriwal government's achievements, especially in sectors such as woman security, water, electricity, public health, education and free

transport for women. A second consecutive land slide victory in Delhi assembly election C.M. Kejriwal said the victory indicated the birth of a new politics in India the politics of welfare and performance. Before assembly election Kejriwal made at least a dozen announcements like bus rides free for women on DTC buses, free public WiFi service and raising auto and taxi fares.²⁰

The Aam Aadmi Party glorified its achievement especially in education and health care, government schools have registered a pass percentage of 94.24 in class 12 CBSE examination 3.5 percent points higher than private schools. Many citizen of Delhi now prefer the efficient Mohalla Clinic to the long queue for overpriced doctor consultation at private hospital.²¹ Political analysts say Kejriwal freebies schemes targeting the lowest economic strata paid him rich dividends. Sheila Dikshit Former Chief Minister focused on building good infrastructure which appealed to the middle class of Delhi, but Kejriwal freebies diffused focus on other priority sectors such as infrastructure. Due to freebies the share of Delhi Transport Corporation expansion declined from 17 percent in 2013-14 to 10 percent in 2018-19, but freebies won voters trust of governance.²²

The challenge before Kejriwal will be how to sustain this freebies and subsidy culture in the absence of capital formation and investments. Sheila Dikshit former Chief Minister could do so well for 10 years (2003-2013) because she could save ₹ 20,000 crores in subsidy payments due to the privatisation of electricity supply. This cushion is no more available.²³ Political thinkers and analyst criticised the Kejriwal government over the subsidies, saying it was providing the facilities merely for political gains, he signalled that air pollution, sanitation, transport and water supply will top his future priorities. On this Kejriwal has correctly read the capital city's mood,²⁴ he know the value and importance of WHEE-water, health, electricity, education. Spread this simple WHEE model to as many places as you can. He is also an efficient CEO, who-convinced, Delhi voters.²⁵ On free WHEE Kejriwal said nature has ensured every valuable thing in the world is free, be it mother's love, father's blessings or Shravan Kumar's dedication. So Kejriwal loves his people and hence this love is free²⁶ for all it does not matter for whom you voted in these elections.²⁷ He also defended his government's record in facilitating pilgrimage for senior citizens.²⁸

In 2020 assembly election Delhi is not a particularly significant battle ground, but BJP has chosen to make it so, to be sure BJP has improved its vote share and has improved its tally. But a five seat increment in an election involving an incumbent government and Amit Shah is nothing to feel even marginally satisfied about.²⁹ AAP was greatly helped by Congress, belying BJP's hopes of a triangular contest in Delhi, but BJP's relentless demonisation of Congress may have led Congress to conclude that its first priority was stopping BJP, even at the cost of sliding into

irrelevance in one more state.³⁰ On completely collapse of Congress, Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Kamal Nath said that AAP's resounding victory in the Delhi election indicates the start of rejection of BJP in the country,³¹ it has been out of power in the capital for 21 years now.

The Congress really lent AAP a helping hand, by contesting seats, though it knew it didn't stand a chance and so splitting the anti-lotus votes. We couldn't have had a better ally than a grand old party, which should be renamed grand absolute party.³² The minorities in Delhi, who had traditionally voted the Congress, switched their allegiance to the AAP strategically in order to ensure the defeat of the BJP in Delhi. The AAP took the place of the Congress as the rallying point for the anti-BJP vote. If Congress had not totally rolled over, BJP may well have done much better in a three way contest.³³ The contest was between the AAP and the BJP, the battle was so bipolar and the voting pattern so decisive that 63 of the 68 Congress candidates forfeited their deposits. For a party that had ruled Delhi uninterruptedly for 15 years, this was a major setback.³⁴

AAP focused its campaign on issues such as freebies, bijli-sadak-pani, health the BJP campaign centred around issues such as the citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA), the National Register of Citizens (NRC), the national population Register (NPR), article 370 construction of a Ram temple in Ayodhya, triple talak and Modi's government common people related schemes,³⁵ BJP has a membership of 62.28 lakh in Delhi, but only 35.6 lakh polled in its favour, party used its biggest weapon of polarization to consolidate the Hindu vote bank but not enough to overcome the consolidation on the basis of delivery, work and counter polarisation³⁶ clearly, a huge majority of Hindus had preferred the AAP, which was sought to be painted as pro-Pakistan and anti-Hindu by the BJP and its associates in the Sangh Parivar.³⁷ In the past one decade, the rise of the BJP has also increased the value or currency of Hindu voters in the country. Remember the time when political leaders would queue up before the Shahi Imam for Muslim votes. Non BJP parties are also now vying for Hindu voters with Gotra, Janaeus, kundly and Hanuman Chalisa.³⁸

Mandal Movement Chiefs Lalu Yadav and Mulayam Singh Yadav fought Hindutva by deploying caste against a Monolithic Hindu identity. In an urban milieu like Delhi where caste is irrelevant, Hindutva is best fought by joining the debate who is the better Hindu? Is the humble muffler clad Hanuman bhakt Janaeus wear who swears by real development not a better Hindu than the saffron tilak, kalava wore people.

Conclusion

Definitely, the politics of AAP is transformational. The voter of Delhi have given more than two third majority of AAP and its supremo Arvind Kejriwal to provide a

corruption-free, charges free, tax free, welfare-oriented government and more freebies in future. He could not have imagined such kind of victory, he achieved, 67 or 62 out of 70 in two consecutive assembly elections just presence of BJP in Vidhan Sabha and none for the Congress which ruled the state consecutively for 15 years.

The verdict is decidedly against the BJP's vituperative campaign and Kejriwal's positive campaign with future vision. The landslide victory casts a heavy responsibility on the AAP. It sought the people's mandate promising freebies will continue and, in addition pollution free Delhi, clean Yamuna river and Delhi, develop like a Tokyo, London and Singapore model.

References

- (1) Singh, Harjinder.(2014) AAP and Changing contours of Indian Politics, Third Concept, Vol. 28, No. 325 (March 2014), PP. 29, 30.
- (2) Biju, M.r. (2015) Political Significance of Aam Admi Party (AAP) and its performance in Delhi Poll 2015, Mainstream, Vol. LIII, No. 10, P. 14.
- (3) Fernandes, Denzil. (2015) AAP's Fairytale Political Journey, Main Stream, Vol. LIII, No. 10, P. 10.
- (4) Rajimwale, Anil. (2015). AAP Victory Disrupts BJP Advance, Mainstream, Vol. LIII, No. 10, P. 12.
- (5) Gatade, Subhash. (2014) Namo Versus. AK, Mainstream, Vol. LII, No. 21. P. 11.
- (6) Pandey, Akhilesh. (2019) Uncertain Advantage. Frontline, P. 30.
- (7) Ramakrishnan, Venkitesh. (2020) Winning Formula. Frontline, P. 5.
- (8) Kidwai Rasheed. "Congress, regional Parties not on same Page," The Tribune, 13 February, 2020, P. 09.
- (9) Bhagat Chetan, "Making AAP National Again," The Times of India, February 15, 2020, P. 14.
- (10) Chanakya: Kejriwal: from Disruptor to Delhi's Leader, The Hindustan Time, February 16, 2020, P. 10.
- (11) Sardesai, Rajdeep. "Can Arvind Kejriwal go National?" Hindustan Times. February 13, 2020, P. 08.
- (12) Deka, Kaushik, (2020) V for Vikas, Aap's Landslide Victory Delhi Proves that even in a Polarised Environment, Development is a Credible Bet in Elections, India Today, February 24, 2020, P. 37.
- (13) Shivshankar Rahul, "Beating BJP at its own game: AAP'S ideological Flexibility has delivered Delhi, but is it really a strength"? The Times Of

India, February 13, 2020, P. 10.

- (14) Tripathi, S Purnima, (2020) "Politics of work, FRONTLINE", February 28, P. 18.
- (15) Dey Abhishek, "Memes to Songs: How AAP kept inbox abuzz" The Hindustan Times, February 13, 2020. P. 09.
- (16) Chowdhury Neerja, "AAP LOOKS Set to take off" The Tribune, 14 February, 2020, P. 08.
- (17) Shekhar Shashi, "How women are shaping Political outcomes in India" The Hindustan Times, February 18, 2020, P. 08.
- (18) Jerath R Arati. "Rejecting Hindustan", The Tribune, 19 February. 2020. P. 08.
- (19) Hazra, Indrajit. "President' Modi In A Federal India?" The Times of India. February 13, 2020, P. 10.
- (20) Dutt Anonna and Sweta Goswami, "Welfare Schemes Key to AAP's Poll Performance" The Hindustan Times, February 13, 2020, P. 09.
- (21) Gadgil, Madhav, "A tale of two development models," The Hindustan Times, February 19, 2020, P. 08.
- (22) Mohan Vibhor, "Win enthuses AAP leaders in Pb, but rough road ahead," The Times of India, February 12, 2020. P. 4.
- (23) Sinha, Shakti, "How the AAP won, with some help from the BJP," The Hindustan Times, February 13, 2020. P. 08.
- (24) Editorial, "Delhi Vision 2025," The Times of India, February 13, 2020. P. 10.
- (25) Apoor Vanand, "Trying time for Delhi's composite life", The Sunday Tribune. 16 February 2020. P. 08.
- (26) H.T. Correspondent, "Third time CM, Kejriwal Vows development for all," The Hindustan Times. February 17, 2020. P. 1.
- (27) TNS Agencies, "Kejri Signals AAP's widening Foot Print," The Tribune, February 17, 2020. P.1.
- (28) Jeelani Gulam, "The cut and thrust of Battle," (2020) India Today. February 17, 6.
- (29) Desai Santosh, "Victory of the Gnat" The Times of India. February, 12, 2020, P. 10.
- (30) Editorial, "AAP Landslide," The Times of India, February 12, 2020, P. 10.
- (31) Gupta Suchandana, "Start of rejection of BJP by Country"; The Times of India, February 12, 2020, P. 1.

- (32) Suraiya Jug. "AAP, and away." *The Times of India*, February 12, 2020, P. 10.
- (33) Mehta Nalin, "AAP's Delhi win a thumbs-up for school, bijli, Paani model of Politics but not necessarily a repudiation of CAA," *The Times Of India*, February 12, 2020, P. 10.
- (34) Raja Lakshmi T.K. (2020) "Vote for Performance". *Frontline*, PP. 11, 12.
- (35) Tripathi S. Purnima, "Hate and Perish," 2020 *Frontline*, February 28, P. 14.
- (36) Sharma Vibha, "What Next for Hindustan-nationalism polarisation," *The Sunday Tribune*, 16 February 2020, P. 08.
- (37) Ramakrishnan Venkitesh, "Winning Formula," *Frontline*, February 28, 2020, P. 8.
- (38) Singh Sat, "Winning Candidates of AAP have Haryana roots," *The Times of India*, February 12, 2020, P. 4.

Conceptual Framework of HRD Practices in Public Sector Undertakings in Himachal Pradesh

**L R Verma
Charan Singh**

Introduction

Himachal is situated in the heart of the Western Himalayas. It was called Dev Bhumi (the Abode of Gods) by the ancients. To its north lies the state of Jammu & Kashmir whereas Uttarakhand is in the south east. With Haryana on the south and Punjab on the west, in the east it forms India's border with Tibet. It is located between 30°.22' and 33°. 12' north latitude and between 75° 47' and 79° 4' east longitude. The territory is almost wholly mountainous with altitudes ranging between 350 to 7000 meters above the sea level.¹

Himachal Pradesh State with a total geographical area of 0.56 lakh sqkm and as per census 2011 has a population of 68.57 lakh accounts for 1.7% and 0.56% of country's area and population respectively. The population density is 123 and 89.98% of State's population resides in the rural areas. There are 2.82 lakh BPL families as per the GoHP survey (2002-07). Taking an average family size of five (5) the percentage of Poverty works out to 23.87. The percentage contribution of Agriculture and Allied sectors in the total State Gross Domestic Product in HP has declined over last few decades (i.e. from 57.90% (1950-51) to 55.50% (1967-68) to 26.50% (1990-91) to 16.3% in 2010-11).

The state with its capital at Shimla has presently 12 districts with Hamirpur as the smallest and Lahaul & Spiti as the largest district. There are 58 sub-divisions, 120 Tehsils and Sub-Tehsils in the State. Himachal Pradesh is divided into 77 development blocks. The smallest unit for development-cum-administration is Panchayat. There are 3037 Panchayats in the State.

The state has total road length of 33,325 km; however, only 46.28 percent of the villages are connected by the roads. The water transport services are virtually non-existent in the State. Rail network is quite negligible in the State. There is only 20

*Prof. L R Verma, Department of Public Administration, ICDEOL, HPU, Shimla
Charan Singh, Research Scholar, Department of Public Administration, ICDEOL, HPU, Shimla*

Km. long broadgauge rail line from Nangal in Punjab to Una and two narrow gauge lines from Kalka to Shimla and Pathankot to Jogindernagar. There are three air strips in the state located at Jubbar hatti in Shimla, Bhuntarin Kullu and Gaggal in Kangra. These airports, however, are small and only small planes can land/take off from these strips.²

The idea of Human Resource Development (HRD) can be traced back to the ancient times. 'Kautilya' provides a systematic treatment of management of human resources as early as 4th Century B.C. In the third section of his treatise titled "Arthashastra", has described that there prevailed logical procedures and principles in respect of labour organizations such as Shreni or guild system and cooperative sector. The wages were paid strictly in terms of quantity and quality of work turned out and punishment were imposed for unnecessary delaying the work or spoiling it. The government used to take active interest in the operation of both public and private sector enterprise and provided well-enunciated procedures to regulate employer-employee relationship.³ As Shama Shastri, points out; Kautilya provides an excellent discussion of staffing and personnel management embracing job descriptions, qualifications for job, selection procedures, executive development, and performance evaluation.⁴

From the 14th Century B.C. to the latter half of the 10th century A.D. the relationship between the employer and employees marked by justice and equity. The above conditions prevailed till the enactment of the Factory Act of 1981.⁵

However, the concept of HRD as we understand today is not very old. The term came into use only in the early seventies. In 1969 it was used in Maimi at the American Society for Training and Development Conference. But by the middle of 1970s it was gaining more acceptance, but was being used by many as merely as more attractive term than Training and Development. In the opinion of some management thinkers Japan is the first country to stress and use HRD practices. 'Better People' not merely better technology the surest way to a 'Better Society' is in the most popular belief in Japan.

According to Prof. Udai Pareek, as far as India is concerned, the term HRD was introduced for the first time in the state bank of India in 1972. It is believed that HRD has not been imported in India. It is a philosophical value concept developed by Dr. Udai Pareek and Dr. T.V. Rao at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad. By the late seventies, this professional outlook on HRD spread to a few public organizations. In BHEL, this concept was introduced in 1980. Similarly, it was also introduced in SAIL, Maruti Udyog Ltd, Indian Airlines and TISCO.

Even while introducing HRD, many organizations were under the impression that it was nothing but "Training and Development" concept. Certain companies start renaming their Training and Development departments, as HRD Departments and some have created new departments. Later some other personnel management functions like Performance appraisal, Potential appraisal, Career Planning and

Development, Feedback and Counseling, Organization Development and Data Storage System were included as sub-systems of HRD.

The role of Indian Institute of Management, Ahmadabad, Centre for HRD at Xavier Labour Relations Institute, Jamshedpur, India society at New Delhi and some individual researchers are important in carrying the HRD Movement forward in India. Today most of the larger public and private sector organizations in India are using the techniques and approaches of HRD to develop their employees for the achievement of organizational goals with individual satisfaction and growth. HRD has now become a national issue and the ministry of HRD is expected to mobilize the human potential of the country. Human resource hold a key position in scheme of economic development in any country because the development process is the sum total of our productive efforts guided, managed and executed through our human resource. The construction and fall of world civilization in every era depends on human being. According to scripture it is true that the 'God of Heaven' has created this earth, then it is also true that the existence of this world and changed structure depends on the God of this earth, who is no doubt a human being. To demolish and reconstruct our two artistic activities of human. Man is the author and hero of the world history. So human resource holds a key position in the economic development of the country, because the real strength of the country lay in the development of human and mind.⁶

Concept of Human Resources Development

Business and industry today are confronted with an ever-increasing diversity of technology, products and processes, concern for profitability and growth. A great deal of time, thought and attention goes into a review of the tangible resources such as machines and materials but the most important resource is the human resource which is the most neglected one. Employees are frequently thought of as just numbers an expense head where costs need to be contained. This is a strategy in balance if we consider that the human element is the one common denominator for all fields of endeavor. It is this element that finally determines the long term success or failure of an enterprise. It is time for use to shed the traditional bias in this area and correct the imbalance by-giving the human resource the importance that it deserves. Thus result can be achieved through people and it is the human resources which hold the key to sustained profitability, growth and development.

Human resource development is a process by which the employees of an organization are helped in a continuous planned way to:

1. Acquire or sharpen capabilities requires to perform various functions associated with their present or expected future roles:
2. Discover their general capabilities as individuals and exploit their own inner potentials for their own and or organizational development purposes.
3. Develop an organizational culture in which superior subordinate relationships.

4. Teamwork and collaboration among sub units are strong and contribute to professional wellbeing, motivation and pride of employees.

Based on practice, the concept of HRD embraces the following:

1. Establishing and maintaining a healthy, productive work culture.
2. Manpower planning for ensuring optimum utilization of human resources.
3. Review of the organization structure to adapt it to changing needs.
4. Training and development to prepare employees for the new technologies and higher levels of operation aimed at consistent incremental improvement in performance.
5. Improving level of motivation in the organization.
6. Improvement in work practices and higher flexibility of work arrangement.
7. Attention to systems, rules, and procedures with focus on results.
8. Maintaining harmonious industrial relations.
9. Strengthening of participative and safety systems.⁷

What is HRD?

The essence of human resource development is to bring out the best in man. To bring out the best in man means the best performance of the working force at all levels in the jobs they hold. Human resource development as such may be defined a development of people of providing the right environment where the individual may grow to his fullest structure and realizes his fullest potentialities.

References

1. Mian Goverdhan Singh, Himachal Pradesh: History, Culture, & Economy, Minerva Publishers & Distributors, Shimla, 2010, p.1.
2. NABARD State Focus Paper 2012-2017, SDA Complex Kasumpti, Shimla.
3. Kautilya, Arthashashtra translated by Shama Shastri, Shree Raghuvver Printing Press, Mysore, 1956.
4. ShamaShastri, "Kautilya and Management", Indian Management, July, 1977, pp. 3-9.
5. P. Ghose and S. Nath, Labour Relations in India, Sudha Publications, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 4-5.
6. Santosh Gupta and Sachin Gupta, Human Resource Development: Concepts and Practices, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, p. 34.
7. V.D. Dudeja, "Human Resource Development", Global Perspective, Common Wealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 8-9.

World of Virtual Currencies

Puneet Bhushan
Yashwant Gupta

ABSTRACT

Virtual Currency or **Cryptocurrency** is a currency that is not protected by governmental regulations or law, making it impervious to government interference. The first cryptocurrency created, and the most widely used, is **Bitcoin**. The two most appealing factors that make bitcoins popular are its low transaction costs and its anonymity. On the contrary, these two factors are not necessarily what the average consumer demands in an established currency hence making the Bitcoin too complicated and unsafe for mainstream use. As Bitcoin is the most widely known and used cryptocurrency in the world, the subject matter of this paper will largely focus on Bitcoin.

Introduction

Money is one of the most valuable and sought after commodities in the world, affecting people in almost every facet of their life. Money has had many forms in human history with the oldest form of money being bartering. In today's economy, the main source of money is fiat money, a legal tender protected by a government using regulations and laws that creates the much-needed trust in money and thus creates its value. Fiat money is supplied by a country's central bank, which maintains the stability and supply of currency through its monetary policy. Innovations in money have made it possible to make transactions using private digital currency without any interference from any financial institutions such as a bank or from the Government, giving rise to a new form of currency known as the cryptocurrency. Crypto currency is a form of internet currency often called digital

Dr. Puneet Bhushan, Assistant Professor, Himachal Pradesh University Business School, Himachal Pradesh University, Summerhill, Shimla-5.

Prof. Yashwant Gupta, Himachal Pradesh University Business School, Himachal Pradesh University, Summerhill, Shimla-5.

money or cyber currency. These digital currencies use peer-to-peer networks and software with freely available source code to redistribute and modify the currency.

The first cryptocurrency created was Bitcoin. Bitcoin was created by a developer, or a team of developers, under the name of “Satoshi Nakamoto”. It has emerged as the most successful cryptocurrency since its appearance back in 2009. Within two years of its quiet launch in 2009, Bitcoin grew to comprise billions of dollars of economic value. It is a fully decentralized currency. Bitcoins have value because their supply is limited and they are in demand because of their low transaction costs, anonymity, investment possibilities and possibilities for use in illegal activities such as theft, money laundering and tax evasion.

The creator's original motivation behind Bitcoin was to develop a cash-like payment system that permitted electronic transactions but that also included many of the advantageous characteristics of physical cash. In this process, the creator faced the fundamental challenge of how to establish and transfer digital property rights of a monetary unit without a central authority. The creator solved this challenge by using the technique of Blockchain.

Bitcoin is currently the most widely used digital currency. This paper will therefore, provide an introduction about the technology underlying the working of bitcoins, the technique of creating and generating Bitcoins, the security that entails them, their value and usage, and their future outlook.

Storage and Transfer of Bitcoins

A novel technology that allows storage and transfer of a monetary unit without the need of a central authority, similar to cash, is called a Block Chain. A block chain is a chain of blocks that contains information. This technique was originally described in 1991 by a group of researchers with the intention to timestamp digital documents so that it was not possible to backdate them or tamper with them. However, it went mostly unused until it was adopted in 2009 by Satoshi Nakamoto to create Bitcoins.

A Block chain is a continuously growing list of records, called blocks, which are linked and secured using cryptography. A block is a distributed ledger which is open to all. Any data saved in a block chain is very difficult to change. The data stored inside a block depends upon the type of block chain, for instance, the bitcoin block chain stores details about the transaction, such as the sender, receiver and the amount of coins sent or received. A block also has a hash, which is similar to a fingerprint which identifies the block and all of its contents; hash of each block is unique. Therefore, each block contains some data, hash of that particular block and hash of the previous block. Once a block is created its hash is calculated, changing something inside the block will result in change of its hash. Hashes are very useful in detecting changes to the block chain.

Another important system which does not allow tampering with block chains is the Proof of work. It is a mechanism that slows down the creation of new blocks. In

Bitcoin's case, it takes ten minutes to calculate the required proof of work and add a new block to the chain. This makes it difficult to tamper with the chain because on making changes even to one block you need to recalculate the proof of work for all the other blocks in the chain. Therefore, the security of block chains comes from its creative use of hashing and the proof of work mechanism. However, there is one more way the block chains secure themselves that is by being distributed. Instead of using a single entity to manage block chains, it uses a Peer-to-Peer network and everyone is allowed to join. Peers are the nodes in the network who are equally privileged and powerful. When someone joins this network he gets a full copy of the block chain, the person can use this to verify that everything is in order. If a block is to be added to the chain, it is communicated to all the nodes and only after proper verification and checking the addition is made to the chain. Nodes, after a consensus, agree upon which blocks are valid and which are not. Blocks which are tampered with, are rejected.

This consensus mechanism is the core innovation of the Bitcoin system and allows consensus to be reached on a larger scale and in the absence of any personal relations. Bitcoin is stored entirely in the block chain. Owners of Bitcoins use digital “wallets” to keep track of their own balance and for transaction purposes.

Generation of Bitcoins

Bitcoins can be generated or created through a process called Mining, which involves computing complex algorithm with increased difficulty over time, making it more expensive and resource intensive.

Mining cryptocurrency is done using a computer. Powerful mining computers are required to mine cryptocurrency effectively but the complexity of the algorithm means that the CPU will consume many resources. Every time someone successfully solves a block and mines a coin, a new hash is created. Bitcoins rely on hash functions. Over time, less and less Bitcoin will be supplied from mining, while the algorithm becomes more complex. The mining process will keep increasing in difficulty and as the data chunks become larger and processing it becomes more difficult, the resources used and cost will increase while the rewards diminish. The supply of Bitcoins is fixed and the rewards have been programmed to halve every four years.

Thus, the mining process becomes less profitable as time goes on and the supply of Bitcoin slows down. Unless an individual has a specifically designed mining computer, the cost of mining a hash is more than the price of the Bitcoin. Basically, mining is a contest. Multiple miners are all working at the same time to find a hash. Computational problems that have been solved by miners are a certain “proof” that verifies that a certain miner has successfully mined a block. Eventually a limit has been put on the total supply of Bitcoins. As we know that Bitcoins are limited in number, Bitcoins will stop being created when the total number reaches 21 billion coins, which will be sometime around the year 2040. As of 2017, more than half of those bitcoins had been created.

Value of Bitcoins

One of the biggest problems with digital currency is that bits are easy to create and reproduce on computers. For a currency to work in an economy it must be extremely hard to reproduce. Bitcoin has value in peer-to-peer networks and solves the problem of easy reproduction.

Bitcoins have value because their supply is limited and they are in demand because of their low transaction costs, anonymity, investment possibilities and possibilities for use in illegal activities such as theft, money laundering and tax evasion. Bitcoins also have value because transferring money digitally is very cheap and instantaneous and it bypasses government interference. The price of Bitcoins is very volatile, which has captured the interest of some investors. Demand for the currency also comes from people wishing to spend money on black markets, utilizing the anonymity of Bitcoins.

A single bitcoin varies in value daily. One can check places like [Coindesk](#) (Bitcoin Exchange) to see the present day value of Bitcoin.

Safety and Security Considerations

As mentioned before it becomes progressively harder to mine Bitcoins over time and it slowly becomes less profitable. Miners have tried to overcome this by pooling their resource together, producing a synergy to increase computational power and share the bigger rewards. Theoretically, by pooling together resources like this an entity with enough computing power could control the majority of the mining and in doing so take control of the network and then have the ability to manipulate the block chain. This makes it possible to reverse transactions and spend the same Bitcoins multiple times. The developers of the Bitcoin protocol however have mitigated this problem but it is still a legitimate concern for Bitcoin.

As this digital currency is designed to be decentralized to prevent any kind of interference, it also does not have the safety guarantee that fiat currency has. When Mt. Gox (Bitcoin Exchange) fell, there was no entity or financial regulator that came to its rescue. The money was all gone with no way of getting it back or to get any kind of support. This indicates a glaring problem with Bitcoin and cryptocurrency there is no insurance or guarantee after a loss and there is a big danger of code-based attacks or other kind of attacks as people get increased knowledge of coding and computer technology.

Using Bitcoins

People use virtual currencies every day, for example credit card reward points and online video game currencies. It is the decentralized peer-to-peer function of Bitcoin that identifies it uniquely. Bitcoins have some advantages and disadvantages for it to be used as an established currency. Bitcoin protects itself from a country's economic instability or issues such as political unrest. Despite this, the price of Bitcoins is very volatile and if most organizations decided to actively

use Bitcoins in their daily business, the demand for virtual currency would create an imbalance in supply and demand, further increasing price volatility. Moreover, for corporations and organizations who wish to make transactions using bitcoins, any amount of volatility is unacceptable. Virtual currencies also lack liquidity to the point that it would be very hard to use it as an alternative to fiat currencies. The decentralization which is one of the core designs of the currency, limits options for corporations when looking to transact. This will increase the cost of transaction as more time and resources will be required by for each transaction and the lack of security that comes with decentralization is also a huge risk. Also, Central banks around the world have warned consumers on other risks that come with the currency such as lack of consumer protection and high price fluctuations.

Investments in Bitcoins

In 2013, the price of Bitcoin grew exponentially and the media reported many stories of people getting very wealthy due to Bitcoin investments. Although people were getting wealthy, the daily returns were accompanied by large risks. Generally, Bitcoins are considered as an ill-liquid financial asset and as a financial tool, Bitcoin is considered risky and volatile to be a core asset. However, its unique design implies that it is hardly affected by economic unrest.

Investing in bitcoins is a purely personal decision, but the following table lays out the pros and cons of investing in Bitcoins.

YES	NO
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reward on investment and Bitcoin has been going up ever since it has been created and is still growing strong every day.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Transactions once made cannot be reversed.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bitcoin is scarce- scarcer the object, more valuable it is.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Not recognized by all nations.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Simpler, cheaper and easier transactions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hackers have attacked exchanged and stolen funds.

A glimpse into the future

In an age of credit cards, debit cards and online bank accounts the prospect of digital currency is not as conflicting as it might sound. Transferring money digitally is very convenient, instantaneous and cheap. However, Bitcoin seems to be too complicated and unsafe for mainstream use. For it to work as an established currency, there would inevitably be a need for increase in regulation and consumer protection which in turn will increase Bitcoins transaction costs and reduce the anonymity, its two biggest appealing factors. It is thus unlikely that much demand for Bitcoin will come from anyone apart from investors looking to diversify their portfolio, customers with an interest in cryptocurrencies and customers looking to

transact anonymously on the black market. It has to be more convenient, safer and accepted by merchants worldwide for it to be successful.

Conclusion

Money is one of the most valuable and sought after commodities in the world, affecting people in almost every facet of their life. One of the most controversial innovations in this field are cryptocurrencies.

As the currency is decentralized, there is very little consumer protection, stolen Bitcoins are lost forever and Bitcoins are highly susceptible to code-based attacks. The price is very volatile and thus it is highly risky to hold on too many Bitcoins. Therefore, Bitcoin is unlikely to catch on as an official currency for the public as it has too many faults and has too many risks whereas its strengths are necessarily not something that the general public desires in an established currency. It has to be more convenient, safer and accepted by merchants worldwide for it to be successful.

The technologies that come with Bitcoin have many mainstream applications and it is possible that some kind of implementation of cryptocurrency's technology and mobile-based payment system integration could be the future of mainstream payment systems. It will be exciting to see the future technological innovations in currency and payment systems and although Bitcoin will most likely not be a largely popular established currency in the future, its technology will surely have widespread future implications.

References

<https://www.howtogeek.com/141374/htg-explains-what-is-bitcoin-and-how-does-it-work/>

<https://bitcoin.org/en/how-it-works>

<https://www.newgenapps.com/blog/impact-of-bitcoins-on-the-economy-banks-finance>

<https://www.bitcoinzar.co.za/how-to-invest-in-bitcoin-in-south-africa/>

<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/wealth/invest/7-reasons-why-you-should-not-invest-in-bitcoins-cryptocurrencies/articleshow/60891341.cms>

<https://www.lifewire.com/what-are-bitcoins-2483146>

<https://www.coindesk.com/price/>

<https://www.quora.com/Why-is-there-a-limited-amount-of-bitcoin-available>

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bitcoin>

Organizational Commitment: A Comparative Study of Public and Private Sector Bank

**Purnima Gupta
Yashwant Kumar Gupta**

ABSTRACT

The competition of procuring and retaining the best employees in the organization has increased over the years leading to the concerns for the management over organizational commitment of the employees. Banking sector is also not untouched with this scenario. Banking, being a service sector, is very much dependent upon its human resources and thus its employees play an important part in the development of this sector. This study makes a comparative analysis of the organizational commitment of the public and private sector bank employees of Himachal Pradesh. A sample of employees working in the public sector banks and private sector banks in Himachal Pradesh has been taken for the present study. Stratified Random Sampling was used for this study. The findings of the study suggest that the banking organisations should adopt certain strategies to improve the Organisational Commitment of the employees so that they get more motivated and attached to their organisation which would ultimately lead to increased productivity and effectiveness.

Keywords: organizational commitment, affective commitment, normative commitment, continuance commitment, banking

Introduction

The quest to seriously conceptualize the concept of organizational commitment and thereby its antecedents and consequences started in the year 1960. Commitment

***Purnima Gupta**, Research Scholar, Himachal Pradesh University Business School, Shimla
Email : purnima.15g@gmail.com*

***Dr. Yashwant Kumar Gupta**, Professor, Himachal Pradesh University Business School, Shimla
Email: gupta_yashwant1@rediffmail.com*

was initially defined and studied as a unidimensional construct tied either to one's emotional attachment to an organization (Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulian, 1974) or to the costs associated with exit (Becker, 1960).

Meyer and Allen (1990) introduced organizational commitment as a multi-dimensional concept having three dimensions namely affective commitment, continuance commitment and normative commitment.

Allen and Meyer refer to affective commitment as the employee's 'emotional' attachment to, identification with and involvement in the organization. Affective commitment involves three aspects; the formation of an emotional attachment to an organization, identification with and the desire to maintain organizational membership. Continuance Commitment dimension of organizational commitment based on Becker's side-bet theory. The employees are committed to the organization because they have some hidden vested investments or side-bets. Here side-bets or investment (e.g. time, effort, money etc.) is anything which is of value to the person concerned. The theory states that as individuals remain in the employment of an organization for longer periods, they accumulate 'investments' which become costly to lose the longer an individual stays. Normative Commitment reflects a feeling of 'obligation' to continue employment. It is also described as behaviour that are socially acceptable that exceed formal authority (Wiener & Gechman, 1977) or the moral obligation to stay with the company (Marsh et.al., 1977). Employees with a high level of normative commitment feel they ought to remain with the organization,

Commitment to an organization, as we have been lead to believe, is not exclusively a function of the attributes of the organization or its executive constellation. It is a function of the larger culture. The larger culture will either support or negate support of the activities associated with commitment.

Review of Literature

M. Manibannan et.al. (2016) studied the organizational commitment of bank employees through affective, continuance, and normative commitment. The sample included 200 employees of public and private sector banks in the Cuddalore district of Tamil Nadu. The author found that there was a significant difference between the overall organizational commitment and age group of the employees. It was found that in overall organizational commitment was at a high level in the age group of 41 to 50 years but the affective commitment and continuance commitment was found to be at a high level in the age group of 21-30 years. The author suggested that organizational commitment makes positive thought on bank employees and thus employees do their jobs in a better manner.

Allen et.al. (1990) conducted a study to test aspects of a three-component model of commitment which integrates various conceptualizations. The Affective

commitment component of organizational commitment, as proposed by the model, refers to employees' emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in, the organization. The Continuance commitment component refers to commitment based on the costs that employees associate with leaving the organization. The Normative commitment component refers to employees' feelings of obligation to remain with the organization.

Angle et.al. (1981) attempted to analyze the relationship between the organizational commitment of lower-level employees on organizational effectiveness in organizations offering bus services. Their findings suggested that organizational commitment was found to be associated with organizational adaptability, turnover, and tardiness rate, but not with operating costs or absenteeism.

Need of the Study

Banking is a service industry and is constantly changing. Mainly the human resources of a bank are responsible for the kind of services provided to the customers and hence are considered as the most valuable resources of the organisations. Banking sector has undergone many reforms since 1990. Now, it is highly competitive and market oriented sector wherein technology is changing rapidly. In the present scenario the concerned areas of banking industry are improving profitability, more productivity, more business per employee and more customer satisfaction. So, each and every action has been taken to enable survival of the banks in globally competitive scenario which results in increase in stress level of employees. The HR departments require constructing strategies to improve the commitment level of employees which automatically reduce the stress level, increase job satisfaction, and improve the efficiency and productivity of the employees.

Objectives of the Study

- ☐ To study the level of organizational commitment among employees of public and private sector banks.
- ☐ To measure the difference between public and private sector bank employees on organizational commitment.
- ☐ To measure the difference between public and private sector bank managers on affective commitment, continuance commitment, and normative commitment.
- ☐ To assess the difference between clerks, officers and managers on organizational commitment.

Research Methodology

Participants

The present study is confined to the employees of public sector and private sector banks in Himachal Pradesh. Stratified Random Sampling has been used for the study. Three major categories of employees i.e. Managers, Officers and Clerks have been taken from the public sector banks and only managers and officers from private sector banks have been taken because the private sector banks do not have clerical staff.

Measurement Instrument

Primary data required for the study has been collected with the help of standardised structured questionnaire. The measurement instrument used for this purpose was based on the scale developed by Allen and Meyer in 1990. It is based on twenty four statements under three components i.e. Affective Commitment, Normative Commitment, and Continuance Commitment (each component contains 8 statements). The responses were collected on a five point Likert scale of “strongly disagree”, “disagree”, “neutral”, “agree”, and “strongly agree”.

Hypothesis:-

Ho1: There is no significant difference between overall affective commitment of private and public Bank.

Ho2: There is no significant difference between overall continuance commitment of private and public Bank.

Ho3: There is no significant difference between overall normative commitment of private and public Bank.

Ho4: The organizational commitment of public sector bank employees is more than the private sector bank employees.

Analysis And Interpretation

Sample:

The survey was carried in four commercial banks. A stratified random sampling was used. Total of 500 questionnaires were distributed to the respondents. However, only 420 questionnaires were returned and analysed. Thus, the present study has a sample of 420 employees working in public sector banks and private sector banks in Shimla district of Himachal Pradesh. As prescribed in table 1, about 62.9 percent of respondents are working in public sector banks i.e. State Bank of India and Punjab National Bank and 37.1 percent respondents are working in private banks i.e. HDFC Bank and ICICI Bank. It can be also seen in the Table that the total sample comprises of 300 (71.4%) male and 120 (28.6%) female respondents. Considering the job level of the respondents, about 22.9% are under

clerical category, 34.5 under officer and 42.6 under the managerial category.

Attribute	Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	300	71.4
	Female	120	28.6
	Total	420	100
Age	20-30	204	48.6
	31-40	145	34.5
	41-50	31	7.4
	More than 50	40	9.5
	Total	420	100
Type of Bank	Public Sector Bank	264	62.9
	Private Sector Bank	156	37.1
	Total	420	100
Designation	Clerical	96	22.9
	Officer	145	34.5
	Managerial	179	42.6
	Total	420	100
Educational Qualification	Non-graduate	16	3.8
	Graduate	198	47.1
	Post-graduate	199	47.4
	Others	7	1.7
	Total	420	100
Length of Service	0-10	256	61.0
	11-20	115	27.4
	21-30	27	6.4
	More than 30	22	5.2
	Total	420	100
Salary	Below 5 Lakhs	202	48.1
	5-10 Lakhs	147	35.0
	10-12 Lakhs	57	13.6
	Above 12 Lakhs	14	3.3
	Total	420	100

Table 1: Sample Profile of the Respondents

Source: Primary Data

Table 1: Analysis

Characteristics		Type of Banks			
		Public Sector Banks		Private Sector Banks	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	185	70.1	115	73.7
	Female	79	29.9	41	26.3
	Total	264	100	156	100
Age	20-30	103	39	101	64.7
	31-40	95	36	50	32.1
	41-50	26	9.8	5	3.2
	More than 50	40	15.2	0	0
	Total	264	100	156	100

Designation	Clerical	96	36.4	0	0
	Officer	50	18.9	95	60.9
	Managerial	118	44.7	61	39.1
	Total	264	100	156	100
Educational Qualification	Non-graduate	16	6.1	0	0
	Graduate	127	48.1	71	45.5
	Post-graduate	115	43.6	84	53.8
	Others	6	2.3	1	0.6
	Total	264	100	156	100
Length of Service	0-10	129	48.9	127	81.4
	11-20	88	33.3	27	17.3
	21-30	25	9.5	2	1.3
	More than 30	22	8.3	0	0
	Total	264	100	156	100
Salary	Below 5 Lakhs	94	35.6	108	69.2
	5-10 Lakhs	112	42.4	35	22.4
	10-12 Lakhs	48	18.2	9	5.8
	Above 12 Lakhs	10	3.8	4	2.6
	Total	264	100	156	100

Table 2 Comparative Analysis of Demographic Profile of the respondents from Public Sector Banks & Private Sector Banks Source: Primary Data

Table 2 shows a comparative analysis of the demographic profile of respondents from public sector banks and private sector banks. This profile is based on various demographics such as gender, age, designation, educational qualification, length of service and salary of the employees. It marks a stark comparison that the percentage of male as well as female employees is a bit more than the private sector banks. In terms of age, there are employees in varied age groups in public sector banks but in comparison to private sector banks, there aren't any respondents in the age group of More than 50 which corresponds to the fact that private sector banks have a population of respondents of much younger age group as compared to the public sector banks. In terms of experience or length of service, there seems more experienced employees in the public sector banks. The salary attribute shows that the public sector employees have a pretty much handsome salary in comparison to their private sector counterparts.

Data Analysis:

Data analysis procedures chosen for this research are based on their applicability to the exploratory nature of the research design. Descriptive and inferential statistics are used to analyze the data. The analysis was conducted using the statistical

software program SPSS 20. Further, additional analyses to determine if there are any statistically significant differences in the mean scores for affective, continuance, and normative commitment based on the type of bank i.e public sector bank or private sector bank. This analysis includes Independent sample t-test.

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Affective Commitment	420	3.7321	0.61491
Continuance Commitment	420	3.2560	0.65864
Normative Commitment	420	3.3735	0.49854
Organizational Commitment	420	3.4539	0.59070

Table 3 Overall Mean Score and Standard deviation for Organizational Commitment

The greatest mean score in organizational commitment dimensions is witnessed in the affective commitment dimension which signifies that the employees emotionally get attached to their organization. The greatest standard deviation score in the organizational commitment dimensions is for continuance commitment which is 0.65864. The standard deviation score for affective commitment is 0.61491 while the lowest standard deviation is shown by normative commitment. The overall standard deviation score of organizational commitment is 0.59070.

	Public Sector Banks			Private Sector Banks		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Affective Commitment	264	3.7955	0.61068	156	3.625	0.60907
Continuance Commitment	264	3.3949	0.67519	156	3.0208	0.55736
Normative Commitment	264	3.4247	0.49924	156	3.2869	0.48676
Organizational Commitment	264	3.5384	0.4289	156	3.3109	0.40644

Table 4 Mean Score and Standard Deviation for Organizational Commitment in Public Sector Vs Private Sector Banks

Table 4 shows the comparison of the mean score and standard deviation of public sector banks and private sector banks. The mean score of affective commitment is the highest in public sector as well as the private sector banks in comparison to the other two components of organizational commitment which means that the employees do get emotionally attached to their banks whether it's a public sector bank or a private sector bank. The results also show that all the mean scores for all the three components of organizational commitment i.e. affective, continuance and normative commitment is higher in public sector banks in comparison to the private sector banks.

Affective Commitment

Variable	Ownership of Bank	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-value	p-value
Affective Commitment	Public Sector Banks	264	3.7955	0.3758	2.769	0.006
	Private Sector Banks	156	3.6250	0.49956		
	Total	420	3.7102	0.43768		

Table 5 Independent Sample t-test for Affective Commitment

Table 5 shows the result of independent sample t-test of affective commitment in public sector banks and private sector banks. At 95% level of significance the t-value for affective commitment is 2.769 while the p-value stands at 0.006 which is significant. As the p-value is significant, the null hypothesis Ho1 i.e. there is no significant difference between overall affective commitment of private and public Bank is rejected.

Continuance Commitment

Variable	Ownership of Bank	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-value	p-value
Continuance Commitment	Public Sector Banks	264	3.3949	.67519	6.134	0.000
	Private Sector Banks	156	3.0208	.55736		
	Total	420	3.2079	0.6163		

Table 6 Independent Sample t-test for Continuance Commitment

Table 6 shows the result of independent sample t-test of continuance commitment in public sector banks and private sector banks. At 95% level of significance the t-value for continuance commitment is 6.134 while the p-value stands at 0.000 which is significant. As the p-value is significant, the null hypothesis Ho2 i.e. there is no significant difference between overall continuance commitment of private and public Bank is rejected.

Normative Commitment

Variable	Ownership of Bank	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-value	p-value
Normative Commitment	Public Sector Banks	264	3.4247	.49924	2.760	0.006
	Private Sector Banks	156	3.2869	.48676		
	Total	420	3.3558	0.4930		

Table 7 Independent Sample t-test for Normative Commitment

Table 7 shows the result of independent sample t-test of normative commitment in public sector banks and private sector banks. At 95% level of significance the t-value for normative commitment is 2.760 while the p-value stands at 0.006 which is significant. As the p-value is significant, the null hypothesis Ho3 i.e. there is no

significant difference between overall normative commitment of private and public Bank is rejected.

Organizational Commitment

Variable	Ownership of Bank	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-value	p-value
Organizational Commitment	Public Sector Banks	264	3.4247	.49924	2.760	0.006
	Private Sector Banks	156	3.2869	.48676		
	Total	420	3.355787	0.4930		

Table 8 Independent Sample t-test for Organizational Commitment

Table 8 shows the result of independent sample t-test of organizational commitment in public sector banks and private sector banks. At 95% level of significance the t-value for organizational commitment is 2.760 while the p-value stands at 0.006 which is significant. Also the table shows that the mean of organizational commitment in case of public sector banks is more than the private sector banks. Thus, the null hypothesis Ho4 i.e. The organizational commitment of public sector bank employees is more than the private sector bank employees is rejected.

Comparison of the findings to the Literature

Mittal S. & Mittal V. (2015) identified that there existed a difference between the organizational commitment and its components among the employees of public sector banks and private sector banks. Further it was found that the affective, continuance and normative commitment was higher in public sector employees than the private sector employees. Janonienė (2013) studied the difference between employees' organizational commitment for the differences between private and public sector in which it was found that there existed significant difference between the organizational commitment of public sector and private sector. All these studies conform to the results of the research paper which signifies that there are differences in the organizational commitment of banking employees in the public sector and private sector.

Conclusion & Discussion

This study while deriving the organizational commitment of employees of public sector banks and private sector banks revealed that there exists a sense of organizational commitment in employees irrespective of the background of their organization. It was found that the employees of both type of banking sector revealed some sort of psychological attachment to the organization in terms of all the components of organizational commitment as distinguished by Allen & Meyer. Most of the obtained results of the present study are in conformity with earlier findings. The results also revealed that the organizational commitment of public sector employees was more as compared to the employees of the private sector

banks. The results suggest that the employees working in public sector bank feel that their jobs are somewhat more secure and therefore feel a sense of belongingness a bit more than the private sector employees. The banking organisations should adopt the strategies to improve the organisational commitment of their employees continuously so that they work more efficiently, effectively and remain loyal towards their organisations.

References

- Affum Osei,E.; Acquaah, E. & Acheampong,P. (2015). Relationship between Organizational Commitment and Demographic Variables: Evidence from a Commercial Bank in Ghana. *American Journal of Industrial and Business Management*, 5, 769-778.
- Allen, N. J., & Meyer, J. P.(1990). The measurement and antecedents of affective, continuance and normative commitment to the organization. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 63, 1–18.
- Cohen, A. (2003). Multiple commitments in the workplace: An integrative approach. Mahwah, NJ; Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cohen, A. (2007). Commitment Before and after: An evaluation and reconceptualization of organizational commitment. *Human Resource Management Review* 17, pp. 336-354.
- Giedrė Genevičiūtė-Janonienė (2013). Employees'Organizational Commitment andEffort Propensity: The Difference between Private and Public Sector. *Social Transformations in Contemporary Society*, Vol. 1, pp 70-80.
- Huselid, M.A, & Day, N.E.(1991). Organizational Commitment, Job Involvement and Turnover: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis. Vol. 76 (3), pp 380-391.
- Kumari, Patiraj & Priya, Bhanu. (2017). Organizational Commitment: A Comparative Study of Public and Private Sector Bank Managers.
- Luthans, F., McCaul, H. S., and Dodd, N. G.(1985). Organizational commitment: A comparison of American, Japanese and Korean employees, *The Academy of Management Journal*, 28(1) 213.
- Meyer, J. P., Allen, N. J. and Smith, C. A.(1993). Commitment to organizations and occupations: Extension and test of a three-component conceptualization, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(4) 538.
- Mittal S. & Mittal V. (2015).Employee Commitment in Public and Private Banks in India. *International Journal of Business and Management*, Vol 10(11), 199-205.
- Mowday, R. T., Steers, R. M., & Porter, L. M. (1979). The measurement of organizational commitment. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 14, 224–247.

Porter, L. W., Steers, R. M., Mowday, R. T., & Boulian, P. V. (1974). Organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and turnover among psychiatric technicians. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 59 (5), 603-609.

Rabindarang, S. ; Bing, K.W. & Yin, K.Y. (2014). The Impact of Demographic Factors on Organizational Commitment. *Malaysian Journal of Research*, Vol.2, No.1, 56-61.

Suneja, A. & Swati (2015). A Study on Perception of Organizational Commitment among Banking Employees. *IOSR Journal of Business and Management (IOSR-JBM)*, e-ISSN: 2278-487X, p-ISSN: 2319-7668.15-19.

Võ Văn Việt (2015). Demographic Factors affecting Organizational Commitment of Lecturers. *VNU Journal of Science: Education Research*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 16-25.

A Comparative Study of Vocational Aspiration among Rural and Urban IX grade Students in Himachal Pradesh.

- Surender Kumar Sharma

ABSTRACT

Present Study has been done to know the vocational aspiration among rural and urban 9th grade students. Descriptive research design was used to accomplish the objective of the study. A sample of 200 students was taken from one district of Himachal Pradesh for the study. The investigator has used stratified random sampling technique and data was collected with the help of Occupational Aspiration Scale. T- Test was used for analysis of data. The finding of the study revealed that there is no significant difference between rural and urban IX grade students on vocational aspiration.

Keywords: Vocational Aspiration, Rural and Urban, IX grade Students.

Introduction

Vocational aspiration helps an individual to shape his career and plan for future how to earn his livelihood. One should make an intelligent choice of vocation. It should be according to the abilities, capacities, capabilities and potentialities of the students. Guidance services also help the individual to understand him and the world of work, which helps the individual to choose the right field from innumerable opportunities open to him. It has been rightly said that the choice of vocation is the most important thing in one's life and should not be left chance. Choosing the vocation, in reality is choosing a way of life. The better the way of life of people of nation, the better would be the fate of the nation.

Occupation may be viewed as organizations of social roles. They are positions to prove their skill, system of rights and duties, like and dislikes towards things and

activities of vocational significance. Occupations are sets of expectations as these are sometime specified in the job description of civil service or business and industrial concerns. These job specifications describe the actions expected of the worker and the actions which may expect from others with whom he is working.

When the word 'aspiration' has caught the world attention, the meaning of the term should also be clear. Many philosophers, educationists and psychologist have interpreted the word in different way but all agree the aspiration refer to a person's orientation towards goals mostly idealistic ones. The study attempts to find out whether the vocational aspiration of the ix grade students is influenced by their area of residence and sex difference.

Objectives

1. To compare the vocation aspiration of rural girls and urban girls of IX grade.
2. To compare the vocational aspiration of rural boys and urban boys of IX grade.

Hypotheses

1. There will be no significant difference between rural girls and urban girls of IX grade students on vocational aspiration.
2. There will be no significant difference between rural boys and urban boys of IX grade students on vocational aspiration.

Delimitation of the Study

1. The study was limited of IX grade students of government schools of district Shimla of Himachal Pradesh.
2. A sample of 200 IX grade students i.e., 100 urban and 100 rural was randomly selected for study.
3. The study was delimited to the variables of vocational aspiration, area of residence and sex difference only.

Design of the Study: Descriptive survey method of research was employed for the present paper. This method is concerned with surveying, describing and investigating the existing phenomenon or issues, conditions and relationship that exist.

Variables: In the present study Area of residence (urban and rural) and gender were treated as independent variables and Vocational Aspiration as the dependent variable.

Sample: In the present research paper the sample consisted of 100 urban and 100 rural IX class students studying in different Senior Secondary and High Schools of District Shimla were randomly selected.

Tool Used: In the present study Occupational Aspiration Scale was used which was constructed by Shabnam Randhawa under the supervision of Dr. Y.K. Sharma.

Statistical techniques used

To obtain the correct information from the data following techniques were used by the researcher: 1. the descriptive statistics like mean, standard deviation and standard error were used to ascertain the nature of distribution of the scores on vocational aspiration. 2. t- ratio was calculated to test the various hypotheses.

Testing of Hypotheses The results have been discussed in the light of the hypothesis of the study.

TABLE 1

Table showing significance of Difference in mean scores of Rural Girls and Urban Girls of IX Grade Students on Vocational Aspiration (108)

Groups	Number	Mean	S.D.	S.E.	df	t-ratio	Level of Sig.
R.G.	53	31.23	3.10	0.42	106	1.55	NS
U.G.	55	32.18	3.26	0.44			

R.G. Rural Girls, **U.G.-** Urban Girls, NS Not Significant ('t'-values to be significant at df 106 should exceed value of 1.98 at 0.5 level and 2.62 at 0.1 level).

Result on table 1: Table no. 1 indicates that 't' ratio between the mean scores of rural girls and urban girls of IX grade students on vocational aspiration is 1.55,'t' - to be significant should exceed 1.98 at .05 level and 2.62 at .01 level but since obtained 't' value is less than 1.98 and 2.62 at both .05 and .01 level, so it is not significant.

Discussion of results: It indicates that there is no significant difference between the mean score of rural girls and urban girls of IX grade students on vocational aspiration. Hence, hypothesis Ist stands accepted.

Table 2: Table showing significance of difference in mean scores of rural boys and urban boys of IX grade students on vocational aspiration (92)

Groups	Number	Mean	S.D.	S.E.	df	t-ratio	Level of Sig.
R.B.	47	30.34	3.33	0.48	90	1.48	NS
U.B.	45	31.40	3.53	0.52			

R.B. Rural Boys, **U.B.-** Urban Boys, NS Not Significant 't' -values to be significant at df 90 should exceed value of 1.99 at 0.5 level and 2.63 at 0.1 level).

Result on Table

Table no. 2 indicates that't' ratio between the mean scores of rural boys and urban boys of IX grade students on vocational aspiration is 1.48, 't' - to be significant

should exceed 1.99 at .05 level and 2.63 at .01 level but since obtained 't' value is less than 1.99 and 2.63 at both .05 and .01 level, so it is not significant.

Discussion of results: It indicates that there is no significant difference between the mean score of rural boys and urban boys of IX grade students on vocational aspiration. Hence, hypothesis II stands accepted.

Major findings and conclusions: The present study entitled as “A comparative study of vocational aspiration among rural and urban IX grade students in Himachal Pradesh.” For the convenience results have been presented one by one according to the objectives.

Conclusion-1 The first objective was to compare the vocational aspiration of rural girls and urban girls of IX grade. Table 1 indicates that t-ratio between mean scores of rural girls and urban girls on vocational aspiration are 1.55. As obtained 't' value is less than the table value at both .05 and .01 level of significance. So, it indicates that there exist no significant difference between rural girls and urban girls on vocational aspiration.

Conclusion-2 The Second objective was to compare the vocational aspiration of rural boys and urban boys of IX grade. Table 2 indicates that t-ratio between mean scores of rural boys and urban boys on vocational aspiration are 1.48. As obtained 't' value is less than the table value at both .05 and .01 level of significance. So, it indicates that there exist no significant difference between rural boys and urban boys on vocational aspiration.

Educational Implications

1. Proper vocational guidance should be given to the students on the basis of their capacities, abilities, interest and level of aspiration.
2. In these types of studies teacher can understand students ability and their level of aspiration. So they can suggest suitable options in which students can adjust themselves.
3. After knowing gender difference and its effect on vocational aspiration students can be guided to choose suitable vocation.
4. Students can be given proper guidance and counseling.
5. Students can make educational and social choices according to their level of aspiration.
6. Adequate vocational information should be provided in school. It will enable the pupils to know about the requirements of different occupation.

References:

- Aggrarwal, Rajin and Jyoti (1989), “influence of intelligence, sex and their interaction on different areas of vocational interest.” Government College P.G. Indore, Asian Journal of Psychology and Education, Vol. 22.No. 5-6, pp. 1-10.
- Bhatnagar, H (1982), “A study of occupational choice of Adolescent Girls and Factors influencing them”. Unpublished PH.D. Thesis Shimla H.P.

Coleman, C.S. (1985), "Career expectations and aspiration of male High School Seniors in the Republic of Korea". University of Southern California Dissertation Abstract, International, PP.3329-A.

Clonde, (2005), "The impact of an experimental university on the occupational and educational aspiration of adolescents". In Neuzulla Dissertation Abstract, International, 59, 01.81.

Das, D. G. (1991), "A Study of the educational and vocational aspiration level of the south Gujarat region: A cultural study". In Fifth Survey of Educational Research (1988-92) NCERT: New Delhi, 1997

Gutam, Vimlesh (1988), "An investigation into the educational and vocational interests of students at the delta stages and its implication for their future curricula" An Educational Abstract.

Intodia, S.L. (1993), "Vocational needs of tribal children of Rajasthan." The progress of Education. Vol. LXVII (8), 178-182. Indian Education Abstract Issue 3 July 1997. NCERT New Delhi.

Javed, Abdul Kureshi (1990), "A critical study of the vocational interests of the students of arts, science and commerce studying at graduation level in senior colleges in the rural areas". In fifth survey educational research (1988-92) NCERT: New Delhi.

Kaur, D. (1990), "Educational and vocational aspiration of students belonging to different socio-economic locales of Jammu division." In fifth survey of educational research () 1988-92) NCERT: New Delhi, 1997.

Lee, in Heok, Rojewski, Jaw W. (2014), "Journal of vocational Behavior." Vol.75 in P.82-90 Aug.2014.

Mahale Meera (1999), "Adolescents vocational aspiration and economic status of the family." The progress of Education Vol. LXXIII, No. 10 May 1999.

Martin J. Tomasik, Sam Hardy, Claudia M. Haase and Jutta Heckhausen (2013), "Adaptive adjustment of vocational aspiration among German youths during the transition from school to work." Journal of vocational behavior Vol.74, issue 1 Feb.2013, P.38-46.

Pottinsthsar, P. (1989), "Economic parameters and interests of vocational stream students". In fifth survey of educational research (1988-92). NCERT: New Delhi, 1997.

Rawal, V.R, (1984), "A comparative study of vocational interest of Girls and Boys". Journal of Education and Psychology Vol. 41.

Sunderrajan, S. And Lilly, E.B (1990), "Socio-economic status and occupational aspiration of the higher secondary learner". The progress of education, Vol. LXV, No.4, Now. 1990.

Yadav, R.K (2012), "A study of Relationship between Needs and Vocational Preferences of Adolescents". Journal of Educational Research and Extension, Vol. 42(3), PP. 12-22.

Water Quality Assessment of Ground Water Resources in Urban Shimla

**Sunil Jaswal
Sudhir Kumar**

ABSTRACT

Water is one of the most indispensable resources and is the elixir of life. It is believed that ground water must possess degree of purity, free from chemical contamination and micro-organisms but the rapid increase in population and industrialization together with the lack of wisdom to live in harmony with nature has led to the deterioration of good quality of water and hence resulting water pollution. Ground water is the main resource for living organisms and humans. Climate change is causing less of rain, failure of monsoon and improper management of rain water results in the pollution of ground water. Hence, continuous monitoring of ground water becomes mandatory to minimize and have control on the pollution causing agents. Water covers 78% of the earth's surface, yet water available for human use is limited. Groundwater is the primary source of drinking water for more than 98% of the population in India and in urban Shimla also along with municipal water. The greater part of the soluble constituents in ground water comes from soluble minerals in soils and sedimentary rocks. The more common soluble constituents include Calcium, Sodium, Bicarbonate and Sulphate ions etc. Another common constituent is chloride ion derived from intruded sea water. Nitrate can be a natural constituent but high concentrations often suggest a source of pollution. In the present study, the water samples from different locations in urban Shimla are collected and examined for their physio-chemical properties. The examined parameters of the water samples are then compared with the guidelines for Drinking Water Quality published by IS: 10500-2012 which is taken here as reference for comparison. Ultimately the quality of the

Dr. Sunil Jaswal, Assistant Professor, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies,
Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla-5

Dr. Sudhir Kumar, Associate Professor, MLSM College, Sunernagar, Mandi, H.P.

water samples is assessed here to find out the usage of the water from these resources for drinking purpose and other uses.

Keywords: Micro-organisms, Ground water, Physio-Chemical properties, Sedimentary rocks etc.

Introduction: Water being a basic need of human development, health and wellbeing, safe drinking water is an internationally accepted human right declared by WHO (2001), which has been enlisted as one of the ten targets in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). As a decentralized source of drinking water and myriads of other services for millions of rural and urban families, groundwater as a natural resource plays a crucial role which accounts for nearly 80 % of the rural domestic water needs and 50 % of the urban water needs in India (Kumar *et al.*, 2005). Groundwater pollution unlike others is very critical, as once an aquifer becomes polluted, it is very difficult, expensive and time consuming affair to clean it up and may remain unusable for decades. Therefore, the primary objective of this study is to find out the status of physico-chemical parameters of ground water resources in order to explore their suitability for human consumption and domestic use by the people of urban Shimla. More than half the world's population depends on ground water for survival and it is a very important source of drinking water. The assessment of water quality is very important for knowing its suitability for various purposes. Water quality index (1970s) can be used to monitor water quality changes in a particular water supply over the time or it can be used to compare the water quality in the region. People residing in urban Shimla are using ground water for domestic purpose along with municipal water. The ground water samples are collected from different locations in urban Shimla and are analysed for their physico-chemical properties. In the last few decades there has been a tremendous increase in the demand for fresh water due to rapid growth of population and the accelerated pace of industrialization. According to WHO, about 80% of all the diseases in human beings are caused by water. Once the groundwater is contaminated, its quality cannot be restored back easily unless we devise ways and means to protect it. Water quality index is one of the most effective tools to communicate information on the quality of water to the concerned citizens and policy makers, so it becomes an important parameter for the assessment and management of groundwater. The main objectives of this study are to assess the quality of ground water from different sources in urban Shimla and the comparison of ground water quality of different natural resources from where the samples are collected with the help of Indian Standard Specification for drinking water IS:10500 (Beauro of Indian Standards for Drinking Water, BIS-2012) and Drinking Water Specification IS:10500 (Reaffirmed -1993) given below:

Indian Standard Specification for Drinking Water IS: 10500
(Beauro of Indian Standards for Drinking Water, BIS-2012)

S.NO.	Parameter	Requirement desirable limit	Remarks
1.	Colour	5HZ	May be extended up to 50HZ if toxic substances are suspected.
2.	Turbidity	5NTU	May be relaxed up to 25NTU in the absence of alternate.
3.	pH	6.5 to 8.5	May be relaxed up to 9.2 in the absence.
4.	Total Hardness	300mg/l	May be extended up to 600mg/l.
5.	Calcium as Ca	75mg/l	May be extended up to 200mg/l.
6.	Magnesium as Mg	30mg/l	May be extended up to 100mg/l.
7.	Copper as Cu	0.05mg/l	May be relaxed up to 1.5mg/l.
8.	Iron	0.3mg/l	May be extended up to 1mg/l.
9.	Manganese	0.1mg/l	May be extended up to 0.5mg/l.
10.	Chlorides	250mg/l	May be extended up to 1000mg/l.
11.	Sulphates	150mg/l	May be extended up to 400mg/l.
12.	Nitrates	45mg/l	No relaxation.
13.	Fluoride	0.6 to 1.2mg/l	If the limit is below 0.6 mg/l water should be rejected, max. limit is extended to 1.5mg/l.
14.	Phenols	0.001mg/l	May be relaxed up to 0.002mg/l.
15.	Mercury	0.001mg/l	No relaxation.
16.	Cadmium	0.01mg/l	No relaxation.
17.	Selenium	0.01mg/l	No relaxation.
18.	Arsenic	0.05mg/l	No relaxation.
19.	Cyanide	0.05mg/l	No relaxation.
20.	Lead	0.1mg/l	No relaxation.
21.	Zinc	5.0mg/l	May be extended up to 10.0mg/l.
22.	Anionic detergents	0.2mg/l	May be relaxed up to 1mg/l.
23.	Chromium as Cr ⁺⁶	0.05mg/l	No relaxation.
24.	Poly-nuclear aromatic Hydrocarbons	0.1mg/l	--
25.	Mineral Oil	5.0mg/l	May be relaxed up to 0.03mg/l.
26.	Residual free Chlorine	0.2mg/l	Applicable only when water is Chlorinated.
27.	Pesticides	0.05mg/l	--
28.	Radio active	--	--

Drinking Water Specification IS: 10500-1992 (Reaffirmed -1993): Tolerance limit

S.No	Parameter	IS: 10500 Requirement (Desirable limit)	Undesirable effects outside the desirable limit	IS:10500 Permissible limit in the absence of alternate source
1.	pH	--	Beyond this range the water will affect the mucous membrane and water supply system.	No relaxation
2.	Colour (Hazen Units) Max	5HZ	Above 5, consumer acceptance decreases.	25HZ
3.	Odor	Unobjectionable	--	--
4.	Taste	agreeable	--	--
5.	Turbidity (NTU), Max	5NTU	Above 5, consumer acceptance decreases.	10NTU

6.	Total hardness as CaCO_3 , Max	300mg/l	Encrustation in water supply structure and adverse effects on domestic use.	600 mg/l
7.	Iron as Fe, Max	0.30mg/l	Beyond this limit taste appearance is affected, has adverse effect on domestic uses, water supply structures and promotes iron bacteria.	1.0 mg/l
8.	Chlorides as Cl, Max	250mg/l	Beyond this limit test, corrosion and palatability are affected.	1000 mg/l
9.	Residual, Free Chlorine, Min	0.20mg/l	--	--
10.	Dissolved solids, Max	500mg/l	Beyond this palatability decreases and may cause gastro-intestinal irritation.	2000 mg/l
11.	Calcium as Ca, Max	75mg/l	Encrustation in water supply structure and have adverse effects on domestic use.	200 mg/l
12.	Magnesium as Mg, Max	0.05mg/l	--	100 mg/l
13.	Copper as Cu, Max	0.1mg/l	Astringent taste, it causes discoloration along with corrosion of pipes & utensils beyond this limit.	1.5 mg/l
14.	Manganese as Mn, Max	0.1mg/l	Beyond this limit taste/appearance are affected, have adverse effects on domestic uses and water supply structures.	0.3 mg/l
15.	Sulphate as SO_4 , Max	200mg/l	Beyond this limit it causes gastro- intestinal irritation when magnesium or sodium is present.	400 mg/l
16.	Nitrates as NO_3	45mg/l	Beyond this Methemoglobinemia takes place.	100 mg/l
17.	Fluoride, Max	1.0mg/l	Fluoride may be kept as low as possible. High fluoride may cause fluorosis	1.5 mg/l
18.	Phenolic compounds as $\text{C}_6\text{H}_5\text{OH}$, Max	0.001mg/l	Beyond this , it may cause objectionable taste and odor.	0.002 mg/l
19.	Mercury as Hg, Max	.001mg/l	Beyond this the water becomes toxic.	No relaxation
20.	Cadmium as Cd, Max	0.01mg/l	Beyond this the water becomes toxic.	No relaxation
21.	Selenium as Se, Max	0.01mg/l	Beyond this the water becomes toxic.	No relaxation
22.	Arsenic as As, Max	0.05mg/l	Beyond this the water becomes toxic.	No relaxation
23.	Cyanide as CN, Max	0.05mg/l	Beyond this the water becomes toxic.	No relaxation
24.	Lead as Pb, Max	0.05mg/l	Beyond this the water becomes toxic.	15 mg/l
25.	Zinc as Zn, Max	5mg/l	Beyond this limit it can cause astringent taste and opalescence in water.	1.0 mg/l

26.	Anionic detergents as MBAS, Max	0.2mg/l	Beyond this limit , it can cause light froth in water.	No relaxation
27.	Chromium as Cr ⁺⁶ , Max	.05mg/l	May be carcinogenic above this limit	--
28.	Poly-nuclear aromatic hydrocarbons as PAH, Max	--	May be carcinogenic.	0.03 mg/l
29.	Mineral Oil Max	0.01mg/l	Beyond this limit undesirable taste and odor after chlorination take place.	0.001 mg/l
30.	Pesticides, Max	Absent	Toxic	
31.	Radioactive materials <small>α, β, γ, X-rays, etc.</small>	--	--	--
32.	Alkalinity, Max	200mg/l	Beyond this limit taste becomes unpleasant.	600 mg/l
33.	Aluminum as Al, Max	0.03mg/l	Cumulative effect is reported to cause dementia.	0.2 mg/l
34.	Boron, Max	1mg/l	--	5 mg/l

Study Area: Shimla district is located at the South-East of Himachal Pradesh and have geographical area of 5131 km². The district lies between North latitude 30°43'00" and 30°45'48" and East longitude 76°59'22" and 78°18'40" and fall in Survey of India degree-sheets Nos. 53A, 53E, 53F & 53I. The district is bounded by Mandi district in North, Kullu district in North-West, Kinnaur in the North-East, Sirmaur and Solan districts in the South and West respectively. District has inter-state boundary in the South-East with State of Utrakhnad. The climate of the district is sub-tropical in the valleys and tends to be temperate at the hilltops. The winter season commences from October and lasts up to March, summer extends from March to June followed by monsoon period extending upto September. The average annual rainfall in the district is about 999.64 mm, out of which 75% occurs during monsoon period i.e. June to Sept. In winter season, precipitation as snowfall also occurs at higher reaches and as rainfall at low hills and valleys of the district. The minimum and maximum temperature varies from 2.5°C in January to 26°C in May. Geologically, the rock formation which exists in Shimla belongs from Pre-cambrian to Quaternary period. The generalized geological succession encountered in the district Shimla is given below:

Generalized geological succession

(Government of India, Ministry of Water Resources & Central Ground Water Board)

Era	Period	Formation	Lithology
Quaternary	Recent	Alluvium	Sand with pebble and clay, medium to coarse grained sand with pebble of sandstone and lenses of clay.
Proterozoic	Neoproterozoic	Shimla group	Siltstone, greywacke, sandstone, quartzite, conglomerate, shale, slate, phyllite, dolomite and metavolcanics.
		Kullugroup	Schist, quartzite, banded gneiss, carbonaceous slate, limestone etc.
		Rampurgroup	Phyllite, schist, quartzite, dolomite, and basic flows.
		Jutogh	Shale, phyllite, schist, staurolite quartzite, dolomite, limestone and amphibolites.
	Mesoproterozoic	Vaikrita group	Biotite schist with kyanite, gneiss and migmatite.
	Palaeoproterozoic	Granite of Himalayas	Granites.

The major part of the district is underlain by hard rock formation of Proterozoic age. These older rocks are devoid of any primary porosity. Secondary porosity (fracture & fissure) in these rocks, topographical set up coupled with precipitation in the form of rain and snow, mainly govern occurrence and movement of ground water and form aquifers of low yield prospect. In the terrace deposits along the major rivers, pore spaces between sand, gravel and talus material also form the avenue for ground water movement. The major parts of the district are hilly & mountainous with highly dissected and undulating terrain. These areas are underlain by consolidated hard rocks of Proterozoic period. Ground water potential in such areas is very low due to its hydro-geomorphic set up. Springs are the main ground water structures that provide water for domestic and irrigation purposes in major rural and urban centers. The springs, locally called “*Chasma*” are mainly gravity, contact or fracture type. The springs located along major thrust/fault or structurally weak planes are high yielding. The discharge of these springs varies from seepages to as high as ten litres per second (lps). *Bowries*, a type of dug well, are another structures constructed in the hill slopes to tap the seepages. Such *Bowries* are very common and observed all over the district.

Methodology: The water samples collected from three different spots which were analyzed for various physio-chemical parameters like temperature, pH, turbidity, total dissolved solids (TDS), hardness, biochemical oxygen demand (BOD), dissolved oxygen (DO), residual chlorine, chloride, iron and alkalinity in the laboratory of I&PH sub-divisional lab at Sundernagar (Mandi). Plastic bottles of 1.5 liter capacity with stopper were used for collecting samples. Each bottle was washed with 2% Nitric Acid and then rinsed three times with distilled water. These bottles were then preserved in a

clean place. The bottles were filled leaving no air space and then the bottle was sealed to prevent any leakage. Each container was clearly marked with the name of the spot and date of sampling. The samples were collected on 26th July-2016 at 05:00 am in urban Shimla from three different locations which were: Spot-01: Near Mannat hotel, Ward-01; Spot-02: Near Auckland tunnel, Ward-02 and Spot-03: Near Lakkar bazaar bus stand. The following water quality parameters were considered and analyzed as per standard procedure:

- 1) Temperature of the ground water samples,
- 2) pH value of the ground water samples
- 3) Total solids present in the ground water samples
- 4) Iron present in the ground water samples
- 5) Dissolved oxygen in the ground water samples
- 6) Biochemical oxygen demand of the ground water samples
- 7) Turbidity of the ground water samples
- 8) Alkalinity of the ground water samples
- 9) Total hardness of the ground water samples
- 10) Presence of residual chlorine in the ground water samples.

The results so obtained for the analyzed parameters of ground water of the different samples were compared with the permissible range of drinking water as prescribed by IS:10500.

Results and Discussion: The results of the samples collected from three different locations in urban Shimla are analyzed and tabulated here as:

S.No	Parameter	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Permissible limit	Inference
1.	Temperature	20.4 °C	20.1 °C	20.7 °C	-	Within permissible limit
2.	pH	7.08	7.36	6.70	— — —	Within permissible limit
3.	Turbidity (NTU)	1	4	1	Upto 5 NTU	Within permissible limit
4.	Total Solids (mg/l)	286	326	426	Upto 500 mg/l	Within permissible limit
5.	Total hardness (mg/l) As per Durfor and Becker classification, 1964: TDS range from 0-60 mg/l =Soft TDS range from 61-120 mg/l = Moderately Hard TDS range from 121-180 mg/l =Hard TDS range from >180 mg/l = Very Hard	178	192	240	Upto 300 mg/l	Sample 1: Hard Sample 2: Very Hard Sample 3: Very Hard
6.	Biochemical Oxygen Demand (BOD in mg/l): average	3	3	4	3-4 mg/l	Within permissible limit
7.	Dissolved oxygen (DO in mg/l): average	6.61	6.73	6.96	5.0 mg/l	Within permissible limit
8.	Alkalinity (average) in mg/l	105	107	110	120 mg/l	Within permissible limit
9.	Chloride in mg/l	23	53	74	Upto 250 mg/l	Within permissible limit
10	Iron in mg/l	0	0.01	0	Upto 0.30mg/l	Within permissible limit

Conclusions: The average ranges of physical and chemical characteristics of water quality are as per the ground water quality. The pH ranges from 6.70 to 7.36. The turbidity and TDS ranged from 01 to 04 NTU and 286 to 426 mg/l respectively. The value of turbidity was found to be within the permissible limit in all the samples. Hardness, ranged from 178 to 240 mg/l and it is found that the ground water resources contain hard water. The dissolved oxygen and biochemical oxygen demand are in the range of 6.61 to 6.96 mg/l and 3 to 4 mg/l respectively. The chloride and alkalinity are in the range of 23 to 74 mg/l and 105 to 110 mg/l respectively. The iron exists in the range of 0 to 0.01mg/l. From this study it is clear that the samples collected from different locations falls within the permissible limit for the parameters like temperature, pH, turbidity, total solids, biological oxygen demand, dissolved oxygen, alkalinity, chloride and iron except total hardness. The value of total hardness of sample 1, sample 2 and sample 3 shows that the water of these water bodies is hard and very hard which is not good for laundry purpose. Nevertheless the parameters studied resemble the drinking water quality and hence the ground water from all the sites analyzed here is suitable for both domestic and irrigation use.

References

- Abbasi, S.A. and Nipanay, P.C. (1995). An assessment of drinking water quality of the open wells in Malappuram coast, Kerala. *Poll Res.* 14 (3): 313-316.
- Almasri, M.L. and Kaluarachchi, J.J. (2004). Assessment and management of long term nitrate pollution of ground water in agriculture-dominated watersheds. *Journal of Hydrology*, 1295 (1-4): 225-245.
- Amaaliya, N.K. and Sugirtha, P.K. (2013). Ground water quality status by Water quality index method at Kanyakumari (INDIA).
- Banerjee, S.K., Banerjee, M and Agarwal, K.M. (1999). Study of Tikara and Brahmani river ecosystems. *Env. Eco.*, 17(2): 296-305.
- Beauro of Indian Standards for Drinking Water (BIS 2012).
- Desai, P.V. (1995). Water quality of Dudhsagar river of Dudhsagar (Goa), India. *Poll Res.* 14(4): 377-382.
- Garg, V.K., Gupta, R., Malik, A and Pahwa, M. (2002). Assessment of water quality of Western Yamuna canal from Tajewala (Haryana) to Haiderpur treatment plant (Delhi). *Indian J. of Env. Protection*, 22(2): 191-196.
- Goel, P.K. (2000). *Water Pollution-Cases, effects and control*, New Age Int.(p) Ltd. New Delhi.
- Gupta, N and et.al. (2010). Physico-Chemical analysis of drinking water quality from 32
- Gyananath, G., Shewdiker, S.V and Samiuddin. S. (2000). Water quality analysis of river Godavari during 'Holi Mela' at Nanded. *Poll Res.* 19(4): 673-674.

Jain, P.K. (1999). Assessment of water quality of Khnop reservoir in Chhatarpur, MP India. *Eco Env Conserv*, 5(4): 401-403.

Kaur, H., Syal, J and Dhillon, S.S. (2001). Water quality index of the river Satluj. *Poll Res.*20(2): 199-204.

locations in Delhi. *Journal of Indian Water Works Association*.

Mishra, A., Munshi, J.S. and Singh, M. (1994). Heavy metal pollution of river Subarnarekha in Bihar. Part I: Industrial effluents. *J Fresh Water Bio*, 6(3): 197-199.

Muthukumaravel, K. et al. (2010). Evaluation of Ground Water Quality in Perambalur, *Indian Journal of Environmental Sciences*, 14(1), 47-49.

Niranjan, K. et.al. (2011). Ground water quality assessment of Wailpalli Nalgonda. *Indian Journal of Environmental Sciences*, 15(1), 69-76.

Prot, 19(6): 440-441.

Sharma, B.S. (1999). A study on water quality of river Yamuna at Agra. *Indian J Environ*

Singh, K.P. and Parwana, H.K. (1999). Ground water pollution due to industrial waste water in Punjab state and strategies for its control. *Indian J Environ Prot*, 19(4): 241-244.

Singh, M and Gupta, K.C. (2004). Study on physico-chemical characteristics of the Yamunariver water. *Indian J. of Env. Protection*, 24(3): 182-186.

An Analytical Study of Mental Imagery Components Sensation of Taste and Sensation of Smell Level among Boxers and Judokas of Himachal Pradesh

- Sanjay Sharma

ABSTRACT

The objective of the study was to compare the boxers with judokas with respect to their mental imagery components i.e., sensation of taste and sensation of smell traits. To accomplish the study a purposive sampling device was used and a sample of 120 male intercollegiate sportsmen comprising of 70 Boxers and 50 Judokas who had represented their respective colleges in the inter college Boxing and Judo championship of Himachal Pradesh University, during academic session 2018-19 were selected. It was hypothesized that there would be a significant difference between boxers and judokas w.r.t. their mental imagery components i.e. sensation of taste and sensation of smell levels. To assess the mental imagery level of boxers and judokas English Version of Dr. M. Rajamanickam's Mental Imagery Questionnaire (MIQ) was used as a tool. Mean, standard deviation and t-test were used as statistical tools to analyze the data statistically. The level of significance was set at 0.05 level. The results of the study exhibited that the boxers differed significantly from the judokas on the mental imagery component i.e. sensation of taste and boxers possessed better sensation of taste characteristic. Moreover, boxers and judokas were having more or less similar sensation levels w.r.t. mental imagery component sensation of smell. Thus, the alternate hypothesis was partially accepted and partially rejected.

Keywords: Mental Imagery, Sensation of Taste, Sensation of Smell, Boxers and Judokas.

Introduction

Physical education and sports have emerged from a long historical background. It is a process that has taken place, and is still taking place in various informal and formal ways in every culture, from the times of primitive man to the present modern eras either directly or indirectly, physical activities have played a vital role in the lives of all people. The participation in physical education activities contributes to building up of physical, emotional, social and temperamental make-up of the individual. The success in sports activities in childhood and adolescence, enhance self-esteem. The process of acquiring motor skill, and using them in sports, helps to acquire academic proficiency.

Sports psychology is a healthy field with a bright future within physical education. The field continues to grow. Psychologists and psychology department's serenity have shown increased interest in the field. Certainly, the sports fan and the amateur sports competitor are keenly interested in the psychological aspects of performance stories about sports performance which have improved substantially after consultations with a sport psychologist. Sports psychologists have fueled interest and have given the field credibility among laypersons and among those who write about and comment on sport in the popular media.

There is no doubt that the sports field is currently divided between the people who study the psychological aspects of sports performance and people who work with athletes in the capacity of sports psychologists. The former are academic sport psychologists and the latter are practicing sports psychologists. A person does not have to be exclusively one or the other. Many sports psychologists work directly with athletes and still contribute to the emerging knowledge base through their research and scholarship.

Sports psychology stresses on the psychological study of the problems which arise in any sports situation i.e. sports competitions, players participating in sports, spectators involved in sports events and others who are deeply concerned or associated with sports. Sports psychology deals with the behaviour of all participants during various conditions and circumstances in sports.

Comparing with exercise physiology and kinesiology, which are as old as sport science, sport psychology is just emerging as a sub-discipline. The international society of sport psychology founded in the early 1960s is the oldest organization in this field. The early history of sport psychology is closely related to that of motor learning, because people with a background in psychology could understand and work in both fields. A large portion in the field of sports psychology is academic. The broader goal of this part of the field is to identify factors that are particularly important in sports, especially those related to sports performance. Neuro-psychological, bio-physical, psychological and inter-personal variables are some

that influence the performance of athletes and teams.

The sport psychologist is a scientist who employs the concepts, theories and tools of the larger field of psychology in seeking to describe, control and predict the behavior of those involved in sports. As a sports discipline, sports psychology which is presently constituted, is primarily an applied science. By this we mean that sports psychologist seeks to use knowledge for the ultimate improvement of performance in sport and satisfaction with sport.

Imagery is generally stated as imageries in plural form in literary works for symbolic representations. Imagery means images in groups. Imagery is the distinctive type of mental images formed by a particular individual. Psychologically, imagery also refers to the mental experience of something that is not immediately present to our senses. The objects of past sensory experiences exist in the memory. A series of mental images may be also called as imagery. Therefore, we have various kinds of mental images through our sensory experiences such as visual images, auditory images, olfactory images, gustatory images, tactual images, kinesthetic images and so on. However, certain images are dominant over other images, it depends upon the individual's nature of experience.

Thus, keeping in mind all above assertions, assumptions and preoccupations researcher undertook the present research for the assessment and comparison of mental imagery components i.e. sensation of taste and sensation of smell level of boxers and judokas.

Objective of the Study

The objective of the study was to assess and compare the mental imagery components i.e. sensation of taste and sensation of smell level of boxers and judokas and it was hypothesized that there would be a significant difference between boxers and judokas w.r.t. their mental imagery components i.e. sensation of taste and sensation of smell levels.

Materials and Methods

A survey type of research study had been designed to investigate the mental imagery components sensation of taste and sensation of smell level of inter college level boxers and judokas of Himachal Pradesh University. Purposive sampling method was employed and the sample of study comprised of 120 sportsmen having 70 Boxers and 50 Judokas who had represented their respective colleges in the inter college Boxing and Judo championship of Himachal Pradesh University, during academic session 2018-19. English Version of Dr. M. Rajamanickam's Mental Imagery Questionnaire (MIQ) was used as an assessment tool. The collected data was statistically analysed using Mean, Standard Deviation and 't' Test and the level of significance was set at 0.05 level.

Results

The findings of the research on the investigated psychological variables are presented in the tables 1-2 below and their analysis and interpretation follows them along with their discussion.

Table 1: Comparison of Mental Imagery Component Sensation of Taste Level among Boxers and Judokas

Variable	Group	N	Mean	S.D.	SEM	M.D.	Df	t-value
Sensation of Taste	Boxers	70	60.49	10.229	1.223	11.646	118	5.572*
	Judokas	50	48.84	12.629	1.786			

Significant at 0.01 level

Interpretation:

It is evident from table no.1 that mean value of mental imagery component sensation of taste among boxers and judokas came out to be 60.49 and 48.84 and the mean difference is 11.646 which indicates that boxers and judokas differ highly from each other on the mental imagery component sensation of taste. The standard deviation for the boxers and judokas is 10.229 and 12.629. The calculated 't-value' for boxers and judokas with regard to mental imagery component sensation of taste came out to be 5.572 at 118 df which is higher than the table value at 0.01 level of significance. Hence, it is interpreted that the two groups differ significantly.

Thus, as per the result of the statement the formulated hypothesis for the present investigation i.e. “There will be a significant difference in the mental imagery component i.e. sensation of taste level of boxers and judokas” is accepted.

Table 2: Comparison of Mental Imagery Component Sensation of Smell Level among Boxers and Judokas

Variable	Group	N	Mean	S.D.	SEM	M.D.	Df	t-value
Sensation of Smell	Boxers	70	51.64	13.096	1.565	4.263	118	1.666
	Judokas	50	47.38	14.779	2.090			

Not significant at 0.05 level

Interpretation:

It is evident from table no.2 that mean value of mental imagery component sensation of smell among boxers and judokas came out to be 51.64 and 47.38 and the mean difference is 4.263 which indicates that boxers and judokas differ from each other on the variable mental imagery component sensation of smell. The standard deviation for the boxers and judokas is 13.096 and 14.779. The calculated

't-value' for boxers and judokas with regard to mental imagery component sensation of smell came out to be 1.666 at 118 df which is lesser than the table value at 0.05 level of significance. Hence, it is interpreted that the two groups have no significant difference.

Thus, as per the result of the statement the formulated hypothesis for the present investigation i.e. "There will be a significant difference in the mental imagery component i.e. sensation of smell level of boxers and judokas" is rejected.

Discussion on Findings

1. After going through the findings, result of the study indicates that boxers possess higher level of sensation of taste component of mental imagery as compared to judokas.
2. Moreover, it was also observed that boxers and judokas were having near about similar sensation levels w.r.t. mental imagery component sensation of smell.

Conclusion

Based on the present study, it can be concluded that:

1. There is a significant difference in the mental imagery component i.e. sensation of taste level among boxers and judokas.
2. There is no significant difference in the mental imagery component i.e. sensation of smell level among boxers and judokas.

Acknowledgement

I am highly grateful to the team managers, coaches and players of the respective colleges affiliated to the Himachal Pradesh University, who despite their busy competitive schedule and tiring pre and post competition mental and physical restraints extended utmost support during the entire course of research investigation.

References

- Adrian, E. D. (1942). Olfactory Reactions in the Brain of the Hedgehog. *The Journal of Physiology*, 100, 459-473.
- Algom, D. & Cain, W. S. (1991). Remembered Odors and Mental Mixtures: Tapping Reservoirs of Olfactory Knowledge. *The Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 17, 1104-1119.
- Auvray, M. & Spence, C. (2008). The Multisensory Perception of Flavor. *Consciousness and Cognition*, 17, 1016-1031.
- Bensafi, M. & Rouby, C. (2007). Individual Differences in Odor Imaging Ability Reflect Differences in Olfactory and Emotional Perception. *Chemical Senses*, 32, 237-244.

Carrasco, M. & Ridout, J. B. (1993). Olfactory Perception and Olfactory Imagery: A Multidimensional Analysis. *The Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 19, 287-301.

Coxon, A. (1982). *The User's Guide to Multidimensional Scaling*. Heinemann Educational Books Inc., Exeter, NH.

Djordjevic, J., Zatorre, R. J. & Jones-Gotman, M. (2004). Effects of Perceived and Imagined Odors on Taste Detection. *Chemical Senses*, 29, 199-208.

Djordjevic, J., Zatorre, R. J., Petrides, M., & Jones-Gotman, M. (2004). The Mind's Nose: Effects of Odor and Visual Imagery on Odor Detection. *Psychological Science*, 15, 143-148.

Drummond, P. D. (1995). Effect of Imagining and Actually Tasting a Sour Taste on One Side of the Tongue. *Physiology & Behavior*, 57, 373-376.

Freeman, W. J. (1981). A Physiological Hypothesis of Perception. *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 24, 561-592.

Gilbert, A. N., Crouch, M. & Kemp, S. E. (1998). Olfactory and Visual Mental Imagery. *Mental Imagery*, 22, 137-146.

Kikuchi, S., Kubota, F., Nisijima, K., Washiya, S. & Kato, S. (2005). Cerebral Activation Focusing on Strong Tasting Food: A Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging Study. *NeuroReport*, 16, 281-283.

Internet Communication and Academic Performance among Adolescent Boys and Girls: A Correlational Study

**Sonia Bhatt
Gayatri Raina**

ABSTRACT

This study evaluates the relationship between Internet Communication (i.e., Internet addiction, Internet usage and Internet Attitude) and academic performance among adolescent student of three Army Public Schools located at Lucknow Cantt. Participants, in the study were 9th and 11th grade students in the age range of 14 to 18 years. The research method adopted the Internet Addiction Test (IAT) developed by Kimberly Young (1996) to measure the addiction of the Internet among adolescent. In order to measure the Internet usage and Internet attitude of the adolescents, a questionnaire has been developed. Questions about Internet usage and Internet attitude regarding Socially Interactive Technologies (SITs) use has been taken from Windham (2008). Only those items have been selected from the tests which were applicable as per the Indian settings. The sample comprised of 513 participants (260 boys and 253 girls). t-test was carried out to determine the significance of difference between boys and girls on Internet addiction, Internet usage and Internet attitude. Correlation analysis was carried out to identify the relationship between Internet Communication (Internet addiction, Internet usage and Internet attitude) and academic performance separately for boys and girls. Results indicated that there were significant differences between boys and girls on Internet addiction, Internet usage, Internet attitude and academic performance. The results also indicated that there were significant negative correlation between Internet addiction and Internet attitude with academic

Sonia Bhatt, Research Scholar, Dept of Psychology, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.
Gayatri Raina, Asstt. Prof., Dept. of Psychology, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.
Email: gayatri.raina3@gmail.com

performance among adolescent boys. Furthermore, significant negative correlation emerged between Internet addiction, Internet usage and Internet attitude with academic performance among adolescent girls.

Keywords: Adolescent, Internet communication, Internet addiction, Internet usage, Internet attitude, Academic performance.

Introduction

The Internet, sometimes called simply "the Net", is a worldwide system of computer networks - a network of networks in which users at any one computer can, if they have permission, get information from any other computer (and sometimes talk directly to users at other computers). Internet addiction is typically described as a state where an individual has lost control of the Internet use and keeps using Internet excessively to the point where he/she experiences problematic outcomes that negatively affects his/her life (Young & Abreu, 2011).

There are 4.1 billion Internet users in the world as of December 2018. This is compared to 3.9 billion Internet users in mid-2018 and about 3.7 billion Internet users in late 2017. Asia has the most Internet users of all continents accounting for 49 per cent of all Internet users (down from about 50 per cent in 2017 and up from about 48 per cent mid-2018). Europe is a runner up with 16.8 per cent of all Internet users. China has the most Internet users of all countries. At over 802 million Internet users at the time of writing this, China currently accounts for almost 20 per cent of Internet users worldwide. It is trailed by India, with over 500 million Internet users.

There are several factors that may contribute to Internet addiction. These factors are related to both one's social environment and psychological state (Hur, 2006). In specific, Internet addiction is often firstly observed in young age, during which one is highly curious and wants to experiment with new technology. The continuous increase in the number of single-parent families and the increasing number of parents who work most hours of the day may be partly responsible for children's unsupervised overuse of the Internet (Kuss et al., 2013b). In addition, many youngsters make excessive Internet use due to factors related to following new trends (e.g., latest online game or application) in their social environment (Kuss et al., 2013b; Kuss, 2016). Internet anonymity, faceless communication and the option to adopt a different identity tend to support people with such disorders to feel more secure and express themselves better online than offline, and this may result in Internet addiction (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2002).

Adolescent have the highest level of Internet use of any age group. Estimates of usage by adolescents range from 93 per cent to 97 per cent, with more than half going online everyday. (Macgill, 2007; USC Annenberg School Center for the Digital Future, 2004). Of teenagers surveyed by the Pew Internet & American Life

Project, 84 per cent said they owned at least one personal media device, including a laptop or desktop computer, a Personal Digital Assistant (PDA), or a cellular telephone, and 44 per cent reported owning two or more such devices (Lenhart et al., 2005). There are age-related differences in how people use the Internet, with younger users being more likely than adults to communicate online, to create or read a blog, to download music, to play online games, and to “surf” the Web for fun (Fox & Madden, 2005; Howard, Rainie, & Jones, 2001). Overall, teenagers use the Internet's social elements more often than adults (Subrahmanyam et al., 2001).

Several studies have found a relationship between academic performance and Internet addiction among undergraduate university and schools' students (Akin, 2012, Akhter, 2013 and Hayati, Alavi and Mohamed, 2014). According to Akhter (2013) the academic problems affected by Internet addiction include missing classes (Nalwa, 2003), decline in study habits (Gencer, 2012), significant drop in grades (Sachitra, 2016) increased risk of being placed on academic probation (Akin, 2012), and deprived integration in additional activities (Anderson, 2001).

The major objective of the present study was:

1. To measure and compare Internet Communication (Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude) and Academic Performance among adolescent boys and girls.
2. To measure and compare the outcome of Internet Communication (Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude) on Academic Performance of adolescent boys and girls.

Research Hypotheses

The study tested the following research hypotheses

- 1 (a) Adolescent boys will score significantly higher in terms of Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude as compared to adolescent girls
- 1 (b) Adolescent girls will score significantly higher in terms of Academic Performance as compared to adolescent boys.
- 2 (a) Internet Addiction will be significantly and negatively related to the Academic Performance of adolescent boys.
- 2 (b) Internet Usage will be significantly and negatively related to the Academic Performance of adolescent boys.
- 2 (c) Internet Addiction will be significantly and negatively related to the Academic Performance of adolescent girls.
- 2 (d) Internet Usage will be significantly and negatively related to the Academic Performance of adolescent girls.

2 Methodology

2.1 Instrument

Internet Addiction Test

Internet Addiction Test (IAT) developed by Kimberly Young (1996) is a reliable and valid measure of addictive use of Internet. This test was used to measure the addiction of the Internet among adolescent. It is a 20-item scale covering the degree to which use of Internet disrupts everyday life (work, sleep, relationships, etc.). Each item has been scored on a 5 point likert scale. The score ranges from 20 to 100. On the basis of the total score obtained on the test, the individual is placed into one of three categories: average online user (from 20 to 39) moderate Internet use (from 40 to 69); and excessive Internet use (from 70 to 100). The higher the score, the greater the level of addiction. The internal reliability of the scale is 0.93.

Internet Usage and Internet Attitude Questionnaire

In order to measure the Internet Usage and Internet Attitude of the adolescents, a questionnaire has been developed. Questions about Internet Usage and Internet Attitude regarding Socially Interactive Technologies (SITs) use has been taken from Windham (2008). Only those items have been selected from the tests which were applicable as per the Indian settings. This questionnaire included the items to assess the student's Internet and SITs (Socially Interactive Technologies) usage as well as their attitudes towards Internet.

Internet Usage

Items are designed to explore the Internet Usage of boys and girls to measure the usage of Internet components. It is an 18 items questionnaire covering the items related to the usage of SIT's (Socially interactive Technologies). Each item has been scored on a 5 point likert scale. The score range is from 18 to 90. On the basis of the total score obtained on the questionnaire, the individual is placed into the average category of user (from 18 to 40); moderate user (from 41 to 63); and excessive user (from 64 to 90) of Internet. Higher the score higher is the usage of the Internet among adolescents.

Internet Attitude

This questionnaire of Internet Attitude is designed to explore the value, beliefs and feelings of individuals regarding Internet. It is a 12 items questionnaire which covers the items related to the attitude of individual towards the Internet. Each item has been scored on a 5 point likert scale. The score ranges from 12 to 60. On the basis of the total score obtained on the test, average attitude towards Internet (from 12 to 25) moderate attitude scores (from 26 to 39); and has problematic attitude (from 40 to 60). Higher scores indicate the significant problematic attitude of individuals towards Internet.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

Academic performance of the selected sample has been evaluated on the basis of the total academic grades secured in the final examination of the previous class attended. The average of grade points obtained in five basic subject areas: Math, Science, English, Hindi and Social Studies. The grade scores for final data analysis for each student were obtained from the records of the school and were converted in to percentages.

2.2 Participants

A purposive sampling approach was employed to select a total sample of 513 students. The data was collected from the three Army Public Schools located at Lucknow Cantt. The data from students was taken after obtaining permission from the school Principals to conduct the study in their respective schools. In the present study, only 2 per cent children were civilians and 98 per cent children were from army background. Participants, in the study were 9th and 11th grade students in the age range of 14 to 18 years. All the students of 9th and 11th grade were administered the protocol. The class strength comprised of on an average of 40 students per class. The test was administered to the students in two settings. Three sections each of 9th and 11th standard from each of the three selected schools were taken. Initially, total number of 720 students participated in the study but due to incomplete responses, incorrect responses and in certain cases non-availability of the students in the second day of test finally only those students were retained for the final data analysis who were present on both the days of test execution, completed the test as per the instructions and had access to Internet at home. The final sample, thus, comprised of 513 students. Out of which there were 260 boys and 253 girls. Out of the final total sample of 513 adolescents 280 and 233 were from 9th and 11th standard, respectively. The test was administered to the students during their regular school time in their respective classes in the presence of their teacher and researcher.

2.3 Analysis

The adolescent Internet communication (Internet Addiction, Internet usage and Internet attitude) profile and academic performance were presented using descriptive analysis by SPSS version 22. In addition, to descriptive analysis, inferential statistics was also conducted to examine the hypothesis of the current study. The t-test was performed to evaluate the significance of differences in the level of Internet communication (Internet Addiction, Internet usage and Internet attitude) in terms of gender. Likewise, the correlation test was implemented to identify the relationship between Internet communication (Internet addiction, Internet usage and Internet attitude) and academic performance separately for boys and girls.

3. Result and Findings

Internet Addiction

It is depicted in Table 1 that adolescent boys (M = 65.94) have significantly ($t = 6.830$, $p < .05$) scored higher on Internet Addiction as compared to adolescent girls (M = 52.63). This indicates that boys are more addicted to Internet as compared to girls.

Internet Usage

Furthermore, the results reveal that boys (M = 61.00) have significantly ($t = 2.90$, $p < .05$) scored higher on Internet Usage as compared to girls (M = 56.36), as is shown in Table 3.1. This indicates that boys indulge in higher usage of Internet services as compared to their female counterparts.

Internet Attitude

The calculated t -value ($t = 5.91$, $p < .05$) shown in the perusal of Table 1 clearly depicts that adolescent boys (M = 44.31) have significantly scored higher on Internet Attitude as compared to female students (M = 38.08). The results indicate that the boys' beliefs, values and feelings are more inclined towards internet as compared to girls.

Thus, the above mentioned results substantiate the hypothesis 1(a) that "Adolescent boys will score significantly higher in terms of Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude as compared to adolescent girls".

It can be concluded from the above mentioned results that adolescent boys have significantly outscored on all the dimensions of Internet Communication namely Internet addiction, Internet usage and Internet attitude than their female counterparts.

Table 1: Showing the Mean, Standard Deviation and t -ratio of adolescent boys and adolescent girls on the Internet communication (Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude) and Academic Performance

Variables	Adolescent Boys (N= 260)		Adolescent Girls (N=253)		t-ratio
	M	SD	M	SD	
Internet Addiction	65.948	22.2992	52.632	21.2826	6.830**
Internet Usage	61.004	18.6154	56.364	17.1312	2.900**
Internet Attitude	44.312	10.9742	38.084	12.5246	5.914**
Academic Performance	72.768	12.9544	78.032	12.6446	4.598**

** $p < .01$ and * $p < .05$

Academic Performance

The results of Academic Performance among adolescent boys and girls are presented in Table 1.

Table indicates that mean score of adolescent girls ($M = 78.03$) is significantly ($t = 4.59, p < .05$) higher on Academic Performance as compared to adolescent boys ($M = 72.76$). The result depicts that girls have significantly higher level of academic performance as compared to boys. Therefore, the hypothesis 1(b) that “Adolescent girls will score significantly higher in terms of Academic Performance as compared to adolescent boys” stands substantiated.

The girls have outscored boys in the academic arena which indicates that girls are more achievement oriented, better in their work and more focused in the completion of their task as compared to their male counterparts.

Intercorrelation of Internet Communication (Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude) and Academic Performance among adolescent Boys

Intercorrelation of Internet Addiction and Academic Performance among Boys

Table 2 clearly reveals that there exists a negative and significant correlation ($r = -.338, p < .01$) between Internet Addiction and Academic Performance which clearly indicates that higher the Internet Addiction poor is the Academic Performance. The results indicate that boys who are addicted to internet are poor in their school, academic and scholastic performance. Thus, the hypothesis 2(a) that “Internet Addiction will be significantly and negatively related to the Academic Performance of adolescent boys” stands proved.

Intercorrelation of Internet Usage and Academic Performance among Boys

Table 2 indicates a negative correlation ($r = -.091, ns$) between Internet Usage and Academic Performance but the correlation is insignificant. Thus, the results do not substantiate hypothesis 2 (b) that “Internet Usage will be significantly and negatively related to Academic Performance of adolescent boys”.

Intercorrelation of Internet Attitude and Academic Performance among Boys

Table 2 further indicates that there is a negative and significant correlation ($r = -.192, p < .01$) between Internet Attitude and Academic Performance which signifies that higher the Internet attitude poor is the Academic Performance.

Table 2: Showing Correlation of Internet Communication (Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude) and Academic Performance among Adolescent Boys

S. No.	Variables	Internet communication		
		Internet Addiction	Internet Usage	Internet Attitude
1.	Academic Performance	-.338**	-.091	-.192**

Intercorrelation of Internet Communication (Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude) and Academic Performance among adolescent Girls

Intercorrelation of Internet Addiction and Academic Performance among Girls

Table 3 clearly indicates that there is a negative and significant correlation ($r = -.371, p < .01$) between Internet Addiction and Academic Performance among girls which reveals that higher the Internet addiction poor is their academic achievement. Thus, the hypotheses that 2(c) “Internet Addiction will be significantly and negatively related to Academic Performance of adolescent girls” stands proved.

Intercorrelation of Internet Usage and Academic Performance among Girls

Table 3 indicates that there is a significant negative correlation ($r = -.205, p < .01$) between Internet Usage and Academic Performance which reveals that higher the Internet addiction, poor is the Academic Achievement among girls. Therefore, the hypothesis 2(d) “Internet Usage will be significantly and negatively related to Academic Performance of adolescent girls” is corroborated.

Table 3: Showing Correlation of Internet Communication (Internet Addiction, Internet Usage and Internet Attitude) and Academic Performance among Adolescent Girls

S. No.	Variables	Internet communication		
		Internet Addiction	Internet Usage	Internet Attitude
1	Academic Performance	-.371**	-.205**	-.186**

Intercorrelation of Internet Attitude and Academic Performance among adolescent girls

Table 3 clearly indicates that there is a significant negative correlation ($r = -.186, p < .01$) between Internet Attitude and Academic Performance which shows that higher Internet attitude leads to poor academic performance among the selected girls.

Discussion and Conclusion

Significant difference was found in terms of gender which shows that boys are more addicted to Internet than their female counterparts. Their Internet usage and Internet attitude was also significantly higher than the girls. The results showed a negative significant correlation between Internet Communication (Internet addiction and Internet attitude) and academic performance of adolescent boys and among girls the results indicate significant negative correlation between Internet Communication (Internet addiction, internet usage and Internet attitude) and academic performance. Similar results have been reported by various studies that the greater use of the Internet by dependent users will increase the probability of the missing classes and lower grades (Scherer, 1997; Young, 1998). There are some

researches showing that the Internet can distract students from their study (Brady, 1996; Barber, 1997; Young, 1998). This could also be explained by the fact that students tend to spend so much time in online activities, which leaves them with little or no time for studies (Griffith, 2000). It can also be clarified by the fact that a student loses his capacity to concentrate, most probably because of the late night internet sessions (Frangos and Frangos, 2009). All these previous studies support current findings that internet communication adversely affects the academic performance of adolescent students.

References

- ❑ A. Akin, M. Iskender, Internet addiction and depression, anxiety and stress, *Int. Online J. Educ. Sci.* 3 (2011) 138148.
- ❑ Aydemir H. Examining the Internet Addiction Levels of High School Senior Students. *J. Educ. Train. Stud.* 2018;6:1725. doi: 10.11114/jets.v6i4.3084.
- ❑ B.R.W. Kubey, M.J. Lavin, J.R. Barrows, Internet Use and Collegiate Performance Decrements : Early Findings, (2001) 366382.
- ❑ Caplan, S.E. (2002) 'Problematic internet use and psychosocial well-being: development of a theory-based cognitive-behavioral measurement instrument', *Computers in Human Behavior*, Vol. 18, No. 5, pp.553557
- ❑ D.A. Gentile, P.J. Lynch, J. Ruh, D.A. Walsh, The effects of violent video game habits on adolescent hostility, aggressive behaviors, and school performance, 27 (2004) 522. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2003.10.002.
- ❑ E.B. Weiser, Gender differences in Internet use patterns and Internet application preferences: A two-sample comparison, *CyberPsychology Behav.* 3 (2000) 167178.
- ❑ E.S. Asemah, L.O.N. Edegoh, Influence of social media on the academic performance of the undergraduate students of Kogi State University, Anyigba, Nigeria, *J. Res. Contemp. Issues.* 7 (2013).
- ❑ K. Nalwa, D. Ph, A.P. Anand, D. Ph, Internet Addiction in Students: A Cause of Concern, 6 (2003) 653656.
- ❑ K.M.V. Sachitra, Internet Addiction, Academic Performance and University Students, (2016).
- ❑ K.S. Young, Internet addiction: A new clinical phenomenon and its consequences, *Am. Behav. Sci.* 48 (2004) 402415.
- ❑ K.S. Young, Internet Addiction: Symptoms, Evaluation, and Treatment, 17 (1999).
- ❑ K.S. Young, Internet addiction: The emergence of a new clinical disorder, *Cyberpsychology Behav.* 1 (1998) 237244.
- ❑ Kuss, D. (2016) 'Internet addiction: a clinical perspective', in *Applied*

Cyberpsychology, Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp.89105.

- ❑ Kuss, D.J., Griffiths, M.D. and Binder, J.F. (2013a) 'Internet addiction in students: prevalence and risk factors', *Computers in Human Behavior*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp.959966.
- ❑ Kuss, D.J., Griffiths, M.D., Karila, L. and Billieux, J. (2014) 'Internet addiction: a systematic review of epidemiological research for the last decade', *Current Pharmaceutical Design*, Vol. 20, No. 25, pp.40264052.
- ❑ Kuss, D.J., Van Rooij, A.J., Shorter, G.W., Griffiths, M.D. and van de Mheen, D. (2013b) 'Internet addiction in adolescents: prevalence and risk factors', *Computers in Human Behavior*, Vol. 29, No. 5, pp.19871996.
- ❑ M.J. Anderson, A new method for non-parametric multivariate analysis of variance, *Austral Ecol.* 26(2001) 3246.
- ❑ N. Akhter, Relationship between Internet Addiction and Academic Performance among University Undergraduates, 8 (2013) 17931796. doi:10.5897/ERR2013.1539.
- ❑ N. Hayati, M. Alavi, S. Mohamed, Relationship between Internet Addiction and Academic Performance among Foreign Undergraduate Students, *Procedia - Soc. Behav. Sci.* 114 (2014) 845851. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.12.795.
- ❑ N. Oye, A.M. Helou, Z.Z.A. Rahim, Students' Perceptions on Social Networking Sites Influence on Academic Performance, *Int. J. Soc. Netw. Virtual Communities.*1 (2012).
- ❑ R.E. Kraut, S.R. Fussell, S.E. Brennan, J. Siegel, Understanding effects of proximity on collaboration: Implications for technologies to support remote collaborative work, *Distrib. Work.* (2002) 137162.
- ❑ S.L. Gencer, M. Koc, Internet Abuse among Teenagers and Its Relations to Internet Usage Patterns and Demographics, 15 (2012) 2536.
- ❑ S.Y. Chen, Y. Fu, Internet use and academic achievement: gender differences in early adolescence, *Adolescence.* 44 (2009) 797.
- ❑ Young, K.S. (1996) 'Internet addiction: the emergence of a new clinical disorder', *Cyberpsychology&Behavior*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp.237244.
- ❑ Young, K.S. (1998) *Caught in the Net: How to Recognise the Signs of Internet Addiction-and A Winning Strategy For Recovery*, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York.
- ❑ Young, K.S. (2007) 'Cognitive behavioral therapy with internet addicts treatment outcomes and implications', *Cyberpsychology&Behavior*, Vol. 10, No. 5, pp.671679.

Problems of Finances of Panchayati Raj Institutions

- Rajneesh Kumar

Historical Background

'Panchayati Raj' is considered a milestone in the history of political institutions in India and it is foundation of rural democracy. The Panchayats did exist in the ancient period. The tradition of having Panchayats has been one of the fundamental aspects of 'Indian Culture' and it is an earlier concept of democracy in the history of civilization. It has got not only a political but also a social and economic dimensions. The village community in India used to utilize Panchayati Raj Institutions of the resolutions of various social conflicts.

Sir Charles Metcalfe has rightly described the system in the ancient Indian villages as such "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution, but the village community, remains the same. The union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has contributed more than any other to the cause of the preservation of the people of India and the enjoyment of freedom and independence. This is very true about the ancient Indian villages".¹

Keeping in view the role which the Panchayats had performed in the past. 'Mahatma Gandhi' the father of nation was quite convinced about the efficacy and strengthen of the village bodies and to him every village was to be conceived as a little republic. Thus, he subscribed to the village based government and self-sufficient, autonomous village economy. A Panchayat of five persons male and female annually elected by villagers having the required authority and jurisdiction, was his idea of village government.² It was on the persistent demand of the

followers of Gandhi that the village government based on democratic ideas advocated by Gandhi Ji, was accepted to some extent and enacted under 40 of the constitution of India. State government enacted their own Panchayati Raj Acts in terms of the provisions of Article 40 of the constitution. However, the system which was ultimately accepted and implemented in independent India was based on the recommendations of 'Balwant Ray Mehta Committee' report based on democratic decentralization. The recommendations of the 'Balwantray Mehta Committee' were implemented with great enthusiasm and fanfare yet it failed to achieve its objectives due to variety of reasons. One of the reason for its failure is considered that too heavy a burden has been put on too small a shoulder. Many powers and duties had been given to the villages Panchayats without any adequate finances.

Such heavily burdened entity without proper resources at its disposal can hardly make any progress. In the case of many Panchayats, it was found that the annual salary of Gram Sevak exceeded their budgets.³

Therefore, one of the most crucial problems facing the Panchayati Raj Institutions in India has been relating to the procurement of adequate financial resources for meeting their various requirements. Without finance nothing can be done, no programme can be implemented without adequate finances. Efforts were made from time to time to strengthen these rural institutions, yet the improvement was not very substantial.

However, after the implementation of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 and subsequent enactment of Panchayati Raj Acts by the state governments, enough provisions have been made to strengthen the financial status of PRI's. The Himachal Pradesh government has also made provisions in the Act in terms of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and given powers to PRI's to improve their financial position. Hence the subject matter of financial adequacy of Panchayati Raj Institutions, becomes one of the most viable issues of academic investigation.⁴

Evolution of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Himachal Pradesh

In Himachal Pradesh the majority of the population is still residing in the rural areas hence the significance and relevance of Panchayati Raj is a prime importance. The success of any democratic system depends upon the involvement, dedication, awareness and participation of the masses at the grass-root level.⁵

Historically speaking that establishment of Panchayati Raj in Himachal Pradesh was an important step in the process of political integration of 'Pahari Society' with the main stream of Indian society.

Before the establishment of PRI's in Himachal Pradesh the disputes and conflicts were settled by the Gram Vridhas.⁶ Raja Bijai Chand of 'Kahloor' (Bilaspur) established the 'Quomi' (Caste) Panchayats in the year 1908 in his state. This was the origin of Panchayats in the hilly territory. There were three recognized major

castes, Brahmins, Thakur and Rajputs for the purpose. Apart from this, the ruler constituted health and education committee to manage the problems of health and education of the people. These committee alongwith the 'Quomi' Panchayats could be considered the forerunner of PRI's in Himachal Pradesh. 'Quomi' Panchayats was partly elected and partly nominated with, one chairman. For this, the state was divided into five constituencies.

From each constituency, one person was elected and remaining five members were nominated by the ruler. Most of the other Princely states in the region also had their traditional Panchayats.⁷

Himachal Pradesh adopted the Punjab village Panchayats Act, 1939, as the first step towards the introduction of PR, in 1949 and established a total of 186 Panchayats in its four districts i.e. Mandi (33), Mahasu (45), Sirmour (54) and Chamba (33). In 1950, the Act was extended to Bilaspur state also.⁸

In order to ensure the working of Panchayats according to the local conditions and aspiration of the people, the legislature passed the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act in the year 1952. Act authorized the state government to establish 'Gram Sabha' for a village or a group of villages and a Tehsil Panchayats for every sub-division. The President of Gram Sabha was called the 'Pradhan' who along with Up-Pradhan was elected for three years, from amongst the members. The executive committee of the Gram Sabha was called the Gram Panchayat. The Act provided for 17 duties and functions for the Gram Panchayats besides 16 discretionary functions.⁹

After the independence, PRI's came to existence in Himachal Pradesh under the Panchayati Raj Act, 1952 and Started functioning in the year 1954.¹⁰ Though all other states were reconstituting PR System on the basis of recommendations of the Balwantray Mehta Committee report yet state of Himachal Pradesh continued with the Act of 1952.¹¹ When other states of Indian union were thinking in terms of introducing local self-government of village level, the people of Himachal Pradesh straggling for the resolution of the popular government at the state level. From 1956 to 1963, Himachal Pradesh had the status of Union Territory, without popular support or participation. It was only in 1963, when popular Assembly was restores with in the state of Indian Territory (Territorial Council).¹²

On November, 1966 some hill areas of Punjab were merged with Himachal Pradesh in which Panchayati Raj bodies functioned under Punjab Gram Panchayati Raj Act, 1952. The Act 1952 was replaced in 1968, when a new Panchayati Act of 1968, was approved and came into force on November, 1970. A three tiers system of Panchayats i.e. Gram Panchayats at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level and ZilaParishad at the district level was provided under the new Act. The Act of 1968 conferred twenty seven duties on Gram Panchayats but the funds made available to them were extremely limited.¹³

After the general election of Gram Panchayats in 1972, 2038 Gram Panchayats and equal number of Nyaya Panchayats were setup along with 69 Panchayat Samitis in the state. In view of short-comings in the system it was felt that there is a need to bring fundamental changes in the structure, composition and tenure of these institutions, hence the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj (Amendment Bill) 1991 was introduced in the state Legislative Assembly on March 15, 1991 by Sh. Sadhu Ram, Minister-in-Charge. This Amendment (Act No. 12 of 1991) provided for among other things, assured existence and constitution of Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis.¹⁴

Subsequently 73rd Constitutional Amendment relating to Panchayats in India was approved and made operative w.e.f. 24th April, 1993. The states were given one year's time to implement the amendment. So it became necessary for the state to enact its new Panchayati Raj Act conformity with the key provision of the 73rd Amendment. The Government of Himachal Pradesh enacted its new Act and it came to be known as the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 (Act No. 4 OF 1994).

The Act of 1994 repeating the earlier state Panchayati Raj Act of 1968 became effective from April, 1994.¹⁵

Since then five elections have been already conducted in Himachal Pradesh in 1995-96, 2000-2001, 2005-06 and 2010-2011 and 2014-15. The HPPR Act, 1994, is divided into VI Chapter and contains 200 Sections. Five Schedules have also been added to the Act. The Act in additions to various other provisions provides for the establishment of three tiers system of Panchayati Raj, direct elections for Pradhan, Up-Pradhan and the members of Panchayats at all the three levels, reservation for SC's ST's and women and constitution of the SFC to review the financial position of the PRI's.¹⁶

The new HPPR Act, 1994 is a milestone in revitalization of PRI's in Himachal Pradesh. The new Act has made enough provisions in the light of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment relating to the financial resources of the PRI's. Five successive elections have also been held under the provisions of the new Act and four Finance Commissions have also been constituted by the State Government to make recommendations to strengthen the financial positions of PRI's, hence it is an appropriate time and subject matter to study the financial aspect of the PRI's in Himachal Pradesh. So the financial problems of PRI's becomes a very important and viable subject matter.

One of the reasons for the failure of PR System prior to 73rd Constitutional Amendment is considered, the lack of proper financial resources for it. Neither there were enough provisions in the Act for PRI's nor the desired resources were made available to them. After the implementation of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and the HP Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 the position has changed a lot. In the light of the provisions contained in the 73rd Amendment Act, State

Government have enumerated enough provisions in their respective Panchayati Raj Act for the finances of PRI's.¹⁷ The findings relating to financial provisions reveal that a large section of the elected representatives of PRI's is neither well versed with the main provisions nor the financial provisions contained in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment and the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act. A big Section of the representatives has no knowledge as to which part and sections of the PRI's contain financial provisions for PRI's. Majority of the representatives believe that whatever provisions are these, they are not enough to look into the difficult financial aspects of the PRI's. Study also reveals that people working with the PRI's believe that neither these are enough provisions to raise the resources internally nor for borrowings for all the three tiers to meet their financial requirements. Provisions are also not for the PRI's to use the financial resources independently. From the perceptions of the representatives and the provisions of the Act it also emerges that all the three tiers have not been equipped equally to raise the sources rather the provisions have been made for the Gram Panchayats alone not for other two tier to raise revenue through different means of taxes, fees, tolls etc. Provisions are also insufficient to manage the financial affairs of PRI's. With the existing provisions all the necessary checks cannot be maintained on the financial affairs of the PRI's nor the system of audit can rule out the irregularities because thorough and exhaustive audit cannot be carried out in time, in all the institutions.¹⁸

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 under Article 243 (H) and the HPPR Act, 1994 under various sections provides for powers and functions of the PRI's in the state, to ensure economic development and social justice to rural masses. The Government of Himachal Pradesh in terms of the provisions of HPPR Act, 1994 has given various financial powers to PRI's on several subjects. In order to find out the satisfaction with the devolution process and the problems if any being faced in this regard the opinion of the selected respondents i.e. elected representatives of PRI's was sought on various issues which reveal that representatives are not well aware of the subjects contained in Schedule 11 of the Panchayati Raj Act. The process of devolution of power is still incomplete. The three tiers of PRI's are quite important in the rural governance but powers have not been devolved to all the three tiers equally.¹⁹

Gram Panchayats in terms of provisions of the Act have been given the powers to impose tax on households, mining and business activities, service fees for cleaning and lighting the streets and sanitation, mobilization of resources through The-bazari while organizing fairs and festivals. But accept house tax no other taxes and fees are being imposed and collected uniformly as the activities also lack uniformity in their applications in all the Gram Panchayats. Above all the powers have been given to Gram Panchayats alone not to Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads. People in the rural areas are also not very willing to pay taxes and fees. The given powers have not strengthened the internal resource position of the PRI's representative also lack proper training and competence in the use of financial

powers. Government has not devolved all the necessary powers to PRI's as the political masters managing the governance lack political will for the same as they fear loosing their own powers and position.²⁰

Form the perusal of the provisions and recommendations of the State Finance Commissions it emerges that the provisions relating to the constitution of the SFC is very important innovation of the new PR System to strengthen the financial position of the PRI's. But it was found that majority of the representatives of PRI's don't have much knowledge about the provisions relating to the constitution of the SFC and majority of them even don't know the numbers of SFCs constituted in the state so far. Majority of the representatives of the PRI's have not seen any report of the SFCs and even they did not know any thing about the constitution and recommendations of the third SFC affecting their own tenure of working. Majority of the representatives of these institutions are not satisfied with the working and decision making process of SFC and they also believe that State Government did not accept and implement the recommendations of the SFCs. It was also found that grants as recommended by SFC do not reach PRI's in time due to weak financial position of the State Government. Majority of the representatives are not well aware of the role for allocation of funds to PRI's by the National Finance Commission. State Finance Commission are contributing a lot yet they have yet to solve many problems relating to finances, as to improve the overall financial position of PRI's. It was also found that there should be some binding provisions in the Act so as to accept and implement the recommendations of the SFC. The provision for the constitution of SFC is an appropriate and useful step to strengthen the financial position of PRI's but the problems need to be addressed.²¹

From the present study it emerges that majority of the elected representatives believe that centre government as the major source of funding to PRI's however, the state government is also sharing a good amount of its revenue with the PRI's. Many of the government sponsored schemes do not meet local development needs and neither the centre or state is providing any united grants to PRI's for meeting the expenses on developmental activities of local nature.

On political ground while allocating grants from the state the standing committee on budget, finance, audit and planning is performing the assigned role but it is yet to prove its utility to solve the financial problems of PRI's and to get raised the resources locally for the PRI's. It was also found that irregularities have also reported in the quality of work in different developmental activities of the PRI's for which the vigilance committee (s) are also there. Administrative interference does exist in the financial matters of the PRI's. These institutions are also not getting enough funds to discharge their all responsibilities. Government grants are the major source of the funding of PRI's and they are raising very little funds out of their own efforts. Financial provisions in the Constitutional Amendment and the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act are there but at all enough and exhaustive.

The study finds that devolution of financial powers to PRI's cannot discharge their responsibilities without adequate financial powers. It was also found that people working with the PRI's are also not very satisfied with the existing provisions relating to financial management and actual performance of the PRI's.²²

Suggestions

In order to address the various problems relating to the finances of PRI's as found through this study the following suggestions are made-

- (a) Suitable amendments may be carried out in the constitution and the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act to provide for extensive financial provisions to ensure better statutory back-up for the PRI's to make them financially viable and independent institutions.
- (b) The Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads must also be given powers to raise loans from the financial institutions to create revenue generating assets.
- (c) Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads must also be given powers to generate the resources internally through various taxes, fees, toll, cess etc.
- (d) Provisions must be made for the PRI's to impose, taxes, fees, tolls, cess etc. compulsorily as per given powers to generate the resources locally and the special incentive grants in terms of local revenue raising efforts should be given to the PRI's.
- (e) Recommendations of the SFC must be made public and each PRI's must get the copy of the same for the information and perusal of the representatives.
- (f) It must be mandatory for the State Government to accept and implement all the recommendations of the SFC without dilution.
- (g) Government must provide some united grants to each institution to the developmental activities of local nature, for which there are no any other source of funding.
- (h) Awareness camps and campaigns must be organised about the welfare schemes of the Panchayats so as to secure support and cooperation of the masses and to ensure due benefits for them.
- (i) Officials working with the PRI's must provide complete guidance and cooperation to elected representatives in financial matters and they also be hold responsible for the lapses.
- (j) Vigilance Committee (s) must be activated in time to keep check on the work undertaken by Panchayats.
- (k) System of social auditing should also be strengthened.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the elected representatives of the PRI's are young yet nature and dynamic section of the rural society, majority of the representatives belong to the dominant profession of the rural society i.e. agriculture and constituted by the middle class who are aware of the ground realities of the working and the problems relating to the finances of the PRI's finances are the back-bone of every organization so is the case with PRI's which failed earlier due to lack of financial resources. PRI's in the state are facing the problems of the lack of proper knowledge and awareness of elected representatives about the major constitutional, legislative and especially the financial provisions meant for them hence they may not be able to discharge their financial responsibilities properly. Though provisions relating to finances have been enacted in the PR Act of the state yet they are not adequate to meet their entire statutory requirements hence facing the problems of adequate financial provisions. PRI's are also facing the problems of raising the revenue through internal resources of neither the provisions are adequate nor meant equally for all the three of the PRI's. The PRI's are also not in the position to utilize their resources independently. In the absence of adequate provisions PRI's are also facing the proper management and utilization of their finances. The available checks of audit and the village vigilance committee (s) are also inadequate and reveal that still the PRI's are facing the problems of various irregularities in the financial working of these institutions. PRI's cannot utilize the finances independently hence they are also facing the problems of initiating developmental activities as per needs and aspirations of the local masses. Though 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and the HPPR Act, 1994 provide for various provisions for the finances of PRI's yet they are not exhaustive enough to address all the statutory requirements inadequate financial provisions so as to discharge their statutory obligations. All the three tiers of the PRI's have not been given equal and similar financial powers, as such the upper two-tiers of the PRI's in the state facing the problems of non-availability/devolution of powers for them, such they cannot raise resource locally and discharge their responsibilities independently. The PRI's are facing problems of budgetary allocations as their budget proposals seldom get finances from the government. The process of devaluation of powers is far from complete as the political masters do not want to devolve all the powers fearing loosing their importance and powers. The criterion for allocation of grants is seldom observed and PRI's are also discriminated on political grounds while allocating grants from the state. The standing committee on Budget, Finance, Audit and planning is performing the assigned role but it's yet to prove its utility to solve the financial problems of PRI's and to get raised the resources locally for the PRI's. It was also found that irregularities have also been reported in the quality of work in different development activities of the PRI's for which the vigilance committee are also these. Administrative interference does exist in the financial matters of the PRI's. These institutions are also not getting enough funds to

discharge their all responsibilities. Financial provisions in the Constitutional Amendment Act and the HPPR Act are these but not at all enough and exhaustive.

The study finds that devolution of financial powers to PRI's is not all enough, complete and satisfactory and PRI's cannot discharge their responsibilities without adequate financial powers. The PRI's are also not in the position to utilize their resources independently. In the absence of adequate provisions PRI's are also facing the problems of proper management and utilization of their finances.

The available checks of audit and the village vigilance committee (s) are also inadequate and reveal that still the PRI's are facing the problems of various irregularities in the financial working of these institutions. Though 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and the HPPR Act, 1994 provide for various provisions for the finances of PRI's yet they are not exhaustive enough to address all the statutory requirements as such PRI's are facing the major problems of inadequate financial provisions as to discharge their statutory obligation. The representatives are not well versed with the devolution process of the powers which is still far from complete. All the three tiers of the PRI's have not been given equal and similar financial powers, as such the upper two tiers of the PRI's in the state are facing the problems of non-availability/devolution of powers for them, so they cannot raise resources locally and discharge their responsibilities independently. Powers to impose and collect taxes, fee etc. are neither binding nor uniform in their applicability with the result that PRI's lack in mobilizing resources locally. The process of devolution of powers is far from complete as the political masters do not want to devolve all the powers fearing losing their importance and powers. All this prove that devolution of financial powers is still half-way and lot of problems exists in this area of PRI's operation. The mobilization of resources, management of resources. Utilization of resources and to check their misuse it may be concluded the PRI's in the state are totally dependent upon the government for their finances. State government is also sharing revenue with the PRI's in terms of recommendations of the SFC, yet the major developmental plans and schemes are being sponsored by the centre government. PRI's are yet to generate sizable revenue at the local level. All the government sponsored scheme are not suitable to meet the local developmental needs as the demands differ from place to place such sometimes the government sponsored schemes also lack in addressing the local developmental needs of the people. Government grants are subjected specific and in the absence of any united grants the PRI's are facing the problems of undertaking developmental activities of local nature. MNERGA is the most viable government sponsored scheme which has not only ensured local employment opportunities but also not only ensured local employment opportunities but also boosted developmental efforts but the scheme is facing the problems of timely availability and misuse of funds. PRI's also not getting financial assistance from the local MLA/MP's developmental funds uniformly. From the findings of present study it may be concluded that finances are the back bone of every organization so is the

case with PRI's which failed earlier due to lack of them. Though the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and the HPPR Act, 1994 containing necessary financial provisions for the PRI's are step in the right direction to address the various aspects of finances these institutions yet they are not sufficient to meet the entire statutory requirements of the PRI's. The process of devolution of powers in the state is far from complete. The complete Transparency in the working and implementation of the recommendations of the SFC is yet to be achieved. Various other problems relating to allocations, mobilization, managements of finances are still existing proving the hypothesis that inspite of landmark Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 and subsequent enactment of the HPPR Act, 1994, problems relating to various financial aspects of the PRI's are still there and initiatives are required to address these problems. This certainly will provide some feedback and encouragement to administrator, academicians and research scholars to think over those financial issues and further explore the different aspects of financial working of PRI's so that available, enduring system of rural government ensuring economic development and social justice really empowering people may emerge.

Finally, though PRI's are performing reasonably to some extent at the financial front yet the problems being faced need to be addressed so as to ensure better financial performance of the PRI's.

References

1. Sir Charles Metcalfe, "Select Committee of the House of Commons", 1832 (Appendix, 84), Vol. III, P.331, Allotted in R.V. Jather, Evolution of PR in India, Dharwar Institute of Economic Research, 1964, p. 11.
2. M.K. Gandhi, "Harijan", July 24, 1942, Allotted in Socialism of My Encoption Bhartiya Vidhya Bhawan, Bombay, 1957, p. 140.
3. U.D. Jadhav, "Impediments in the Proper Functioning of the Village Panchayats" in Panchayati Raj in India, (Eds.) R.S. Rajput and D.R. Megha, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1984, p. 111.
4. S.K. Dey, "Panchayati Raj in India", Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961, p.4.
5. S.P. Jain, "The Emerging Phase of Democratic Decentralization in India", Some Issues, Kurukshetra, Vol. XL.III, No. 7, April, 1995, p. 4.
6. R.D. Sharma, "Himachal Pradesh" in George Mathew (Ed.) Status of Panchayati Raj in the State and Union Territories of India, 2000, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, p. 81.
7. R. GangadharReddi, "Himachal Pradesh", in Patterns of Decentralized Governance in Rural India, R.S. Choudhary and S.P. Jain (Eds.) NIRD, Hyderabad, 1977, pp. 256-57.

8. R.D. Sharma, "Himachal Pradesh" in George Mathew (Ed.) op.cit., p. 118.
9. Ibid, p. 140.
10. Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act 1952, (Act No.60/1953).
11. Ibid.
12. V.V. Verma, "The Emergence of Himachal Pradesh : A Survey of Constitutional Development", op.cit., p. 170.
13. The Himachal Pradesh Rules, 1971, p. 5.
14. Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Amendment Act, 1991 (Act No. 12 of 1991) H.P. Government, Department of Panchayati Raj, Shimla, pp. 2-8.
15. H.P. Panchayati Raj Act, 1994.
16. H.P. Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 (Amendment upto March 2006), Government of Himachal Pradesh, Department of Panchayati Raj, Shimla, pp. 11,12 and 49.
17. Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act 1994 (Act No. 4 OF 1994) Government of Himachal Pradesh. Rural Department and Panchayati Raj Department, Shimla.
18. 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992. The Gazette of India, Extra-Ordinary Part-II, Section-1, Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs Legislation Department, New Delhi, April 20, 1993, pp. 8, 9 & 32.
19. Ibid.
20. The Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 (Amendment upto March 2006) Government of Himachal Pradesh, Department of Panchayati Raj, Shimla, pp. 102-103.
21. Report of the Second State Finance Commission Shimla, January, 1999, pp. 1,3,5.
22. Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act 1994 (Amendment upto 2006) Government of Himachal Pradesh, Department of Panchayati Raj, Shimla, pp. 21, 38, 44.

Catholic Women Missionaries, Education and Knowledge Production in Colonial North India

- Molly K.A.

ABSTRACT

The complexity of catholic missionary education in North India suggests how women Catholic missionary educators were able to thrive in knowledge production transcending the spatial boundaries. The Catholic women missionaries, well engaged with communities of different cultural traditions, by teaching the economically disadvantaged sections, could transcend the deeply embedded formal colonial divides of caste, class, gender and race. Exploring the implications of interconnections between Catholicism, education and other aspects of north Indian society, it looks into the role played by Catholic women missionaries and the ways in which they influenced many aspects traditional ethos, gender and literacy through female education. It also explores how the educational mission was explicitly pronounced on the socially disadvantaged sections of the society by the missionaries.

Key Words: Catholic, Women, Education, Missionaries, Knowledge, North India

Introduction

Recent historiography of Christianity resolutely suggests that Christianity in India is neither a current contingency, nor a by-product of British colonialism, but can be traced back to the 52 AD in Kerala, where a very early Catholic Christian community began to emerge, (Panikkar 16) though a few scholars claim that the coming of Christianity to India is clearly explained the opening chapters of the Acts of Thomas, written in the third century AD in Syriac (Neill 27). The European expansion and consolidation in India was largely accompanied by missionary activities in the sixteenth century after Vasco Da Gama's discovery of the sea route and the arrival of Jesuits Missionaries in Goa in 1542. Dissemination of

Christianity and spreading of western knowledge through education during the early modern period demonstrate that there was a strong relationship between these two main actors colonialism and missionaries (Kumar and Oesterheld 14).

Portuguese patronage to missionary work in the sixteenth century, anti-slavery movements, and religious revival in Britain in the eighteenth century continued to resonate missionary movements in Asia and India in particular for both colonialists and missionaries felt the need for Europeanization, standardization, and civilization through politics of representation (Nagxv). Sanjay Seth argues that the nineteenth century missionary activity in India had been 'intimately connected' with the British empire as the powers of the East India Company to allow, limit and prohibit missionary activity were exercised with discretion, though the colonial government resolutely refused to champion Christianity in its official capacity (Seth 28). Nevertheless, with the rise and growth of British power under the East India Company, the Queen both Catholic and Protestant missionaries made India one of their largest areas of activity for religious preaching, education and medical mission (Bellenoit 178). While the British India made every effort to delink the nexus between education and politics through various initiatives such as Risley Circular and so on, as they feared that student's activities would lead to sedition, colonialism buttressed missionaries' religious education through grants-in-aid system. Recent scholarship on missionary education, especially Hayden Bellenoit in his *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920* argues that missionaries welcomed the imperial British presence because it gave them adequate protection, public space, and maneuverability (181).

To colonial schooling in the early eighteenth century emphasised traditional methods of learning and section 43 of the 1813 Charter Act declared a respect for Sanskrit ethics as a part of its strategy to keep the educated elite Indians loyal citizens. Similarly, early orientalists in 1820 such as H.H. Wilson, H.T. Prinsep and others made every effort to advocate Eastern Algebra, Geometry, and literature. It was during this period, leaders of Indian enlightenment like Rammohan Roy urged the colonial government that Indian education should be based on European Enlightenment with the idea of western learning (Allender 6). Similarly, Arya Samaj became more aggressively anti-missionaries and anti-Christians and even began to reconvert those who had converted to Christianity and Islam. The transition from idolatry to Christianity through missionary teaching was interrogated by social reformers such as Keshab Chandra Sen who lamented that old faith was gone and no new faith was established in its place. Nevertheless, influenced heavily by the utilitarian ideology, Anglicists like Alexander Duff, C.E. Trevelyan and others advanced English language while preserving Indian classical languages including Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit (Seth 28).

Catholic Women Missionaries' Work in North India

The missionaries viewed western learning as a 'stepping stone' for promoting

Christian faith,(Bellenoit 179) and perceived it as an appropriate instrument to prepare Hindu children for conversion by undermining the tenets of Hinduism through English education. It should be noted that there was a great demand among the elite Hindus as English became a precondition for a government job (Seth 29). While some Governors General such as Bentinck supported the expansion of educational infrastructure for the education of the children of the peasants, others like Auckland opposed the very idea of educating the children of farmers as it would lead to unhappy life with their cottage. He even asserted that the policy of the government was to educate only the 'respectable natives' not the children of peasants. This attracted a great deal of attention of elite Hindu organisations like Dharma Saba, founded by Radha Kanta Deb, who vehemently criticised that the 'insensible introduction of education' to the children of peasants would only underestimate plough, the axe and the loom(Rao 192).

Religion and Education

While missionary education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had limited or no girls of the higher classes in North India and in most of the missionary schools, the missionaries were able to attract the attention of a large number of girls from disadvantageous sections. Missionaries considered that education was one of the most effective means to reach the female Hindu population which faced a series of challenges due to caste and class restrictions which questioned their participation in the public sphere (Johnston 70). In girls' schools, apart from formal education, missionaries felt that, ordinary plain sewing, knitting, spinning and embroidery should be taught (Leitner 108). The elite Hindus, on the other hand contemplated that the so-called unselfish interests of European ladies were merely for the sake of their religion which actually retarded the progress of western missionary education in India. They even asserted that if these ladies would have excluded religion from their course of teaching, Indian women would have been attracted toward them in large numbers with greater attention and exceptional earnestness (109).

The mission of any Catholic educational institution flows from the very mission of the Church itself. The Biblical text says that Christ, the glorious rebel wanted the Church to be His presence in the world until He returned, and sought the Kingdom of God amidst temporal affairs. The mission of all Catholic educational institutions is education based on the presuppositions and principles that the Gospel of Jesus Christ provides. God's Word is the light of the world that enlightens everyone.

Tradition of Christianity in India

Tradition found in the West, in agreement with the tradition of West Asia and India, says that St Thomas, one of the twelve closest disciples of Jesus, came to India in the very first century, perhaps even less than twenty-five years after the death of Jesus. The 'Malabar' or 'Indian Tradition' specifies that St Thomas landed in Kodungaloor near Cochin in 52 CE, and that he was martyred in Mylapore, now

part of the city of Chennai, in 72 CE. Many of the ancient writers mention India as the place where Thomas brought the Gospel of Jesus after preaching to the Parthians somewhere in modern day Iran(Fernando and Sauch 59-60).

The Apocryphal Gospel of St Thomas¹, possibly composed in the middle of the third century in Edessa, says that Thomas came first to the land of Gondophorus, a Parthian, whose numismatic and archaeological evidence shows that he ruled over parts of modern-day north-west India and Pakistan. From there he went to Mazday, interpreted as Mylai or Mylapore. The stronger tradition of Kerala, however, affirms that following the maritime trade route he came to Cranganore or Kodungallor. Kerala was at that time a commercial centre in contact with West Asia and the Mediterranean world. Thomas would have preached first to the Jews settled in Kerala, and then to the indigenous population (Cherian, “Kerala Empowerment” 129).

The tradition of Kerala affirms that he started Christian communities in seven places: Maliankara, Palayur, Cranganore, Kokamangalam, Niranam, Chayal and Kollam. It also states that he appointed elders (priests) to look after these communities. His death in Mylapore is an accepted tradition. Kerala and Tamil Nadu were at that time one entity called Tamizhakam. Whatever be the traditions, we know that historically it is in Kerala that a Christian community has existed from the very ancient times to the present. This community keeps the memory of St Thomas as their apostle and identify themselves with legitimate pride as the 'St Thomas Christians' (D'orsey 63). There are many other traditions also regarding the origin of Christianity in India. A scholarly Brahmin, the then Chief secretary of the Government of Travancore, on special assignment to complete a state manual, wrote in 1906 about the Apostle as follows: “There is no doubt as to the tradition that St Thomas came to Malabar and converted a few families of Namboodiries some of whom were ordained as priests, such as those of Shankarapuri and Pakalomattam. ... This is a valuable piece of evidence of conduct of the community, corroborating the early tradition extending on the coast” (Aiya 122). From the early centuries of the Christian era we have evidence of various Christian communities living in South India, whose traditions refer back constantly to St Thomas. The St Thomas Christians must be considered the first community of Christians in India, at least among all the communities presently alive (D'Souza, Growth and Activities 102).

Whatever be the traditions, the Church in India is not of recent origin; nor can it be looked upon as an exotic plant to be tended and nurtured in the hothouse. In many parts of the country, particularly in Malabar, the faith has taken deep roots in the soil and has all the vigour and vitality of spontaneous growth. As the 'Travancore Government Census Report' of 1941 points out “the Church in Travancore is one of the oldest Churches in the world”, older than that “in any part of India and most parts of Europe”. It was introduced into the country “straight from the land of Jesus Christ, not long after His crucifixion” (Thomas, “The Advancement of Christianity” 2). But isolated and tucked away in a corner of our vast country, the

Christians of Travancore were not known in other parts of India, nor are we aware of any effort on their part before the modern period to spread the light of the faith. With the arrival of Portuguese missionaries in the 16th century, a new epoch began in the history of Christianity in India. This began after the arrival of Vasco de Gama in Calicut in 1498 A.D. His arrival in India was not only the beginning of Western domination in the political field but also the beginning of expansion of Christianity in India. In 1516, Alphonse de Albuquerque, the Portuguese Governor, found 25,000 Christians settled in Kollam, a town in southern Kerala. St Francis Xavier's arrival in 1542 A.D. opened up another chapter in the history of the Church in India (Panikkar 19).

Mission in North India

Christianity came to North India during the reign of Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor. Akbar was a man of natural curiosity, and was anxious to know about the Christian religion and the traditions they followed. For this reason, he learned the Portuguese language from a Catholic priest. The first word the priest taught, and later Akbar pronounced, was 'the sweet name of Jesus.' The king found such a pleasure in the Holy name that he repeated it at each step he walked up and down his house (D'Souza, "Influence of Catholic Women" 7). And not long afterwards he sent an ambassador to Goa with a letter addressed to the Portuguese Fathers residing in Goa:

Be it known to you, that holding you in great esteem, I am sending you my ambassador Ebadola, and his interpreter Dominique Briz, to beg you to send to me two Fathers learned in the scriptures, who shall bring with them the principal book of the law, and of the Gospels. I have a great desire to become acquainted with this law and its perfection.... I shall dispatch them with great respect and honour. Let them not hesitate to come, for they will be under my care and protection. (Du Jarric 16)

The ambassador and his interpreter arrived at Goa in September 1579, and were received with great honour. The Provincial chose the following priests: Fr Rudolfe Aquauiva, then thirty years of age, the leader of the mission; Fr Antoine de Monserrat, a scholar and a man of letters. In addition, Fr Francois Henriques, a Persian convert, was selected probably for his knowledge of the Persian language. On 18th February 1580, after a long journey, after passing through many difficulties and dangers, they arrived at the Imperial Court of Fatehpur Sikri (Du Jarric 18). The priests presented two beautiful portraits to Akbarone representing Jesus and the other the Glorious Virgin Mary, His mother, along with the Holy Bible in four languages (Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin and Greek) to Akbar.

Plurality of Faith

Akbar always held the Christian faith in high esteem, and many of his acts show this very clearly. He gave permission for a certain Portuguese who had died, to have

public funeral with Christian rites. The priests were given permission to convert as many as they could. He gave them permission even to build a hospital for the sick, out of the charitable offerings of the Portuguese. Moreover, Akbar allowed the Christians to build two churches one at Agra and another at Lahore. Jahangir who was still more favourable to the Jesuits² succeeded Akbar. These and other means adopted to advance the glory of God, together with the King's affection for the priests, and his favourable treatment of Christians, aroused in many of those who served his majesty a desire to embrace the Christian faith (Du Jarric 32). Through all these, Akbar tried to make a synthesis of the various religions in his empire in order to unite the people of the widely different religions of his vast domain.

The latter part of the 18th century saw the suppression of the Society of Jesus³ in Europe. As a result, the Apostolic Vicariate⁴ in India passed over to the Carmelite Fathers. They found it impossible to govern such a large territory committed to them as they lacked the required number of missionaries. Therefore, they petitioned Rome to hand it over to the Capuchins who had been working in Patna. Rome, by a decree issued on 17th May 1784, attached the northern part of the Vicariate to the Prefecture⁵ of the Hindustan-Tibet Mission. It should be noted that the territory comprised the whole of North India including the mission stations of Delhi, Agra, Sardhana and Gwalior (D'Souza, "Influence of Catholic Women" 7).

This was the early stage of the settlement of Christians in the northern area of the Indian sub-continent. With the coming of the Protestant missionaries, after Henry VIII's break from Rome and the Lutheran Movement, the Christians got an easy foothold in India because of the East India Company, and the patronage and support of the English Queen. The first motivating impulse of the Europeans was trade, especially spices. Later on, however, there developed in them a desire to share their Christian convictions with the people among whom they lived and moved. These pioneering missionaries also saw the urgent need for imparting good education to the new Christians of their flock, especially those not of the Brahmin caste. The Brahmins were the educated members of the Indian society at that time. Thus began the educational history of the Christian mission which has continued to this day (Du Jarric 36).

The advent of Christianity was a turning in the history of modern Indian education. Whoever came to India and opened educational institutions whether any Religious Orders or individual missionaries followed Jesus as their teacher par-excellence. Jesus says, "For this was I born, and for this I came into the

world, that I should bear testimony to the truth"⁶. Jesus taught people through parables, and illustrated His practical wisdom as a teacher. Christ's mission as a teacher did not cease when He left the earth. He handed over this special charism to His followers, "Go, therefore, teach all nations ... and I am with you until the end of the world"⁷. These words of Christ are the characteristic features of the Christian Church as a Teaching Institution.

In the early Church, the form of education was ecclesiastical⁸ by content, for they considered divine knowledge as the best knowledge since it led people directly to God and to the ultimate end. They were anxious to impart it to the new recruits who wanted to embrace the new religion that was brought to this country. The early missionaries had to undergo many hardships in India. They left their comfortable existence at home, and suffered the tropical heat, tropical sickness and hardships of the Indian climate. Since then, the Christians have played a significant role in the field of education in our country, especially after the introduction of education as a national system.

In a multi-religious culture such as that of India, any national system of education has to be religiously neutral and secular. However, the system allowed and encouraged private participation and initiative, and this made it possible for various churches to start schools and colleges. In the process of initiation, development and growth of modern system of education in India, individual Christians and different churches and religious Orders have played a significant and creditable part. It was with the coming of the Portuguese at the end of the 15th century, and the establishment of some territories under their rule, especially in Goa in the 16th century, the Christian Church could be said to have undertaken educational apostolate for the people.

Catholic Women Missionaries and Education

When Protestantism arose in Europe, the Reformers occupied the universities founded by the Church. This forced the Catholic Church to start new Congregations for men and women who devoted their lives to teaching. The institutions formed by them had the common purpose of teaching the religious truth along with secular knowledge among all classes. These institutions, namely, the Society of Jesus, the Congregation of the Religious of Jesus and Mary, Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (IBVM), Presentation Sisters, Apostolic Carmel (AC), Clarist Franciscan Missionaries of the most Blessed Sacrament Sisters (CFMSS) etc. were some of them that came to India (D'souza, Growth and Activities 33). They started several centers of education, where they began to impart secular education along with religious instruction. The spirit of dedication of the Christian missionaries and the quality of training imparted in their institutions were well appreciated, and people preferred them to institutions run by others. This trend has continued even to this day, and people take pride in saying that their children are studying in convent schools, which are run by Christian institutions.

The worst of India's problems in pre-British India was the stifling caste system. Brahmins had the exclusive right to preach religious doctrines, to officiate as priests, and to function as teachers. As such, they alone had the privilege to study religious and secular knowledge. The other castes were debarred by religious edicts, enforced by the Hindu state, from all higher studies. The medium of instruction was Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, in which, all religious and higher secular knowledge was expressed.

For the common people, there were vernacular schools in some villages and towns that taught them mainly reading, writing, and rudiments of arithmetic, besides imparting religious instructions to the pupils. These schools were generally taken advantage of by the sons of the traders. Women and members of the lower castes hardly received any education. Thus education among the Hindus, in pre-British India, was extremely restricted. The Brahmins enjoyed the monopoly of higher education. The laws of Manu laid down all that a woman could or could not do. As a result, she was left totally in the background, and subjected to all the numerous rules that assigned her a lower status. Manu said, "By a girl, by a young woman or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently even in her own house" (qtd. in Dass 2). Therefore in such a milieu, there was no question of a woman being educated. The colonial government initiated a systematic study of the caste system in ancient India. The foremost among the early works was by an educator in British India J.C. Nesfield, who had written on *A Brief View of Caste System of North-western Provinces and Awadh* proposing that occupation was the basis on which the edifice of caste system stands in India (124). Similarly Herbert H. Risley, the colonial administrator who carried out the Census in India, argued that racial factor was one of the predominant factors in the evolution of the caste system. He even used the nasal index which the length of nose in order to differentiate between the Aryans and non-Aryans (275).

Nevertheless, there were some contradictions and exceptions in ancient India. Women were eligible for the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices. Upanayana, the Vedic initiation of girls, had been as common as that of boys. There were women scholars who remained unmarried for a long time devoting themselves to higher studies. It seems they even composed mantras for the Vedas. For example, Gargi, Vishwara, Apala, Maitreyi etc. were jewels among women. They were highly educated and were perfect scholars of the Vedas (Agrawal and Aggarwal 16).

There were instances in ancient India when women were so advanced in learning that they challenged men of learning in public discussions on philosophical and metaphysical subjects. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad gives an instance of Gargi and other women who had a revered memory, taking the place of Rishis. In an assembly of thousand Brahmins who were all erudite in the Vedas, Gargi boldly challenged Yajnavalkya in the court of Janaka, king of Videha and made him accept defeat with the words, "Oh Gargi, do not ask me too much" (Agrawal and Aggarwal 18). It is written in the Satpatha Brahmana,

If you do not raise the women who are living embodiment of the divine mother, do not think that you have any other way to rise. All nations have attained greatness by paying proper respect to the women. Those countries and nations that do not respect the women have never become great, nor will ever be in future. (qtd. in Agrawal and Aggarwal 45)

After the Vedic period women's education received a set back due to the

deterioration of the religious status of women and the lowering of the marriage age. Marriageable age was reduced to twelve from seventeen years. Girls in rich and aristocratic families, however, continued to receive good literary education. Percentage of literacy among women went down very rapidly during the Muslim rule. The society as a whole became prejudiced against women's education. The pardha system stood in the way of girls being sent to school beyond a certain age, though very young girls had some schooling where it was possible. Sultana Razia who ascended the throne of Delhi was an educated princess. Akbar set apart certain chambers in Fatehpur Sikri for a girls' school. During this period, some prejudices against education of women through schools prevailed among the people. However, David Hare established a school for girls in Calcutta in 1820 (Agrawal and Aggarwal 21).

Transcending Boundaries: Education for Girls

Touched by the work done by missionaries and philanthropic Englishmen, several great Indians lent support to the opening of girls' schools, braving the popular resistance against women's education. Among them Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Dayanda Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi played an important role (Chaube 122). By 1850, the stage was set for a change in the state policy. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General of India, took the lead for this change. He declared that no single change in the habits of the people is likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences than the introduction of education for their female children. He wanted the government to give its frank and cordial support to the cause. These orders were later on confirmed by the 'Educational Despatch of 1854'. The University Education Commission noted the importance of women's education and stated that there could not be an educated people without educated women.

During the rule of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie, there was little improvement in the education of women. The Christian missionary associations had started many educational institutions. In fact, it was the Christian missionaries who gave importance to women's education; the result of their effort is seen only today. Before they came to India, no constructive effort had been made in this direction. During the 19th century, the missionaries made greater efforts for the cause of women's education in India than anybody else. Addressing the Indian Women's Conference, Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddi said, "I honestly believe that missionaries had done more for women's education in this country than the government itself" (Agrawal and Aggarwal 56). In 1923, the Church of England Missionary Society alone ran twenty-three girls schools in the country. Most of the mission schools were attended by girls of lower classes.

Conclusion

In the long-neglected field of women's education, the Catholic missions have conspicuous achievements to their credit. In India, the privilege of education was

confined to men. It was enough for the girls to learn domestic chores, which would qualify them to fulfill role of good wives and good mothers. With the entry of missionaries into the educational field, the situation changed. Even the most orthodox found no difficulty in entrusting their wards to the missionaries' safekeeping. They taught them not only lessons from books but also good manners and right living. Thus the secular ban on women's education was broken. The sad situation of women education in India reminded the felt need for education, and the administrative machinery too felt it was high time that something to be done about it. Unless children were properly educated, a well-developed society could never be established on a sound footing. So missionaries were invited to take over the education of the poor children, especially the girl children of poor circumstances. The only way to dispel fear, superstition, casteism, etc. was through education. The schools would give light of knowledge that in turn would dispel all the darkness of ignorance, fear and superstitions, and bring about social and gender equality in North Indian society.

Notes and References

Notes

1. An apocryphal collection of sayings of Jesus in 114 verses.
2. Members of the Society of Jesus.
3. A Christian religious order of men under the Roman Catholic Church.
4. It is a form of territorial jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church.
5. The office, seat, territorial circumscription of a Prefect.
6. John 18:37.
7. Matt. 18: 19-20.
8. Belonging to or connected with the Christian religion.

References

- Agrawal, S.P. and Aggarwal, J.C. 1992. Women Education in India. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Aiya, N. V. 1906. The Travancore State Manual. Vol. II., Trivandrum :Govt. Press.
- Allender, T. 2006. Ruling Through Education: The Politics of Schooling in colonial Punjab, New Delhi : New Dawn Press Group.
- Bellenoit, H. 2014. "Education, Missionaries and the Indian Nation, c. 1880-1920," in Primal V. Rao (ed.), New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education, Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi, pp. 176-196.
- Chaube, S.P. 1957. Some Great Indian Educators. Bharat Publications, Agra.
- Cherian, C.V. 2000. "Kerala Empowerment through Enlightenment". Indian Christian Dictionary for the New Millennium. Kottayam: Rashtra Deepika: 120-129.
- Dass, R.M. 1961 Women in Manu and his Seven Commentators. Kanchan

Publications, Varanasi.

D'orsey, A. 1893. *Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa*. London: W.H. Allen & Co. Ltd.

D'Souza, D. 1982. *The Growth and Activities of the Catholic Church in North India*, Mangalore: Sharada. 1979. "Influence of Catholic Women in the Mughal Seraglio." *New Leader* 7 March 1979: 1-7.

Du Jarric, P. 1989. *Akbar and the Jesuits*. Trans. C.N. Payne.,Tulsi, UP.

Fernando, L. and Sauch, G. 2004. *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Johnston, A. 2003. *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*, London: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kumar, K. and Oesterheld, J. 2016. "Introduction," in Krishna Kumar and Joachim Oesterheld (eds), *Education and Social Change in South Asia*, Orient Longman, pp. 1-23.

Leitner, D.W. 1882. *History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab since Annexation and in 1882*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.

Nag, S. 2016. *The Uprising: Colonial State, Christian Missionaries, and Anti-Slavery Movement in North-East India (1908-1954)*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Neill, S. 1984. *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707*, London Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Nesfield, J.C. 1855. *Brief View of the Caste System of North Western Provinces and Oudh*. New Delhi : Government Press, Allahabad.

Panikkar, K.M. 1964. *India: Past and present*. New Delhi: Prentice-Hall International.

Rao, P.V. 2014. "Compulsory Education and the Political Leadership in Colonial India, 1840-1947," in Parimala V. Rao (ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*. New Delhi: Orient Black Swan. pp. 176-196.

Risley, H.H. 1908. *The People of India*, Thacker. London: Spink & Co., W. Thacker & Co.

Seth, S. 2007. "Secular Enlightenment and Christian Conversion: Missionaries and Education in Colonial India," in Krishna Kumar and Joachim Oesterheld (eds), *Education and Social Change in South Asia*, Orient Longman, Delhi, pp. 27-40.

Sores, A. 1964. *Catholic Church in India*. Nagpur: Govt. Press and Book Depot.

Thomas P. 1948. "The Advancement of Christianity in India." *The Clergy Monthly*, Ranchi. Vol. XII (1), Jan-Feb, 1948, 1-3.

The Silent Sufferers of Child Sexual Abuse: An Overview of Legal Mechanism in India

- Bhanvi Vaid

ABSTRACT

Child sexual abuse is a regretful and permeating social evil in India as it is in many parts of the globe. Child sexual abuse can lead to a wide display of psychological and emotional disorders and instabilities that some victims experience for a lifetime. In India, most of the incidents pertaining to intra-familial sexual abuse often go unreported and unregistered. When such horrendous incidents occur, the children are often not given proper aid and therapeutic assistance they need, making them silent sufferers of pain and agony. This article highlights the position of child sexual abuse in India along with discussion of laws and legal mechanisms that deal with such incidents in the country. The article also attempts to lay down recommendations and suggestions to deal cases of child sexual abuse.

Introduction

“The initial trauma of a young child may go underground but it will return to haunt us.”

- James Garbarino

Child sexual abuse in India is a veridical phenomenon that occurs both within and beyond the familysystem. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) as “the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or that violates the laws or social taboos of society...”¹

Children, under the age of 18, contribute to 37% of India's population with ample population experiencing lack of access to basic education, nutrition or health care. They are susceptible to different forms of adverse experiences comprising various forms of abuse, neglect, and maltreatment. A large-scale national study conducted in 2007 by Ministry of Women and Child Development, to assess the extent and nature of child abuse in India, uncovered some alarming statistics; that among the 12,447 children interviewed, more than half (53 percent) reported experience of sexual abuse, defined as “sexual assault, making the child fondle private parts, making the child exhibit private body parts and being photographed in the nude” and over 20 percent reported severe sexual abuse. These numbers direct to the degree of the problem and highlight the ongoing slaughter of innocence and violation of human rights. Children who are victims of sexual abuse often know the accused in some way. This makes the scenario grave and abuse needs to be addressed through more stringent punishment.

The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO) Act, 2012 was enacted to effectively address the crimes of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children. Legal provisions were made through implementation of the Criminal Law (amendment) Act, 2013, popularly known as the 'Nirbhaya Act'.

Child Sexual Abuse in India

Around 109 children were sexually abused every day in India in 2018, according to the recently released report of the National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB), a 22 per cent jump in such cases from the previous year. The data revealed that in 2017, 32,608 cases were reported, whereas 39,827 cases were reported in 2018 under the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO). In 2018, 21,605 child rapes included 21,401 rapes of girls and 204 of boys, the data showed. The state of Maharashtra topped the list in terms of numbers of child rapes (2,832) followed by Uttar Pradesh at 2,023 and Tamil Nadu at 1,457. Crimes against children in the past decade have spiked up six times. In the year 2008, 22,500 cases of crimes against children were recorded, whereas the number rose to 1,41,764 cases in 2018. Around 1,29,032 cases of crime against children were recorded in 2017. A total of 67,134 children (19,784 male, 47,191 female and 159 transgender) were reported missing in 2018. Advertisement Around 71,176 children (22,239 male, 48,787 female and 150 transgender) were traced in 2018. As many as 781 cases of child pornography or storing child pornography material was also recorded in 2018, which is more than double that of 2017. States such as Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Bihar, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh accounted for 51 per cent of all types of crimes against children in the country. Cases of sexual harassment in shelter homes against women and children reportedly rose by 30 per cent from 2017.²

Table 1
Crime against Children

2014	89423
2015	94172
2016	106958

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, 2016.

Table 1 enumerates the report by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) released in 2016 showing a steady rise in incidents of offences against children. According to this report on crimes in India for 2016, released by then Indian Home Minister Rajnath Singh in Delhi, 106,958 cases of crimes against children were recorded in 2016. Of these, 36,022 cases were recorded under POCSO (Protection of Children from Sexual Offences) Act.³

The judicial decisions paved a road to formulation of new guidelines and rules for the protection of children against sexual abuse in India. In *Vishal Jeet v. Union of India*⁴, the Supreme Court in this case dealt with some key questions relating to the sexual exploitation of children. It has been observed that it is highly deplorable and heart rending to note that many poverty struck children and girls in the prime age of youth are taken to the “flesh market” and forcibly pushed into “flesh trade” which is being carried on in utter violation of all cannons of morality, decency and dignity of mankind. In *Gaurav Jain v. Union of India*⁵, the Supreme Court held that the children of the prostitutes have the right to equality of opportunity, dignity, care, protection and rehabilitation so as to be part of the mainstream of social life without any stigma attached on them. The Court directed for the constitution of a committee to formulate a scheme for the rehabilitation of such children and child prostitutes and for its implementation and submission of periodical report of its Registry. In *Sakshi v. Union of India*⁶ a Public Interest Litigation matter, the Supreme Court of India asked the Law Commission to consider certain important issues regarding sexual abuse of children submitted by the petitioner and the feasibility of amendment to Sections 375 and 376 of Indian Penal Code.

The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012

After long debate new enactment, The Protection of Child from Sexual Offence Act, 2012 (POCSO) came into existence to protect male and female child from all

form of sexual abuse The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO) came into force on November 14, 2012, and was enacted to deal with offences including child sexual abuse and child pornography. The Act increased the scope of reporting offences against children, which were not earlier covered under the Indian Penal Code (IPC). This increased the criminal penalty for aggravated penetrative sexual assault to include punishment for abuse by a person in position of trust or authority including public servants, police, armed forces, and management or staff of an educational or religious institution. It also laid down the procedure for reporting cases, a provision for punishment for failure to report a case or false complaint. It provided procedures for recording of the statement of a child by the police and court. The POCSO Act defines offences of sexual assault, sexual harassment, pornography and safeguarding the interests of children. It also sets out a child amicable procedure regarding the recording of evidence, investigation and trial of offences, establishment of special courts and speedy trials in court. The act endeavours to provide protection to the child at every stage of judicial process. The POCSO Act has also changed consensual sex under the Indian Penal Code. The age of consent has been raised from 16 years of age to 18 years of age. This means that any person can be prosecuted for engaging in a sexual act with a child irrespective of whether the latter consented. Additionally, a husband/wife can be prosecuted for engaging in a sexual act with their spouse under 18 years of age. The POCSO Act, 2012 does not recognize consensual sexual acts among children or between a child and an adult.

Punishments listed under POCSO Act, 2012

- ☐ Penetrative Sexual Assault (Section 3) on a child - Not less than ten years which may extend to imprisonment for life, and fine (Section 4). Whoever commits penetrative sexual assault on a child below sixteen years of age shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than twenty years, but which may extend to imprisonment for life, which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of natural life of that person, and shall also be liable to fine.
- ☐ Aggravated Penetrative Sexual Assault (Section 5): Not less than twenty years which may extend to imprisonment for life, and fine (Section 6).
- ☐ Sexual Assault (Section 7) i.e. sexual contact without penetration: Not less than three years which may extend to five years, and fine (Section 8).
- ☐ Aggravated Sexual Assault (Section 9) by a person in authority: Not less than five years which may extend to seven years, and fine (Section 10).
- ☐ Sexual Harassment of the Child (Section 11). Three years and fine (Section 12).
- ☐ Use of Child for Pornographic Purposes (Section 14): Not less than Five

years and fine and in the event of subsequent conviction, seven years and fine Section 14(1).

- ❑ Use of child for pornographic purposes resulting in penetrative sexual assault : Not less than 10 years (in case of child below 16 years, not less than 20 years).
- ❑ Use of child for pornographic purposes resulting in aggravated penetrative sexual assault : Not less than 20 years and fine.
- ❑ Use of child for pornographic purposes resulting in sexual assault : Not less than three years which may extend upto five years.
- ❑ Use of child for pornographic purposes resulting in aggravated sexual assault : Not less than five years which may extend to seven years.
- ❑ Any person, who stores or possesses pornographic material in any form involving a child, but fails to delete or destroy or report the same to the designated authority, as may be prescribed, with an intention to share or transmit child pornography - Fine of not less than Rs 5,000; in the event of second of subsequent offence, fine not less than Rs 10,000.
- ❑ Any person, who stores or possesses pornographic material in any form involving a child for transmitting or propagating or displaying or distributing in any manner at any time except for the purpose of reporting, as may be prescribed, or for use as evidence in court, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description : upto three years of imprisonment, or with fine, or both.
- ❑ Any person, who stores or possesses pornographic material in any form involving a child for commercial purpose shall be punished on the first conviction : Not less than three years of imprisonment which may extend to five years; or with fine or with both. Second or subsequent conviction: not less than five years and upto seven years and also fine.⁷

The new amendment made in the Act by the POCSO Act 2019 has in fact reduced the deterrent effect by including death penalty as a punishment. Section 6(1), which was inserted substituting the Section 6 of the principal Act provides death penalty as the maximum punishment for aggravated penetrative sexual assault. The introduction of death penalty might be even more problematic in such cases where the offender is a family member of the victim or the survivor. As per the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) report crime in India, 2016, 94.6% of cases registered under rape with penetrative sexual assault against children were committed by the people known to the victim. Seeing in a realistic perspective, there are very remote chances in cases where a child is sexually abused by family member or a relative, they will come forward and register a complaint, knowing

that the complaint will lead to death of the person concerned. Thus, there is a high possibility of lesser number of cases being reported. The introduction of death penalty might also increase the chances of high rape and murder cases, since the disclosure of sexual act by the survived victim can lead to death penalty.⁸

Prevention and Recommendations

We need child-friendly police stations, dedicated police force for handling child abuse cases (the present police force that sometimes works for 17 hours a day, would find it very difficult to follow these procedures), understanding the offence, and the social repercussions.

In the present scenario, hospital procedures and infrastructures are not helpful. We need dedicated rooms and spaces for physical examination of children in government hospitals, and the mass training of media professionals about the law (to prevent misreporting).

Survivors carry the burden of their stories all their lives. Survivors feel hate, anger and sometimes are very suicidal... some could also assume that the only way they could be powerful is by mimicking the acts of their offender. We need to introduce mandatory sensitisation programmes in all educational institutes and offices.

The stigma associated with sex education leads to parents not educating children about sexual advances or threats, which could protect them from abuse. The Western model addresses this through the concept of "bad touch" which is unacceptable. This relieves the taboo-driven secrecy behind sexuality, and therefore also mitigates child sex abuse to a large extent. It also teaches children how their sexuality works, so that they don't unknowingly harass others. This communication must be constant, friendly, and frank.

Sexual abuse does not necessarily occur in isolation and may include other forms of child maltreatment. Although girls have higher prevalence rates and may be unprotected by their family members, boys are also victims of sexual abuse and may experience significant difficulty disclosing their experiences due to feelings of shame. Some studies have noted the correlation between sexual abuse and poverty, yet child sexual abuse occurs in families of all socio-economic levels, and social isolation may be an even greater risk factor. Studies indicate that many victims of Child sexual abuse are traumatized by their experiences and may suffer both short and long term ramifications of their abuse. While abuse experiences have numerous negative consequences for children, counselling is frequently effective in helping children reduce their trauma related symptoms and improve their wellbeing. Family secrecy about Child sexual abuse is harmful to victims, and adults must be mandated to properly report sexual abuse. Prevention initiatives that include education about child maltreatment must occur on multiple levels (family, community, state, and national) and the rights of children made a priority by the

government and individual citizens. Further, laws need to be improved to protect children and hold offenders accountable. Justice for victims of child sexual abuse and other forms of maltreatment will send a powerful message in Indian society and will lead to cultural change. Lastly, government organizations and NGO's must make intervention and prevention facilities a priority and support them through adequate funding. It is important to consider the cultural context and unique challenges (poverty, crowding, poor living conditions, children residing in the street, and some lack of enforcement of child labor laws) related to Child sexual abuse and the protection of children in India. Further research is needed to investigate the reported variations in Child sexual abuse prevalence rates across states and regions in India. Understanding risk factors such as poverty, living environment (city or rural), and family dynamics is an important part of strategically delivering education about Child sexual abuse and reducing the occurrence of child victimization.

Conclusion

Child sexual abuse is a serious, widespread, and largely shrouded problem in India. Children are often sexually abused by people known to them; neighbours, teachers, school staff and personnel in care facilities for orphans and other vulnerable children. Fear of social stigma or lack of faith in administration and judicial mechanism prevents many people from reporting child sexual abuse. By enacting the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act in 2012, the government of India has taken a significant step in acknowledging and attempting to address the rampant sexual abuse of the country's children. However, to be effective, the government needs to ensure proper implementation of the act and other relevant laws and policies. Existing responses fall short of adequate child protection, prevention, investigation, and redress. In fact, children may be mistreated a second time by police and a criminal justice system that does not want to hear or believe their accounts, or by insensitive medical examinations. The current government responses are falling short, both when it comes to protecting children from sexual abuse and in the way that victims are treated after they are abused. Despite commitments to ensure the protection of its children, the government needs to take urgent steps so that existing child protection schemes, police, courts, local government administrations, children's residential care facilities, schools, and doctors help victims after sexual abuse has been identified and ensure that perpetrators are punished. Proper rehabilitation of victims is also the need of the hour. We need to use this momentum to make lasting systemic change; for nation's children, it is the least we can do.

References

1. World Health Organisation. Report of the consultation on child abuse prevention (WHO/HSC/PVI/99.1). Geneva (Switzerland):World Health Organisation, 1999
2. Loveleen Kacker, Srinivas Varadan, Pravesh Kumar, Study on Child Abuse in India, Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India, 2007
3. Report of National Crime Record Bureau, 2018
4. Vishal Jeet versus Union of India, AIR 1990 SC 1412
5. Gaurav Jain versus Union of India (1997) 8 SCC 114
6. Sakshi versus Union of India, AIR 2004 SC 3566
7. Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012
8. Carson, David & Foster, Jennifer and Tripathi, Nishi. (2013) Child Sexual Abuse in India: Current Issues and Research. Psychological Studies. 58. 318-325

Interjection of the Protection of Girl Child and Human Rights

- Ruchi Sapahia

Introduction

The girl child of today is the young women of tomorrow. She is a beautiful creation of the god who shapes the destiny of the civilisation. Traditions and rituals have put barriers on the freedom of girls. The girl child in India is always suffering many torments right from her birth. She is never considered equal to her male counterpart and she is being denied from right to life. Girl is tortured and becomes a victim of physical, sexual and psychological violence. The girl child is considered a lesser child in our society. She is neglected at all levels and discrimination against her is rampant in all strata of society irrespective of class, caste and economic conditions. The existing profile of the girl child indicates declining female ratio, low nutritional status, and high female mortality rate and school dropouts among girls. She is abused by being burdened at home with labour like cooking, cleaning and taking care of the younger siblings that is never acknowledged as a contribution to the household economy. The infant mortality rate of the girl child is higher than the male child. It clearly indicates the intentional neglect and discrimination against the girl child with regard to food, nutrition and health care. We always forget that hundreds of women like Razia Sultana, Indira Gandhi, Aishwarya Rai, Kiran Bedi, Kalpana Chawla etc have done brilliantly well in their respective fields and have proved otherwise but the myth continues. Although some spiritual scriptures say, “where women are respected, there dwells god”, the fact is that the girl child is considered a burden on the society. Guru Nanak Dev Ji, founder of Sikh religion, said, “Woman gives birth to kings than why we call her bad”.

Some facts showing the status of the girl child in India:

- 2.5 million Children die in India every year, which accounts for one in five deaths in the world, with girls being 50% more likely to die.

- The National AIDS Control Organisation has estimated 3.8% HIV infected children (0-14 years) in the total HIV positive population of 1.027 billion in 2011.
- The very existence of the girl child is under threat. The female to male balance in India has been adverse since past 100 years. At present, according to 2011 census report there are 914 females for every 1000 males.
- The Government of India in its report to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Girl Child said, “Every year 12 million girls are born- three million of whom do not survive to see their 15th birthday. About one third of these deaths occur in the first year of life and it is estimated that every sixth female death is directly due to gender discrimination.”
- Most of the government's health policies seem to have family planning agenda on their priority list. One of the major initiatives is National Rural health Mission that is mainly dealing with family planning. Over the years, it has become clear that when people are asked to limit the size of their families, they shall do it at the cost of the girl child. The result is that they have to import the brides from outside states or their communities.

Various Forms of Violence against the Girl Child

Female Infanticide and Female Foeticide

Female infanticide is killing of infants, which is prevalent since ages. Various methods were used to kill girls like giving tobacco pills, poison, banging the head of girls in the wall and sometimes they were left to die in cold weather. Such barbarous acts were used to kill girl child like an object. Female Infanticide Prevention Act was passed in 1870 by British regime. However, this practice continued to stay in our society. Now days with the advancement of science and technology and developments in medical science it has become very easy to determine the sex of the foetus. If the foetus turns out to be a female, it is aborted.

Physical abuse of the girl child

Physical abuse of the girl children take place at the hands of the parents, other family members or even strangers when they physically abuse or inflict pain on the child. It includes hitting the children with hands, fists or any other object, sexual exploitation and trafficking. These problems are increasing at an alarming rate.

Child Marriage

Girls are usually deprived of basic rights of life, development, play, education and nutrition as compared to boys. Girls are required to look after their younger siblings, perform domestic works and thus, denied the right to education. Despite various legislations and provisions, girl children in our country are deprived of their basic rights. Unless we conceive the significance of girl child and change our attitude, such Acts/ Statutes/ Legislations could be only ineffective tools to bring about equality between male and female. The prevailing social attitude of

preference for a male child, poverty of people, socio economic backwardness of people etc are highly responsible for child marriages which leads to denial of basic rights to girl child and thus there has been a violation of human rights.

Child Labour

Children are employed in agriculture sector by the family members to supplement the family income. The early employment of the children is to help the family in their farm work and traditional crafts by acquiring necessary skills at an early stage. Children of poor families are picked up by unorganised sectors in cities to employ in various industrial businesses, domestic work. The worst sufferers are working girls. The girl child is completely marginalised with regard to her opportunities for education, health care, nutrition etc on one hand and shouldering double burden of housework and wage earning torture, violence, sexual abuse etc.

Education of girl child

Since time immemorial, bigotry and superstition has predominated our society. Males are brought up more carefully whereas females are looked down upon by everyone. Males get priority in every field. Education enriches and expands the mental horizons of an individual. It makes the kinder sober and nobler. Girls are treated as second-class citizens who are deprived of the basic education rights. Investment on the education of the girls has been treated as a liability rather than an asset. People forget that if we educate girls, we educate two families: one her family of birth and second the family into which she is married. The right to education is fundamental right, special laws are enacted for it, but still it is not fully available to girls in India. According to the survey by National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) in June 2010, the literacy rate among the population with the age 7 and above was 72%. India has the largest illiterate population on the earth. Nearly two out of three women are illiterate. Only 82 girls of every 100 boys get enrolled in school, while 35 million girls in India do not attend the school at all.

Health Care of the Girl Child

India is an unfortunate destination for nearly 75 million malnourished children below the age of five years, the largest number of malnourished children in the world. At the time of the birth, one in every three children born in India is of low birth weight, which is the result of undernourishment in the womb during the pregnancy period. A child becomes malnourished mostly between six months to eighteen months of age, and remains so thereafter. Breast-feeding is essential during first month after birth to assure rapid and healthy growth. In India, a girl is given less amount of breast-feeding as compared to boys as a result of which the girls grow up into weak adulthood and are under nourished. The situation worsens in case of second or third daughter. In India, females receive only 88% of the required nutrition intake as compared to boys. In infancy and early childhood iron deficiency and anaemia can impair their psychomotor development.

Various Legislations for Protection and Empowerment of Girls

Human rights are those rights, which every human being is entitled to enjoy but these rights are violated when it comes to girls. The American Declaration of independence (1776) and the French Declaration (1789) of the Rights of men and citizens are the landmarks in chronicles of history. The emergence of United Nations (1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) have reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the UN has been ratified by India in 1992. Important human rights relating child have been discussed below:

Equality and Non-Discrimination

Article 2.1 states that parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, property, birth or other status.

The Best Interest of the Child

Article 3.1 states that in all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, court of law, administrative authorities or legislatures bodies, the best interest of the child shall be the primary consideration.

The Right of Survival, Development, Protection and Education

The Fourth International Conference on Women (Beijing, in 1995) while spelling out the strategies for empowering women gave a clarion call for gender equality at international, national, local and individual levels. It recognised that the action to protect and promote the rights of women has to begin with the girl child.

All these resolutions, declarations, and platforms of actions have tried repeatedly to redress human rights issues, which affect women in particular, play a vital role in maintaining the peace and prosperity of a just society. Women represent the very kernel of the human society around which social change must take place. The Constitution of India talks about equality for the girl child. Article 14 of the Constitution says that a man and woman are equal in law. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 15 (3) specifically mentions that State can make special provisions for women and children, despite all the provisions in the Constitution, the situation of inequality for the girl child still prevails. Various legislations have been enacted from time to time and again to keep a check on the alarming decline in sex ratio. These legislations have been discussed in detail here.

The Pre Conception and Pre Natal Diagnostics Techniques (PC PNDT) Act, 2002 seeks to address the discrimination against the girl child even before she is born.

The medical fraternity is involved in assisting sex determination tests at the time of conception and following conception. This is a good law in terms of monitoring, but very difficult in terms of prosecution. The Act was first implemented in the state of Maharashtra in the year 1986. Prosecution and conviction of doctors is extremely difficult. But unless the doctors are prosecuted, nothing is possible. There is a need to enforce the Act more effectively.

The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006. According to this Act, child means a person who if a male, has not completed twenty one years of age and if a female, has not completed eighteen years of age. Defining the age of the girl differently is no justification for depriving the girl child of opportunities. In spite of this Act, still there is prevalence of child marriages, which is supported by customs and traditions in rural parts of India. The Law Commission of India suggested for change in the age of bride and groom and to make it 18 years to promote equality and to counter the belief that male should always be elder to female while getting married. Successful females like Aishwarya Rai, Priyanka Chopra, Neha Kakkar etc have tried to disprove this belief that bride should be younger to the groom.

The Juvenile Justice (Care & Protection of Children) Act, 2000. This Act follows the UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and hence defines the age of the child as eighteen years. There are separate provisions for a child who has committed a crime and a child in need of care and protection; there are no separate provisions for the girl child in the Act. The girl child who is abandoned has to be produced before the Child Welfare Committee, who will then take care of the best interest of the girl child. The child will be sent to an appropriate institution, where she may be put up for adoption, given education, vocational training, and other provisions.

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. In this Act, the age of the child means a person who has not completed 14 years of age. There are no separate provisions for the girl child. Children work in dhabas, in homes doing domestic work and in various unorganised sectors. Work is demarcated as hazardous and non-hazardous. Currently domestic work has been included under hazardous work. The female child worker is most exploited, tortured, sexually abused and discriminated child worker. Tasks assigned, pay, hours of work are not equal for girls and boys. Domestic work for the girl child continues into long and undefined hours. Sexual abuse and harassment of the girl child is rampant. Poverty plays a big role too in promoting child labour.

The Indian Penal Code, 1860 defines crime and punishment that has to be given for a particular crime. It defines the punishment for procuring a minor girl for illicit intercourse, importing of a foreign girl from other country. It also defines the punishment for any person indulging in the acts of obscenity, pornography, nudity under section 292. Under section 293 if any person circulates, distributes or exhibits to any person under the age of twenty one year any such obscene object shall be punished with imprisonment and fine.

Domestic Violence Act, 2005. This Act does not have separate provisions for the girl child. The advantage is that it talks about protection of women from any male in the family. There is no provision of punishment under this Act. The court can only suggest possible actions like separate residence for women, leaving the house, living in separate rooms and so on for avoiding the violence.

The dichotomy that exists between laws while defining the girl child is the biggest problem to combat abuse and discrimination of the girl child in India. As the definition of the child varies under different laws, it sometimes becomes a hurdle in effective administration of justice to the girl child victim of abuse/crime.

Various Schemes and Programmes for Development of Girls

In order to improve the survival and welfare of girls and to reverse the distorted sex ratio at birth, both the national and state governments have launched special financial incentive schemes for girls. Most of these conditional cash transfer schemes are good steps to enhance the status of girls. Under these welfare schemes, families have to comply with certain minimum requirements such as registration of birth, childhood immunization, enrolment and retention in school, and delaying the age of marriage beyond 18 years to receive the specified financial incentives against the fulfilment of each of these conditions. Various schemes run for the welfare of the girls are Sukanya Yojna, Beti Padhao Beti Bachao, Dhan Laxmi Schemes of Government of India, Ladli Scheme of Delhi, Ladli Lakshmi Yojana of Madhya Pradesh, Bhagyalakshmi Scheme of Karnataka, Balri Rakshak Yojana in Punjab, Ladli Scheme of Haryana, Kanyadan scheme of Madhya Pradesh, Girl Child Protection Scheme in Andhra Pradesh, Indira Gandhi Balika Suraksha Yojna in Himachal Pradesh, Mukhya Mantri Kanya Vivah Yojana of Bihar, Balika Samrudhi Yojana in Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh, Kunwarbainu Mameru scheme in Gujarat, Beti Hai Anmol Scheme in Himachal Pradesh (initiated in 2010) and Mukhya Mantri Kanya Suraksha Yojana of Bihar. Most of these schemes are administered through the Department of Women and Child Development using the vast network of ICDS and Anganwadi workers. The primary objective of these schemes range from ensuring safe birth, promoting delayed marriage, education, overall well-being and family planning.

Conclusion

The Constitution of India offers all citizens, including children, certain basic fundamental rights. The Directive Principles of State Policy emphasizes that the state needs to ensure that all children are provided services and opportunities to grow and develop in a safe and secure environment. However, in the Indian context, the adverse social attitude towards daughters has left girl children vulnerable and at a disadvantage. Their survival, education, health care, development, security and well-being are a matter of national concern. They should be in a position to avail equal freedom and opportunity. Special measures are required to protect the survival and security of the girl child from conception to birth, during infancy, and

through her childhood. All sections of society should be sensitized towards valuing the girl child.

We must first accept that the country has not done enough for its children, especially for the girls. The reason for such gross violation of the rights of the girls is in the absence of a social norm in favour of her survival, dignity and education. We need to feel a sense of shock and outrage that there is the practice of female foeticide and infanticide. No modern cultured nation can be called civilised if it continues to tolerate such a perpetration of violence on its 'un-borns' and 'new borns'. The government too must ensure that children are protected and make available all the institutions function to give security to these children.

There has to be an abundance of schools at all levels, colleges, universities, hostels and all other educational facilities be provided for attracting them. Timely and substantial scholarships must be offered to those pursuing education. We have many things to be proud of. Yet, simultaneously we are witness to the growth in inequalities with a huge gap between those who have and the multitudes of those who are left out of the gains of independent India. An enlightened democracy is that which learns to respect its children, both boys and girls, enables their blossoming to their fullest potential.

References

1. Asha Bajpai, Child Rights in India.
2. Bette L. Bottoms & Gail S. Goodman, International Perspectives on Child Abuse and Children's Testimony.
3. Census of India, 2011
4. Gautam Banerjee, Child and The Law.
5. Jaya Sagade, Child Marriage in India: Socio Legal and Human Rights Dimensions.
6. Manju Anupama, Empowerment of Women And Girl Child.
7. Marjorie Agosin, Women, Gender and Human Rights: A Global Perspective.
8. Nitu Kumara, Rights Of The Girl Child In India, Struggle For Existence And Well Being.
9. R. Chakraborty, Anti Human Trafficking Laws.
10. S. N. Tripathy, Girl Child in India.
11. S.C.Tripathi & Vibha Arora, Law Relating To Women & Children.
12. Vibhuti Patel, Girls and Girlhoods at Threshold Of Youth And Gender.
13. <http://wcd.nic.in/schemes.htm>
14. <http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/women/>

Flowers of the Same Bud: Poetry of John Keats and Abdul Ghani Khan

- Daisy Verma

ABSTRACT

Literature is studied not because it pleases or instructs but because, as Longinus wrote it lifts and moves people and brings one face to face with the higher reality of life. Literature is universal and transcends the limit of time and space. It is the immortality of good literature which makes writers live forever and secure a permanent place in the hearts of people. John Keats and Abdul Ghani Khan hold a unique position in literature due to the contribution they have made to the poetry of Pashto and English languages respectively. The universality in the poetry of both Abdul Ghani Khan and John Keats has made them immortal and both the romantic poets seem to share several similar thoughts in their poetry. Their love for Beauty and Nature, and their concern for the Eternal and Political turmoil are also manifest in their poetry. Escapism is the hallmark of these great poets, and, on the wings of their imagination, they seek shelter in the imaginary world from the harsh realities of life, but it does not mean that they do not look at the world realistically. Despite the fact that they lived in two different centuries and dwelled in different countries with different cultures, they got so many things common in their poetry.

Quite surprisingly, both romantic poets were not appreciated in their life spans. Keats was severely criticized for his poem, "Endymion," by the reviewers. Even Keats admitted the faults he had in his poem but he was still not spared. His fame started to grow when Shelley treated him in glowing terms in his elegiac poem, "Adonais." Similar is the case with Abdul Ghani Khan whose genius, talent, potential as a poet and philosopher was not recognized and he remained unappreciated during his life. There were very few people who had sympathy and love for his works and were able enough to comprehend him and understand his

poetry and to see in him as a philosopher of high rank. His grandson Mashal Khan, in one of the articles in the Frontier Post 31st March 1997, said, “We do not remember, appreciate and evaluate people when they are around but extol them when they retire to the hereafter” (76). This was true in Ghani Khan's case, when he died, a host of his fans thronged to his residence and still keep coming to record their feelings about this great Pashto romantic poet, but they were nowhere when he was alive. There were certain groups which thought him to be a threat to their interests but when he died, they took a sigh of relief and then canonized him to, as Ghani Khan himself says about such things in the following verses:

Hala yaar warta neezdi shoom chi yaar shoma lare

Hala puha shoom pa khabaru chi ye na aorama khabarey. (98)

Translation:

I got closer to my beloved only by leaving,

I understood only as I heard them not.

Poets are born geniuses that live forever and get secure place in the hearts of people because the message they give is universal, timeless and spaceless. Poetry derives its meaning from the Greek word *poiesis* i.e 'making.' It is a form of literature that uses aesthetic and often rhythmic qualities of language to evoke meanings in addition to, or in place of, the prosaic ostensible meaning. Both Keats and Abdul Ghani Khan had interests in many things but turned more seriously to poetry for which they were made and gifted immensely. Keats was apprenticed for medicine but he never practiced medicine. Ghani Khan also had command on Persian, Arabic, English and Pashto. He had also done Chemical Engineering but took up poetry only. The expertise in different things was not suitable for their nature but they found poetry to be the only medium for their soul's solace and satisfaction. Similarly the concept of beauty and nature in the poetry of Abdul Ghani Khan and John Keats is widely used. Both the great romantic poets were great admirers of nature and beauty. They loved nature and they had genuine interest in it to express their inner most and deepest feelings. They found nature to be a source to recognize and see God. Their godly feelings arose because of their naturalistic description in their poetry. Keats' Odes specially brim with the nature and its beauty descriptions but in his “Ode to Autumn” he reached the height of his poetic genius and his poetic expression finds the best description of nature and beauty and is fully explored. As Leonard Unger finds, the words are descriptive in their phonetic qualities and rhythmical arrangement. The Ode opens with the vivid description of autumn.

How to load and bless with fruit the vines that round the thatch-eaves run,

To bend with apples, the moss'd cottage-trees,

And fill all fruit with ripeness to the core,

To swell the gourd and plump the hazel shells with a sweet kernel to set

budding more,

And still more, later flowers for the bees Until they think warm days will
never cease,

For summer has over brimm'd the clammy cells. (86)

The description of the nature imagery becomes stronger towards the end of the poem as the ode continues:

Or by cyder-press, with patient look,

Thou watchest the last oozings hours by hours. (87)

The poem is suggestive of the transitory and short-lived things. Similarly thoughts about the description of nature and beauty imagery in “The Hymn to Pan” in “Endymion” are presented. Keats paints the fruition in these beautiful imagery laden lines:

Broad leaved fig trees even now for doom,
Their ripened fruitage; yellow girted bees,
Their golden honey combs, our village leas,
Their fairest blossom'd beans and popped corn,
The chuckling linnet, its five young unborn,
To sing for thee; low creeping strawberries,
Their freckled wings; yea the fresh budding year,
All its completions. (252-260)

In Keatsian vision, everything, be it winter or summer, moves in consummate harmony, nothing is isolate, everything everywhere is moving in an orderly fashion. The emergence of one is dependent upon the fall of another i.e., melancholy ensues delight. Ghani Khan, also like Keats, has the similar feelings of joy and sadness in the cycle of Seasons in the poem of spring (“Sparlay”). In this poem, one feels him shouting with joy at the defeat of death by new life.

O gora janana da tyari na rana jura shwa,
Naway sparlay da gulanu dunia jura shwa,
Zmaka laka shara abora warka spora wa,
Chata marawara masti thali da khapal korawa,
Panee ghati na we pa har boti da marg sorayoo,
Shrang da jwandun ghale mekhanai thasha thora wa,
Ya sandi ou okkki ya thri speena khanda jora shawa,
Ogora da tyari na rana jura shwa,

Ya jwandun armaan o ya rangeen nasha ranguna shwa,
Meena ru muskai shwa pa khanda warta guluna shu. (150)

Translation

O my beloved, come, see darkness has changed into light,
A new spring has created a new world of flowers,
The earth was utterly barren and dry,
The happiness and playfulness had departed from earth,
Leaves were yet to sprout, it seemed as if they were overshadowed by death,
Life was bereft of sound music,
The spring brought back and filled with laughter,
O my beloved, come, see the darkness has changed into light,
Or life was desired or colored intoxication became different colours,
The love laughed and the flowers accompanied her.

Keats once again very vividly and graphically expresses his feelings about beauty in his famous "Ode on a Grecian Urn," as he ends the Ode with these significant lines; "Beauty is truth, truth beauty, that is all, Ye know on earth, and all Ye all need to know" (99).

Feelings like these are also given in Ghani Khan's poetry:

Husan de bus husan che hum khuday ao hum janaan de
De faani makan ke bal mashal da laa makaan de
Yao da gulaab makh ke che khakara kom jawaboona de,
Nishta yao hum nishta da manteeq pa kitaboona ke.

Translation

Beauty is beauty which is both God and Jaanan,
In this mortal world, this is immortal thing,

A single short look at a rose answers your many questions that are not to be found in the books of logic.

Similar things are meant by Keats in "Hyperion":

A thing of beauty is joy forever:

Its loveliness increases. (111)

Like Ghanian thoughts, similar Keatsian thoughts are also expressed in the lines of "Ode on a Grecian Urn," wherein the poet finds permanence and immortality in art. Some critics hold Ghani's concept of beauty as eternal and Keatsian concept of

beauty is considered as transient which they have also called “a phase Beauty” but the Keatsian impermanence of beauty has got its own importance and an eternal joy as these lines of Keats express his impermanent nature of beauty beautifully.

She dwells with Beauty--- Beauty that must die;

And Joy, whose hand is ever at his lips Bidding adieu. (St III)

This does not at all mean that Keats does not believe in 'Eternal Beauty,' his overall poetic works and especially his Odes are expressively explicit in the concept of eternal beauty. Keats, very much like Ghani, has the belief in reaching to the divinity by losing himself in the beauty around him. Davies describes three circles of beauty, the first circle has the creation of material and the condition of humanity, the second circle has the happiness that follows after the first circle is over but the third circle, the circle of which Keats refers to in his long poem, “Endymion.”

“Wherein lies happiness? In that which beck's

Our ready minds to fellowship divine, Full alchemiz'd, and free of space. (Book I. 777-780)

The concept of the circle of happiness is not still accomplished and over, but an essence of oneness has got in “Like spirits:”

But there are

Richer entanglements,

enthrallments far More self-destroying, I

leading by degrees,

To the chief intensity: the crown of theses

Is made of love and friendship, and sits high

Upon the forehead of humanity. (Book I. 797-802)

It is natural for a man to attain a point of liberty and happiness by virtue of his patience and fortitude and Keats very correctly points out to the freedom from selfhood and other worldly pursuits which push him to such a high point of happiness that love can attain. Lines in Book I (807-815) express the highest of point of happiness:

Thrown in our eyes, genders a novel sense,

At which we start and fret; till in the end,

Melting into its radiance, we blend,

Mingle, and so become a part of it,

Nor with aught else can our souls interknit,

So wingedly: when we combine therewith,

Life's self is nourished by its proper pith,
And we are nurtured like a pelican brood. (890)

These Keatsian circles are almost like the Ghanian circles of “Jahan (World), Zaan (Self) and Janan (Beloved).” Ghani Khan also gives us the same things which are shown through these circles. He says in the Pashto poem, “Zama, Zama, Zama” (“Going and Keep Going”):

Khu za zama, zama, zama,
tal rawan yam pa makha,
Yu maqam tha rawan yama,
yu maqam tha ba rase gam,
Ao pa lara chi sa ragala ka tiara vi ka raana,
Za raana ki yama khushala khu tyaruna na vireegam. (111)

Translation:

I am on my way to my destination and am determined to reach there,
Whatever befalls me on the way whether light or darkness but I like light
And darkness does frighten me.

The main aim of Ghani's life is movement to his Janan, his beloved who seems to be his end point and in another poem of his “Jalaal” his this feeling of meeting and finding him is hinted at.

Da chi thai ae janana,
da chi stha masti raana da,
Da zama meena armaan day da zama jaraa khandaa da,
Day zama sarur ki pat raaz stha da husan ao kamal day,
Da zama kamzure stargi stha da khaist jaa or jalaal day. (110)

Translation:

When you are there my janaan (Beloved), your playfulness and happiness is my light,

Your love turns my tears into laughter,
All my ecstasy is due to your love and beauty,
Your glory and grandeur are reflected in my weak eyes.

Some critics blame Ghani and Keats to be devoid of earthly love; they are wrong as both the poets are very much aware of this love and through this love they want to reach the ultimate end and highest levels of spiritual love. Ghani is noted saying about this kind of love in the following lines.

Da Allah da naqsh kamal day
Makh zama da dilruba.

Translation:

It is not easy to see the vision of God but presence of spring and my beloved's face are the sufficient proofs of God's existence. Both the poets have the imprint of women in their poetry but Ghani's approach seems to be more mature than Keats' as he lived to see the ripe days of life. In his youth he was like any young person impressed by every beautiful face he saw, as the following verses indicate:

Dalta yu khwata azghi di,
Bal khwa saange da nargas,
Da hunar elam saya ki,
Garzee gul lubana mees. (Mashuqai "London" 123)

Translation:

The thorns and Nargis (Tulip or Narcissus) branches exist side by side,
Under the pretext of education,
many roaming beauties are seen.

In one of his poems, like any other traditional poet, he is found singing in praise of his beloved and wanting to meet her as soon as possible.

Stha firaaq pama qayamat ko,
Yara sa ba vi qayamat os,
Stha pa eeshaq ki rooswa khwaakh yam,
Yara sa ba vi eezat os,
Stha yu khoog nazar dibari,
Stha yu dua pasti khabari,
Ma ta mulk janat janat kar Gura sa ba vi janat os,
Yar da roon jalbal manam
Stha da dwaoo
stargu pa thama,
Khwaar Ghani logaran proot day,
Stha ba sook kavi sifat os. (148)

Translation:

Your isolation made my life very miserable,
And how this miserable isolation would be,

I love to be disgraced in your love,
Without you honor means nothing now,
Your one single lovely look,
Your short sweet wordings,
Can change my life into heaven,
The heaven means nothing if I have your love,
Lying abject on the ground for your single glimpse of your eyes,
If he is there, who is going to praise you and your beauty.

Ghani's concept of love got deeper when he married Roshan. In his love for her, he wanted to find solace. This strong feeling of love is seen in these lines as he had just read a letter from her in jail.

Ma da duaoo lapu khwaoru tala jwand au jehan jur kro,
Khapali meene dase yuram bal me tala janaan jur ka,
Da chez a da wafa daka da junon jehan la laram,
Da me laal haghalt a oomnt da hama laaloonu khwwale,
Da sabot zama da meene da emaan au wafa da,
Da zama rooh chi rokhan shu da stargiyi kree balee. (Faridun, "A Letter"
249)

Translation:

I made a new life and world for you from two handfuls of dirt,
I got so much engrossed in your love, from that deep love I made a new
beloved for you,
With this deep feeling of love, I entered the valley of madness,
I found you, my beloved, (my gem) the best than all the other gems,
This extreme madness in your love is the proof of my love, faith and belief,
As my soul got enlightened, then it made the two eyes shine.

Having such strong belief in love, she considers the concept of women very realistically. In contrast Keats had little belief so far as women and love were concerned. In "Endymion" he is not happy much with love. In book III, the moon goddess is not presented very cheerfully but as a lovely maiden:

dost pine For one as sorrowful,
they cheek is pale,
For one whose cheek is pale. (89)

His concept of the realization of physical love could not fit into his spiritual

idealization of love. It does not mean that his concept of love is altogether too rigid to find no place in his poetry but rather it is so deep for Fanny that made him compose unique poetry for the world. His intense feelings of love are expressed in the letter to Fanny in these words, "I have two luxuries to brood over in my walks, your loveliness and the hour of my death, O, that I could take possession of them both in the same moment" (67).

His fear like this is interpreted in the lines from the sonnet, "When I have fears that I may cease to be." His poetry sometimes also brim with the romantic feelings and the following lines from St. Agnes clearly reflect his romantic love.

Beyond a mortal man impassion'd far,
At these voluptuous accents, he arose,
Ethereal, flush'd and like a throbbing star,
Seen mid the sapphire heaven's deep repose,
Into her dream he melted as the rose
Blended its odour with violet,
Solution sweet, meantime the frost wind blows,
Like love's alarum patterning the sharp sleet,
Against the window-panes, St. Agnes moon hath set. (36)

Both these great poets share their feelings for wine and its intoxicating effects upon them in their poetry. Ghani exhibits this in the following verses:

Chi nasha shama da khapal zana ozam,
Laka ooze tanzare da pangrena,
Mast zargay da ghama da range ochat she,
Laka poorta par karei gul da aderee na,
Da rond wajud majbora thaana makan kie pregdam,
Au da kyal pa khaperai bandi shama sour, Da oowam asman pa seelei
karan rawan,
Laton da jwand cheena da rana kor. (117)

Translation:

When I get intoxicated, my soul leaves my body,
Like a caged bird leaves its confinement,
My soul is then lifted like a flower raising its head in the graveyard,
I leave my physical body,
And by the help of my imagination

I soar to the seventh sky to roam about,
I come here in search of life source and the place of light.

Looking at Keats's Nightingale, almost similar feelings are sought as the following Keatsian verses indicate:

O, for a draught of vintage that hath been,
Cool'd a long age in the deep-delved earth,
Tasting of Flora and the country green,
Dance and Provencal song, and sun burnt mirth
O for a beaker full of the warm South,
Full of the true, the blushful Hippocrene,
With beaded bubbles, winking at the brim,
And purple-stained mouth,
That I might drink, and leave the world unseen,
And with thee fade away into the forest dim.

The list of similarities between these two great romantic giant poets of literature of two completely diverse cultures is very long. Khan and Keats are similar to a great extent with few exceptions. Both the poets give expression to feelings and emotions, which is appealing to any one of any age or time or place. Ghani Khan, like Keats, was also a great lover of beauty. His beauty concept transcends the limitations of time and enriches the essence of civilization and culture. Keats like Ghani Khan does not have the experience of life - the reasons being his ill health and youth. In both poets, love goes quite musically, the elements of musicality in the expression of love in the poetry of both poets is subtle. Despite having the various aspects of similarity between the poetry of these two poets, there are also points of differences. Keats' style is sensuous while Khan's style is more simple and straight forward; they both believed in the natural expression of poetry; both poets from East and West are great sources of inspiration for the lovers of literature.

Works Cited and Consulted

Albert, Edward. History of English Literature. London: OUP, 1979. Print.

Abrams, M.H. The Mirror and the Lamp. London: OUP, 1953. Print.

Adams, R. M. "What Was Modernism?" Hudson Review (30): 1. Web. 21 May 2020. Print.

Bacha, M. S. and B. Sheema, "A Study of the Comparative Elements in the Poetry of Keats and Ghani Khan." Language in India. Web. 14 March 2020. <www.languageinindia.com/nov2010/ghanikhankeats.pdf[4]>.

Blades, John. John Keats Poems. London: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.

Blackstone, Bernard. *The Consecrated Urn: An Interpretation of Keats in Terms of Growth and Form*. London: Longmans Green and Co., 1959. Print.

Babar, S. *Strains of Romanticism in Abdul Ghani Khan and John Keats Poetry*. Peshawar: Peshawar UP, 1978. Print.

Bowra, C.M. *The Romantic Imagination*. London: OUP, 1950. Print.

Calinescu, M. "Modernity, Modernism, Modernization: Variations on Modern Themes." *Symploke* 1.1(2020): 1-20. Web. 12 April 2020. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40550352>>.

Cazamian and Legouis. *History of English Literature*. New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981. Print.

Daiches, David. *A Critical History of English Literature*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1968. Print.

Dyson, John Butt. *Augustan and Romantics*. Oxford: OUP, 2005. Print.

Eliot, T.S. "Tradition and the Individual Talent." *20th Century Literary Criticism*. Ed. David Lodge. New York: Longman, 1972. Print.

Gittings, Robert. *John Keats: The Living Year. 21 September 1818 to 21 September 1819*. London: Heinemann, 1954. Print.

Habib, M. A. R. "T.S. Eliot and Modernism in Urdu Poetry." *Annual Urdu Studies* 2.2 (2007). Print.

Hanaway, L. "Classical Persian Literature." *Iranian Studies* 31. Web. 19 August. 2020. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311188>>.

Hornby. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. 2010. Print.

Howell, Evelyn and Olaf Caroe. "The Poems of Khushal Khan Khattak." Peshawar: Pashto Academy UP, 1988. Print.

Khalil, Jadediat H. "Mabad Jadediataur Pashto Adab." *Pashto Adabke Jadeed Rujhanat*. Ed. Abdullah Jan. Peshawar: Peshawar UP, 2008. Print.

Kamal, M. "Pashto Drama ke Jadeed Rujhanat." *Pashto Adabke Jadeed Rujhanat*. Ed. Abdullah Jan. Peshawar: Peshawar UP, 2008. Print.

Stillinger, Jack, ed. *John Keats: Poetry Manuscripts at Harvard: A Facsimile Edition*. Harvard: Harvard UP, 1990. Print.

Jackson, Walter Bate. *John Keats*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1964. Print.

Matthews, G. M. *John Keats: The Critical Heritage*. London: Routledge, 1995. Print.

Monckton, Richard Milnes. *Life, Letters and Literary Remains of John Keats*. 2 Vols. London: Edward Moxon, 1984. Print.

O'Neill, et al, eds. *Romantic Poetry: An Annotated Anthology*. Blackwell:

Blackwell Press, 2007. Print.

Khan, Abdul Ghani. *Da Ghani Kulyat, Da Pukhwani au Rozani Mathabah*, ND:1986. Print.

Latoon: The Frontier Post Publications, 1995. Print.

The Pathan: The Frontier Post Publications, 1993. Print.

Khan, Tiamur. *Ghani Khan's Poetry*. Peshawar: Peshawar Printing Press, 2011. Print.

Lodge, David. *20th Century Literary Criticism*. New York: Longman, 1972. Print.

Lachman, Lilach. "History and Temporalization of Space: Keats' Hyperion Poems." *Proceedings of the XII Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*. Ed. Roger Bauer and Douwe Fokkema Munich, Germany: Germany UP, 1988. Print.

Mahaffey, V. *Modernist Literature: Challenging Fictions*. UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Print.

Malone, D. H. "Towards a History of Modernism." *Comparative Literature Studies*. Web. 15 May 2020. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40468064>>.

Mangal, A. "Pashto Afsane k Jadeed Rujhanat." *Pashto Adabke Jadeed Rujhanat*. Ed. Abdullah Jan. Peshawar: Peshawar UP, 2008. Print.

Mehmood, R. "Ghani Khan: The Rhythms of Hope." *The Express Tribune*. Web. 25 May 2020. <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/153226/faiz-ahmed-faiz-the-rhythms-of-hope/>>.

Michael, Alexander. *A History of English Literature: Romanticism*. London: ST. Martin's Press, 2000. Print.

Morris, R. "Words and Images in Modernism and Postmodernism." *Critical Inquiry* 15.2 (2020). Web. 26 April 2020. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343588>>.

Prasad, B. *A Background to the Study of English Literature*. New Delhi: Macmillan, 1965. Print.

Raz, S. *Pashto Adabaur Naye Rujhanat*. Peshawar: Peshawar UP, 2008. Print.

Ridley, M. and Clarendon R. *Keats' Craftsmanship: A Study in Poetic Development*. London: OUP, 1993. Print.

Empowerment of Women Characters in Manju Kapur's *Difficult Daughters*

**Neeta Singh
Sandhya Sharma**

ABSTRACT

The desire to house an identity is inherent in every human being. It is a state of mind that differentiates a person from others and it may be defined as a person's own sense of self. For a girl, this quest for identity begins from the day she is born. She may be born in India or in any other part of the globe. There is no room for her personality, her mind and her desire. Virtues like patience, sacrifice, tolerance, humbleness and submissiveness should be ingrained in a woman as she is acceptable only with these virtues, whereas man is free to go otherwise. This identity crisis will always be there in a woman who desires to be someone. Portia in Hamlet says, "We know what we are, but not what we may be" (Shakespeare 64). Hence, in order to get some recognition a woman will have to break the boundaries of discrimination, in a society which is gender biased and encourages gender inequality. This scuffle to prove oneself is born not only in the main protagonist (Virmati) in Manju Kapur's *Difficult Daughters* (1998) but also in several other women characters of the novel. In *Difficult Daughters* Kapur presents "the existential predicaments of women and their identity crisis, aspiration and frustration when they try to achieve self-identity in life" (Web 21 Sept 2016).

The story is seen through the eyes of Virmati's daughter, Ida (the narrator) from whom her mother's past has always been kept a secret. The novel talks about Virmati's struggle through life, how she tries to gain her identity by expounding her rebellious ideas against the male dominated society. The first person Virmati rebels against is her mother, Kasturi who is a beautiful educated lady, a perfect

house wife and is well versed in the art of cooking, embroidery and other things necessary for a woman to know. She used all her education in satisfying the needs of her in laws. She totally depends upon her husband for identity. Her father-in-law is happy that she has filled the home with invaluable laughter of kids. She is always found amidst work. Giving birth to eleven children completely deteriorates her health. One day she realizes that her body lacks the strength to endure more. Her hidden desire for abortion is a plea to save the woman inside her. "For Kasturi bearing eleven children is not an easy proposition, she is always tired and irritated and though she laments being so trapped by nature, she cannot talk it over with her husband because of socio-culture-imperatives" (Bande 67). Her husband loves her but love is not enough to rejuvenate her health. At times, her sister-in-law Lajwanti also ridicules her.

Every day, Kasturi entered the dark and slippery bathroom to check whether there was any promising reddish looking mucus between her thighs. Nothing, always nothing, and tears gathered and flowed in the only privacy she knew. Her life seemed such a burden, her body so difficult to carry. Her sister-in-law's words echoed in her ears, 'Breeding like cats and dogs,' 'Harvest time again.' Kasturi could not remember a time when she was not tired, when her feet and legs did not ache. (7)

One major reason behind Kasturi's predicament is that she is the victim of an unfortunate practice i.e. child marriage which denies a girl the right to education and choice. Deprived of the pleasures of childhood, the tender minds are not mature enough to handle responsibilities. Unluckily, it is the girl who suffers the most in such cases, both physically and mentally. As is the case with Kasturi, with incessant deliveries, her body becomes frail; even her breasts are dry and she is left with no milk for the child. She is so weak by this time, that even,

... the Hakim declared he could not answer for Kasturi's life if she had any more children. The Vaid also said the same thing. A western educated allopath declared that repeated births deplete the body, and no medicine could help Kasturi through another pregnancy. She needed to build up her strength; she needed the fresh air of the mountains immediately, as much as she needed to be removed from the crowded and unhealthy bazaar permanently (10).

It is only when Kasturi is nearing death that her husband and father-in-law are worried about her deteriorating health. The picture, this society frames for a typical Hindu woman is one who is engrossed in household works from morning to evening, never complaining.

Kasturi is an epitome of suffering whose silence pushes her towards her death bed, but she never grumbles, accepts everything as her destiny. Her rebellion is also inaudible. "... rebellion filled her. Why should she look after her body? Had not it made her life wretched enough?" (9). She is so accustomed to the male-dominated

culture that in her rebellion also, she blames herself. An Indian woman is so used to the patriarchal way of life that a slight deviation from the aforesaid path of an ideal woman engulfs her with guilt. Unvoiced thoughts articulate within her but she never expresses them. She is also unable to express her love for Virmati. Kapur presents her as a victim of the derogatory central of patriarchy and she expects the same from her daughter. She wants Virmati to sacrifice her studies and think of the family first.” You are forgetting what comes first” (21). Unknowingly, somehow, she compels her daughter to follow her. She dare not challenge norms of Indian society so she challenges her daughter's dream.

Kasturi has always followed the norms of society. Now the question is -What does the society do for her? This picture is defied by Virmati, Shakuntala, Swarna Lata and lastly Ida.

Like Kasturi, Virmati belongs to the same society where examples cited are that of Sita and Savithri from Hindu mythology and if one goes against these norms, one is easily labeled as shameless. Under so rigid and strict Hindu society norms, Virmati does not want to marry because she wants to study and settle down first. It is like a challenge for which she faces the wrath of her family and society both.

Virmati's family is not against the education she has already attained but going for higher education is something that disturbs her mother because her views and thoughts have never gone beyond a particular limit. For Kasturi learning household works and attaining perfection in it is what a girl should really be educated in. She feels that Virmati is probably out of her senses.

She too knew the value of education; it had got her husband, and filled her hours with the pleasure of reading. In her time, going to school had been a privilege, not to be abused by going against one's parents. How had girls changed so much in just a generation? (60)

Besides Virmati's adamant decision to say no to marriage for education can hinder the marriage of her younger sisters also. It is much disappointing that our society ignores the education of the girls, which generates problems for them throughout their life. If a girl aspires for education, she is categorized as being difficult. Kapur throws light on this fact, and also the need for educating girls to maintain the balance and develop the society. Many other women characters in the novel are also considered as difficult. Shakuntala and Swarnalata are difficult as they break the patriarchal hegemony and cherish the change of being modern women. It is Shakuntala who influences Virmati and brings a change in her. Somnath, the son of the family also breaks a number of norms of the family but he is not tagged as a difficult son. “...but despite all the pressure, nothing would induce Somnath to change his mind about marriage”(32).

It becomes very challenging for Virmati to go for higher education and that too

after denying arranged marriage. She also annoys everybody by her boldness to love a married man who not only is a husband but also a father which means Virmati wants independence to marry a person of her whimsical choice. She finds nothing wrong in wanting to marry a person, who she thinks, loves her, thinks like her and cherishes education like her. The situations like this raise alarms even today. So, it is but natural for everyone to get bewildered by Virmati wanting to study and maintaining relation with a married man.

Love is not only the motivation behind Virmati. She wants to do something meaningful. Wanting to go for higher studies is not only an alternative for her to avoid marriage. Deep inside, she respects her role model (Shakuntala) who is educated, confident and independent. Her looks and manners impress Virmati and she gets aspiration for further education from her. "These people don't really understand Viru, how much satisfaction there can be in leading your own life" (17). Lajwanti and Kasturi, on the other hand, get into clash with Shakuntala's ideas. In one of the passages Lajwanti says: "All the time in lab, doing experiments, helping the girls, studying or going to conferences, I tell her she should have been a man" (16).

Both Lajwanti (Shakuntala's mother) and Kasturi have to yield before the demands of their difficult daughters. By and by with the help of Kasturi, Virmati shifts to Lahore for higher studies, taking her to Lahore for studies Kasturi once again tries to make Virmati understand the ways of the world- the way she herself understands them.

A woman without her own home and family is a woman without moorings. 'When I was your age', continued Kasturi, 'girls only left their house when they married. And beyond a certain age....' Her voice quavered and she stopped, looking at her daughter helplessly. (111)

Lajwanti and Kasturi hold the stereotypical opinion that only a man is free to do a job, to go outside and fulfill his desires. A woman, according to them has to stick firmly to the norms of the society. Her life should be entirely dedicated to the cause of her family. While talking to Shakuntala, Kasturi remarks:

Hai re, beti! What is the need to do a job? A woman's shaan is her home. Now you have studied and worked enough. Here Kasturi's eyes glistened with emotion. After you get married, Viru can follow. (16)

Shakuntala shares her views with Virmati: "These people do not really understand Viru.... Women are still supposed to marry and nothing else". (17)

Kasturi accompanies Virmati to Lahore to ensure her safe stay in the girls' hostel. This exhibits that her soul is not necessarily adverse to Virmati's education. She probably wants to support Virmati but her patriarchal dominant conditioning does not allow her to do so, she still hopes Virmati to change her decision. Moreover higher education for girls was not very rampant those days and sending a grown up daughter to a city for studies was not easily acceptable.

What with their modern education and their modern women. Do you know, in the city they already have grown-up girls, fit enough to be mothers of two or three children, going to the universities? And they talk to this boy and that boy; and what they do amongst themselves, heaven alone knows. (Rao 34)

In a society similar to the one mentioned above, Virmati wants to be an independent woman who can take decisions on her own, a woman who does not have to ask her family members for every little work she wishes to do. Now she does not want any male in her life to interfere with her decisions. She goes to Lahore for studies and wants to be away even from the Professor and from marriage both.

In Lahore, Virmati is surrounded by many women who have left their family behind in order to seek education. Shakuntla is already there who on her part is happy that her family at last understands that higher education can be meant for girls also. "She was glad that her family was at last waking up to the fact that women had to take their place in the world, but must it always be when marriage hadn't worked out?" (112)

Shakuntla's life is devoid of any male interference and hence it can be seen that she in the long run happens to be more independent than Virmati. Virmati's roommate Swarna Lata is qualified and Virmati is highly impressed by her. Swarna Lata is in Lahore for pursuing her M.A. In the context of Virmati's questions about objections which might have been raised by Swarna Lata's parents, she replies care freely, "They probably were. I don't know. But they agreed because they know I meant what I said" (118).

The life of Swarnalata offers a contrast to the life of Virmati. Now she wants to be like Swarna but her love life becomes a huge hindrance in her way to independent life. In spite of her efforts to avoid Professor and his love, frequent visits of the Professor to Lahore do not let her concentrate on her studies. She loses confidence she had gained in Lahore and once again becomes a weak, submissive creature. Here, Shakuntala and Swarnalata happen to be really strong characters. In an attempt to adapt to the ways of Swarnalata, Virmati tries to think like her. She also joins her in conference but in vain, the memories. The memories of Harish's love are so dominant that she feels 'out of place' amongst so many women whom she likes to be with.

Torn between the desire to study and craving for love Virmati's life is very complicated. She wants to study, she wants to be independent like the woman around her but finds herself being pulled back by an unknown force, may be her love affair. In Lahore, once again she meets Swarna Lata who is still the same independent lady even after her marriage. This time Virmati feels out of place even with her. Swarna Lata invites her to demonstrate against the Hindu Code Bill but Virmati finds her married life a constraint to attend such demonstrations. Here it is apparent that women at times place limitations for themselves.

Lamely she said, 'I, wish I could come, Swarna, but I'm married.

'So? I'm not asking you to commit adultery. We have plenty of married women working with us. I'm married, aren't I'? (252)

Swarn Lata is privileged here, for her marriage is no constraint to independent thinking or to education. As the time passes Virmati does become independent in some matters for example, she does not go to Amritsar at weekends, she resists going there during summer vacation also. Harish has to literally force her to come to Amritsar. Though Harish wants her to study and become independent, yet the paradox is that the subjects for her MA are also chosen by him. She hated philosophy, although Harish called it a noble subject. It was dull, abstract and meaningless, but studying it was her only means of escape. She wished Harish had thought another subject suitable for her. She also wished it was not such an uphill task, being worthy of him. (257)

Since the establishment of the society, woman is divided as per social security, political awareness and economic liberation. In this context, Simon De Beauvoir comments: "Women are still for the most part, in a state of subjection. It follows that woman sees herself and makes her choices not in accordance with her true nature in itself, but as man defines her"(Beauvoir 169). This is because in a male dominated society laws for women are also made by men. Men never think of elevating women to higher positions in society. Once in a conversation with Harish, Virmati expresses a different opinion and is called an 'idealist' by him. "I see Lahore has made you an idealist...Virmati was silent. Were her thoughts idealistic, and not worth taking seriously?" (127). Being the product of the patriarchal society, the Professor is unable to digest the fact that Virmati also has independent thoughts. Later when Virmati gives birth to Ida, she suggests that her daughter be named Bharti but her husband names the child, Ida. She is thus devoid, even the freedom of naming her own child.

It is not only Virmati who suffers. The novel has other women characters also who suffer due to this patriarchal society. One of them is Ganga, bound to Harish by nuptial knot. She was a child when she got married, Harish is upset due to this childhood marriage but how can Ganga be blamed for this. Ganga was also an innocent child like Harish when they got married. But unlike Harish, she has no contempt for this marriage; she is attached to Harish emotionally. Ganga is in contrast to Virmati, while Virmati wants independence; Ganga is satisfied leading the life of a house wife who is supposed to be obedient, submissive and perfect in everything. The male dominated society considers these qualities essential, for a wife and daughter-in-law, and not education. So, the urge of studying never arose in Ganga. Besides, women particularly of that era, once married had loads of responsibility upon them. When Virmati became Ganga's friend, she had noticed how engrossed Ganga used to be in household work.

Don't you ever go out? Virmati asked the woman. They were quite friendly now.

Arre, where to go? He is busy and there is so much to do in the house'. Virmati nodded. That she could see. There was much the woman was constantly doing, especially in the kitchen. (39)

Even then, Ganga has to undergo a lot of sufferings and it is sad that the person, for whom she does all this, marries another woman and brings her to stay with Ganga under the same roof. On the other hand, when Ganga goes out with Virmati to visit places like Darbar Sahib and the Company Bagh, she is amazed to see that Virmati knows so much about the trees, she appreciates her knowledge and thinks about the numerous times her husband had tried to teach her. "But the woman found it difficult to learn letters... The woman's own mother had never read, nor ever felt the need" (40). After Ganga's marriage, when the Professor tries to teach her, she witnesses a teacher student relationship, rather than a husband wife relationship. Poor Ganga was laden with household responsibilities between studies and home. Already a mother of a daughter she is unable to concentrate on her studies. Her husband wants her to become his companion quickly but at the same time gets impatient and angry when the food is badly cooked and the house managed carelessly. It probably became impossible for Ganga to manage both studies and home. She must have been caught up between the both thereby, faltering in both fields. Harish and Ganga's child marriage is a fault of the society resulting in differences between the two. M. K. Gandhi in *The Story of my experiments with truth* calls child marriage a "cruel custom" (Gandhi 12). When she goes out with Virmati, her nervousness can be felt when it starts getting late. She seems to be in awe of the Professor.

No, no, it's getting late. What'll he say? hesitated the woman, remembering that she ought not to be away from home for so long. Without him...

...Her voice trailed off. How could she explain all the different qualities of silence that could thicken the air in a house, and that to someone who was not married? It was impossible.(42)

Thus the reason for Ganga not being able to concentrate on her studies can be clearly seen. In fact she ought to be praised for her efforts to study despite having so much work laden upon her shoulders. Harish desires an intellectual companion for him while Ganga is the total contrast in this loveless marriage. Neither Harish nor Ganga is responsible for their sufferings. In one of his letters to Virmati Harish writes:

Who is responsible for this state of affairs? Society, which deems that their sons should be educated, but not their daughters. Society that decides that children babies really should be married at the age of two and three as we were. As a result, both of us needlessly suffer for no fault of ours. (103)

Marriage is a pious bond which requires devotion and understanding. Both Virmati and Harish lack such a dedication. He has no respect for his partner in the institution

of marriage with neither Ganga nor Virmati.

This beauty of relation with a life partner is unseen by Harish. That is why he remains satisfied in his carnal pleasures with both his wives. Ganga manages his social requirements and Virmati manages his intellectual demands. Education is one thing which Ganga lacks and Virmati possesses. The society which detests Virmati's education and her marriage with Harish is indirectly responsible for all the circumstances that these three people are going through. Indian society is known particularly for setting separate norms for boys and girls.

After Virmati goes away to Lahore, suddenly Harish is physically attracted to Ganga. He wondered why she wore her mangasutra inside her blouse. One day he reached in and pulled it out gently, and was flattered by the look of abject gratitude on Ganga's face.(263)

Ganga who had meant nothing to Harish is now able to attract Harish physically. Once Virmati goes to Lahore, she increases her hold on the house.

When she tentatively presses his legs, he does not object. She takes to doing this every day. She talks of the activities of their children, of the wellbeing of his mother and sister, of house hold concerns, and desperately tries to weave a family structure that includes them both.(262)

On the contrary, Virmati is a woman who is aware of her independent status. She is educated and the power of education gives her strength to defy the social norms set up by the patriarchal society. It is not only Virmati who opposes these norms. In fact there are signs of rebellion in most of the characters. Shakuntla is the first woman character in the novel who breaks the norms and decides to do what she wishes. Ganga also voices out her feelings when Virmati stands as an ally before her. Only Kasturi remains attached to the norms. Lajwanti also is one of the smart and outspoken ladies in the novel that is why she is also able to achieve her desires. By voicing out her thoughts, she is able to get a separate house for her family. Swarna Lata is another woman who defies the conventional norms for a liberated life. She shares her tale of independence with Virmati. The way she declares her decision to her parents clearly shows her determination.

I was very clear that I wanted to do something besides getting married and I told my parents that if they would support me for two more years I would be grateful otherwise I would be forced to offer satyagraha along with other congress workers against the British.(118)

Then there is Ida who completely belongs to the new generation. She does not care about her family and steps out into the world to live a life of her choice. She breaks her marriage bond with her husband because she is not comfortable in it. Her mother is always anxious about her future so after Virmati's death, Ida asserts, "This book weaves a connection between my mother and me, each work a brick in a

mansion I made with my head and my heart. Now live in it, Mama, and Leave me be. Do not haunt me anymore” (280).

As a mother there is a difference of opinion between Kasturi and Virmati. Kasturi never showers love and blessings on Virmati as she is so engrossed in her incessant pregnancies that she is never able to understand Virmati's pains and her desires.

The answer to the mother-daughter conflict can be located in the cultural concept of ideal womanhood. The patriarchal ideology of culture necessarily presents women's subordination to men as normal, natural and legitimate and since women are conditioned to believe that way, they do not contest it. (Bande 123)

The clash between the mother and daughter creates situations of disagreement and difference. Even then at times, Virmati yearns for affection. When she put her head next to the youngest baby, feeding in the mother's arms, Kasturi would get irritated and push her away. “Have you seen to their food-milk-clothes-studies? You are the eldest. If you do not see to things, who will?” (6). Virmati understands that it is futile to expect love from her mother. “Why did she need to look for gestures when she knew how indispensable she was to her mother and the whole family?” (6-7). She has to revolt against her mother and her only means of escape is education.

It is this lack of understanding with her mother that ultimately compels her to fall in love with a married Professor. Her desire for education also persuades her towards the Professor. Virmati's interest in studies attracts the Professor towards her and the other cause is Virmati's beauty.

The Professor drank in the symbolism of her posture greedily. It moved him so deeply that he remembered it in all its detail.... The professor's desire to possess had extended to her heart and mind. (46-47)

These lines show the greed in the Professor to possess Virmati. He is attracted by Virmati's flower like structure. Freud discusses women as “sex objects to men”. Men, he suggests split women symbolically and erotically into, mothers and sisters, on the one hand and prostitutes on the other” (Web 16 Oct 2016). Probably the thought of marriage is never in his mind. Even after marrying Virmati, he does not leave Ganga. Freud's theory needs no further justification. It is to be noted that for centuries, female body is perceived as an object to be possessed by man. SeemanthiniNiranjana says, “The body is the site of a range of institutional and regulatory discourses. The body becomes the very medium through which femininity is constituted” (Niranjana 109-110).

Similarly, Virmati is understood only as a physical body by the Professor. Whenever the two meet, it is with sex that the Professor starts and silences all the questions and worries of Virmati about her future. The Professor seems contended with Virmati as his girlfriend and Ganga as his wife. It is Virmati who raises the question of marriage every time.

Similarly, Virmati is understood only as a physical body by the Professor. Whenever the two meet, it is with sex that the Professor starts and silences all the questions and worries of Virmati about her future. The Professor seems contended with Virmati as his girlfriend and Ganga as his wife. It is Virmati who raises the question of marriage every time.

Man can think of himself without woman. She cannot think of herself without man. And she is simply what man decrees... she appears essentially to the male as a sexual being. For him she is sex...absolute sex, no less. She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not with reference to her, she is the incidental the inessential as opposed to essential .(Beauvoir 16)

It is only Virmati's beauty and intellectual character, Harish is interested in. Although Virmati wants her progress through studies, even her heart knows that her ultimate goal is to be married. She keeps on waiting for Harish as if only Harish can decide her fate.

She follows wherever his work calls him and determines their place of residence. She breaks more or less decisively with her post, becoming attached to her husband's universe; she gives him her person, virginity and a rigorous fidelity being required. She loses some of the rights legally belonging to the unmarried woman. (Beauvoir 449)

Kapur projects her protagonists as strong characters but they are also silent sufferers. Relatively prolonged intervals of silence can be observed in the central characters like Virmati, Kasturi and Ganga.

Ida is different from Kasturi and Virmati. Kapur presents her as strong-willed, confident and self-reliant. She detests the norms of society and is able to get a divorce from her husband. She establishes herself as an independent woman and revolts against her mother. The opening line of the novel reveals her anguish." The one thing I had wanted was not to be like my mother" (1). This strong woman, however is not able to raise her voice against her husband when he forces her to abort their child. Adrienne Rich states, "No free woman...would 'choose' abortion and if she did, it would be to inflict a kind of penance on herself" (Rich 268). This shows that Ida is another victim of a male oriented society. Her divorce is her silent resistance against her husband.

Ganga is another silent sufferer who is simply a wife, a caretaker and a mother. She is self-sacrificing and well accomplished in household works, but fails to earn her husband's love and attention. Her acceptance of Virmati as her husband's second wife presents her silent agony. She never raises her voice and soliloquizes her feelings against Virmati. "May the new bride slip in the blood, and break her head in the kitchen from where she had served him so long" (210). She has never taken any decision on her own and has always abided by the decision of her husband. After all

the sacrifices she made, what she gets is loneliness.

Kapur's heroines are strong because in order to do whatever they want to, they challenge the norms established in a patriarchal male-dominating society which accepts a male with all his faults and is ready to chide a female every time. It is surely a herculean task. In comparison to the Professor, Virmati shows remarkable strength in character. It is she who changes places, takes decisions and avoids the Professor at times. Harish's act needs no explanation as he is not considered at fault by anyone. Virmati's rebellion against her mother's expectations may not be for Harish alone. Harish is simply a medium of her access to a different world. Her marriage with Harish is a result of the confusion. After marriage, she once again finds herself without an identity, now that she does not even have a room of her own. Discarded and dejected in Harish's home, she is trapped once more within limitations. It is only when she returns to Lahore, that she regains life but this is again not digested by Harish. Through persistent gnawing he tortures Virmati emotionally. Harish is a representation of a true hypocritical male who outwardly appears to promote Virmati's education but inwardly fears the change education might bring in Virmati's attitude.

However, his persona does not deter Virmati from taking decisions for herself. She seldom comes to Amritsar and if she comes, it is on the request of Harish. He may be feeling that instead of being married to Harish, Virmati seems to be wavering from the predefined life of a married woman. It is surprising that the turmoil going on inside Virmati cannot be seen by him. Like any other woman, Virmati tries to adjust but in the process she has to go through many ups and downs. Though achieving higher education is her greatest passion, yet most of the time she is unable to fare well in her exams; and the reason is always her preoccupation in other worries. As a young girl, she has to spend much of her time in taking care of her siblings. She goes to Lahore with an aim in life but is disturbed by the Professor time and again. She is unable to do well in exams at Lahore again because of her pregnancy. So, it is Virmati who suffers alone. Even then praiseworthy is her determination that she takes her papers even after going through the painful experience of abortion. In spite of challenges, she never quits the path of education; she continues with her dream of acquiring higher education. Unlike Shakuntala and Swarnalata, she never voices her thoughts loudly. Quietly she tolerates as much as she can, she never answers back with shouts or shrieks. She is full of patience except once or twice when she is not able to face circumstances and takes out her frustration on Harish. After the death of her father and grandfather she resorts to complete silence. She becomes a stone with no expressions on her face. Harish sends her to Lahore for studies and she goes away leaving the home behind for which she had struggled for five long years. She appears as a woman of determination, much more determined than confused and coward.

The final determination of Virmati accords her the status, she has been yearning for. She emerges as a strong and educated lady and by her zeal for education; she earns a name of her own.

In the generation of Kasturi, woman's role was confined to child bearing and kitchen work, the generation of Virmati took same bold and radical steps in joining the political movement for India's freedom, asserted the need for woman education and independence. As a non-chalant representative of the middle generation, Virmati breaks away from the tradition bound limits of Indian women. (Milhoutra 164)

Virmati is a woman who fights, but falls and fails, yet every time she proposes her rebellious ideas against the patriarchal society and tries to gain her identity. However, Gur Pyari Jandial correctly points out that it is a mistake to devalue Virmati's struggle just because she failed, for what mattered was to have made the attempt, "to break the patriarchal mould, and for Virmati to have tried to do that in the forties was a great achievement"(47). Virmati is struggling to cast off the web of patriarchal dominance when she is opting for self-change.

Despite being detested throughout her life by her family, she is appreciated gradually. Kailashnath's appreciation for her, "You are a generous woman, sister," (276) relates that finally she is held in a high esteem by them. She also gets a place and status in her husband's home. Although she faces lots of ups and downs in her life, she defies them, faces the challenges and earns her self-identity. She fails to spread her wings like Swarnalata, but gradually creates some space for herself.

The callous attitude of Kasturi is also responsible for Virmati's rebellion. She rebels against her mother for education but like Kasturi, she is unable to voice her thoughts loudly against patriarchal dominance. Like Kasturi, she attempts to inflict injuries on herself by trying to commit suicide. Though she resents against her family, unknowingly she becomes a puppet in Harish's hands for a few years. She wants to achieve something meaningful in life but hopelessly wavers between her practicality and emotional dependence on Harish.. She fights for her rights silently but fails to resist Harish's influence on her. Mostly, she is alone with her thoughts. Her decision to commit suicide, to abort her baby and to go to Shantiniketan is example of silent articulations within her. They indeed present her determination because she decides to live a life on her own terms but the influence of Harish brings her back to a subdued position. She seldom talks to anyone and refuses to accept condolences. Her silent rebellion is so strong that she even bears the pain of her second abortion without any hue and cry. "Even through the pain he could see the inflexible, resolute expression on her face" (246). Like Kasturi, she also blames herself. God was speaking. He was punishing her for the first time" (246). Her sense of guilt is similar to that of Kasturi. Unable to recognize the true cause behind their predicament, they blame themselves for their agony. Gradually things change, Virmati emerges as the winner. Her patience paves the way to her freedom.

Then after Independence they move to Delhi. Virmati now has a daughter Ida. She is finally able to achieve the love of her maternal family, now she has a free and independent life with her husband. She also has a girl child. At last she is able to build up a status in her life. Her brothers and sisters call her an educated and generous lady. Thus Virmati emerges from the dark dungeons of her life and embraces a new life.

Works Cited

- Kapur, Manju. *Difficult Daughters*. London: Faber and Faber, 1998. Print.
- Bande, Usha. *Writing Resistance: A Comparative Study of the Selected Novels by Women Writers*. Shimla: IAS, 2006. Print.
- Barry, Peter. "Narratology." *Beginning Theory: An introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. New Delhi: Viva, 2010. Print.
- Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. London: Vintage Classics, 1997. Print.
- Chakravathy, Radha. *Feminism and Contemporary Women Writers: Rethinking Subjectivity*. New Delhi: Routledge, 2008. Print.
- Chaudhuri, Maitrayee. ed. *Feminism in India: Issues in Contemporary Indian Feminism*. New York: Zed Books, 2005. Print.
- Cixous, Helen. *New French Feminism*. Brighton: Harvester, 1981. Print.
- Kapur, Manju. *Home*. London: Faber and Faber, 2006. Print.
- Kapur, Manju. *A Married Woman*. London: Faber and Faber, 2003. Print.
- Marie, Casee. Rev. of *Difficult Daughters* by Manju Kapoor. Web. 24 October 2016. <<https://www.goodreads.com>.
- Preeti. Rev. of *Difficult Daughters* by Manju Kapoor. Web. 16 October 2016. <<https://www.goodreads.com>.
- Pyari, Jandial Guru. "Inner Journey in Manju Kapur's *Difficult Daughters*." Web. 21 September 2016. <<https://www.shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in>.

The Relevance and Scope of Translation in Indian Literature

- Snigdha Bhatt

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses issues of the importance of Indian writings and their translations in English. Along with this the paper also looks into the matters like resistance towards these texts and their representation. The Translations of Indian writings in English and Indian Writing in English find its roots in the period during British rule in the sub-continent. Translations having gained popularity in the recent decades have resulted in emergence of a serious academic engagement in translating Indian literature. The recent academic engagement has not only increased the quantitative but also qualitative production of translations for the readers of India and also worldwide. Taking into account the growing tradition of translations this paper emphasises on close attention to be paid on the theorisation, conceptualisation, contextualisation and canonisation of Indian writings in English and the translations of Indian writings in English. This attention needs to be paid as this trend represents a new literary culture in postcolonial writings.

Keywords: canonization, conceptualisation contextualization, resistance, representation, theorization

Introduction

The journey of translation is a journey of human civilization; its understanding, and sometimes of misunderstanding. The transmission of stories through translations takes a number of forms as they travel from culture to culture in the process of being translated from one language to another. This can be seen in the 'Panchatantra'. As Amitav Ghosh (1994) has rightly said the following about Panchatantra: "These stories too have no settings to speak of, except the notion of a forest. Yet the Panchatantra is

reckoned by some to be second only to the Bible in the extent of its global diffusion. Compiled in India early in the first millennium, it passed into Arabic through a sixth century Persian translation, engendering some of the best-known Translation Today Vol. 3 Nos. 1 & 2, 2006 © CIIL 2006 2 M. Asaduddin of middle eastern fables, including parts of the Thousand and One Nights. The stories were handed on to the Slavic languages through Greek, then from Hebrew to Latin, a version in the latter appearing in 1270. Through Latin they passed into German and Italian". These stories left their mark on collections as different as those of La Fontaine and the Grimm brothers, and today they are inseparably part of a global heritage."

Emergence of Translation: The increased emergence of works being done in the field of translation show some of the greatest moments of changes that are significant in history. Leave aside on the global level but in a country like India with 22 languages recognised in the eighth schedule of the constitution, hundreds of mother tongues, 15 different scripts and a number of dialects translations play a very important role. Being a multilingual country on such a large scale finding one language that would reach the masses is not easy here is where the translations of Indian literature to English plays the important role. Because of this necessity for a common language Indians have become bilingual (knowing their mother tongue and a second language for better communication with rest of the world).

Multilingual Culture: The biggest example of this multilingual culture in our country can be seen in the free translations and adaptations of epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata. For a long time, our literature consisted of retellings, adaptations, translations and interpretations. The translations could be found in all disciplines: subjects like medicine, astronomy, metallurgy, travel, philosophy, religion, poetics etc. most of our ancient writers were also multilingual. The translations were in languages like Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian and Arabic these languages had kept our culture vibrant and enriched our awareness of the world for long. Our ancient writers and their works also reflect our multilingual culture each of them composed their songs and poems in more than one language.

Recently there has been an uprising of a complex new literary scenario in India. This complexity is the resultant of both the Indian reader and the writer being exposed to an array of different languages which gives rise to an increase in the chances of inconsistencies in the meaning being projected by the writer through his/her writings and meaning being understood by the reader. The complexity also arises due to cultural divide among people where a thing may be written in a different cultural context and the reader who is reading the translation may not get to know the essence of it. As we see it today one of the major concerns in India is the translation of Indian literatures in English. This can be seen reflected in the growing number of publications every year shows that translations into English from various languages of India are far more popular than the translations within the Indian languages.

Translation is also a weapon that helps us fight the deep-rooted colonial prejudices.

When we translate our work of literature and knowledge, we prove that we have a long history and tradition of great writing and research and that our colonisers were in no way superior to us. The translations have helped us to tell the world what they have to read to understand our culture and our people. This shift from others translating our work in a way that suits them to us translating our own literature has helped us in changing their thoughts about the “orientalist” conceptions about India.

In case of translations both writer and reader operate beyond the frontiers of a given language and literary culture. The role of translator as an important negotiator has emerged between the two. Much has changed during the past few decades in Indian academia as the result of a more mobile intellectual milieu, new technologies and improved conditions for disseminating knowledge. Privileged universities in the metropolitan centres open to academic inquiry have introduced revisionary approaches such as reforming the canon. An effort is being continuously made to relocate to India from the West the western body of knowledge and modes of dissemination. As such, the whole question of English studies in India, a site of multiplicities, has been under renewed scrutiny over the past two decades in a number of academic debates and publications, for like the postcolonial English-speaking world in general, now enriched with a variety of English, it faces a number of questions. The avenues for translators in today's world are ever expanding in today's age of translations.

Literary Translations : Indian Literature Abroad (ILA) is a new mission launched by the Government of India to promote the new found interest of the world towards our literature. The translations of our literary and discursive works is also being promoted by Big publishing houses like Penguin, Macmillan, Orient Longman, Oxford University Press, Hatchett etc .

The translations are now being done in multiple ways:

- i) Translating foreign literature into Indian languages
- ii) Translating Indian literature into foreign languages

Translation of Indian literature in one language to other Indian languages capable translators are being searched by publishing houses (both in English and regional languages), Sahitya akademi National Book Trust and regional literary associations today the demand for translated India literature has seen a recent increase due to the young Non-Resident Indian population in abroad who want to read the Indian literature but were unable to do so earlier due to unavailability of Indian literature in foreign language.

Knowledge Translation: The National Knowledge Commission intends to translate textbooks and classical works in diverse areas through its brain child The National Translation Mission. The textbooks of subjects like political science, sociology, geology, geography, history, mathematics, chemistry, physics, medicine, linguistics etc. are to be translated into Indian languages in order to raise the

standard of education delivered in mother tongues and to render accessible current and cutting edge knowledge which so far was only available in English to the poor and backward sections of the society. There is a search for competent translators in the commission and there is an evident scarcity in the area.

English is not an alien language to us. It isn't a language of our emotional make up but as Sanskrit and Persian was for us it also is the language of our intellectual make-up. We are all instinctively bilingual, many of us in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not. We can only write as Indians. Our method is of an expressional form. This expressional form English was not well recognised until recently with the rise in the translations of the texts found in our native Indian languages.

In the realm of World Literature, the Indian English Literature has attained an independent status. Wide ranges of themes are dealt with in Indian Writing in English. While this literature continues to reflect Indian culture, tradition, social values and even Indian history through the depiction of life in India and Indians living elsewhere, recent Indian English fiction has been trying to give expression to the Indian experience of the modern predicaments. There are critics and commentators in England and America who appreciate Indian English novels. As Prof. M. K. Naik remarks “one of the most notable gifts of English education to India is prose fiction for though India was probably a fountain head of story-telling, the novel as we know today was an importation from the west”.

English is being used by Indian writers to give shape to the conflicting dilemmas and issues related to human psyche. It has acquired a rare privilege and popularity in India especially among the elite and the middle classes as a result of which English has become a convenient medium to express the writers. Moreover, the Indian English writers use it with enviable ease and gaining mastery of a foreign tongue to articulate the vagaries and vicissitudes of an individual's consciousness in a realm of its own aptly substantiate the expansiveness and verve of the Indian English writers.

The quest for individual expression in the writers today has given rise to production of texts that may appropriately be called collaborative. Such text, where the source or the target text, is neither completely independent nor can be seen in isolation, is sustained by and survives through collaboration with other literary traditions, linguistic norms and canonical formulations. This text creates an enquiring readership and is accompanied by scholastic or critical interventions which in a way helps it in acquiring its vitality. In substantial ways these collaborations create texts which are dependent upon co-texts and subtexts.

Finding that different writers and translators often chose to translate texts of a similar nature should not come as a surprise to us. For examples of this one can always refer to the past practices of people such as Akbar, the great (Mughal emperor) who had texts from Sanskrit, Turkish and Arabic translated into Persian, with the intention of promoting dialogue and bringing together the followers of various faiths: texts like

the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagwad Gita, the Bhagwat Purana, the Atharva Veda, and so on were selected. A Mughal descendant, Dara Shikoh, sought the help of the pandits of Varanasi (Banaras) to translate the Upanishads *Sirri-i Asrar* or *Sirri-i Akbar* (1657) and extended the great tradition of Akbar. These texts later found favour with western translators and readers. In translating the Bhagwad Gita (1785) near the end of the 18th century, for example, Charles Wilkins made the first Sanskrit text available to Europe. Similarly, in translating *Abhijnansakuntalam* (1789) just four years later, Sir William Jones made the first literary text available to the West. In the early 19th century, Nathaniel Halhead translated the Upanishads, a religious text, while Horace Hyman Wilson chose to translate *Meghduta* (1813), a literary masterpiece. He outlined his aims in his "Preface":

Ancient India, like ancient Greece, boasts two great epics. The Mahabharata, based on the legends and tradition of a historical war, is the Iliad of India. The Ramayana, describing the wanderings and adventures of a prince banished from his country, has something in common with the Odyssey. The "literary curiosity" of India was being handed over to the West through the efforts of both Wilson and Dutt. While Wilson acknowledged the character of Sanskrit poetry, Dutt went a step further in venerating the Mahabharata and the Ramayana as the Iliad and Odyssey of India. This comparison made by Dutt in seeking the identity of an Indian text by drawing upon western examples and parameters would not be agreed upon by the postcolonial critics. These 18th and 19th century translators chose to work on profane/folk/secular texts as well as Hindu religious texts. They considered the religious texts as 'literature' and translated them for the western readership. For this they also distinguished between the religious and so-called profane texts. For them the religious texts had both literary and spiritual worth.

A powerful centre of knowledge construction emerged in the form of Royal Asiatic Society founded by distinguished Sanskrit scholar Henry Thomas Colebrook. Translation played a major role here. It was here that translation of texts from Persian and Sanskrit was done for by the orientalist like John Gilchrist, William Jones, J.T Platts and Duncan Forbes for the English readers. On the other hand, for the colonists who had come to India works like *Gulsitan*, *Bagh-o-Bahar*, *Dastan-i Amir Hamza* and the *Qissa-i Alif Laila* were rendered in simple Urdu under the patronage of Gilchrist. This was being done so that they learn and understand about the Indian people and their way of life. The British administration encouraged the translation of novels into English for British officers to accomplish this purpose. Some of the examples of these translations are Nazir Ahmad's *Taubat-un-Nusooh* by M. Kempson as *Repentance of Nusooh* (1884), Bankim Chand Chatterjee's *Kapalhundala* by H.A.D. Philips as *Kapal-Kundala: A Tale of Bengali Life* (1885) and Chandu Menon's Malayalam novel *Indulekha* by W. Dumorgue (1890) using the same title. Hence can be inferred that the pre independence translations were directed towards the colonial interest.

More complicated contexts of translations were offered by the writers of post

colonial era. The conscious, informed translators focus on the need to evolve a definition of Indian literature. They are concerned to voice postcolonial concerns that include questions of universality and difference, representation and resistance, nationalism and hybridism, ethnicity and indigently, production and consumption.

The translation of Indian Literatures into English has become a serious undertaking for young academics, established writers, and translation experts. This is because they consciously or unconsciously have collaborated in creating a new literary culture. There a number of questions that are raised regarding problems related to the contextualization, theorization and canonization.

Due to the evolution and rise in popularity of Indian writings and their translations among the western readers a standard curriculum in translated literature in the western universities usually includes writers such as R.K. Narayan, V.S. Naipaul, Salman Rushdie, Anita Desai, Rohinton Mistry and Arundhati Roy, and Anantha Murthy and Mahasweta Devi. The Indian English novelists retain a more recognizable frame of reference. Western resistance to what is alien, although it may be native for those of us in India, should be viewed in this new perspective of greater possibilities of dissemination. Finally, the distinction between Indian English literature and Indian literature in English is rapidly disappearing in India, particularly in the academy where canons are revised and new frames of references are established.

The strength of Indian literatures lies in the heterogeneity of perceptions, narrative forms, cross-cultural communications, interconnections and intertextualities. One may now safely assert that postcolonial translation is in itself an act of resistance against the essentialist paradigms of colonialism and colonial writing because it examines the broader question of representation and is able to create a new canonical framework. The translator of Indian literatures in English is rediscovering a past, turning the historical into contemporary and the exotic into the strikingly real. S/he, like all other translators, is seeking a new readership but is doing so with the determination and ability to make cross-cultural representations rather than homogenizing a variety of literary traditions. The translator is contributing towards an understanding of the new dynamics of life that include cultural norms and political systems.

Conclusion

India is a country with diversity and to maintain unity amongst people who come from different cultures, castes, races, religions and creeds; one needs to form common ground. Translation is that common ground that puts us all on the chart as equals. Translation helps in strengthening the democracy by instituting equality among different languages. It also challenges the hegemony of some languages over the others. It proves that ideas and experiences cannot be stopped due to barrier placed by language. To keep democracy together and be just in approach one needs to bring the weaker section of society together. These people need a chance to voice

their mute thoughts and fight prejudices, and translation helps in that by again eradicating the barriers placed by difference in languages. It not only makes their chances of being heard more prominent but helps empower these backward section, women and children.

References

1. Behl, Aditya and Nicholls, David, Penguin New Writing in India, New Delhi: Penguin India. rev. ed. London: Penguin, 1994. [Google Scholar]
2. Chaudhuri, Amit, The Picador Book of Modern Indian Literature, London: Picador. [Google Scholar]
3. Dharwadker, Vinay and Ramanujan, A.K., The Oxford Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry, New Delhi: Oxford UP. [Google Scholar]
4. Guha, Ranajit, Subaltern Studies V, New Delhi: Oxford UP. [Google Scholar]
5. Mehrotra, Arvind Krishna, An Illustrated History of Indian Literature in English, New Delhi: Permanent Black. [Google Scholar]
6. Sattar, Arshia. "Translations into English.". In An Illustrated History of Indian Literature in English, Edited by: Mehrotra, Arvind Krishna. 36676. New Delhi: Permanent Black. [Google Scholar]
7. Sen, Amartya. The Argumentative Indian, London: Allen Lane. [Google Scholar]
8. University Grants Commission. 2001. Model Curriculum: English and Other Western Languages, New Delhi: University Grants Commission. [Google Scholar]

Indian Music Therapy and Spirituality

- Tek Chand Koul

ABSTRACT

Music becomes our companion in distress. Music heals the heart. Music can change your mood and can rejuvenate you. Music is an integral part of our lives. It begins right from our birth. The heart beats in a rhythm. Even our breathing pattern follows a rhythm. Nature is full of music. Indian classical music therapy is a complementary therapy that promotes the inbuilt natural healing process. This music produces beneficial effects and is physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually uplifting. It can be effective by itself and also can be applied as an adjuvant therapy from our ancestors who were spiritually evolved and had realized essential harmony between the human being and nature. This paper will discuss that although music therapy has become an essential part of our lives but music therapy especially Indian Music Therapy also evolves spiritual aspect which is not being discussed as it should be. Raag chikitsa and its healing power will be discussed in this paper.

Index Terms Music, Music Therapy, Spirituality, Classical Music, Raag Chikitsa (*keywords*)

I. Introduction

Music is a universal language. It can influence people from every walk of life in a positive manner. One does not need to be a musical maestro to enjoy any form of music. It is the language of the soul and therefore connects to God instantly. Music can heal our sorrow. God has created such magnificent creatures and the best gift he could bestow on us was music. One can't possibly imagine a world without music.

Dr. Tek Chand Koul, Post Doctorate Research Fellow, Performing Arts,
Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla-171 005 H.P. India
E-mail : tinkumusic17@gmail.com

There is a quote very well said about music by Billy Joel-“I think music in itself is healing. It's an explosive expression of humanity. It's something we are all touched by. No matter what culture we're from, everyone loves music.”

Choosing the right kind of music is also helpful in promoting health. Negative traits like anger, worries also can be overcome through listening to good music. Depression can be cured by music therapy. When you are feeling low, soft and soothing music is recommended. If you play hard rock it is only going to worsen your case. It can cure headache, tension and abdominal pain. Also controls blood pressure and restores liver functions. Music is like a sedative and can therefore help insomnia patients.

II. Music Therapy

It is a new form of approach to help children and adults, who have problematic behaviors, to make effective adjustments toward social, emotional, mental and educational aspects, where brain plays a dominant role. Many of the imbalances in the so called normal may also be made set right by regular exposure to certain raagas with special emphasis on certain notes. Music Therapy acts on the human beings before being transformed into thought and feeling. Music Therapy is of two modes of presentation. One is passive mode or passive form of music therapy which give importance to listening; the other one is active mode or active form of music therapy, which give importance to participating. Passive form of MT may be beneficial to almost all forms of ailments. Active form of music therapy will be of immense help in neurological problems, like neurological aphasia,- receptive aphasia, expressive aphasia- in the segment of alternative medicines to help children to reduce speech problems- to enhance speech fluency, in hyperactive children to reduce hyper activity and so on. Passive form of music therapy is more helpful in enhancing the concentration and memory to reduce the stress and strain, to cope up with series of heart problems like hypertension, in bringing down the blood pressure and normalize the patients. The music which is being presented in the therapeutic sessions does the difference on patients. Classical Music is a direct experience before being transformed into thought and feelings. It acts as vibration, which does the wonder on patients. The results are proven scientifically, many of my research papers are published. Music therapy is a complementary form of medicine, in few situations it functions as alternative medicine also.

III. History of Music Therapy in West

The healing power of music has been recognized since ancient times and has been successfully applied in different countries. In the Cultural history of the world, music has always helped people to balance mind, soul and body. In ancient Egypt, China, India and ancient Greece, healers and philosophers, have taken music in practice in order to treat ill people and help them to sustain animated spirits. Even in small countries Tantrics and Sages had enormous importance as they performed

different roles of practicing doctor. By executing any required rituals he handled drums or other music instruments according to his traditions.

Usually they sang songs using their rich vibrating voice that helped to heal wounds of soul arid body. Plato, the famous philosopher, paid attention to music as means of self discipline. The word "person" consists of two parts; per and sona, that means 'sound, that goes through'. In this way history proves that person should sound as harmonic as music. The healing power of music has been recognized since ancient times and has been successfully applied in different countries. The earliest known reference to music therapy in the United States was in 1789 in an article in the Columbia Magazine titled 'Music Physically Considered.' Scientific and anecdotal validation occurred through the 19th century and up to the 1940s, when it finally became accepted as a treatment modality in many hospitals, due in great part to the support of eminent psychiatrists like Kari Menninger. Clinics and hospitals began sponsoring scientific research in music therapy and documenting its efficacy. Music therapy was widely used with veterans of the world wars at rehabilitation facilities such as the Walter Reed Hospital in New York.

In Islamic countries traditional oriental music therapy is a system whose history spans over one thousand years and whose therapeutic, prophylactic and rehabilitative relevance remains to this day in a way, Islamic culture is a culture of listening. It is with genuine enthusiasm and appreciation that Muslims respond to the melodious sound of the divine word.

In Lithuania, music therapy was introduced as late as the 20th century and it was mainly used for solaxation. Although lately both scientists and practiti 5 have shown an increased interest in the field, Lithuan experts still relay on the methodology which has been developed abroad. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to search for the most adequate and effective ways of adapting foreign experience and practice in music therapy to the Lithuanian socio-cultural environment.

The first music therapy degree programme was founded in 1944 at the University of Michigan. The National Association of Music Therapy (now the American Music Therapy Association, AMTA) was formed in 1950, founding a constitution, setting professional goals, developing membership categories, and appointing a standing committee for research. Shortly thereafter curriculum requirements, clinical training requirements an standards and procedures for certification were establ Training to become a Music Therapist includes the inten study not only of music performance and theory, but a psychology, anatomy and physiology, and specific us music in a wide variety of settings. Both academic and practical training are a part of the curriculum.

Europe has a long history of music therapy. Most of the countries in Europe

established registered music therapy associations and developed MT academic courses. Extensive research and development programmes have been involved in these countries to make music therapy more acceptable to the people. A Bird's eye view on the history of Music Therapy in Europe.

IV. Concept of Music Therapy in Vedas

Music therapy has emerged as a new branch of studies in present time in India and abroad. Modern science and medicine are now discovering the healing powers of music. Many clinic has also been set up for experiments and its implementation. New age medical practitioner are increasingly relying on the therapeutic powers of music to heal their patients. The development of music therapy as a profession is believed to be a hospital developed practice that originated in psychiatric hospitals. Much of the contribution of its popularity and establishment originate from wars. As a result first music therapy degree programme was founded in 1944 at the university of Michigan. AMTA (American Music Therapy Association) was founded in 1950. It draw the attention of musicians for music therapy as profession all over the world. As a matter of fact music performed or heard has been as therapeutic in the history of many cultures. When we peep in to the Vedic literature, we find many references of curing disease by recitation of the mantras and chanting samans. On this paper an attempt has been made to highlight the concept of music therapy prevailed in the Vedic period.

Vedas are the most ancient literature of the world, the source of all knowledge. The four Vedas are the collection of mantras visualized by the seers in praise of deities as Agni, Indra, Varuna, Maruta etc. with a view to obtain wealth, long life, progeny, that is all happiness of the world. There are many mantras in the atharvaveda (the original source of Ayurveda) which are employed in sacrifices (Yajanas) for shanti and paushtika Karmas. Mantras which are used to avoid any untoward event as precautionary measure or to bring welfare are called paushtika and those which are used to remove inauspicious effects, misfortunes, disease etc. are called Shanti. If anybody is suffering from any disease, he can be cured of that disease by employing a particular mantra was the belief of Vedikas. We find mentioned about the fever and the mantras to cure this fever. In atharva veda there are four suktas 1.25, V21, VI.20 and VII.116. In these suktas fever named Takman is discussed. The symptom of the fever are that returns on the third day, the one that intermits (each) third day, the one that continues without intermission, and the tummal one, coldone and the hot one, arrives in summer that arrives in the rainy season. This fever can be cured the mantras and by the medicine. In v. 4 Vedic Rishi to Rushta plant to destroy the Takman fever. So, the temperature of seasonal fevers caused by coldness, heat or rain can be cured by mantras.

Any kind of insect biting, serpent biting can also be by the use of mantras: AV IV. 6-

7 deals with the poison and VI. 100, VI. 13, VI. 12 are the Suktas where The mantras are for curing snake poison latter on this branch study was named as toxicology Av 1.12 mentions the e of fever, headache and cough and its cure. In AV we find the mantras for curing Jaundice and related diseases.

It is pertinent to note that every mantra has a presiding deity. Beside this every mantra is recited musically in particular Swaras, rhythm and technique. The techniques of recitation or chanting are discussed in detail in the lakshan granthas. There techniques were to be learnt according to different schools (Shakhas) and followed strictly while employing the mantras. The recitation of mantras though used in sacrifices Yajnas is not only a mode of worship or meditation, it has rather healing and soothing effect too on the chanter and the listener. Thus both attain the fruit. When a person recites a mantra or hymns he becomes communed with the and music of that mantra and he reaches that state of mind where there are no worldly worries and troubles. mantra, he also becomes communed with the rhythm of the mantra. What to say of man, even birds, beasts, creepers, too become communed with the rhythm of mantra. We find such similar references in the latter Shastragranthas of music.

We have given a glimpse of the rich music heritage. It is the demand of the present time that the researches be conducted in scientific manner to explore the healing and soothing effect of music apart from its artistic and aesthetical studies as one of the fine arts. I am sure that the study of Vedas and ancient music treatises would explore the facts and strengthen the modern researches on the society.

V. Raag Chikitsa (Healing Power of Indian classical music)

The healing power of music was recognized dating back to ancient Greece. Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle talk about prophylactic and cathartic power of music as mentioned by Richard Brown in “Medicina Musica” (1729). Music creates a mirthful spirit and acts as a good tonic. Anxiety, depression, schizophrenia, mental retardation, autism, insomnia, behavioral disorders, pertaining to aggression, phobias, sexual deviations, drug abuse and the like are amenable to supplementary therapy with music. It has the capacity to produce changes in metabolism, respiration, blood pressure, endocrine system and muscular energy. It has the power to distract from morbid state and replace with wholesome feelings and ideas. Indian music therapy is a complementary therapy that promotes the inbuilt natural healing process. This music produces beneficial effects and is physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually uplifting. It can be effective by itself and also can be applied as an adjuvant therapy from our ancestors who were spiritually evolved and had realized essential harmony between the human being and nature. In India music therapy was prevalent from time immemorial. Music therapy is known as Raga Chikitsa in India.

The ancient system of Nada Yoga, acknowledges the impact of music on body and mind. Vibrations are produced from sounds to uplift one's level of consciousness. Ragas have curative power, the vibrations in their resonance can synchronize with one's moods and health thereby stimulating our moods and controlling the brain wave patterns. Ragas help fight aging and pain.

Raga, is the sequence of selected notes that lend appropriate 'mood' or emotion in a selective combination. A raga can induce or intensify joy or sorrow, violence or peace. It is this quality which forms the basis for musical application. Thus, a whole range of emotions and their nuances could be captured and communicated within certain rhythms and melodies. Playing, performing and even listening to appropriate ragas can work as a medicine.

Some ragas like Darbari Kanhada, Kamaj and Pooriya are ragas that help in defusing mental tension, especially cases of hysteria. For those who suffer from hypertension, ragas such as Ahirbhairav, Pooriya and Todi are prescribed. Simple musical rhythms with low pitched notes, as in bhajans and kirtans are the time-tested sedatives, which can even substitute the synthetic analgesics, without any side-effect. Some Therapeutic ragas of Indian Classical Music:

1. Kalyani (Yaman): A Possible Remedy for High Blood Pressure

As we have already noticed, it is the intuitive use of resonance hidden in the tones that lend individuality to ragas. Not only that. According to this writer, it is the way the swaras are selectively used which has a definite impact on mind and moods. For instance the soothing touch inherent in the tivra madhyam in the raga kalyani (yaman is the Hindustani equivalent) which is interspersed with the other six swaras which are all shuddha render a compassionate personality to this raga, which could be the reason for its acknowledged role in bringing down one's (high) blood pressure. The other ragas identified for similar effects are : ahirbhairav, anandabhairavi, bhairavi, bhupali, darbari, durga, kalavati, puriya, todi, etc.

2. Malkauns (Hindolam): A Possible Remedy for Low Blood Pressure

For those who suffer from low blood pressure, the morning raga, malkauns (whose Carnatic equivalent is hindolam) is prescribed. The oscillations in Gandhar, Daivat and in Nishad one comes across in this raga, according to this writer, could be the reason behind elevation one's spirit as well the blood pressure. He finds magic in the to note the Madhyam, which makes it a feminine raga. The glides one notice in the swara combinations such Ni Da-Da-Ma' and in 'Ma-Ga', according to this writer, could be a reason for its application in improving one's self-confidence.

3. Bageshri : A Possible Remedy for Sleep Disorders

A romantic late night Hindustani raga is prescribed for disorders and insomnia. This writer is of the view that the occasional inclusion of Pancham, besides the Sharpness

(Konial-type) in Gandhar and Nishad could be the secret for its soporific role!

4. Bilahari : A Possible Remedy for Depression

Recommended for depression, this raga is ideal for starting the day. This writer feels that this raga should be sung/heard at the very early hours of dawn by those who suffer from dejection and depression. Any prayer song made in this raga could prove quite beneficial in uplifting moods. Other ragas such as bhupalam, kedatan and Malaya marutham, could prove equally effective in overcoming the bad effects of depression.

5. Darbari : A Possible Remedy for Stress

A majestic, late night raga, Darbari is considered ideal for soothing nerves and reducing tension. It is often used in devotional music as it brings peace and tranquility. According to the present writer, smooth glides in all its seven notes (it is a septatonic raga) could be the major reason for smoothening the flow of nerve impulses. He pointed out that the Emperor of Music, Tan Sen, administered this raga to the Emperor of Hindustan, Akbar the Great to make him recover from his 'Stress and mental tension in governance. Other stress busters such as durga, kalavati, hamsadhwani, shankarabharanam, tilak kamod etc also promise to relieve those who are stressed by the constant expectations of people and society alike.

6. Shiva Ranjani : A Possible Promoter of Intellectual Excellence

An ideal raga for the night, which is accredited with the improvement in one's intelligence quotient, this writer feels that the common man gets the taste of this raga from the least expected source of all : the Bollywood films! It may also be seen that any 'filmi abasement' of this raga leads to a hit song as in the films, Mera Naam Joker (Jaane kahaan Gaye wo din) and Ek duje ke liye (Solah Bara ki) and in many others. Followings are some Indian Ragas and their effects:-

Raga	Disease(s) it helps cure
Darbari Kanada	Headache, Asthma, Sedative
Ahir Bhairav	Indigestion, Arthritis, Hypertension
Bhimpalasi	Anxiety, Hypertension
Bageshri	Insomnia
Asavari	To build confidence
Sarang	Depression
Chandrakauns	Anorexia
Gujari Todi	Cough
Gunkaji	Constipation, Headache, Hemorrhoids
Hindol	Socialities, Backache, Hypertension

Jaunpuri	Diarrhea, Constipation, Gas
Kafi	Sleep disorder
Kedar	Cold, Cough, Asthma
Madhuvanti	Piles, Hemorrhoids
Malhar	Asthma
Marva	Indigestion, Hyperacidity
Puriya	Colitis, Anemia
Puriya Dhanashri	Anemia
Sohani	Headache
Yaman	Rheumatic, Arthritis

VI. Conclusion

According to an ancient Indian text, Swara Sastra, the seventy-two melakarta ragas control the 72 important nerves in the body. It is believed that if one sings with due devotion, adhering to the raga lakshana and sruti shuddhi, the raga could affect the particular nerve in the body in a favourable manner. While the descending notes in a raga (avarohana) do create inward-orienting feelings, the ascending notes (arohana) represent an upward mobility. Thus music played for the soldiers or for the dancers have to be more lively and up lifting with frequent use of arohana content. Similarly melancholic songs should go for 'depressing' avarohanas. Although it is not a rule, most of the Western tunes based on major keys play joyful notes, while those composed in minor keys tend to be melancholic or serious. Certain ragas do have a tendency to move the listeners, both emotionally as well as physically. An involuntary nod of the head, limbs or body could synchronize with lilting tunes when played. The ancient Hindus had relied on music for its curative role: the chanting and toning involved in Veda Mantras in praise of God have been used from time immemorial as a cure for several disharmonies in the individual as well as his environment. Several sects of 'bhakti' such as Chaitanya sampradaya, Vallabha sampradaya have all accorded priority to music. Historical records too indicate that one Haridas Swami who was the guru of the famous musician in Akbar's time, Tan Sen is credited with the recovery of one of the queens of the Emperor with a selected raga. The great composers of classical music in India called the 'Musical Trinity',- who were curiously the contemporaries of the Trinity of Western Classical Music, Bach, Beethoven and Mozart-were quite sensitive to the acoustical energies. Legend has it that Saint Thyagaraja brought a dead person back to life with his Bilahari composition Naa Jiva Dhaara. Muthuswamy Dikshitar's Navagriha kriti is believed to cure stomach ache. Shyama Sastry's

composition Duru Sugu sises music to pray for good health. Raga chikitsa was an ancient manuscript, which dealt with the therapeutic effects of raga.

References

- [1] St. James, P & T, Flusberg, "Humor Development: An Important Cognitive and Social Skill in the Growing Child in Physical & Occupier Therapy in Pediatrics, A Quarterly Journal of Developmental Therapy," Vol- 25, Issue-13, pp 6873, 1994.
- [2] Brandt, G., "Music Therapy and Alzheimer's Disease": British Journal of Music Therapy, Vol-5, pp 28-36, 1991'
- [3] Wigram T& Gold, C, "Music therapy in the assessment and treatment of autistic spectrum disorder: clinical application and research evidence."Vol-5, Issue-8, pp 535-42, 2006.
- [4] Walworth,D. "The Use of Music Therapy within the SCERTS for Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder" :Journal of Music Therapy, Volume 44, Issue 1, pp 2-22, 2007.
- [5] Reddy, V.,William, E., "Sharing Humar and Laughter in Autism and Down's Syndrome": British Journal of Psychology, 1st edition, pp 210-242, 2002'.
- [6] Sharma, Lovely, "Trends in Music Therapy Today" Sanjay Prakashan, New Delhi, pp 69-77, 2009.

सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल : व्यक्ति और विचार

- योग राज

प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल के व्यक्तित्व एवं विचारों का सजीव चित्रण प्रस्तुत किया गया है। सरदार पटेल के विचार से व्यक्ति की अधिक अच्छाई उसके मार्ग में बाधक होती है, इसलिए अपनी आंखों को क्रोध से लाल होने दीजिये और अन्याय का सामना मजबूत हाथों से कीजिये। सरदार पटेल कहा करते थे कि अधिकार मनुष्य को तब तक अंधा बनाए रखेंगे जब तक मनुष्य उस अधिकार को प्राप्त करने हेतु मूल्य न चुका दे।

सरदार पटेल भारत के देशभक्तों में एक अमूल्य रत्न थे। वे भारत के राष्ट्रीय स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम में अक्षम शक्ति स्तम्भ थे। आत्म त्याग, अनवरत सेवा और दूसरों को दिव्य शक्ति की चेतना देने वाला उनका जीवन सदैव प्रकाश स्तम्भ की अमर ज्योति रहेगा। वास्तव में वे आधुनिक भारत के शिल्पी थे। इस मितभाषी अनुशासन प्रिय और कर्मठ व्यक्तित्व के कठोर व्यक्तित्व में विस्मार्क जैसी संगठन कुशलता, कौटिल्य जैसी राजनीतिक सत्ता तथा राष्ट्रीय एकता के प्रति अब्राहम लिंकन जैसी अटूट निष्ठा थी। जिस अदम्य उत्साह, साहस और असीम शक्ति, मानवीय समस्याओं के प्रति व्यवहारिक दृष्टिकोण से उन्होंने निर्भय होकर नवजात गणराज्य की प्रारम्भिक कठिनाइयों का समाधान अद्भुत सफलता से किया, उसके कारण विश्व के राजनीतिक मानचित्र में उन्होंने अमिट स्थान बना लिया।

सरदार पटेल मन, वचन और कर्म से एक सच्चे देशभक्त थे। वे वर्ण-भेद तथा वर्ग-भेद के कट्टर विरोधी थे। वे अन्तःकरण से निर्भिक थे। अद्भुत अनुशासन प्रीयता, अपूर्व संगठन-शक्ति, शीघ्र निर्णय लेने की क्षमता उनके चरित्र के अनुकरणीय अलंकरण थे। कर्म उनके जीवन का साधन था। संघर्ष को वे जीवन की व्यस्तता समझते थे। गांधी जी के कुशल नेतृत्व में सरदार पटेल का स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में योगदान उत्कृष्ट एवं महत्वपूर्ण रहा है। स्वतंत्रता उपरांत अदम्य साहस से उन्होंने देश की विभिन्न रियासतों का

विलीनीकरण किया तथा भारतीय प्रशासन को निपुणता तथा स्थायित्वता प्रदान किया।

भारत की आज़ादी की लड़ाई का स्मरण करते ही तीन नाम अन्यास ही हमारे सामने आ जाते हैं, महात्मा गांधी, जवाहर लाल नेहरू, सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल। गांधी जी अगर भारत की स्वतन्त्रता के निर्माता थे तो, सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल भी भारत की एकता के निर्माता थे। उन्होंने ऐसे समय में भारत को एकता के सूत्र में बांधा जब अंग्रेज़ भारत छोड़ के चले गए थे और जाते-जाते भारत की 562 देशी रियासतों को भी आज़ाद रहने की छूट दे गए थे। सरदार वल्लभभाई का जन्म अपनी ननसाल नड़ीयाद में हुआ था। हाईस्कूल प्रमाण-पत्र के आधार पर उनकी जन्म तिथि 31 अक्तूबर 1875 है। वल्लभभाई के पिता झबेरभाई गुजरात प्रांत में बोरसद तालुके के करमसद ग्राम के एक साधारण कृषक थे। करमसद ग्राम के इर्द-गिर्द मुख्यतः दो उपजातियाँ 'लेवा' और 'कहवा' निवास करती हैं। इन दोनों उपजातियों की उत्पत्ति भगवान रामचन्द्र के वीर पुत्रों लव और कुश से बताई जाती है। सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल लेवा उपजाति से संबन्धित थे, वे पटेल जाति से कुरमी क्षत्री थे। वल्लभभाई विद्यार्थी जीवन से ही अत्यंत निर्भिक और स्वाभिमानी थे और किसी भी गलत बात को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं होते थे। अन्याय के विरुद्ध विद्रोह उनके जीवन का विशिष्ट गुण था। जिसके परिणामस्वरूप विद्यार्थी जीवन में उन्हें कई बार अध्यापकों का विरोध सहना पड़ा। नड़ीयाद में उनके विद्यालय में एक अध्यापक पुस्तकों का व्यापार करते थे तथा छात्रों को बाध्य करते थे कि पुस्तकें बाहर से न खरीदकर उन्हीं से खरीदें। वल्लभभाई ने इसका विरोध किया तथा छात्रों को अध्यापकों से पुस्तकें न खरीदने के लिए प्रेरित किया। परिणामस्वरूप अध्यापकों और विद्यार्थियों में संघर्ष छिड़ गया। पाँच-छः दिन विद्यालय बंद रहा। अन्त में अध्यापकों द्वारा पुस्तकें बेचने की प्रथा बंद हुई। वल्लभभाई पटेल वैरिस्टरी पढ़ने के लिए 1910 में विलायत गए और वहाँ उन्होंने सादा जीवन व्यतीत किया। उन्होंने इंग्लैंड के सामाजिक, राजनीतिक बौद्धिक जीवन के प्रति कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं दिखाई और अपना सारा समय वहाँ अध्ययन में लगाया और वैरिस्टरी की परीक्षा में प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त किया। प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त करने पर उन्हें 50 पौण्ड का पुरस्कार भी मिला। 1913 में विलायत से लौटने के बाद वह अहमदाबाद में वैरिस्टरी करने लगे और इसी समय उनका संपर्क महात्मा गांधी जी से हुआ। गांधी जी के संपर्क में आने से उन्होंने वकालत छोड़ दी और तन दृमन दृधन से देश की सेवा में लग गए। सर्वप्रथम वल्लभभाई पटेल ने गोधरा में हुए प्रांतीय सम्मेलन में गुजरात की वेगार प्रथा को समाप्त करने का प्रस्ताव पास करवाया और गुजरात में गैर कानूनी बेगार प्रथा बंद हो गयी, जिसकी अध्यक्षता स्वयं गांधी जी कर रहे थे।

अहमदाबाद आते ही सरदार पटेल गुजरात क्लब के सदस्य बने और अपने मित्रों के कहने पर उन्होंने 1917 में म्यूनसीप्लटि के चुनाव में जीत दर्ज करवाई। सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल से गांधी जी का सीधा संपर्क खेड़ा सत्याग्रह 1917 के सिलसिले में हुआ था। खेड़ा सत्याग्रह के समय उन्होंने कोट, पैंट, टाई त्याग दी और किसानों वाली पोशाक धोती-कुर्ता

पहन लिया तथा किसानों के साथ किसानों के हितों में कार्य करना शुरू कर दिया।

गांधी जी ने 6 अप्रैल 1919 को रौलेट एक्ट के विरोध में सारे देश में हड़ताल करने का आवाहन किया और उन्हें 8 अप्रैल 1919 को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। अहमदाबाद में पटेल के नेतृत्व में एक विशाल जलूस निकाला गया और उन्होंने सरकार की अनुमति के बिना 'सत्याग्रह' पत्रिका नामक दैनिक निकालना शुरू किया। अप्रैल 1919 में अमृतसर में जब जलियांवाला बाग हत्याकांड हुआ और सारे देश में इसके विरुद्ध आंदोलन छिड़ गया तब वल्लभभाई ने इसमें बड़ी लगन के साथ कार्य किया और अपनी सकारात्मक भूमिका निभाई। उन्होंने गाँव-गाँव जाकर लोगों से संपर्क किया और इस आंदोलन को सफल बनवाया।

1928 में सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल को और गांधी जी को बारदोली में सत्याग्रह की राजनीति को आजमाने का मौका मिला। बंगाल में सी.आर.दास, उत्तर प्रदेश में मोतीलाल नेहरू, पंजाब में लाला लाज पतराय, बिहार में राजेन्द्र प्रसाद और गुजरात में वल्लभभाई पटेल गांधी जी के कट्टर अनुयायी थे। इस समय सरदार पटेल ने अपना सारा ध्यान गुजरात पर केन्द्रित कर रखा था। पटेल जी ने गुजरात के हर गाँव में कांग्रेस का संदेश पहुंचा दिया था। 1928 में सरकार ने बारदोली तालुके में लगान की दरें 22 प्रतिशत बढ़ा दी और 137 गाँवों में से 23 गाँवों में यह दर दुगुनी कर दी। बारदोली के किसान बढ़ी हुई दरों पर लगान देने को तैयार नहीं थे। उन्होंने सरदार पटेल जी से लगान वृद्धि का विरोध करने के लिए आंदोलन छेड़ने की प्रार्थना की। पटेल जी मान गए और उन्होंने इस आंदोलन का नेतृत्व भी किया। उन्होंने इस आंदोलन को सफल बनाने के लिए सारे गाँव वालों को संगठित किया। बारदोली सत्याग्रह की एक विशेषता यह थी कि इसमें महिलाओं ने भी बढ़-चढ़ कर भाग लिया। सरदार पटेल के सहयोगियों ने जनता का मार्ग दर्शन करने के लिए जगह जगह छावनियाँ डाल दी। सारे तालुके में सत्याग्रही के गीत गूँजने लगे। इसी समय सरदार पटेल ने लोगों को सावधान करते हुए लिखा : "हम सारे तालुके कि हवा ऐसी बना देंगे कि उसमें स्वराज कि खुशबू आने लगे, गुलामी की बदबू नहीं, और सरकार के विरुद्ध जूझने की टेक का तेज सबके चेहरों पर दिखाई देता हो। मैं तुम्हें चेतावनी देता हूँ कि अब खेलकूद के फंदे में ऐश-आराम में एक क्षण भी न रहो और जागृत हो जाओ ... आज गुजरात की लाज आपके हाथ में है। अपने हाथ से एक दमड़ी भी सरकार को न देने के निश्चय पर कायम रहो, नहीं तो जीना न जीना बराबर हो जाएगा और तालुके पर हमेशा के लिए भार पड़ जाएगा।" अतः सरदार पटेल जी ने गाँव वालों को इस तरह से संगठित किया कि लगान मिलना तो दूर गाँव में सरकारी अधिकारियों को भोजन, रिहाइश मिलना भी कठिन हो गया था। इस कार्य में गाँव के पुरुषों व महिलाओं और बच्चों ने भरपूर पटेल का साथ दिया।

सरकार ने अब किसानों पर और ज्यादा अत्याचार करने शुरू कर दिए। उनके घरों के ताले तुड़वा दिए गए और सामान जब्त कर लिया गया। किसानों की गाय-भैंसे तक जब्त कर ली गयी परंतु किसानों ने सरकार के आगे सिर नहीं झुकाया। यद्यपि सरकार ने लगान वसूली के लिए धमकियों, मार पीट और प्रपंचों आदि का भी सहारा लिया। पटेल ने लोगों

के मनोबल को बनाए रखा उन्होंने लोगों से कहा कि “तुम्हें इतना नर्म नहीं बन जाना चाहिए कि अन्याय के वीरुद्ध लड़ने का गुस्सा भी तुम लोगों में न रहे”। उनका संदेश था : “आँखों में नशा आने दो और न्याय के लिए एवं अन्याय के विरुद्ध लड़ना सीखो”।

अब सरकार ने लगान वसूली के लिए और भी सख्त कदम उठाने शुरू कर दिए लेकिन किसानों पर इसका कोई असर नहीं हुआ। सरदार पटेल लोगों को यह विश्वास दिलाते रहे कि जमीन उनके बाप-दादों की थी और उनकी ही रहेगी। उन्होंने जमीन की तुलना कच्चे पारे से की जो उसे लेगा, वह उसी के फूट से निकलेगी। सरकार ने पिटु पत्र Times of India ने भी यह स्वीकार कर लिया था कि सत्याग्रह कि लड़ाई का जोर घटता हुआ नजर नहीं देता। लोगों को जब्ती के नोटिस/ सूचना पत्र दिये गए, लेकिन उनका कोई प्रत्यक्ष परिणाम नहीं निकला। धीरे-धीरे बारदोली सत्याग्रह कि गूंज बारदोली के बाहर भी सुनाई देने लगी। पूणा और बंबई जैसे अनेक स्थानों पर बारदोली सत्याग्रह के समर्थन में सार्वजनिक सभाएं की गयीं और उसकी सफलता के लिए ईश्वर से प्रार्थना की गयी। बारदोली सत्याग्रह के दिनों में पटेल जी ने भारतीय किसानों की स्थिति का बड़ी निकटता से अध्ययन किया और उनकी समस्याओं को समझा। वल्लभ भाई पटेल ने किसानों एवं मजदूरों की कठिनाई पर अंतर्वेदना प्रकट करते हुए अपने एक भाषण में कहा था “सारी दुनिया का आधार किसान एवं मजदूर है फिर भी सबसे ज्यादा जुल्म कोई सहता है, तो यह दोनों ही सहते हैं क्योंकि ये दोनों बेजुबान होकर अत्याचार सहन करते हैं। मैं किसान हूँ, किसान के दिल में घुस सकता हूँ और इसलिए उसे समझता हूँ कि उसके दुःख का कारण यही है कि वह हताश हो गया है और वह मानने लगा है कि इतनी बड़ी सत्ता के सामने हमारी क्या चलेगी। सरकार के नाम पर एक चपरासी भी उन्हे आकर धमका जाता है, गालियां दे जाता है और बेगार करा लेता है”। किसानों की दयनीय स्थिति से वे इतने दुःखी थे इसका वर्णन करते हुए पटेल ने कहा है —“किसान डर कर दुःख उठाए और जालिम की लातें खाये, इससे मुझे शर्म आती है और मैं सोचता हूँ कि किसानों को गरीब और कमजोर न रहने देकर सीधे खड़े करूँ और ऊँचा सिर करके चलने वाला बना दूँ। इतना करके मरूँगा तो अपना जीवन सफल समझूँगा।”

उधर सरकार का किसानों पर दबाव बढ़ता ही जा रहा था। 31 मई 1928 को सरकार ने बारदोली और बालोड़ तालुक के खातेदारों के नाम एक घोषणा की कि लोग 19 जून तक लगान जमा करा दें। यदि ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो सरकार उनकी जमीन हमेशा के लिए जब्त कर लेगी। सरदार पटेल ने लोगों से अनुरोध किया कि वे सरकार कि इस प्रकार कि धमकियों से न डरें 12 जून 1928 को सारे देश में बारदोली दिवस मनाया गया। देश के भिन्न भिन्न भागों से बारदोली सत्याग्रह के लिए चंदे आने लगे।

18 जुलाई 1928 को बंबई के गवर्नर सर लेस्ली विलसन और सरदार पटेल की भेंट हुई। सरदार पटेल के साथ सत्याग्रह के 12 प्रतिनिधि इस बैठक में मौजूद थे। सरकार ने समझौते

की अपनी कुछ शर्तें रखी कि :— 1. लगान एक मुश्त अदा किया जाये 2. लगान न दिये जाने का आंदोलन वापस लिया जाये। इधर सरदार पटेल नें सत्याग्रह बंद करने कि शर्तें इस प्रकार रखी थी : 1. सभी सत्याग्रही कैदी छूटने चाहिए 2. जब्त जमीने असली मकान मालिकों को मिलनी चाहिए 3. गाय , भैंसे और लोंगों की संपत्ति जो सरकार ने जब्त कर के बेच दी गयी है उसका किसानों को बाज़ार भाव से कीमत मिलनी चाहिए आदि—आदि। परंतु सरकार ने पटेल जी की शर्तें नहीं मानी। अब गांधी जी भी सरदार पटेल के समर्थन में उतर आए और सरकार को खुली चुनौती दे दी कि या तो सरकार वल्लभभाई पटेल की मांगे मान ले या फिर झूठी प्रतिष्ठा को कायम रखने के लिए दमन की नीति अपना लें।

अंत में अगस्त 1928 के पहले सप्ताह में बंबई सरकार के वित्त मंत्री चुनी लाल मेहता ने पटेल को पूना बुलाया और बारदोली सत्याग्रह पर समझौता हो गया। सरकार को अंत में झुकना पड़ा और सरकार ने सरदार पटेल की लगभग सभी शर्तें मान ली। इस सफलता के कारण गांधी जी ने वल्लभ भाई पटेल को 'सरदार' की उपाधि दी। तब से ही वो 'सरदार' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुए हैं।

1929 में लाहौर काँग्रेस में पूर्ण स्वराज्य की मांग उठी। सरकार ने जब इस मांग को नहीं माना तब गांधी जी ने पुनः सत्याग्रह की बात कही और 12 मार्च को दांडी यात्रा शुरू कर दी। गांधी जी ने लार्ड इरविन से भेंट की और उनके सामने 11 मांगें रखी परंतु सरकार ने इन मांगों का कोई संतोषजनक उत्तर नहीं दिया। अतः गांधी जी ने 6 अप्रैल 1929 को नमक कानून तोड़कर नमक सत्याग्रह शुरू किया। सरदार पटेल जी ने भी इस सत्याग्रह में गांधी जी का भरपूर साथ दिया तथा इस सत्याग्रह में भरपूर भाग लिया। इसी समय जैसे ही वे एक सार्वजनिक सभा में भाषण देने वाले थे वैसे ही उन्हें 7 मार्च 1930 को बोरसद तालुके के रास गाँव में गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। उन्हें 3 महीने की सादी कैद और 500 रुपए जुर्माना और जुर्माना न देने की स्थिति में 3 सप्ताह की और कैद की सजा सुनाई गई। सरदार पटेल 7 मार्च से लेकर 26 जून 1930 तक कुल 111 दिन जेल में रहे। 26 जून 1930 को जब वे जेल से छूट कर आए तो उन्होंने देखा की उनकी गैरहाजिरी में देश का वातावरण पूर्ण रूप से बदल चुका था। गांधी जी की दांडी यात्रा को सफलता मिल चुकी थी।

मार्च 1931 के अंत में कराची में काँग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ। गांधी जी की प्रेरणा से सरदार पटेल इस अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष चुने गए। गांधी जी और पटेल साथ—साथ गुजरात से कराची के लिए रवाना हुए। रास्ते में गांधी जी दिल्ली रुके और उन्होंने वायसरॉय लार्ड इरविन से अनुरोध किया कि भगत सिंह, सुखदेव, राजगुरु को फांसी न दी जाये, परंतु वायसरॉय ने 23 मार्च को इन तीनों को फांसी दे दी। कराची काँग्रेस अध्यक्ष पद के तौर पर दिया गया सरदार पटेल का भाषण, उन्होंने कहा कि "मेरे जैसे सीधे—साधे एवं गाँव के किसान को काँग्रेस के अध्यक्ष पद पर बिठा कर आपने गुजरात का और वहाँ के किसानों का सम्मान किया है"। तीन व्यक्तियों को दी गयी फांसी के बारे में उन्होंने कहा था कि "भगत सिंह और

उनके साथियों कि देशभक्ति, साहस, बलिदान के आगे मेरा सिर झुक जाता है”।

1938 में सरदार पटेल के सुभाष चंद्र बोस से मतभेद उत्पन्न हो गए। हुआ यूं कि सुभाष चंद्र बोस काँग्रेस के एक्थानवें अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष चुने गए। यह अधिवेशन हरिपुरा, गुजरात में सरदार पटेल की देखरेख में सम्पन्न हुआ था। सुभाष चंद्र बोस के जो आर्थिक विचार थे सरदार पटेल उनसे सहमत नहीं थे।

1938 के अंत में काँग्रेस में अध्यक्ष पद के लिए उम्मीदवारों के नामों की खोज शुरू हो गयी थी। सुभाष चंद्र बोस दोबारा चुनाव लड़ना चाहते थे। परंतु काँग्रेस और हाईकमान उनसे आग्रह कर रही थी कि वह दोबारा चुनाव में खड़े न हो। महात्मा गांधी और काँग्रेस हाईकमान मौलाना अब्दुल कलाम या पट्टाभि सीतारमैया को चुनाव लड़ना चाहती थी। अतः कुल मिलाकर बहुत माथापची करने के बाद सरदार पटेल ने काँग्रेस कार्यसमिति के बहुसंख्यक सदस्यों की ओर से पट्टाभि सीतारमैया को अध्यक्ष पद के लिए उम्मीदवार घोषित कर दिया और कहा कि सुभाष चंद्र बोस को चुनाव मैदान से हट जाना चाहिए ताकि पट्टाभि सीतारमैया निरविरोध जीत सकें। परंतु समय पर चुनाव सम्पन्न हुआ और सुभाष चंद्र बोस चुनाव जीत गए। अतः यहीं से ही पटेल और सुभाष चंद्र बोस के मध्य कई मतभेद उत्पन्न हो गए।

1939 को द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध शुरू हो गया। अंग्रेज़ सरकार ने अपनी ओर से भारत के इस युद्ध में शामिल होने की घोषणा कर दी। इसके विरुद्ध कांग्रेसी मंत्रीमंडलों ने इस्तीफा दे दिया। 17 नवंबर 1940 को व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह के दौरान पटेल को पुनः गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। स्वास्थ्य खराब होने के कारण 9 महीने के बाद उन्हें रिहा कर दिया गया।

8 अगस्त 1942 को काँग्रेस महासमिति ने “अंग्रेजों, भारत छोड़ो” प्रस्ताव पास किया। इस प्रस्ताव में कहा गया कि यदि अंग्रेज़ स्वैच्छा से भारत छोड़ कर न जाएँ तो उनके विरुद्ध गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में देशव्यापी आंदोलन छेड़ा जाएगा। गांधी जी ने इस अवसर पर ‘करो या मरो’ का नारा दिया। इस अवसर पर अपने भाषण में सरदार पटेल ने कहा कि हम आजादी के अंतिम लड़ाई छेड़ने वाले हैं। सरकार विदेशों में झूठा प्रचार करती है कि आज काँग्रेस के साथ कोई नहीं है न मुसलमान, न देशी राज्य, न नरम दल वाले, न कम्युनिस्ट। उन्होंने कहा कि अगर काँग्रेस के साथ कोई नहीं है तो अंग्रेज़ उससे क्यों डरते हैं।

अतः उन्हें भारत छोड़ो आंदोलन के सिलसिले में 9 अगस्त 1942 को फिर से गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया और उन्हें अहमदाबाद किले में रखा गया। अहमदाबाद किले में सरदार पटेल लगभग 3 साल रहे और उन्हें 15 जून 1945 में रिहा किया गया। उनके साथ काँग्रेस के 11 नेता जेल में रहे, उन सबमें उनकी उम्र सबसे ज्यादा थी। वे लगभग 70 वर्ष के थे। भारत की आजादी के लिए उन्होंने काँग्रेस की ओर से भाग लिया और काँग्रेस को पूर्ण सहयोग दिया।

सरदार पटेल और नेहरू ने मिलकर स्वतंत्र भारत का पहला मंत्रिमंडल चुना। इस मंत्रिमंडल में पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू प्रधानमंत्री और सरदार पटेल उप-प्रधानमंत्री थे। माऊंट बेटन योजना के अनुसार ब्रिटिश संसद ने भारतीय स्वतंत्रता अधिनियम 1947 पास किया। 15

अगस्त 1947 को भारत आजाद हुआ। इसी दिन लगभग 200 वर्षों से चला आ रहा अंग्रेजी शासन हमेशा के लिए समाप्त हो गया।

स्वतंत्रता के स्वर्णोदय पर सरदार पटेल बहुत प्रसन्न थे। उन्होंने संविधान सभा के लगभग सभी सदस्यों के साथ भारत माता की सेवा की शपथ ली। स्वतंत्रता की सीढ़ी उनकी विजय थी। स्वतंत्रता की प्रभात बेला में देश के सामने कई समस्याएं थी। देश विभाजन के फलस्वरूप देश के कई भागों में हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगे होने लगे। लाखों विस्थापित इधर से उधर जाने लगे। हजारों अंग्रेज, मुस्लिम सरकारी कर्मचारी भारत छोड़ कर चले गए। इससे देश का ढांचा पूर्णरूप से अस्तव्यस्त हो गया। परंतु गृह मंत्री रहते हुए सरदार पटेल ने अपनी कुशल सूझ-बुझ से इन सभी समस्याओं को बड़ी कुशलता से सुलझाया। देश विरोधी दंगों को उन्होंने बड़ी कठोरता से दबाया और इंडियन सिविल सर्विसेस की जगह उन्होंने भारतीय प्रशासनिक सेवा बनाई। जब अंग्रेज भारत छोड़ कर जाने लगे तो 562 देशी रियासतों का प्रश्न उत्पन्न हो गया जिनकी आबादी 9 करोड़ के लगभग थी, कि उन्हें भारत में मिलाना है या पाकिस्तान में। परन्तु सरदार पटेल ने अपनी विलक्षण बुद्धि से इन समस्याओं का हल कर दिया। इन देशी रियासतों के कई राजा और नवाब स्वतंत्र होने के स्वप्न देखने लगे। परंतु सरदार पटेल ने अधिकांश राजाओं और नवाबों को समझा बुझा कर भारत में शामिल कर लिया।

जनवरी 1, 1948 को 23 रियासतें उड़ीसा में शामिल हुईं। केवल कश्मीर, हैदराबाद व जूनागढ़ की रियासतों के मामले में अड़चन पैदा हुई थी। कश्मीर भी जल्द ही भारत का अंग बन गया। जूनागढ़ की प्रजा ने विद्रोह कर दिया और नवाब भाग कर पाकिस्तान चला गया। जनमत संग्रह के बाद ये रियासत भी भारत में शामिल हो गयी। हैदराबाद को भी पटेल ने पुलिस कार्यवाही के दवाब में भारत में शामिल कर दिया। सभी रियासतें भारतीय संघ का अंग बन गयीं। सम्पूर्ण भारत में एकता स्थापित हो गयी। गांधी जी की मृत्यु हो गयी और सरदार पटेल को गांधी जी की हत्या का बहुत सदमा लगा। उनका दिल टूट गया फिर भी वे भारत के निर्माण के लिए, सशक्त भारत के लिए कार्य करते रहे। 15 सितम्बर 1950 को दिल का दौरा पड़ने से उनका बंबई में निधन हो गया। पटेल स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद मुश्किल से ढाई वर्ष ही जीवित रहे। इस अवधि में वह जितना कार्य कर गए वही उनके नाम को चिरस्थायी बनाने के लिए काफी है। सुख व दुःख में वे सम्भाव रहते थे।

वह कर्तव्य पालन और कठोर अनुशासन के प्रतीक थे। आज समय आ गया है कि सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल के इस संदेश को अमली जामा पहनाया जाये जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि "उत्पादन बढ़ाओ, खर्च घटाओ और अपव्यय बिलकुल न करो"। पटेल के विचार वर्तमान में भी उतने ही प्रासंगिक हैं जितने कि दशकों पहले थे।

संदर्भ सूची:

1. डी. पाठक, पी. सेठ, सरदार पटेल : फ़्रोम सिविल टु नेशनल लीडरशिप (अहमदाबाद : नवजीवन, प्रकाशन, 1980).
2. नरहरि पारेस , सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल भाग ८ (अहमदाबाद : नवजीवन प्रकाशन ,1951).
3. महादेव देसाई, गांधी के साथ दिन—प्रतिदिन भाग—८ (अहमदाबाद : नवजीवन प्रकाशन,1957).
4. ए.न. कपूर, मोहिनी गुप्ता, ए डिक्सनरी ऑफ गांधी थॉट (दिल्ली : अम्बे बुक हाउस, 1995)
5. विश्व प्रकाश गुप्त , मोहिनी गुप्त, सुभाष चंद्र बोस : व्यक्ति और विचार (नई दिल्ली : राधा पब्लिकेशन ,1997).
6. राजमोहन गांधी, सरदार पटेल : एक जीवन (अहमदाबाद : नवजीवन पब्लिकेशन,1990).

Sri Aurobindo, *Bande-Mataram Early Political Writings-I* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Birth Centenary Library, 1972), pp. 513-514.

Ibid.

Sri Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle*, Rpt. In *The Human Cycle; The Ideal of Human Unity; War and Self-Determination* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1977), p. 174.

Ibid., p. 75.

Ibid., p. 118.

Ibid., p. 119.

Ibid., pp. 75-76.

Sri Aurobindo, *Bande-mataram Early Political Writings-I* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo with Centenary Library, 1972), pp. 513-514.

Sri Aurobindo, *Karmayogin Early Political Writings II* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1972), pp. 20-21.

Sri Aurobindo, *Speeches* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1974), p. 72.

Suneera Kapoor, *Sri Aurobindo Ghosh and Bal Gangadhar Tilak: The Spirit of Freedom* (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1991), p. 41.

Kenneth L. Deutsch, “Sri Aurobindo and the Search for Political and Spiritual Perfection”, in *Political Thought in Modern India*, ed., Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L. Deutsch (London: Sage Publications, 1986), p. 195.

Sri Aurobindo, *Speeches*, pp. 50-51.

Ibid., p. 162.

Navajata, *Sri Aurobindo* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1996), pp. 12-14.

श्रीमद् भागवत पुराण का धाज्जा लोकनाट्य पर प्रभाव

- आचार्य परमानन्द बंसल

अपने विद्यावाचस्पति शोध कार्य में मैंने जब लोकनाट्यों विशेषतः (समुदाय विशेष रविदासिया, चर्मकार, नचार) धाज्जा पर हुए अतीत के चिन्तन का पुनरावलोकन किया तो स्पष्टतया निश्कर्ष निकला कि स्त्रोत, सामाजिक समरसता अभाव व रूग्ण मानसिकता की धुंधली छाया में स्पष्ट व सुवाच्य चित्रण प्राप्त करने में हमें आज तक आशातीत सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हुई है।

विगत दिनों शिमला के ऐतिहासिक गेयटी थियेटर सभागार में भाषा एवं संस्कृति विभाग के सौजन्य से लोक साहित्य पर हुए सार्थक विचार विमर्श में लोकनाट्य धाज्जा पर मुझे अपने शोध सर्वेक्षण के आधार पर विचार रखने का श्रेष्ठ अवसर प्राप्त हुआ। लोक साहित्य, लोक कलाओं व सुधीजनों के तथ्यपरक तर्क जहां हमें आशान्वित करते हैं वहीं भविष्य के प्रति आशंकित भी करते हैं।

मुझे हिमाचल प्रदेश में प्रचलित लोकनाट्य धाज्जा के सन्दर्भ में ऐतिहासिक तथ्य संग्रहण की सदैव जिज्ञासा रही है। अनेक गवेषकों, लेखकों ने लोकनाट्य धाज्जा को हिमाचली प्रतिनिधि लोकनाट्य करियाला में सम्महित करने का संकुचित प्रयास कर अपना पल्ला झाड़ने जैसा प्रयास किया है। उनका कहना है कि जब लोकनाट्य करियाला का आयोजन समाज के निम्न वर्ग के घर में होता है तो उसे ही धाज्जा कहा जाता है जबकि सामाजिक सर्वेक्षण से यह तथ्य स्पष्ट होता है कि करियाला के मूल में देव बृजेश्वर व धाज्जा में महाभारत के पात्र चाणूर की अवधारणा व लोकमानस की आस्था है। चानों का नाम चाणूर है महाभारत में इस पात्र का उल्लेख है। इस प्रकार अपुष्ट व भ्रामक जानकारीयों ने जहां एक ओर अनेक गवेषणाओं के मार्ग प्रशस्त किए वहीं दूसरी ओर सामाजिक समरसता पर भी इसका कुप्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

रविदासिया समाज का अराध्य देव गड्डा देवता (सिद्ध चान्नों) कुन्न माट चमारड(जहां चर्मकार चमड़ा रंगाई का कार्य करता है) की अवधारणा, धाज्जा नामकरण, सिद्ध चान्नों बाबा बलि सच्ची सरकार के प्रति लोक मानस की आस्था को लेकर जब और जहां भी सार्थक परिणाम हेतु किसी चर्चा का सुत्रपात होता है तो जातीय भेद-भाव की आड़ में शासक वर्ग (दोनों स्वर्ण व अनुसूचित जाति) न तो चर्चा को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और न ही चर्चा को आगे बढ़ने देते हैं। ऐसी चर्चा का किसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचना राजनीति के लिए हितकर भी नहीं है। इस सन्दर्भ में यह कहना अतिशयोक्ति न होगी कि किसी भी विषय, क्षेत्र अथवा व्यवस्था के अपने मूलाधार, मर्यादाएं, मापदण्ड, आचरण व सीमाएं होती हैं। आज जब कोई भी इकाई अपने कर्म का संचालन सरकारी नियन्त्रण में करती है तो उसमें सफलता व निष्क्रियता की जवाबदेही व्यक्तिगत न होकर सरकार की होती है। इससे भी बढ़कर भारत गणराज्य का यह दुर्भाग्य रहा कि यदि भासक वर्ग द्वारा निष्क्रियता पर अंकुश लगाने का प्रयास किया जाता है तो वोटों की राजनीति का ऐसा रंग चढ़ाया जाता है कि सभी मनोरथ विफल सिद्ध होते हैं। इससे जहां एक ओर राजनीति अपनी मर्यादाओं के मूल स्तम्भों के मानदण्डों को सिंचित कर रही होती है वहीं दूसरी ओर समाज में व्याप्त अनेक विसंगतियों के मूल में राजनीति की धूंधली छाया स्पष्ट दृष्टिगोचर होने लगती है फिर जातिय पक्षपात के सन्दर्भ में शासकीय दृढ़ ईच्छाशक्ति, सामाजिक जागरूकता का अभाव, रूग्ण मानसिकता अनेक विकृतियों की जननी सिद्ध होती है।

धाज्जा लोकनाट्य हिमाचल प्रदेश में बसे रविदासिया समाज के लोगों का धार्मिक अनुष्ठानिक नाट्य है जिसका कथानक कंस वध मल्लयुद्ध के केन्द्र को बनाकर संकलित किया गया है। इसमें मल्ल चाणूर अत्यन्त विचित्र रूप मिलता है। चानूर कंस के आश्रय का श्रेष्ठ योद्धा था तथा श्री कृष्ण के साथ युद्ध में उसका अन्त हुआ था की स्मृति में रविदासिया समाज के लोग इस धार्मिक अनुष्ठान का आयोजन अपने ईष्ट देवता “सिद्ध चान्नों” की मनौति में करते हैं।

आज जब मैं लोकनाट्य धाज्जा के सन्दर्भ में ऐतिहासिक तथ्य संकलन की चेष्टा करता हूं तो सर्वमान्य व स्पष्ट रूप से प्रमाणिक संकेत प्राप्त होते हैं कि प्राय सभी प्राचीन व मध्ययुगीन भास्त्रीय व लोकनाट्य परम्पराओं में कृष्ण लीला नाटक होते आए हैं। कृष्ण लीला से सम्बन्धित नाटक के मंचन का सर्वप्रथम उल्लेख ईसा पूर्व दूसरी भाताब्दी में लिखे पतांजली के व्याकरण ग्रन्थ महाभाष्य में आता है। महाभारत के इस अभूतपूर्व लोकनायक का सम्पूर्ण जीवन ही इतना संघर्षपूर्ण और नाट्यमय है कि उसका एक-एक प्रसंग एक-एक नाट्य प्रयोग जैसा सजीव लगता है।

लोकनाटकों की लोकधर्मी परम्परा 15वीं 16वीं भाताब्दी में नए रूप में उभरी। इस युग में सगुण भक्ति का जो आन्दोलन चला उसमें भगवान राम की विभिन्न लीलाओं के लिए रामलीला और कृष्ण जन्म की विभिन्न लीलाओं के प्रदर्शन के लिए रासलीला मंच का गठन हुआ। इन दोनों मंचों की धार्मिकता का लोकमंच पर भी विशेष प्रभाव पड़ा। परिणाम स्वरूप

भगवान की विभिन्न लीलाओं, क्रीडाओं से जुड़े पराक्रमी साहसी योद्धा व्यक्तियों के चरित्र प्रदर्शन के लिए लोक में अनेक मंचों का उदय एवं विकास हुआ।

भले ही भारतवर्ष के अन्य प्रान्तों में कंस वद्ध नाट्य प्रस्तुतिकरण के विभिन्न आयाम, ढंग व नामकरण रहे हो परन्तु हिमाचल प्रदेश में रविदासिया समाज द्वारा मनाए जाने वाले धार्मिक लोकनाट्य धाज्जा का मूल स्रोत श्रीमद् भागवत पुराण दशम स्कन्ध के अध्याय 36 से 44 तक का कथा प्रसंग परिवर्तित रूप धारण कर चूका है।

जाति विशेष से सम्बन्ध

चाणूर जाति से क्षत्रिय था तथा मथुरा नरेश के अखाड़े का सबसे बली पहलवान था। चाणूर राजा कुलाश का पुत्र था। भगवान शिव के उपासक माने जाने वाले राजा कैलाश जो मक्का मदीना में राज कर रहे थे के चौथे पुत्र जो बड़ा बलशाली व विशालकाय था का नाम चाणूर था। ऐसा वर्णन नचारों द्वारा की जाने वाली अरदास में आता है। रामतूँ, रहीमतूँ, रखेतूँ, रखावेतूँ, बक्शेतूँ, बक्षावेतूँ, रखले सकल जहान की टेर आकाशतूँ, पातालतूँ, जल तूँ, थल तूँ, बाड तूँ, पहाड़ तूँ, देह तूँ, कदम तूँ, बाग तूँ, बाग में बीज तूँ, बीज में कली तूँ, कली में फूल तूँ, सास तूँ, ग्रास तूँ, सासा पेशकार, नीले घाड़े का सवार

तूँ मालिक मेरा, आपे नरनकार, मर्दा के सौ से बाहर। आद तूँ, जुगाद तूँ, जुगाद मे अर्ष तूँ, अर्ष के कुर्श, कुर्श के मेहर मण्डल, मेहर मण्डल के छैल देव, छैल देव के महासुन्न, महासुन्न के बेटे कैलाश देव, कैलाश देव के सिद्ध चानों, बलि फराको, महादानों रखले बाबा सकल जहान कीटेर

काश तेरी चोटी पाताल तेरी ज़डा

जहां सिंउरिये वहीं है बाबा तू खड़ा।

बाबा बली मरदान तूँ गढ मथरा का पहलवान पीर मकबूलियां तूँ भागी जमया चारों कूँटा कबूलियां, सुन्ने की तेरी सेज, रूपका तेरा पंखा, डाग डैण नो तेरे नाम का धक्का। मकना हाथी, लाल अम्बारी, उस पर चढी पंच पीर दी सवारी, लाल खां वली तेरे दरबारी, सहतर सौ बहतर बलाय फनाह के मारी।

लोक व्यवहार में प्रचलित कथानुसार चानों के अछूत बनने का कारण है कि जब मथुरा नरेश कंस ने षण को मारने के लिए मस्त हाथी (शास्त्रों में कुवलयापीड नामक हाथी का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है) तंग गलियों से भेजा था और जिसे षण ने मार डाला था। मृत हाथी किसी से उठाया नहीं जा रहा था। तब चाणूर भाईयों ने चाणूर को सर्वाधिक बलवान जानकर मृत हाथी को उठाने का आग्रह किया। परन्तु अछूत हो जाने के भय से चाणूर ने ऐसा करने से इनकार कर दिया। भाईयों के यह कहने पर की दिन के चौथे पहर जब वह इस क्रिया से निवृत्त होकर (नहा-धोकर) आयेगा तब उसे अपने में मिला लेंगे। भाईयों के इन वचनों का साक्षी एक डुमणा था। चाणूर ने हाथी को उठा कर आकाश में फेंक दिया

और जब वह नहा—धोकर घर लौटा तो उसके भाईयों ने उसे अपने में मिलाने से इनकार कर दिया। डुमणा गवाह भी गवाही से मुकर गया और कहने लगा कि चौथे प्रहर नहीं, चौथे युग कलियुग की बात की थी। डुमणे को चाणूर ने श्राप दिया कि आज के बाद तुझ पर कोई विश्वास नहीं करेगा। जो तेरा अन्न खायेगा उसे दरगाह में भी शरण नहीं मिलेगी। तेरी कमाई में बरकत नहीं होगी। बहुत कहने पर उसके भाईयों ने उसे चौथे युग में अपने साथ मिलाने का वचन दिया। (ऐसी मान्यता रूढ़ हो गई है कि वर्तमान में जाति—पाति के बन्धन से मुक्त समाज उसी वचन का फल है।) फिर व्याकुल चानों श्रीकृष्ण की शरण में गया। श्रीकृष्ण ने उसे वरदान दिया कि कलियुग में तुम संसार में सबसे बलि सिद्ध माने जाओगे तथा तुम्हें इच्छित जीवन और मृत्यु देने का अधिकार रहेगा। उक्त जनश्रुति व लोक में प्रचलित कथानुसार जनमानस की आस्था है कि इसी कारण सिद्ध चानों का सम्बन्ध रविदासिया जाति से है और चानों मात्र चर्मकारों के देव हैं। चानों की स्मृति में मनाए जाने वाले धार्मिक अनुष्ठान (धाज्जा) का सम्बन्ध केवल रविदासिया समाज से रहा है और यह जाति ही इसके एक मात्र उपासक, अयोजक, और अभिनेता है।

गोपनीय रूप से समाज में ऐसी भी मान्यता है कि चानों के भाई बानों के वंशज बोहरे (महाजन) हैं जो आज भी अपने ईष्ट रूप में चानों की पूजा करते हैं।

कंस के आश्रय में पल्लवित चाणूर, मुष्टिक, कूट, भाल, तोशल आदि महाबलि योद्धाओं का वर्णन हमें भागवत पुराण में उपलब्ध होता है। धाज्जा नाट्य में सिद्ध चानों की पूजा अर्चना में नचारों द्वारा उच्चारित निम्न पंक्तियां ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों की पुष्टि करती हैं:

“ बाबा जी, बाबा जी, सेता बकरा ल्याए कि बाबा पंजबलि सरकारा”

अर्थात्— पांच बलियों (योद्धाओं) के शिरोमणी आपके चरणों में बकरा अर्पित है

धाज्जा नाट्य में मंचित आस्थापरक दृश्यों (स्वांगों) का अवलोकन हमें श्रीमद् भागवत पुराण में वर्णित युद्ध प्रसंग (कंस, श्री कृष्ण, चाणूर, मुष्टिक, बलराम) की परिधि में बांधे रखता है, इसमें नारद—कान्हा—गोपियों का स्वांग, हस्तबलि का स्वांग (चानूर, कुवलयपीड़ हाथी) दाई—डाउ (पूतना दाई) का स्वांग इन सभी का उल्लेख हमें भागवत पुराण में उपलब्ध होता है। धाज्जा का अग्नि नृत्य (बौरा का स्वांग) के विषय में लोकधारणा है कि भगवान कृष्ण का परम शिष्य बौरा द्वापर युग में महातान्त्रिक ब्राह्मण कुमार था। एक बार सिद्ध चानों की किसी भयंकर रोग के कारण शरीर की दशा बहुत गम्भीर हो गई। तब चानों ने महर्षि नारद को भगवान कृष्ण के पास भेजा। उन्होंने ऋषिवर को ब्राह्मण के पास भेज दिया। क्योंकि सिद्ध चानों का उपचार केवल तान्त्रिक विधा द्वारा ही होना था। देवयोग से ऋषिवर जब ब्राह्मण के घर पहुंचे तो पता चला कि उसकी तो मृत्यु हो गई है। नारद ने यह सूचना श्री कृष्ण को दी। तब श्री कृष्ण स्वयं वहां पहुंचे जहां ब्राह्मण की चिता जल रही थी। जब सब लोग संस्कार कर चले गए तब रात के अन्धेरे में भगवान कृष्ण ने अपनी तन्त्र शक्ति से उस ब्राह्मण कुमार को जीवित कर दिया।

बौरा उस समय आग की भांति जल रहा था उसका अग्निमय शरीर भयंकर आकृति में नाचता हुआ भगवान कृष्ण के समक्ष आकर खड़ा हो गया और भगवान से आदेश मागने लगा। भगवान ने उसे आदेश दिया कि तुम तुरन्त महाबलि चान्नों को रोग मुक्त करो।

भगवान के आदेश से बौरा ने महाबली सिद्ध चान्नों का तांत्रिक उपचार कर उसे रोग मुक्त कर दिया। तत्पश्चात वह फिर भगवान श्री कृष्ण के पास आत्म शान्ति के लिए पहुंचा। भगवान ने बौरा को कहा कि तुम्हें आत्म शान्ति सिद्ध चान्नों ही दे सकता है। अतः वह फिर सिद्ध चान्नों के पास पहुंचा तथा अपने लिए शान्त स्थान की मांग की परन्तु सिद्ध चान्नों ने उसे अपनी “तीन सौ साठ” सिरकियों में प्रवेश देने से इन्कार कर दिया। अपने प्रति किए उपकार को ध्यान में रख उसे अपने दल का अगुआ घोषित कर दिया।

जन आस्था है कि सिद्ध चान्नों के प्रति किए गए उपकार के प्रति आस्था प्रकट करने हेतु सिद्ध चान्नों के धाज्जे में बौरा के स्वांग (अग्नि नृत्य) को विशेष महत्व दिया जाता है। लोग इस तांत्रिक नृत्य को बहुत ही तन्मयता व श्रद्धा से देखते हैं।

उपरोक्त समस्त प्रसंग, विवेचन व लोकधारणाएं हमें तथ्य व प्रमाणों सहित आश्वस्त करती हैं कि कृष्ण लीलाओं की आधारभूमि से ही धाज्जा नाट्य की कथावस्तु संकलित की गई है। दानवों और देवताओं का संघर्ष ही प्राचीन पौराणिक आख्यानों का प्रमुख विषय रहा है। प्रागैतिहासिक युग से लेकर ऐतिहासिक युग की कथाओं में देवता जहां सत तत्व तथा शक्तियों का प्रतिनिधित्व करते नज़र आते हैं वहीं दानव असत की ओर इन शक्तियों के परस्पर संघर्ष में देवताओं की विजय के दर्शन कराता है। कंस-कृष्ण युद्ध प्रसंग में यह तथ्य स्पष्ट हो जाता है।

कंस पौराणिक आख्यानों का सर्वाधिक लोकप्रिय दानव पात्र है। उसके चरित्र में दैविक आसुरी तत्व का विचित्र समावेश दिखाई पड़ता है। कंस के असत्य कृत्यों पर स्वयं उसके भांजे श्री कृष्ण(भगवान) के हाथों उसके वध में जहां असत्य पर सत्य की विजय दिखाई गई है वहां यह लोक सन्देश भी ध्वनित किया गया है कि असत का डट कर मुकाबला करो भले ही स्वजनही उसमें बाधक क्यों न हो। हिमाचल प्रदेश में रविदासिया समुदाय, चाणूर जैसी चमत्कारी भाक्तियों को दानवी मानते हुए भी पूजती है क्योंकि ये भाक्तियां रिद्धि-सिद्धि दाता होने के कारण भुभ मानी जाती हैं। पशु पालक-जालकजाति इन्हें पशुओं को बुरी प्रेतात्माओं से बचाने वाली, मवेशियों का दूध बढ़ाने वाली, अन्न वृद्धि करने वाली, चर्म रोग से मुक्ति दयिनी मंगल परक शक्तियां मानकर इनकी पूजा करती है।

जीवन यथार्थ का दस्तावेज : जूठन

- नरेश कुमार

दलित साहित्यकार ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि का जन्म 30 जून, सन् 1950 को उत्तर प्रदेश के मुजफ्फर नगर जनपद से जुड़े बरला नामक गांव में हुआ। यह एक दलित परिवार था, जो कि अत्यंत निचले और निम्न पायदान पर था। इनका बचपन काफी सामाजिक और आर्थिक कठिनाइयों में बीता। माता-पिता के स्नेह के अतिरिक्त सम्पूर्ण जीवन कष्टप्रद और संघर्षमयी रहा। बचपन से ही लेखक ने दलित जीवन की पीड़ा को झेला। प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा बरला से विकट परिस्थितियों में प्राप्त करते हुए शिक्षा के क्रम को निरन्तर जिल्ला, शोषण तथा अर्थाभाव सहन करते हुए जारी रखा। इन्होंने तकनीकी शिक्षा जबलपुर, मुम्बई से ग्रहण की तथा विषम परिस्थितियों का सामना करते हुए एम०ए० हिन्दी की परीक्षा गढ़वाल विश्वविद्यालय श्रीनगर से उत्तीर्ण की।

ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि बचपन से ही अध्ययनशील और चिंतक व्यक्ति रहे। साहित्यिक क्षेत्र में इन्होंने अनेक महत्वपूर्ण कृतियों का सृजन किया। सन् 1997 में प्रकाशित 'जूठन' आत्मकथा के माध्यम से ये विशेष रूप से चर्चा में आए। 'जूठन' आत्मकथा के माध्यम से लेखक ने दलित जीवन के यथार्थ को समाज के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत करने का सफल प्रयास किया है। वास्तव में 'जूठन' आत्मकथा में इन्होंने भंगी होने के कारण जिस जिल्ला, भूख, जुल्म और नरक की जिन्दगी को झेला, उससे मनुष्य और समाज का साक्षात्कार करवाया है। 'जूठन' आत्मकथा के सन्दर्भ में 'डॉ० ललिता कौशल' का कहना है कि, "'जूठन' शीर्षक में वाल्मीकि की जाति-बिरादरी की पीड़ा, अपमान और गरीबी समाई हुई है। यह दिल दहला देने वाली एक लेखक की सच्ची कहानी है। यह आत्मकथा ब्राह्मणवादी वर्ण-धर्म व उसके संस्थागत रूप के पाखंडों में मौजूद अमानवीयता को उद्घाटित करती है। स्वयं लेखक 'जूठन' को अपने जीवन के अनुभवों, उतार-चढ़ाव और संघर्षों की कथा कहता है।" वास्तव में 'जूठन' में लेखक के जीवन की सच्चाई और ढोया हुआ दर्द है। लेखक ने

बचपन से लेकर देहरादून आर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्री में अधिकारी बनने तक जिस दुःख और पीड़ा को भोगा 'जूठन' आत्मकथा में वो तमाम सच्चाई छिपी हुई है। 17 नवम्बर, 2013 को वाल्मीकि जी की मृत्यु हो गई परन्तु दलित समाज और साहित्य को आन्दोलन का रूप देने में उनका योगदान हमेशा अविस्मरणीय रहेगा। 'जूठन' वास्तव में किसी एक वाल्मीकि के जीवन का यथार्थ नहीं है, बल्कि ऐसे अनेक वाल्मीकि दलित होने का दंश आज भी झेल रहे हैं। प्रस्तुत आत्मकथा के माध्यम से लेखक ने समाज में दलितों के ऊपर हो रहे जुल्मों और अत्याचारों की वास्तविक तस्वीर को प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है। समाज, शिक्षा, राजनीति, साहित्य तथा संस्कृति के क्षेत्र में ओमप्रकाश के साथ किस प्रकार अन्याय और अत्याचार हुआ उसी का वास्तविक दस्तावेज जूठन में समाया हुआ है।

मनुष्य के व्यक्तित्व के निर्माण में उसके सामाजिक परिवेश की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। भारतीय समाज सदा से वर्ण और जात-पात की व्यवस्था पर आधारित रहा है। भारतीय समाज में दलितों के साथ सदा से ही अमानुषिक व्यवहार होता रहा है। लेखक के जीवन की यात्रा ऐसे ग्रामीण परिवेश और वातावरण से शुरू होती है, जिसमें शायद कभी कोई जन्म नहीं लेना चाहेगा। लेखक के शब्दों में, "जोहड़ी के किनारे पर चूहड़ों के मकान थे, जिनके पीछे गांव भर की औरतें, जवान लड़कियां, बड़ी-बूढ़ी यहां तक कि नई नवेली दुल्हनें भी इसी डब्बोवाली के किनारे खुले में टट्टी-फरागत के लिए बैठ जाती थीं। तमाम शर्म-लिहाज छोड़कर वे डब्बोवाली के किनारे गोपनीय जिस्म उघाड़कर बैठ जाती थीं। चारों तरफ गंदगी भरी होती थी। ऐसी दुर्गंध कि मिनट भर में साँस घुट जाए। तंग गलियों में घूमते सुअर, नंग-धड़ंग बच्चे, कुत्ते, रोजमर्रा के झगड़े, बस यह था वह वातावरण जिसमें बचपन बीता। उसी बगड़ में हमारा परिवार रहता था। घर में सभी कोई न कोई काम करते थे। फिर भी दो जून की रोटी ठीक ढंग से नहीं चल पाती थी। नाम लेकर पुकारने की किसी को आदत नहीं थी। उम्र में बड़ा हो तो 'ओ चूहड़े', बराबर या उम्र में छोटा है तो 'अबे चूहड़े के' यही तरीका या सम्बोधन था। बराबर या उम्र में छोटा है तो 'अबे चूहड़े के' यही तरीका या सम्बोधन था। अस्पृश्यता का ऐसा माहौल कि कुत्ते-बिल्ली, गाय-भैंस को छुना बुरा नहीं था लेकिन यदि चूहड़े का स्पर्श हो जाए तो पाप लग जाता था। सामाजिक स्तर पर इनसानी दर्जा नहीं था। वे सिर्फ जरूरत की वस्तु थे। इस्तेमाल करो, दूर फेंको।"² इस प्रकार कहा जा सकता है कि अस्पृश्यता और वर्ण व्यवस्था के बदबूदार परिवेश में लेखक का बचपन व्यतीत हुआ।

दलित समुदाय पर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में अत्यधिक जुल्म और अत्याचार किये जाते हैं। ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि को बचपन से ही जातिगत विषमता के कारण तिरस्कार और अत्याचारों का सामना करना पड़ा। बरला गांव में मुसलमान त्यागी भी काफी अधिक थे। उनका व्यवहार दलितों के प्रति अत्यंत घृणित था। वे उनके ऊपर तरह-तरह की फट्टियां किया करते थे। लेखक के स्वयं के शब्दों में, "ऐसी फट्टियां जो बुझे तीर की तरह भीतर तक उतर जाती थी। ऐसा हमेशा होता था। साफ-सुथरे कपड़े पहनकर कक्षा

में जाओ तो साथ के लड़के कहते, 'अबे, चूहड़े का, नए कपड़े पहनकर आया है।' मैले-पुराने-पुराने कपड़े पहनकर स्कूल जाओ तो कहते, 'अबे चूहड़े के, दूर हट, बदबू आ रही है।' ³ इससे स्पष्ट होता है जाति का छोटापन लेखक को पल पल छलता रहा। लेखक और उसके समुदाय के लोग इसी प्रकार अनेक बार त्यागियों और उच्च जाति के लोगों के तिरस्कार का शिकार हुए। मास्टर बृजपाल त्यागी के घर में घटी घटना सवर्णों के उच्च संस्कारों की पोल खोल कर रख देती है। ओम प्रकाश अपने सहपाठी के साथ मास्टर बृजपाल के गांव गेहूँ लेने जाता है। दोनों का खूब आदर सत्कार किया जाता है। इसी दौरान वहां पर एक अन्य व्यक्ति आ जाता है। उस व्यक्ति ने बुजुर्ग व्यक्ति से दोनों के विषय में पूछताछ शुरू कर दी। बरला से आए हैं। सुनते ही सवाल पूछा कोण जात से है? इस पर ओम प्रकाश ने जवाब देते हुए कहा, "चूहड़ा जात हैं। बुजुर्ग ने चारपाई के नीचे पड़ी लाठी उठाकर तड़ से मार दी, भिक्खूराम की पीठ पर। बुजुर्ग के मुंह से अश्लील गालियों की बौछार होने लगी थी। कई लोगों की राय थी रस्सी से बांधकर दोनों को पेड़ से लटका दो।" ⁴ इस प्रकार पता चलता है कि सवर्ण समाज निम्न जाति के लोगों के साथ कैसा अमानवीय व्यवहार करता है।

दलितों से हर जगह अमानवीय और यातनामयी व्यवहार होता है। उच्च जाति के लोग दलितों से बेगार करवाने के बावजूद भी उचित व्यवहार नहीं करते। दलित बेचारे तो सवर्ण लोगों की जूठन तक को भी तरसते हैं। सुरवदेव सिंह त्यागी की बेटी के विवाह में वाल्मीकि की माँ जब काम करने के बाद खाना मांगती है, तो सुखदेव झूठी पतलों के टोकरे की ओर इशारा करते हुए कहता है, "टोकरा भर तो जूठन ले जा रही है— ऊपर से जाकतों (बच्चों) के लिए खाना मांग रही है। अपनी औकात में रह चूहड़ी। उठा टोकरा दरवाजे से और चलती बन।" ⁵ अतः दलितों ने अत्यंत क्रूर मानवीय व्यवहार को जीवन में झेला। वाल्मीकि से हर आदमी हर स्तर पर सिर्फ एक ही प्रश्न पूछता है, "तू कुण जात का है।" अबे चूहड़े के दूर हट बदबू आ रही है। ⁶ इस प्रकार देखा जा सकता है कि छोटी जात के कारण कदम-कदम पर वाल्मीकि और उसके जैसे अन्य लोगों को जलील किया जाता है।

जाति का लेबल बड़ा ही भयानक होता है, जो मृत्यु पर्यन्त भी शायद उसका पीछा नहीं छोड़ता। जैसे ही ओमप्रकाश आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्ट्री देहरादून में प्रवेश पाता है तो पिताजी बहुत खुश होकर यही कहते थे चलो 'जात से तो पीछा छूटा' लेकिन वे शायद इस तथ्य से अनभिज्ञ थे कि जाति का ठप्पा तांउम्र पीछा नहीं छोड़ेगा। मुम्बई (अम्बरनाथ) के हॉस्टल में रहते समय ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि का कुलकर्णी परिवार से सम्पर्क हुआ। वाल्मीकि नाम के भ्रम के कारण कुलकर्णी की बेटी सविता वाल्मीकि से प्रेम करने लगी। जब वाल्मीकि ने सविता से अपनी जात के विषय में कहा, "अच्छा यदि मैं एस०सी० हूँ तो भी तुम एस०सी० कैसे हो सकते हो? उसने इटलाकर कहा। क्यों यदि हुआ तो?..... 'तुम तो ब्राह्मण हो।' यह तुमसे किसने कहा?..... 'बाबा ने', गलत कहा। मैं एस०सी० हूँ' सविता

गम्भीर हो गई थी। उसकी आँखें छलछला आईं। उसने रूआँसी होकर कहा, 'झूठ बोल रहे हो न'?..... 'नहीं सवि यह सच है जो तुम्हें जान लेना चाहिए।' वह चलते-चलते रूक गई थी। बोली 'घर आओ या न आओ लेकिन यदि यह सच है तो बाबा से मत कहना... .'। नहीं कहोगे वादा करो।'।⁷ ये आधुनिक युग के ब्राह्मण परिवारों की सोच है, जिसका शिकार ओमप्रकाश जैसे दलित जाति के लोग होते हैं।

वर्ण व्यवस्था की क्रूरता इतनी भयानक होती है कि मानव का मानव के प्रति व्यवहार तक बदल जाता है। बदलते व्यवहार की इसी यातना को ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि ने महाराष्ट्र में झेला। ओमप्रकाश की कुरेशी नामक व्यक्ति से मित्रता थी, जो कि महाराष्ट्र पुलिस में सब-इंस्पेक्टर थे। एक दिन कुरेशी ने ओमप्रकाश को अपने कमांडेंट साहब से मिलाने की बात कही और साथ में यह भी कहा कि कमांडेंट साहब तुम्हारे ही जिले से हैं। ओमप्रकाश कमांडेंट साहब से मिलने चले गए। स्वयं वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में "कमांडेंट साहब गर्मजोशी से मिले थे। यह सुनकर खुश हुए कि मैं बरला का रहने वाला हूँ। अभी ठीक से बैठे भी नहीं थे कि उन्होंने कहना शुरू किया, 'बरला तो त्यागियों का गाँव है। आप किस जाति से हैं?' ... मैंने जैसे ही अपनी जाति 'चूहड़ा' बताई, वे असहज हो गए थे। साथ ही बातचीत का सिलसिला भी थम गया। जैसे बात करने लायक कुछ बचा ही नहीं था।"⁸ इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि जातिगत विषमता के कारण मनुष्य का व्यवहार एक दम से परिवर्तित हो जाता है। इसी प्रकार की वर्ण व्यवस्था की पीड़ा वाल्मीकि द्वारा सन् 1980 में जयपुर से चन्द्रपुर लौटते हुए ट्रेन में झेली गई। ट्रेन में एक मंत्रालय के अधिकारी के परिवार से आत्मिक परिचय हो जाता है और बात सीधी जाति पर आ जाती है। जैसे ही वाल्मीकि द्वारा अपनी जाति भंगी बताई जाती है उसके बाद के माहौल के सन्दर्भ में स्वयं लेखक बताता है कि, "सारा माहौल बिगड़ गया था। जैसे अचानक स्वादिष्ट व्यंजन में मक्खी गिर गई। माहौल बोझिल हो गया था। बहुत तकलीफ देह हो गई थी यात्रा।"⁹ इस प्रकार देखा जा सकता है कि जाति और वर्ण व्यवस्था मानवीय सम्बन्धों को छिन्न-भिन्न कर देती है।

शिक्षा मानव जीवन का अभिन्न अंग है। शिक्षा के माध्यम से ही मनुष्य विकास करते हुए जीवन में उपलब्धियों को प्राप्त करता है। लेकिन भारतीय समाज में वर्ण व्यवस्था के माध्यम से दलित और अछूत जातियों के समाज को शिक्षा और ज्ञान प्राप्ति से पूरी तरह दूर रखा गया। 'जूठन' आत्मकथा में ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि ने शिक्षा तन्त्र की नग्नता को उकेरते हुए इस पाखण्ड और यथार्थ का पर्दाफाश किया है। जूठन कृति में लेखक ने सवर्ण समाज और शिक्षकों की घटिया मानसिकता पर प्रकाश डाला है।

अनेक समाज प्रतिष्ठित लोगों के सामने हाथ-पांव जोड़ने के पश्चात वाल्मीकि का विद्यालय में प्रवेश होता है, परन्तु दलित समाज में जन्म लेने के कारण अभद्र व्यवहार निरन्तर वाल्मीकि की आत्मा को कटोचता रहता है। वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में, "स्कूल में दूसरों से दूर बैठना पड़ता था, वह भी जमीन पर। त्यागियों के बच्चे 'चूहड़े का' कहकर चिढ़ाते

थे। कभी-कभी बिना कारण पिटाई भी कर देते थे। एक अजीब सी यातनापूर्ण जिन्दगी थी।.... स्कूल में प्यास लगे तो हैंडपंप के पास खड़े रहकर किसी के आने का इंतजार करना पड़ता था। हैंडपंप छूने पर बवेला हो जाता था। लड़के तो पीटते ही थे। मास्टर लोग भी हैंडपंप छूने पर सजा देते थे।¹⁰ स्कूल में प्रवेश पाने के पश्चात कितनी घृणा और पीड़ा का सामना दलितों को करना पड़ता था।

शिक्षकों का व्यवहार दलित छात्रों के प्रति सदैव अपने व्यवसाय और पेशे के अनुकूल रहता है। वाल्मीकि ने विद्यालय में शिक्षकों के विपरीत व्यवहार को अनेक कष्ट सहन कर झेला। वाल्मीकि के स्वयं के शब्दों में “अध्यापकों का आदर्श रूप जो मैंने देखा वह अभी तक मेरी स्मृति से मिटा नहीं है। जब भी कोई आदर्श गुरु की बात करता है तो मुझे वे तमाम शिक्षक याद आ जाते हैं जो माँ-बहन की गालियाँ देते थे। सुंदर लड़कों के गाल सहलाते थे और उन्हें अपने घर बुलाकर उनसे बाहियातपन करते थे।”¹¹ इस प्रकार अध्यापकों द्वारा दी जाने वाली यातनाएँ दलित विद्यार्थियों को सहन करनी पड़ती हैं। शिक्षकों की ब्राह्मणवादी और सवर्ण मानसिकता के कारण दलितों के साथ शैक्षणिक संस्थानों में हेय और निंदनीय कार्य करवाये जाते हैं। ओमप्रकाश ने जब स्कूल में दाखिला लिया तो हेड मास्टर कलीराम का व्यवहार बड़ा ही घटिया था। उन्होंने ओमप्रकाश को अपने कमरे में बुलाया और पूछा, “क्या नाम है बे तेरा, ‘ओमप्रकाश’ ‘चूहड़े’ का है? ‘जी’, ठीक है वह सामने शीशम का पेड़ खड़ा है, उस पर चढ़ जा और टहनियाँ तोड़के झाड़ू बना ले। पत्तों वाली झाड़ू बनाना। और पूरे स्कूल कू ऐसा चमका दे जैसे सीसा। तेरा तो यो खानदानी काम है। जा फटाफट लग जा काम पे।”¹² इस प्रकार अनेक दिनों तक वाल्मीकि का शोषण किया जाता है परन्तु बावजूद इसके उसने शोषण को सहन करते और उसका विरोध करते हुए अपनी शिक्षा का क्रम जारी रखा।

शिक्षा के मन्दिरों में दलितों के साथ पढ़ाई के नाम पर पक्षपात और भेदभाव किया जाता रहा है। ओम प्रकाश के साथ भी ऐसा ही हुआ। जानबूझकर उसका प्रैक्टिकल तक नहीं करवाया जाता और मौखिक साक्षात्कार में भी उसे कम अंक लगाए जाते हैं, जिस कारण वह बारहवीं की कक्षा में फेल तक हो जाता है। लेखक के शब्दों में, “कई महीने तक जब मैं प्रैक्टिकल नहीं कर पाया तो मुझे ऐसा महसूस होने लगा था जैसे जान-बूझकर ऐसा किया जा रहा है। एक रोज उसने मुझे सभी के सामने अपमानित भी किया था और प्रयोगशाला से बाहर कर दिया था। बारहवीं कक्षा में मैं प्रैक्टिकल नहीं कर पाया था, पूरे वर्ष। साक्षात्कार में भी मुझे कम अंक मिले थे, जबकि मैंने परीक्षक के सभी प्रश्नों के संतोषजनक उत्तर दिये थे। जब परिणाम घोषित हुआ, मैं बारहवीं में फेल था।”¹³ इस प्रकार अध्यापकों द्वारा वाल्मीकि के साथ पक्षपात पूर्ण व्यवहार किया गया। जब ओमप्रकाश द्वारा देहरादून में दाखिला लिया गया, तो यहां पर भी उसे सवर्ण छात्रों की कुदृष्टि का शिकार होना पड़ा। ओमप्रकाश के शब्दों में, “एक दिन अंग्रेजी की कक्षा से बाहर निकलते ही दूसरे सेक्शन के

एक लड़के ने मुझे रोक लिया। एक ने मेरी पैंट खींचते हुए कहा, किस टेलर से सिलवाई है? हमें भी उसका पता दे दो।¹⁴ इस प्रकार ओमप्रकाश के साथ अनुचित व्यवहार किया गया। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि कानूनी व्यवस्था होने के बावजूद भी दलितों और अछूतों के साथ शैक्षणिक स्तर पर अमानवीय व्यवहार किया गया।

भारतीय समाज में दलितों के साथ आर्थिक शोषण भी सदा से होता रहा है। सवर्ण समाज आर्थिक आधार पर सदैव दलितों और निम्न जाति के लोगों को दबाता और कुचलता रहा है। ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि ने दलितों की गरीबी और उनके आर्थिक शोषण की दारुण व्यथा का चित्रण 'जूठन' के माध्यम से किया है। सवर्णों के घरों तथा खेतों में काम करना, उनकी जूठन से पेट भरना, उनके मरे हुए जानवरों को उठाना जैसे धिनौने कार्य करने पर भी उनके शोषण का शिकार होना पड़ता था।

ओमप्रकाश और उसकी बिरादरी के अन्य लोग त्यागियों के यहां काम किया करते थे बदले में उन्हें थोड़ा बहुत अनाज दे दिया जाता था। वे उत्सवों के समय टोकरियों में त्यागियों के घरों से जूठन एकत्रित करके लाते थे। उन्हें उचित मेहनताना नहीं मिल पाता था। ओमप्रकाश के शब्दों में, दिन—रात मर—खपकर भी हमारे पसीने की कीमत मात्र 'जूठन'।¹⁵ इससे स्पष्ट है कि दलितों को जूठन तक के लिए भी मोहताज होना पड़ता था। दलित लोग अकसर त्यागियों के घरों और खेतों में काम किया करते थे परन्तु बदले में नाममात्र अनाज ही दिया जाता था, जिससे उन्हें दाने—दाने को तरसना पड़ता था। ओमप्रकाश के शब्दों में, "इन सब कामों के बदले मिलता था, दो जानवर पीछे फसल के समय पांच सेर अनाज यानी लगभग ढाई किलो अनाज। दस मवेशीवाले घर से साल भर में 25 सेर (लगभग 12—13 किलो), अनाज दोपहर को प्रत्येक घर से एक बच्ची—खुची रोटी, जो खास तौर पर चूहड़ों को देने के लिए आटे में भूसी मिलाकर बनाई जाती थी। कभी—कभी जूठन भी भंगन की टोकरी में डाल दी जाती थी।"¹⁶ यानि मेहनत करने के पश्चात् सिर्फ शोषण ही दलितों के हिस्से आता रहा।

सवर्ण जाति के लोग जूठन तक को देने के लिए भी दलितों का शोषण करते रहे हैं। सुखदेव सिंह की बेटी के शादी के अवसर पर वाल्मीकि के माता—पिता ने घर—आँगन से लेकर सभी काम किये जब सभी लोग खाना खाकर चले गए तो ओमप्रकाश की माँ ने अपने बच्चों के लिए चौधरी से खाने की फर्याद की इस पर सुखदेव त्यागी आक्रोश से कहता है, "टोकरा भर तो जूठन ले जा रही हैऊपर से जाकतों के लिए खाणा माँग री है? अपनी औकात में रह चूहड़ी। उठा टोकरा दरवाजे से और चलती बन।"¹⁷ अतः समाज का सम्पन्न वर्ग सदा से ही दलितों और गरीबों का आर्थिक शोषण करता रहा है।

आर्थिक कष्टों के कारण मनुष्य द्वारा हीन समझे जाने वाले कार्यों को भी दलितों को करना पड़ता है। ओमप्रकाश के जीवन का अनुभव भी कुछ इस तरह का ही रहा। उसे मरे हुए

जानवरों को उठाकर उनकी खाल तक उतारने का काम तक करना पड़ता है। उसे ऐसा कार्य करते हुए मानसिक यातना से गुजरना पड़ता है। वाल्मीकि अपनी व्यथा के विषय में बताते हैं, “मैं जैसे स्वयं ही गहरे दल-दल में फंस रहा था जहां से मैं उबरना चाहता था, हालात मुझे उसी दल-दल में घसीट रहे थे। जिस यातना को मैंने भोगा है, आज भी उसके जख्म मेरे तन पर ताजा हैं।”¹⁸ इससे स्पष्ट है कि वाल्मीकि ने जीवन में कितना आर्थिक संघर्ष किया।

गरीबी स्वयं एक अभिशाप है और इस पर दलित हो तो और ज्यादा मुसीबत। देहरादून में पढ़ाई करते समय वाल्मीकि के लिए सर्दियाँ काटनी मुश्किल हो जाती हैं। एक स्वेटर तक भी वाल्मीकि खरीद नहीं सकता था। वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में, “देहरादून की पहली सर्दी मेरे लिए बहुत कष्टदायक रही थी। मेरे पास सर्दियों में पहनने के लिए कोई गर्म कपड़ा नहीं था।मैंने लकड़ी की टाल से तीस-चालीस रूपए जमा कर लिए थे। एक सफाई कर्मी से वह खाकी जर्सी खरीद ली थी उन रूपयों में से।पहले दिन जब मैं इसे पहन कॉलेज गया तो लड़के जमादार कहकर चिढ़ाने लगे थे।”¹⁹ इस प्रकार वाल्मीकि द्वारा अनेक आर्थिक कष्ट झेले गए।

सांस्कृतिक तथा साहित्यिक क्षेत्रों में भी सदा से ही दलितों का शोषण ही होता रहा है। वाल्मीकि ने जीवन में सांस्कृतिक और साहित्यिक क्षेत्र की इस मानसिक यातना को झेला। वाल्मीकि पढ़ाई में श्रेष्ठ था और एक अच्छा कलाकार भी। परन्तु जातिगत विषमता के कारण हमेशा उसे दूर रखा जाता रहा। स्वयं वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में, “मुझे सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रमों, क्रियाकलापों से दूर रखा जाता था। ऐसे वक्त, मैं सिर्फ किनारे खड़ा होकर दर्शक बना रहता था। स्कूल के वार्षिक उत्सव में जब नाटक आदि का पूर्वाभ्यास होता था, मेरी भी इच्छा होती थी कोई भूमिका मुझे भी मिले। लेकिन हमेशा दरवाजे के बाहर खड़ा रहना पड़ता था।”²⁰ इस प्रकार दलितों को हमेशा से ही सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रमों और उत्सवों से दूर रखा गया।

आज व्यक्ति की पहचान उसके विचारों से नहीं बल्कि उसके उच्च कुल में जन्म लेने और सर्वसम्पन्न होने से की जाती है। वाल्मीकि एक अच्छे साहित्यकार और वक्ता के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हो रहे थे। एक दिन उनको एक कार्यक्रम में ‘बौद्ध साहित्य एवं दर्शन’ विषय पर व्याख्यान देने के लिए आमंत्रित किया जाता है। जैसे ही बोलने के लिए वाल्मीकि को माइक दिया जाता है, एक श्रोता बीच में ही बोल पड़ता है, “वाल्मीकि बौद्ध दर्शन और साहित्य पर बोलेंगे। शर्म नहीं आती।”²¹ इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि जातिगत विषमता के कारण व्यक्ति के उच्च विचारों का मूल्य समाप्त हो जाता है। दलित होने के कारण साहित्यकार भी जातिगत भेदभाव के चलते वाल्मीकि की रचनाओं को छापने की अपेक्षा वर्षों दबाकर रखते थे। लेखक द्वारा ‘जंगल की रानी’ नामक कहानी सारिका पत्रिका में प्रकाशन हेतु भेजी जाती है। परन्तु 10 वर्षों तक कहानी नहीं छप पाई। वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में, “1990 में कहानी की वे दोनों प्रतियाँ एक टंकित पत्र के साथ वापस आ गई कि हम

आपकी कहानी अभी तक छाप नहीं पाए हैं, हाँ प्रतीक्षा का और हौसला हो तो वापस भेज दें। यानी पूरे दस वर्ष प्रतीक्षा कराने के बाद और प्रतीक्षा यह कैसा मजाक है। साहित्य के भीतर भी एक सत्ता है जो अंकुरित होते पौधे को कुचल देती है।”²² इस प्रकार पता चलता है कि दलित वर्ग को हमेशा से ही शोषण का शिकार होना पड़ा है, चाहे वह जीवन का कोई भी क्षेत्र क्यों न हो।

आधुनिक लोकतान्त्रिक ढांचा भी काफी हद तक दलितों के शोषण में लिप्त रहता है। प्रशासन भी दलितों को हमेशा दबाने और कुचलने का प्रयास करता रहा है। बरला गांव में जब श्रमिकों द्वारा अपने श्रम का मूल्य मांगा जाता है तो पुलिस लोगों पर बर्बरतापूर्ण व्यवहार करती है। वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में, “लोकतन्त्र की दुहाई देने वाले सरकारी मशीनरी का उपयोग नसों में दौड़ते हुए लहू को ठंडा करने के लिए करते हैं, जैसे हम इस देश के नागरिक ही नहीं हैं। हजारों साल से इसी तरह दबाया गया कमजोर बेबसों को कितनी प्रतिभाएं छल और कपट का शिकार होकर मिट गईं। कोई हिसाब नहीं।”²³ इससे स्पष्ट पता चलता है कि प्रशासन भी सदा दलितों की आवाज़ को दबाने की कोशिश करता रहा है।

गुजरात में आरक्षण विरोधियों द्वारा दलितों पर अनेक जुल्म किये गये। प्रशासन मौन रह कर तमाशा देखता रहा। उल्टे दलित समुदाय के लोगों को दंडित और प्रताड़ित किया गया। वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में, “ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में आरक्षण विरोधियों ने बेइंतहा जुल्म ढाए थे। चारों ओर हिंसा का तांडव था।सरकारी, अर्द्ध सरकारी कार्यालयों में दलित अधिकारियों, कर्मचारियों को प्रताड़ित किए जाने की घटनाएं बढ़ने लगी।शोषित संघ के पर्चे पर प्रशासन निष्क्रिय था। लेकिन दलितों का पर्चा वितरित होते ही प्रशासन सक्रिय हो गया था। दलित, प्रतिनिधियों को बुलाकर पूछताछ होने लगी थी।”²⁴ इस प्रकार दलित वर्ग हमेशा से ही शासन-प्रशासन की गलत नीतियों और नियमों का शिकार होता रहा है। ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि ने जीवन में सदा संघर्ष किया। वाल्मीकि और उसका समाज हमेशा शोषण और अनदेखी का शिकार हुआ परन्तु बावजूद इसके वाल्मीकि ने हार नहीं मानी। उन्होंने अम्बेडकर को पढ़ा और उनके विचारों का प्रचार-प्रसार किया। अम्बेडकर के कारण ही वाल्मीकि की चेतना जागृत होती है। तब वाल्मीकि की समझ में आता है कि, “हमें एक लगातार संघर्ष और बदलाव तथा हमारे दिलों में बैचेनी पैदा करने वाली संघर्ष चेतना की जरूरत है, जो क्रान्तिकारी बदलाव लाए और सामाजिक बदलाव की प्रक्रिया का नेतृत्व करे।”²⁵ अतः वाल्मीकि का मानना है कि यदि हमें शोषण और उत्पीड़न से मुक्ति चाहिए तो हमें अपने अधिकारों के प्रति सचेत होना पड़ेगा और अधिक से अधिक शिक्षित होना पड़ेगा, तभी कहीं जातिगत विषमता से मुक्ति मिल सकेगी अन्यथा नहीं।

निष्कर्षतः कहा जा सकता है कि ‘जूठन’ आत्मकथा ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि तथा उसके जैसे दलित लोगों के जीवन यथार्थ का दस्तावेज है। दलित का सदा दलन ही होता रहा है।

लेखक 'जूठन' के माध्यम से स्पष्ट करना चाहता है कि व्यक्ति की पहचान एक मनुष्य के रूप में होनी चाहिए न कि जातिगत रूप में। 'जूठन' आत्मकथा व्यक्ति को जीवन में संघर्ष, संगठित और शिक्षित होने का संदेश देती है।

संदर्भ ग्रन्थ सूची

1. डॉ० ललिता कौशल, हिन्दी की चर्चित दलित आत्मकथाएं, साहित्य संस्थान गाजियाबाद, 2010, पृ० 54
2. ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि, जूठन, राधाकृष्णन प्रकाशन, नई दिल्ली, 1997, पृ० 11—12
3. वही, पृ० 13
4. वही, पृ० 65—66
5. वही, पृ० 21
6. वही, पृ० 72
7. वही, पृ० 119—120
8. वही, पृ० 138—139
9. वही, पृ० 159
10. वही, पृ० 13
11. वही, पृ० 14
12. वही, पृ० 14—15
13. वही, पृ० 81
14. वही, पृ० 85
15. वही, पृ० 20
16. वही, पृ० 19
17. वही, पृ० 21
18. वही, पृ० 47
19. वही, पृ० 93—94
20. वही, पृ० 26
21. वही, पृ० 156
22. वही, पृ० 147
23. वही, पृ० 52

हिन्दी महिला उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में नारी अस्मिता

- सुनिता

सारांश

महिला उपन्यासकारों ने अपने उपन्यासों में नारी अस्मिता को बहुत ही अच्छे ढंग एवं यथार्थ रूप से प्रस्तुत किया है। इनका यह प्रयास नारी को अपनी अस्मिता पहचानने में सहयोगी सिद्ध होगा। सामाजिक, पारिवारिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं धार्मिक बंधन में सदियों से जकड़ी हुई नारी को इन उपन्यासों के माध्यम से उनकी अस्मिता की पहचान होगी। आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में नारी के प्रवेश पर बल देने वाले इनके उपन्यास नारी के लिए एक प्रेरणादायक उपन्यास है। इन उपन्यासों से नारी का विकास सुनिश्चित है। आलोच्यकाल के महिला उपन्यासकार कृष्णा सोबती, उषा प्रियंवदा, राजी सेठ, मृदुला गर्ग कुसुम अंसल, ममता कालिया, मेहरुनिसा वरवेज, चित्रा मृदगल, नारिसा शर्मा, निरूपम सेवती प्रशोतान, मैत्रेयी प्रष्ठा, एवं गीतांजलि श्री के उपन्यासों में नारी अस्मिता के संदर्भ में प्रस्तुत प्रयास सराहनीय है।

प्रस्तावना

नारी अस्मिता की परिभाषा किसी निश्चित वैचारिक फ्रेमवर्क के अन्तर्गत नहीं की जा सकती। ऐतिहासिक एवं सामाजिक कारणों की खोज के बावजूद समाज में नवीन विकास और परिवर्तन अनेक अन्तर्विरोधों से युक्त हैं। परंपरा की विरासत और आधुनिकता का स्वीकार जिस निर्णायक क्षितिज की अपेक्षा रखता है, वह बहुत ही धुंधला है। नारी अस्मिता अपने स्थूल रूप में नारी की वैयक्तिकता, व्यक्ति या मनुष्य के रूप में उसकी गरिमा, प्रतिष्ठा तथा पहचान है, जिसमें अपने जीवन पर खुद उसकी सत्ता होती है।¹ नारी अस्मिता नारी के व्यक्तित्व की विशिष्ट एवं विलक्षण पहचान है जो उसके समाज की विलक्षण ऐतिहासिकता एवं वास्तविक अथवा मिथकीय अतीत से जोड़ती है। यह निजत्व का भाव है जिसमें नारी

की इच्छा-अनिच्छा महत्वपूर्ण होती है। यह नारी में अहंभाव उत्पन्न करते हुए स्वयं को श्रेष्ठ सिद्ध करने की ख्वाहिश भी व्यक्त करती है। नारी अस्मिता आधुनिक युग का महत्वपूर्ण एवं केन्द्रीय प्रश्न है। यह प्रश्न सदियों से चली आ रही पितृसत्तात्मक-समाज की परंपराओं एवं मर्यादाओं की रुढ़ियों तले दबता चला आ रहा है। किन्तु 20वीं सदी में नारी अस्मिता एवं उसकी आवाज को नये आयाम प्राप्त हुए हैं। नारी अस्मिता के प्रश्न ने पितृसत्तात्मक समाज में अनेक युगान्तकारी परिवर्तन किए, चीजों को देखने की दृष्टि बदल दी, पुरुष मानसिकता एवं पुरुष व्यवस्था को आइना दिखाते हुए नारी को एक स्वतंत्र रूप से स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया।

भारतीय पुनर्जागरण के समय समाज सुधारकों ने पहली बार समाज में नारियों की असमान स्थिति के विरोध में अपनी आवाज उठाई। उन्होंने भोग्या एवं वस्तु समझी जाने वाली नारी को एक सम्मानजनक स्वरूप प्रदान करने की पहल की। उन्होंने नारी की स्थिति में सुधार के प्रयासों की गंभीर आवश्यकता समझी और नारियों की जागरूकता के लिए नारी शिक्षा पर विशेष बल दिया। उन्होंने विधवा-विवाह तथा स्त्री-पुरुष के समानाधिकारों का समर्थन किया। राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलनों ने नारी की शक्ति एवं क्षमता को विस्तार दिया और स्वतंत्र व्यक्तित्व के साथ नारी ने स्वयं को समाज की मुख्य धारा का हिस्सा समझा।

अब नारी धर्म की रुढ़ियों को टुकरा कर पुरुष की बलात् दासता को अस्वीकार कर अपनी स्थिति को पहचान गयी और अपने अधिकारों के प्रति सजग हो गई। उसे समान भाव भूमि पर अपने व्यक्तित्व का विकास करने का मौका मिला। शिक्षा स्व-चेतना का विकास एवं पश्चिमी सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति ने उसकी अस्मिता को नवीन युगान्तकारी परिवर्तन प्रदान किये। भौतिकता, औद्योगीकरण, बढ़ती आकांक्षा-इच्छाओं ने स्वार्थवृत्ति एवं आत्मकेन्द्रीकरण को बढ़ावा दिया है जिसके कारण नारी के समक्ष कुछ जिम्मेदारियाँ विवश एवं प्रतिक्रियावश आईं।² नारी अस्मिता में परंपरा एवं आधुनिकतावादी परिवर्तनों के टकराव की भूमिका यहाँ प्रारम्भ होती है।

नारी शिक्षा एवं संवैधानिक अधिकारों से नारी की स्थिति में आशातीत परिवर्तन आया है, किन्तु सामाजिक संदर्भों में नारी आज भी परंपराओं, रुढ़ियों, संस्कारों से पूर्णतः स्वतंत्र नहीं हुई है। नारी के स्वतंत्रत व्यक्तित्व एवं स्वाभिमान ने अनेक अन्तर्द्विगुण्टा, एवं संघर्ष को जन्म दिया है। उसका स्वाभिमान, स्वतंत्रता ने नारी आन्दोलनों को सशक्त वाणी प्रदान की है। पश्चिमी नारी आन्दोलन ने भारतीय समाज में नारी स्वतंत्रता के नए रूपों को जन्म दिया है। नारी अस्मिता का दृष्टिकोण पुरुष विरोधी नहीं है, बल्कि पुरुष वर्चस्व का विरोधी है, समाज में नारी की पहचान और क्षमता मनवाने का एक सार्थक एवं कारगर प्रयास है।

20वीं शताब्दी के आरम्भिक चरण से ही उपन्यासकारों ने नारी अस्मिता को पहचाने की कोशिश की है। आधुनिक काल के उपन्यासों में जो नारी अस्मिता के स्वर दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं, वे उपन्यास साहित्य की लम्बी परंपरा में भी परिलक्षित होते हैं। प्रत्येक कालखण्ड में नारी को किसी-न-किसी रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है।³ प्रेमचंद-पूर्व हिन्दी उपन्यासों में

नारी के प्रति सुधारवादी दृष्टिकोण प्राप्त होता है। नारी को आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता की आवश्यकता नहीं समझी गयी। उसे गृहस्थी का मेरुदंड मानकर उपदेश दिया गया है। इस कालखण्ड में सदियों से चली आ रही पुरुष-सत्तात्मक समाज का नारी के प्रति दृष्टिकोण को गलत कहने का एवं नारी जीवन की समस्याओं की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करने का प्रयास स्तुत्य है।

स्वातंत्र्योत्तर काल में नारी सामाजिक, राजनीतिक एवं आर्थिक क्षेत्र में भाग लेने लगी। भारतीय संविधान में भी नारी के लिए कई कानून बने। इस कालखण्ड में नारी जीवन में नवीन चेतना जाग्रत हुई एवं अपनी अस्मिता के प्रति सजग हुई। स्वातंत्र्योत्तर उपन्यासों में आधुनिक नारी के बदलते हुए दृष्टिकोण को अंकित किया गया है। कामकाजी तथा पारिवारिक स्तर पर नारी की विभिन्न समस्याओं एवं उसके साथ संघर्ष करने वाली नारी की मानसिकता का इन उपन्यासों में यथार्थ चित्रण किया गया है। पहली महिला उपन्यासकार ऊषा देवी मित्रा के उपन्यासों में नारी जीवन की विडंबनाओं एवं संघर्ष का मार्मिक चित्रण है। प्रारंभिक महिला उपन्यासकार कंचनलता सब्बरवाल, शैल कुमारी देवी, ऊषा रानी, ताराबाई, हरदेवी, लक्ष्मी देवीगिरिजा देवी आदि के उपन्यासों में सामाजिक संदर्भ में नारी-पुरुष के संबंधों का चित्रण किया गया है।⁴

स्वातंत्र्योत्तर काल में महिला उपन्यासकारों की रचनाओं का विशेष महत्व है। इन लेखिकाओं ने अपने निजी एवं महीन अनुभवों के आधार पर आधुनिक भारतीय नारी की सामाजिक स्थिति एवं मानसिकता को अपने उपन्यासों में प्रस्तुत किया है। स्वातंत्र्योत्तर कालखण्ड में महिला उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में परंपरागत जीवन-मूल्य एवं आधुनिक जीवन मूल्य के बीच संघर्षरत् नारी की मानसिकता का यथार्थ चित्रण हुआ है एवं सामाजिक, पारिवारिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक, धरातल पर नारी का जो शोषण हो रहा है, आधुनिक नारी इस शोषण से अपने आपको मुक्त करने के लिए जो प्रयास कर रही है, उसे हिन्दी-महिला उपन्यासकारों ने अपने उपन्यासों का विषय बनाया है। कामकाजी नारी की समस्याओं, नारी विद्रोह एवं संघर्ष, नारी स्वतंत्रता एवं समानता, कुण्ठा, घुटन, अकेलापन, बेरोजगार नारी का संघर्ष, आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता, नारी की राजनीति में समान भागेदारी, चुनावों में व्याप्त नेताओं का भ्रष्टाचार, ईश्वरवाद, साम्प्रदायिकता, आडम्बर, परंपरा एवं अंधविश्वास का विरोध, स्त्री पुरुषों के बदलते संबंधों, मुक्ति की कामना को महिला उपन्यासकारों ने अपने उपन्यासों में बड़ी सूक्ष्मता के साथ अंकित किया है।⁵

महिला-उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में नारी की समाज में तीन स्थितियाँ अपने पहली स्थिति में वह सदियों से चली आ रही शोषण और अत्याचार की स्थितियों की शिकार है। दूसरी स्थिति में वह नयी परिस्थितियों से पैदा हुई समस्याओं से जूझ रही है और तीसरी स्थिति में आर्थिक दृष्टि से स्वावलम्बी होने, परंपरागत नारी संहिता की जकड़न को चुनौती देने और राजनीतिक दृष्टि से सबलीकरण की दिशा में अग्रसर होने के लिए संघर्षरत है।⁶ सदी के अन्तिम दो दशकों में प्रकाशित उपन्यासों में हमारा साक्षात्कार से भी स्त्री पातों से

होता है जो अपने सामने उपस्थित चुनौतियों को दृढ़ता के साथ स्वीकार करती है और अपने किसी निर्णय के लिए किसी पुरुष की मुँह नहीं जोहती। राजी सेठ की वसुधा, नासिरा शर्मा की महरूख, मैत्रयी पुष्पा की मन्दा एवं सारंग, प्रभा खेतान की प्रिया और सोमा, चित्रामुद्गल की नमिता, ऊषा प्रियवंदा की वाना आदि अपनी खुशी, मुक्ति, अधिकारों की प्राप्ति या अस्मिता की रक्षा के लिए साहस पूर्ण कदम उठाने की पहल करती है। प्रश्न चाहे जीवन-साथी चुनने का हो या कार्य क्षेत्र चुनने का वे अपना निर्णय खुद लेती है। सजग, आत्मचेतना और आत्मनिर्णय से लेस होकर वे न केवल सामन्ती परिवेश और रुढ़ मार्यादाओं के गढ़ को तोड़ती है। बल्कि सकारात्मक ढंग से अपने व्यक्तित्व की रचना भी करती है। विवेच्य उपन्यासों में युगीन परिस्थितियों का प्रभाव स्पष्ट रूप से दृष्टिगोचर होता है। 'छिन्नमस्ता' की प्रिया, 'कठगुलाब' की असीमा, 'शेष यात्रा' की अनु 'अकेला पलाश' की तहमीना, 'दहकन के पार' की तुषार, 'इदन्नमम' की मंदा, 'ठीकरे की मंगनी' की महरूख 'आवां' की नमिता एवं 'पीलीआंधी' की सोमा, 'शाल्मली' की शाल्मली, 'एक जमीन अपनी' की अंकिता एवं 'मैं और मैं' की माधवी आदि सशक्त नारी चरित्र युगीन परिस्थितियों के ही परिणाम है।

महिला उपन्यासकार—महरूनिसा परवेज, नासिरा शर्मा, चित्रा मुद्गल, प्रभाखेतान, मृदुला गर्ग, मैत्रयी पुष्पा, ऊषा प्रियंवदा, गीतांजलि श्री, कृष्णा सोबती, निरुपमा सेबती, राजी सेठ, कुसुम अंसल, ममता कालिया ने अपने उपन्यासों—⁷ 'अकेला पलाश', 'ठीकरे की मंगनी', 'शाल्मली', 'एक जमीन अपनी', 'आवां', 'छिन्नमस्ता', 'पीली आंधी' 'कठगुलाब', 'मैं और मैं', 'चाक', 'इदन्नमम', 'अन्तर्वशी', 'शेष यात्रा', 'माई', 'दिलो—दानिश', 'दहकन के पार', 'तेत—सम', 'एक और पंचवटी', 'एक पत्नी के नौट्स दौड़' में सामाजिक संदर्भ में नारी शोषण, नारी सजगता, विद्रोहिणी नारी, संघर्ष शील नारी, नारी आत्मविश्वास, स्वाभिमानी नारी, नारी समानता और नारी स्वतंत्रता के परिप्रेक्ष्य में नारी अस्मिता पर प्रकाश डाला है। पुरुष-समाज द्वारा नारी पर हो रहे शोषण के प्रति नारी को सजग करने का प्रयास किया गया है। नारी द्वारा नारी पर किए जाने वाले शोषण पर भी प्रकाश डालते हुए नारी को समाज के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाने का साहस दिलाया है। विवेच्य उपन्यासों में श्रम का शोषण, यौन-शोषण, आर्थिक शोषण एवं रिश्तों का शोषण आदि नारी शोषण के विभिन्न रूपाकारों का रेखांकन हुआ है। आधुनिक नारी पुरुष के शोषण से सजग होकर उसके शोषण से मुक्त होने के लिए संघर्षरत है। शिक्षा के प्रचार-प्रसार के कारण शिक्षित नारी अपने अधिकारों पुरुष सत्वात्मक समाज के दोहरे मानदंडो नियम-कानून, विज्ञापन की चकाचौध करने वाली जादुई दुनिया, से जागरूक होती हुई दिखाई गई है। उपन्यासों में पुरुष समाज के जुल्म, अन्याय-अत्याचार, का विद्रोह करती हुई नारी का यथार्थ चित्रण किया गया है। 'दिलो दानिश' की महक, 'शाल्मली' की शाल्मली, पीली आंधी की सोमा पुरुष के प्रति को पुरुष के शोषण का विरोध करती हुई दिखाया गया है। महिला उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में नारी आत्मविश्वास को यथार्थ रूप से रूपायित किया गया है। 'छिन्नमस्ता' की प्रिया, 'कठगुलाब' की असीमा, 'अकेला पलाश' की तुषार 'मैं और मैं'

की माधवी एवं 'शेष यात्रा' की अनु के आत्मविश्वास को महिला उपन्यासकारों ने यथार्थ आभिव्यक्ति की है। आलोच्य कालीन उपन्यासों में सिर झुकाकर न जीने वाली, पुरुष की धौंस न सुनने वाली, स्वाभिमानिनी नारी का एक सहचरी के रूप में चित्रण किया गया है। महिला उपन्यासकारों ने पुरुष वर्चस्व की समानता चाहने वाली, एक सहचरी, एक हमदर्द नारी का चित्रण करने का प्रयास किया है। पुरुष-समाज परंपरा, रूढ़ियों एवं शारीरिक अक्षमता के नाम पर नारी को स्वतंत्रता से बंचित रखा है। महिला उपन्यासकारों ने अपने उपन्यासों में निडर निःशंक, अतः बाह्य मुक्ति की आकांक्षा चाहने वाली परम्परा, रूढ़ि का विरोध करने वाली शात्मली, प्रिया, साधवी, महरूख, तुषार आदि नारी पात्रों का यथार्थ चित्रण किया है।

नारी के विविध रूपों के संदर्भ में नारी अस्मिता को महिला उपन्यासकार-प्रभा खेतान, ममता कालिया, निरुपमा सेबती, चित्रामुदगल काल मृदुला गर्ग, मैत्रेयी पुष्पा, ममता कालिया, मेहरून्निसा परवेज, नासिरा शर्मा, गीताजति श्री, कुसुम अंसल, राजी सेठ, ऊषा प्रियवंदा एवं कृष्णा सोबती में अपने उपन्यासों—⁸ 'छिन्नमस्ता', 'पीली आंधी', 'दौड़', 'एक पत्नी के नोट्स', 'दहकन के पार' 'एक जमीन अपनी', 'आवा', 'मैं और मैं', 'कठगुलाब', 'इदन्नम', 'चाक', 'अकेला पलाश', 'ठीकरे की मंगनी', 'शात्मली', 'एक और पंचवटी', 'तत्सम', 'अन्तर्वशी', 'शेष यात्रा', 'दिलो-दानिश', द्वारा नारी के विविध रूपों जैसे—⁹ माँ, पत्नी, बेटी, बहन, सास, बहु, भाभी, प्रेमिका और सहेली के रूप में नारी अस्मिता को रूपायित किया गया है। पाश्चात्य संस्कृति से प्रमाणित होकर निडर, साहसी, आदर्श नारी का चित्रण किया गया है। विभिन्न रूपों में नारी अपने स्वभाव एवं परंपरा में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं करती है, अलोच्चकालीन महिला उपन्यासकारों ने खुद महिला होने के कारण नारी के विविध रूपों में नारी अस्मिता को बारीकी अनुभवों के साथ रेखांकित किया है।¹⁰

उपसंहार

महिला उपन्यासकारों ने अपने उपन्यासों में शोषण, अन्याय-अत्याचार, पति एवं प्रेमी की आत्मीयता का अभाव, उपेक्षा, बलात्कार, पति-पत्नी की सोच में आनुपातिक अन्तर, अन्तर्जातीय शादी, अनमेल विवाह, विधवापन आदि के कारण नारी परिवार में रहते हुए भी अकेलापन महसूस करती है। इस अकेलेपन को दूर करने के लिए नारी स्वावलम्बी बनी है। पाश्चात्य संस्कृति के अंधानुकरण, अनमेल विवाह, वांछित प्रेम का अभाव, अपमान, धोखा, पति की व्यस्तता, विधवापन के निषेधों, अधिक उम्र में शादी आदि के कारण आधुनिक नारी कुण्ठा ग्रस्त है। इस कुण्ठा से उभरने के लिए वह नौकरी करती है, किन्तु वहाँ भी वह कुण्ठा से निकल नहीं पाती। हिन्दी-महिला उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में कुण्ठित नारी की अस्मिता का सजीव चित्रण हुआ है। अपमान, अन्याय-अत्याचार, शक-संदेह, शोषण, धोखा एवं बलात्कार नारी घुटन के महत्वपूर्ण कारक हैं। आधुनिक नारी पति का अन्य स्त्रियों के संबंधों, विधवापन, सामाजिक मर्यादा, वैवाहिक जीवन में असंतोष आदि के कारण नारी घुटन महसूस करती है। इस घुटन से उभरने के लिए वह आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करती है।

महिला उपन्यासकारों ने अपने उपन्यासों में घुटन भरी नारी अस्मिता का यथार्थ चित्रण किया है। महिला उपन्यासकारों के विवेच्य उपन्यासों में जायदाद के हड़पने, पति एवं प्रेमी की अकाल मृत्यु, बलात्कार, धोखा, शोषण, छल, पारिवारिक एवं सामाजिक अपमान एवं वांछित प्रेम में कमी के कारण संतुष्ट नारी की अस्मिता का यथार्थ परखा गया है।

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ सूची

1. गीतांजलि श्री : माई, राजकमल प्रकाशन, प्रा0लि0, नेताजी सुभाष मार्ग, नई दिल्ली—110002, पहला संस्करण 2004, पहली आवृत्ति 2012, पृष्ठ—125।
2. परवेज, मेहन्निसा : अकेला पलाश, वाणी प्रकाशन दरियागंज नई दिल्ली—110002, संस्करण—2002, पहली आवृत्ति 2010, पृष्ठ—201।
3. पुष्पा, मैत्रेयी : इदन्नमम्, राजकमल प्रकाशन, प्रा0लि0, नेताजी सुभाष मार्ग, नई दिल्ली—110002, द्वितीय संस्करण, द्वितीय आवृत्ति 2009, पृष्ठ—69।
4. प्रियंवद, ऊषा : शेष यात्रा राजकमल प्रकाशन प्राइवेट लिमिटेड, नेताजी सुभाष मार्ग, नयी दिल्ली—110002, प्रथम संस्करण 1984, पृष्ठ—57।
5. सेबती, निरूपमा : दहकन के पार, नेशनल पब्लिशिंग हाउस, दरियागंज, नई दिल्ली—110002, प्र0सं0—1982, पृष्ठ—205।
6. सोबती, कृष्णा : दिलो—दानिश, राजकमल प्रकाशन, प्रा0लि0, नेताजी सुभाष मार्ग, नई दिल्ली, 110002, पहला संस्करण:—1993, संस्करण (द्वितीय): 2006, पृष्ठ—167।
7. गिरधारी, डा0 राधा : राजेन्द यादव के उपन्यासों में व्यक्ति और समाज, चन्द्रलोक प्रकाशन, कानपुर, प्रथम संस्करण, 1995, पृष्ठ—79।
8. गीते—डा0 नीहार : स्वातंत्र्योत्तर महिला उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में यथार्थ के विभिन्न रूप, पंचशील प्रकाशन, जयपुर, 1996, पृष्ठ—67।
9. ज्योति, डा0 अमर : महिला उपन्यासकारों के उपन्यासों में नारीवादी दृष्टि, अन्नपूर्णा प्रकाशन, कानपुर—208014, प्रथम संस्करण—1999, पृष्ठ—179।
10. जेकब, डा0 शशि : महिला उपन्यासकारों की रचनाओं में वैचारिकता, जवाहर पुस्तकालय मथुरा, संस्करण—1989, पृष्ठ—35।

आधुनिक भारतीय राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित करने में पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का योगदान

सिकंदर कुमार
सन्नी शुक्ला

सारांश

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जी राजनीति में राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के आदेश और अपनी बैद्धिक तथा वैचारिक क्षमता के आधार पर राजनीति में गए। पंडित जी राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के प्रचारक के नाते, राजनीति में आने के बाद भी व्यक्तिगत जीवन को छोड़कर जीवन भर प्रचारक के नाते सार्वजनिक जीवन में रहे। भारतीय राजनीति में तथा अपने संगठन जनसंघ में वैचारिक क्रांति लाने वाले पुरोधा, दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का कहना था कि हमारी भारतीय संस्कृति भारतीय राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में प्रेरणा का स्रोत होनी चाहिए। देश के निर्माण में बनने वाली नीतियों में अपने देश की परिस्थितियों का ध्यान रखते हुए अपनी पुरातन संस्कृति की झलक जरूर होनी चाहिए। स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र में एक मजबूत विपक्ष का होना बहुत अवश्यक हो जाता है। विरोध केवल इसलिए नहीं होना चाहिए कि वो हमारी विचारधारा से सम्बंधित नहीं है और केवल उसे नीचा दिखाने के लिए हमें सिर्फ विरोध करना है। उनका मानना था कि विरोध इस तरह होना चाहिए जिससे देश की एकता और अखंडता पर कोई आंच ना आए। राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित करना ही राजनीति का मुख्य उद्देश्य होना चाहिए। उनका मानना था कि हमें अपनी पुरातन सभ्यता तथा संस्कृति को ना भूलाकर नवीनता के साथ जोड़ने का प्रयास करना चाहिए और जो भी अच्छी बातें भारतीय संस्कृति में हैं उन्हें राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में अपनाना चाहिए। राजनीति केवल सत्ता प्राप्ति के ध्येय से नहीं बल्कि राष्ट्र हित में होनी चाहिए तथा राजनीति सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित करने वाली होनी चाहिए। प्रभु श्री राम ने आदर्श राज्य की स्थापना की, महाभारत में श्री कृष्ण द्वारा अधर्म का नाश करने के लिए पांडवों का साथ देकर अधर्म पर धर्म की नीति का पालन किया और जिस तरह आचार्य चाणक्य ने सम्राट चंद्रगुप्त को राष्ट्रहित में मुगलों के विरुद्ध युद्ध के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया वो राजनीति में

सिकंदर कुमार, उपकुलपति, हि.प्र. विश्वविद्यालय, शिमला, हि.प्र.—171005

सन्नी शुक्ला, शोधार्थी, दीन दयाल उपाध्याय पीठ, हिमाचल प्रदेश विश्वविद्यालय, शिमला—5.

Email:shuklaabvp@gmail.com, Mob: 94185-53223

सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों का प्रत्यक्ष उदाहरण है। प्रस्तुत शोध से यह साक्ष्य प्रकट हुए कि हमें अपने गौरवशाली इतिहास को न भूलाकर वहां से सांस्कृतिक एकता व अखंडता पर आधारित मूल्यों को अपनाकर राष्ट्रीय सोच को नई दिशा प्रदान कर राष्ट्रहित में कार्य करना चाहिए।

प्रस्तावना, उद्देश्य व समीक्षा: प्रस्तुत शोध में पंडित दीनदयाल के राजनीतिक चिंतन में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों के योगदान का अध्ययन किया गया है। राजनीतिक के मूल्य अगर संस्कृति पर आधारित हों तो राष्ट्र की सोच और उसके विकास दोनों के स्तर ऊपर उठता है। विभिन्न तरह के देशों की राजनीतिक तथा सांस्कृतिक विचारधारा का अवलोकन करने के बाद ही उन्होंने सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों का राजनीति में योगदान के विषय पर अधिक जोर देने की जरूरत को महसूस किया। जनसंघ का निर्माण ही भारतीय संस्कृति से प्रेरणा के आधार पर हुआ था। अन्य राजनीतिक दलों से भारतीय जनसंघ इसलिए भी अलग था कि यह किसी बाहरी देश की प्रेरणा से स्थापित नहीं हुआ था। भारतीय जनसंघ के विचार में भारतीय संस्कृति की झलक साफ देखी जा सकती थी। भारतीय जनसंघ की दृष्टि हर राजनीतिक दल से भिन्न थी। जनसंघ की दृष्टि को समझने के लिए स्थापना समारोह के प्रतीक सहायक हैं। वंदेमातरम से समारोह का आरंभ होता है। मंच के परदे पर शिवाजी, अर्जुन को धनुष उठाने के लिए समझाते भगवान कृष्ण, राणा प्रताप और दीपक के चित्र थे। यहां से साफ स्पष्ट यह भी होता है कि यह चित्र प्रतीक के रूप में दिखाए गए। भारतीय संस्कृति का राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आदर, सम्मान भारतीय जनसंघ द्वारा अपने स्थापना काल से ही किया गया।

किसी भी राष्ट्र का आधार वहां की संस्कृति ही होती है। भारत में रहने वाले सभी भारतीयों की संस्कृति एक है। उनकी उपासना पद्धतियां, संप्रदाय, जाति, धर्म अलग अलग हो सकते हैं, पर संस्कृति एक ही रहती है। अगर हमने अपनी संस्कृति को भूलाने को प्रयत्न किया, तो उसका अंजाम हम एक बार भली भांति विभाजन के दर्द से सह चुके हैं। भारत की राष्ट्रीयता एक है और वह भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता ही है। राष्ट्रीयता को ठीक से न समझने के कारण हमारे देश का विभाजन हुआ। विभाजन से पहले हिंदू-मुस्लिम समस्या राष्ट्र की समस्या थी पर अब यह अंतरराष्ट्रीय समस्या भी बन चुकी है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने जैसे ही जनसंघ की कमान संभाली, तो वैचारिक दृष्टि से जनसंघ के चरित्र को स्पष्ट करने वाला 'सांस्कृतिक पुनरुत्थान' प्रस्ताव उन्होंने रखा। इस प्रस्ताव से उन्होंने स्पष्ट कर दिया कि भारतीय जनसंघ किस दिशा में कार्य करने वाला है। भौगोलिक और क्षेत्रीय राष्ट्रवाद की कल्पना को नकारते हुए उन्होंने कहा: "जनसंघ का मत है कि भारत तथा अन्य देशों के इतिहास का विचार करने से यह सिद्ध होता है कि केवल भौगोलिक एकता एक राष्ट्रीयता के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं है। एक देश के निवासी जन एक राष्ट्र तभी बनते हैं, जब वे एक संस्कृति द्वारा एकरूप कर दिए हों। जब तक भारतीय समाज एक संस्कृति का अनुगामी था, तब तक अनेक राज्य होते हुए भी यहां के जनों की मूलभूत राष्ट्रीयता बनी रही परंतु जब से विदेशी शासकों ने अपने लोगों के लिए एकात्मता को भंगकर विदेशपरक संस्कृतियों को इस देश में जन्म दिया है, तब से भारत की राष्ट्रीयता संकटापन्न हो गई।" इस प्रस्ताव के माध्यम से उन्होंने स्पष्ट कर दिया कि संस्कृति ही है, जो समस्त भारत को जोड़े हुई है, अगर हम इसे भूलकर

पाश्चात्य संस्कृति के प्रति आकर्षित हो जाते हैं, तो यह राष्ट्र के लिए हितकारक नहीं होगा। इसी प्रस्ताव में बिना मुसलमान व ईसाई संप्रदायों का नाम लिए उनके भारतीयकरण के लिए हिंदू समाज से आहवान किया गया, “हिंदू समाज का राष्ट्र के प्रति कर्तव्य है कि भारतीय जनजीवन के तथा अपने उन अंगों के भारतीयकरण का महान कार्य अपने हाथ में लें, जो विदेशीयों द्वारा स्वदेशपराङ्मुख तथा प्रेरणा के लिए देशाभिमुख बना दिए गए हैं। हिंदू समाज को चाहिए कि उन्हें स्नेहपूर्वक आत्मसात् कर ले। केवल इसी प्रकार सांप्रदायिकता का अंत हो सकता है और राष्ट्र का एकीकरण तथ दृढ़ता निश्चय हो सकती है।”¹

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को लेकर आगे बढ़े। सूर्यकांत त्रिपाठी ‘निराला’ की यह पंक्तियां याद आती हैं जो उन्होंने बीसवीं सदी के चौथे दशक 1935 में देश के हिंदू और मुसलमान दोनों को जगाने के लिए व्यक्त की थी। उनके द्वारा कही गई उक्त पंक्तियां:

“तन मन थक जाएं, मृदु सुरभि सी समीर में,
बुद्धि, बुद्धि में हो लीन, मन में मन, जी, जी में,
एक अनुभव बहता रहे, उभय आत्माओं में,
कब से मैं रहा पुकार, जागो फिर एक बार।”²

उनकी इच्छा थी कि अपने गौरवशाली इतिहास को न भूलाकर सांस्कृतिक इतिहास के अनुभवों से सीख लेकर देश का नवनिर्माण शुरू किया जाए। परंतु ‘निराला’ की इन पंक्तियों के माध्यम से कही गई भावनाओं को यूरोपीय ज्ञानधारा के पोशक बुद्धिजिवियों द्वारा सांप्रदायिक करार देकर सत्तात्मक राजनीति के हाशिए पर डाल दिया। भारत में यह समस्या रही है कि जो भी अपनी भारतीय संस्कृति की बात करेगा सांप्रदायिक कहलाएगा। जो भी हिंदूस्तान में हिंदूओं के संगठन की बात करता है, सांप्रदायिक कहलाएगा। भारत के राजनीतिज्ञों को अपनी सोच को बदलना होगा और एक सकारात्मक पहल कर अपनी भारतीय संस्कृति का संरक्षक बनना होगा। दीनदयाल उपाध्याय अपने एक लेख में लिखते हुए कहते हैं कि भारत में एक ही संस्कृति रह सकती है; एक से अधिक संस्कृतियों का नारा देश के टुकड़े टुकड़े करके हमारे जीवन का विनाश कर देगा। अतः आज मुस्लीम लीग का द्विसंस्कृतिवाद, कांग्रेस का प्रच्छन्न द्विसंस्कृतिवाद तथा साम्यवादियों का बहुसंस्कृतिवाद नहीं चल सकता। आज तक एक संस्कृतिवाद को संप्रदायवाद कहकर ठुकराया गया, किंतु अब कांग्रेस के विद्वान भी अपनी गलती समझकर इस एक संस्कृतिवाद को अपना रहे हैं। इसी भावना और विचार से भारत की एकता और अखंडता बनी रह सकती है, तभी हम अपनी संपूर्ण समस्याओं को सुलझा सकते हैं। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय कहते हैं कि आज भिन्न भिन्न मार्गों से लोग देश को आगे ले जाना चाहते हैं तथा प्रत्येक का विश्वास है कि उसी का मार्ग सही मार्ग है। अतः हम इन मार्गों का विश्लेषण करना होगा और उसी समय हम प्रत्येक की वास्तविकता को भी समझ सकेंगे। इन मार्गों को देखते हुए हमें चार प्रधान वर्ग दिखाई देते हैं— अर्थवादी, राजनीतिवादी, मतवादी तथा संस्कृतिवादी।

अर्थवादी : पहला वर्ग, अर्थवादी संपत्ति को ही सर्वस्व समझता है तथा उसके स्वामित्व एवं

वितरण में ही सब प्रकार की दुरवस्था की जड़ मानकर उसमें सुधार करना ही अपना एकमेव कर्तव्य समझता है। उसका एकमेव लक्ष्य 'अर्थ' है। साम्यवादी एवं समाजवादी इस वर्ग के लोग हैं। इनके अनुसार भारत की राजनीति का निर्धारण अर्थनीति के आधार पर होना चाहिए तथा संस्कृति तथा मत को वे गौण समझकर अधिक महत्व देने को तैयार नहीं हैं।

राजनीतिवादी : राजनीतिवादी दूसरा वर्ग है। यह जीवन का संपूर्ण महत्व राजनीतिक प्रमुखता प्राप्त करने में ही समझता है तथा राजनीतिक दृष्टि से ही संस्कृति, मजहब तथा अर्थनीति की व्याख्या करता है। अर्थवादी यदि एकदम उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण अथवा बिना मुआवजा दिए जमींदारी उन्मूलन चाहता है तो राजनीतिवादी अपने राजनीतिक कारणों से ऐसा करने में असमर्थ हैं। उसके लिए इस प्रकार संस्कृति एवं मजहब का भी मूल्य अपनी राजनीति के लिए ही है, अन्यथा नहीं। इस वर्ग के अधिकांश लोग कांग्रेस में हैं।

मतवादी : तीसरा वर्ग मजहबपरस्त या मतवादी है। इसे धर्मनिष्ठ कहना ठीक नहीं होगा; क्योंकि धर्म मजहब या मत से बड़ा तथा विशाल है। यह वर्ग अपने अपने मजहब के सिद्धांतों के अनुसार ही देश की राजनीति अथवा अर्थनीति को चलाना चाहता है। इस प्रकार का वर्ग मौलवियों अथवा रूढ़िवादी कट्टरपंथियों के रूप में अब भी थोड़ा बहुत विद्यमान है, यद्यपि आजकल उसका बहुत प्रभाव नहीं रह गया है।

संस्कृतिवादी : चौथा वर्ग संस्कृतिवादी है। इसका विश्वास है कि भारत की आत्मा का स्वरूप प्रमुखतया संस्कृति ही है। अतः अपनी संस्कृति की रक्षा एवं विकास ही हमारा कर्तव्य होना चाहिए। यदि हमारा सांस्कृतिक ह्रास हो गया तथा हमने पश्चिम के अर्थप्रधान अथवा भोगप्रधान जीवन को अपना लिया तो हम निश्चित ही समाप्त हो जाएंगे। यह वर्ग भारत में बहुत बड़ा है। इसके लोग राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ में तथा कुछ अंशों में कांग्रेस में भी हैं। कांग्रेस के ऐसे लोग राजनीति को केवल संस्कृति का पोशक मात्र ही मानते हैं, संस्कृति का निर्णायक नहीं। हिंदीवादी सब लोग इसी वर्ग के हैं।³

भारतीय जीवन को धर्म प्रधान बनाने का प्रमुख कारण यह था कि इसी में जीवन के विकास की सबसे अधिक संभावना है। संस्कृति प्रधान जीवन की यह विशेषता है कि इसमें जीवन के केवल मौलिक तत्वों पर तो जोर दिया जाता है बल्कि शेष बाह्य बातों के संबंध में प्रत्येक को स्वतंत्रता रहती है। इसके अनुसार व्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता का प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में विकास होता है। संस्कृति किसी काल विशेष अथवा व्यक्ति विशेष के बंधन से जकड़ी हुई नहीं है। अपितु यह तो स्वतंत्र एवं विकासशील जीवन की मौलिक प्रवृत्ति है। इस संस्कृति को ही हमने 'धर्म' कहा है। अतः जब कहा जाता है कि भारतवर्ष धर्मप्रधान देश है तो इसका अर्थ मजहब, मत या रिलिजन नहीं, किंतु यह 'संस्कृति' ही होता है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय कहते हैं कि अगर भारत को सही मायने में समझना है तो, भारत को राजनीति तथा अर्थनीति के दृष्टिकोण से न देखकर सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिकोण से ही देखना होगा। भारतीयता की अभिव्यक्ति भारत की संस्कृति के द्वारा ही हो सकती है, न कि राजनीति अथवा अर्थनीति के द्वारा। विश्व को यदि हम कुछ सीखा सकते हैं तो उसे अपनी सांस्कृतिक सहिष्णुता एवं कर्तव्य प्रधान जीवन की भावना की ही शिक्षा दे सकते हैं। पूर्व विदेश मंत्री स्वर्गीय सुशमा

स्वराज ने दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में सार्थकता को सिद्ध करते हुए कहा कि भारतीय संस्कृति विश्व की महानतम संस्कृतियों में से एक है। अपने वक्तव्य के शुरुआत में ही उन्होंने कहा कि, जब भारत के सामर्थ्य के बारे में मैंने विचार किया तो मुझे उसमें सबसे पहले भारतीय संस्कृति दिखाई दी। मुझे खुशी है कि जब मैं पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय को पढ़ती थी तो उनके विचार मुझे बहुत प्रभावित करते थे और अपनी भारतीय संस्कृति की झलक उनमें स्पष्ट दिखाई देती थी। संस्कृति के बारे में कहे गए उनके भाव को आपके सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहती हूँ। “अगर राष्ट्र की संस्कृति बरकरार है, तो सब वस्तुएं प्राप्त हो सकती हैं, संस्कृति है तो धन भी प्राप्त हो सकता है, संस्कृति है तो राजनीतिक शक्ति भी प्राप्त हो सकती है और राष्ट्र की संस्कृति है, तो संसार में सम्मान भी प्राप्त हो सकता है। राष्ट्र को जीवन देने वाली वस्तु केवल संस्कृति ही होती है।” पहले दो वाक्यों में उन्होंने संस्कृति का महत्व समझाया और जहां उन्होंने कहा कि विश्व में सम्मान भी प्राप्त हो सकता है, वहां पर उन्होंने कहा कि यह भी एक कूटनीति का मधुर पहलू है। भारतीय संस्कृति के बहुत आयाम हैं पर सुशमा स्वराज द्वारा तीन आयामों को प्रमुखता से उठाया गया। सबसे पहला आयाम जो उन्होंने व्यक्त किया, ‘संतोष एवं अहिंसा’ एवं दूसरा ‘वसुधैव कटुम्बकम्’ और तीसरा ‘सर्व जन हितायः सर्व जन सुखायः’ आयाम सबके सामने रखा।

संतोष एवं अहिंसा : हमें हमारी संस्कृति ने इतना संतुष्ट बनाया है कि जो हमारी प्रकृति ने हमें दिया है हम उससे संतुष्ट हैं, हमें न किसी की एक इंच जमीन चाहिए और न ही एक बूंद पानी। हम न उपनिवेशवादी हैं और न ही विस्तारवादी। इतिहास गवाह है कि हमने कभी किसी पर उपनिवेश स्थापित नहीं किया पर जब हमारे ऊपर ब्रिटिश सत्ता का अधिकार रहा, तब हमने आजादी प्राप्त करने का शस्त्र अहिंसा और सत्याग्रह का मार्ग चुना। महात्मा बुद्ध, भगवान महावीर, महात्मा गांधी यह सब हमें ‘अहिंसा परमो धर्म’ की विरासत देकर गए। हमें खुशी है कि भारतीय संस्कृति के इस आयाम को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ ने भी स्वीकार किया और 2 अक्टूबर का दिन ‘विश्व अहिंसा दिवस’ के रूप में मनाया जाने लगा है। हमारे इस संतोष के कारण कि हमें कुछ नहीं चाहिए, आज विश्व में भारत को मददगार राष्ट्र के रूप में जाना जाता है, न कि शोशक राष्ट्र के नाम से।

वसुधैव कटुम्बकम्: हमारी संस्कृति का दूसरा आयाम ‘वसुधैव कटुम्बकम्’ है। हम कहते हैं विश्व एक परिवार है, लेकिन 20-25 वर्ष पहले अंतरराष्ट्रीय जगत में ‘वैश्वीकरण’ एक नया आयाम आया। कुछ लोगों को लगने लगा कि जो भारत का वसुधैव कटुम्बकम् था, उसका एक पर्यावाची पश्चिम ने वैश्वीकरण के रूप में दे दिया। यह ठीक है कि दोनों के केंद्र में विश्व है, लेकिन वो नहीं जानते कि दोनों के सिद्धांतों में कितना बड़ा अंतर है। वैश्वीकरण के केंद्र में बाजार है, वसुधैव कटुम्बकम् के केंद्र में परिवार है। बाजार के केंद्र में व्यापार है और परिवार के केंद्र में प्यार है। बाजार में नफा नुकसान होता है, परिवार में सम्मान होता है। बाजार में माल बिकता है, परिवार में मोह पलता है। बाजार में कलह होती है, परिवार में सुलह होती है। इतना बुनियादी अंतर है, वैश्वीकरण और वसुधैव कटुम्बकम् के बीच में और इसीलिए बाजार में द्वेष होता है और परिवार में प्रेम और इसी वसुधैव

कटुम्बकम की वजह से भारत भरपूर प्यार और प्रेम विश्व को बांटता है। जब भी कोई अतिथि बाहर से आता है, तो उसका जो सम्मान भारत में होता है, उससे प्रभावित होकर हर कोई भारत की प्रशंसा करता है।

सर्व जन हिताय, सर्व जन सुखाय : हमारी संस्कृति का यह अहम और तीसरा आयाम है। सबके हित के लिए, सबके सुख के लिए हमारी भारतीय संस्कृति में स्थान है। अंतरराष्ट्रीय जगत में एक तूफान आया है, 'संरक्षणवाद' का। संरक्षणवाद के केंद्र में सिर्फ 'मैं, मेरा, मुझको' यहीं तक सीमित है। लेकिन भारत अपनी संस्कृति के माध्यम से कहता है कि 'मैं' नहीं 'हम' और जब 'हम' की बात करता है, तो समस्त प्राणियों की बात करता है, सभी को अपने जैसा ही समझता है। यह कड़ी भावनात्मक रूप से भी जुड़ी हुई है। 'आत्मबत् सर्वभूतेशु' के माध्यम से प्राणियों में यह भाव जगाया जाता है कि सभी प्राणी भावनात्मक रूप से जुड़े और एक दूसरे को समझकर जिस तरह से खुद को देखते हो उसी तरह दूसरों की भावनाओं को समझकर उसे भी अपना समझे। अगर मैं सभी प्राणियों को एक जैसा देखता हूं तो 'संरक्षणवाद' की कोई जरूरत ही नहीं रहती। क्योंकि मैं और दूसरा प्राणी एक हूँ, तो मैं किसका संरक्षण करूंगा, अगर खुद का संरक्षण करूंगा, तो उसको भी करूंगा, अपने लिए सुरक्षा मुहैया करवाऊंगा, तो उसके लिए भी करवाऊंगा। अमेरीका के राष्ट्रपति ट्रंप ने एक सम्मेलन में यह बात कही थी कि मेरा नारा है, 'मैं पहले'। उसके बाद मुझे एक छोटे देश के विदेश मंत्री ने कहा कि जैसे ट्रंप ने कहा कि 'मैं पहले' यदि सारे शक्तिशाली देश ऐसा करेंगे तो हमारे जैसे छोटे देश जो अभी ठीक तरह से विकसित नहीं हुए हैं, जो अभी शक्तिशाली देशों की श्रेणी में भी नहीं हैं, उनका क्या होगा। मैंने वहां कहा भारतीय संस्कृति ऐसी नहीं है, उसमें 'सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनाः' की बात की जाती है। समस्त विश्व को सुखी तथा समृद्ध बनाने की कल्पना भारतीय संस्कृति में ही होती है। इस पर मुझे बहुत सुंदर वाक्य दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का मिला 'जो कमाएगा वो खिलाएगा और जो खाएगा वो कमाएगा'। संरक्षणवाद का इससे बेहतर और छोटा जबाब कोई नहीं होगा। हमारी कटुम्ब परंपरा इसी के सहारे चली है। भारतीय परिवार में जो सबसे बड़ा बेटा होता है, जब वो पढ़ लिख जाता है और कमाने लग जाता है, तो फिर वो अपने छोटे भाई बहनो को पढ़ाता भी है और सक्षम भी बनाता है। हमारे यहां जो सबसे पहले कमाने लगता है, वो बाकि का ध्यान भी रखता है। यही देशों की स्थिति भी बनी हुई है। आज जिसके पास सम्पन्नता है, जो समृद्ध है, वो उन सबको देगा, जो अभी सम्पन्न नहीं हैं। जहां अवश्यकता है, वहां पर हम सहायता करते हैं। अफगानिस्तान को गेंहु की खेफ भेज कर हमने उनकी सहायता की। अफ्रीकी देशों को भी समय समय पर सहायता भेजते रहते हैं। क्योंकि हम अगर यह नहीं करेंगे, तो विकसित देश विकसित हो जाएंगे, अविकसित देश अविकसित ही रह जाएंगे, तो दुनिया में गैर बराबरी कैसे बटेगी। भारतीय संस्कृति की यह विशेषता है कि हम जब किसी की सहायता करते हैं तो अहंकार नहीं करते, देने की कोई हेकड़ी नहीं रखते। हम उसे दान नहीं कहते, हम उसे सहायता कहते हैं और यह हमारी बहुत बड़ी शक्ति है।⁴

इसी तरह दीन दयाल उपाध्याय राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को लेकर गए। एक राष्ट्र, एक संस्कृति के विचार को आगे रखकर पंडित जी ने भारत की अखंडता तथा एकता को

स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया। आधुनिक भारतीय राजनीति में क्रांति लाकर एक नया आयाम स्थापित किया। भारत में वर्तमान केंद्र सरकार भी भाजपा के नेतृत्व में कार्य कर रही है और पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित करने की कड़ी को आगे बढ़ा रहे हैं। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने एक आलेख में लिखते हैं कि अंग्रेजों के राज्य काल में हमने यह स्वीकार किया कि देश में मुसलमान, ईसाई आदि अनेक वर्ग हैं। उनके स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व की रक्षा करते हुए ही राष्ट्रीयता का निर्माण हो सकेगा। वास्तव में तो राष्ट्रीयता के स्तर पर उनका स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व स्वीकार करना एक बड़ी भारी भूल थी। क्योंकि मुसलमान एवं ईसाई आदि का वर्गीकरण मजहब के आधार पर है, जो राष्ट्रीयता से भिन्न वस्तु है। एक मजहब के मानने वाले अनेक राष्ट्रों के अंग हो सकते हैं और एक ही राष्ट्र में अनेक मजहब के मानने वाले अनेक राष्ट्रों के अंग हो सकते हैं और एक ही राष्ट्र में अनेक मजहब को मानने वालों का समावेश हो सकता है। राष्ट्रीयता यदि कोई शक्तिशाली प्रेरणा है तो उसके चेतना क्षेत्र में मजहब का प्रवेश नहीं होता। सत्य तो यह है कि संपूर्ण भारत एक है तथा भारत की संपूर्ण संतान एक है और उसको इस एकता का अनुभव करते रहना चाहिए। अनेक अंगों को इकट्ठा करके शरीर की सृष्टि नहीं होती किंतु शरीर के अनेक अंग होते हैं। इसलिए प्रत्येक अवयव अपने स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व के लिए नहीं अपितु शरीर के अस्तित्व के लिए प्रयत्न करता है। इसी प्रकार राष्ट्र के सभी अंगों को अपनी रूपरेखा राष्ट्रीय स्वरूप और हितों के अनुकूल बनानी चाहिए, न कि राष्ट्र को ही इन अंगों के अनुसार कांटा छांट जाय। संप्रदायों, प्रांतों, भाषाओं और वर्गों का तभी तक मूल्य है, जब तक वे राष्ट्रहित के अनुकूल हैं, अन्यथा उनका बलिदान करके भी राष्ट्र की एकता की रक्षा करनी होगी।⁵

पंडित दीन दयाल ने राजनीति में जिन सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित किया, उन्हें इसकी प्रेरणा अपनी भारतीय संस्कृति तथा उन महापुरुषों से प्राप्त हुई जिन्होंने भारत के साथ ही विदेशों में भी भारतीय संस्कृति का प्रचार कर विश्व स्तर पर भारतीय संस्कृति का परचम लहराया। विवेकानंद के उस भाषण को नहीं भूलाया जा सकता, जो उन्होंने विदेश में जाकर शिकागो में दिया। उन्होंने अपनी वाणी से और अपनी भारतीय संस्कृति के द्वारा विदेशियों को भारतीय संस्कृति की तरफ आकर्षित किया। 'स्वत्व' अर्थात् भारतीयत्व जो कि भारतीय परंपरा के तत्व ज्ञान, मूल दृष्टि एवं दर्शन पर आधारित था। विवेकानंद, लोकमान्य तिलक, वीर सावरकर, अरविंद घोष आदि इसी राष्ट्रवादी विचार प्रवाह के प्रतिनिधि थे। पं दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के राष्ट्रवादी तथा सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों पर ऐसे राष्ट्रवादी विचारों का प्रभाव स्पष्ट रूप से देखने को मिलता है। विवेकानंद कहते थे कि राजनीति का लक्ष्य सत्ता हासिल करके शासन करना ही नहीं होना चाहिए बल्कि राजनीति का उद्देश्य तो समाज के हित में तथा सेवा करने का होना चाहिए। हमें पश्चिम के प्रति आकर्षित न होकर अपने भारतीय आदर्शों पर निष्ठा बनाए रखनी होगी फिर वो दिन दूर नहीं जब भारत एक बार फिर से समृद्धि तथा तथा शक्ति की ऊंचाईयों तक उठेगा और अपने समस्त प्राचीन गौरव को पीछे छोड़ जाएगा। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने राजनीति का लक्ष्य राष्ट्रहित को मानकर कार्य करने का संकल्प लिया था। उसी क्रम को आगे बढ़ाने की

जिम्मेवारी आने वाले राजनीतिज्ञों पर बनती है। वर्तमान में भाजपा इन्हीं आदर्शों को आगे रखकर तथा उनसे प्रेरणा लेकर कार्य कर रही है। केंद्र में एक मजबूत सरकार भाजपा के नेतृत्व में राष्ट्र हित में कार्य कर रही है, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है। आज भारत शक्तिशाली तथा समृद्ध देशों की श्रेणी में आ चुका है। पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के संस्कृति, हिंदू समाज का संगठन, चरित्र निर्माण, धर्म आदि विचार स्वामी विवेकानंद के विचारों से प्रभावित हैं। स्वामी विवेकानंद उनके लिए प्रेरणास्त्रोत थे। इसी तरह अगर हम श्री अरविंद घोष के विचारों का अध्ययन करेंगे तो मालूम पड़ता है कि पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के भारतीय चिंतन पर श्री अरविंद घोष के विचारों का बहुत प्रभाव था। भारतीय संस्कृति में दीर्घकालीन निरंतरता है। श्री अरविंद लिखते हैं, “यूरोप शताब्दियों में जीता है और एशिया युगों में। यूरोप राष्ट्रों में बंटा है और एशिया सभ्यता और संस्कृतियों में। यूरोप की हर चीज छोटी और अल्पजीवी है। उसे अमरता का रहस्य नहीं मिला है।” भारत के गौरवशाली इतिहास तथा संस्कृति के बारे में अरविंद घोष लिखते हैं, “संसार के इतिहास में कोई ऐसा देश नहीं है जो इस तरह इतने दिनों तक विदेशी राज्य के नीचे पिसकर भी ऐसी अदम्य शक्ति दिखला सका हो। यही नैतिक बल, यही जड़ पहुंचने की क्षमता, अपने ‘स्व’ के उपर पूरा अधिकार यह भारत की शक्ति के रहस्य हैं। शास्त्र हमें बतलाते हैं जो अपने ऊपर शासन कर सके, वही जगत का स्वामी हो सकता है, ‘स्वराष्ट्र’ ही सम्राट बन सकता है।”⁶

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय राजनीति में संस्कृति के राजदूत के रूप में कार्य कर रहे थे। उनका स्पष्ट मानना था कि भारतीय राजनीति को यह आयाम स्थापित करने की जरूरत है, जिसमें हमें अपनी प्राचीन परंपरा का बोध रखकर नवीन तथा आधुनिक भारत का निर्माण करें। देश के विकास में एक राष्ट्रभक्त राजनीतिक दल का अहम योगदान होता है। ऐसे राजनीतिक दल के निर्माण में तथा उसके कर्तित्व में राष्ट्रवादी तथा सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों से प्रफुल्लित विचार भरने का कार्य दीन दयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा किया गया। राजनीति के उदाहरण हमें प्राचीन भारत में भी देखने को मिलते हैं। रामायण का अध्ययन करने के पश्चात हमें मालूम होता है कि किस तरह प्रभु श्री राम द्वारा एक आदर्श राज्य की स्थापना की गई। राजनीति को लक्ष्य न मानकर उसे केवल राष्ट्र का पोषक माना है। हमारे साहित्य में भी यही राष्ट्रीय भावना पाई जाती है। भगवान राम का वह कथन कि ‘जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी’ राष्ट्रीयता का पोषण कर रहा है। महाभारत में पांडवों ने देश की तीन-तीन बार यात्रा की, उसमें संपूर्ण देश का वर्णन है। शांति पर्व में भीष्म, मांधाता, राम आदि सम्राट जो चक्रवर्ती थे, और जिन्होंने इस देश को एक सूत्र में बांधा था, उनका वर्णन युधिष्ठिर अर्जुन के सम्मुख करते हैं, जिसमें देश के विषय में अपनेपन की भावना दिखती है। ‘मनुस्मृति’ के नवीन संस्करण में इस श्लोक के माध्यम से एक देश एक संस्कृति का वर्णन मिलता है:

एतद्देश प्रसूतस्य सकाशाद्ग्रजजन्मनः ।

स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्व मानवाः । ।

अर्थात् इस देश के विद्वानों से अपने अपने चरित्र की शिक्षा संसार के लोग लें। हमने इस

प्रकार एक देश, एक संस्कृति और एक जाति का निर्माण किया। बाहर की असभ्य जातियों को आर्यत्व प्रदान किया। यद्यपि हमारी पद्धतियां बदलती रहीं, किंतु आत्मा एक थी। मिश्र, फारस और टर्की के राष्ट्र तथा संस्कृति को एकदम नष्ट कर देने वाले मुसलमान भारतीय संस्कृति को नष्ट नहीं कर सके। चाहे राजनीतिक दृष्टि से हमारा पतन हो गया किंतु राष्ट्रीयता का प्रवाह धार्मिक जीवन के रूप में बहता रहा, जो समय समय पर अनेक रूपों में प्रकट हुआ। महाकवि तुलसी दास तथा अन्य संत कवि, इधर ज्ञानेश्वर से रामदास, चैतन्य महाप्रभु तथा नानक से गोविंद सिंह तक के द्वारा धर्म प्रचार के साथ राष्ट्रीय भावना जाग्रत रखने का कार्य चलता रहा। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने संघ शिक्षा वर्ग के एक बौद्धिक में स्वयंसेवकों को संबोधित करते हुए कहा था कि “आधुनिक काल में अंग्रेजों ने हमारी प्राचीन भारतीय परंपरा तथा संस्कृति को नष्ट करने का प्रयत्न किया, किंतु आर्य समाज के प्रवर्तक स्वामी दयानंद, स्वामी विवेकानंद तथा रामकृष्ण आदि के उद्योग से वही राष्ट्रीय भावना का प्राचीन सूत्र पकड़कर हम चलने लगे। राजनीति के कपड़े तो हम कभी भी पहन सकते हैं किंतु यह सूत्र प्रधान रूप से आवश्यक है। क्योंकि सब बातों का मूल तो उस राष्ट्रीय भावना के सूत्र में है।” भारत में अधिकांश राजनीतिक दल संप्रदाय तथा जातियों को आधार बना कर कार्य करने से पीछे नहीं हटते। आजाद भारत के शुरुआती दौर में कांग्रेस ही मजबूत राजनीतिक दल के रूप में देश में कार्य कर रही थी। राजीनिति में वोट वटोरने को लक्ष्य मानकर अधिकांश राजनीतिक दल अपने घोषणा पत्रों का स्वरूप इस प्रकार से तैयार होता है जिसमें कि राष्ट्र हित बाद में और संप्रदायों को आगे रखा जाता है। इसी विषय में दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपन मंतव्य प्रकट करते हैं:

कांग्रेस, प्रसोपा, स्वतंत्र पार्टी व कम्युनिस्टों द्वारा किया गया विश्लेषण यह स्पष्ट करता है कि इस देश में ‘अल्पसंख्यकों’ के साथ न्याय नहीं किया जा रहा है। भारतीय जनसंघ इस प्रकार बहुसंख्यक और अल्पसंख्यक संज्ञाओं को न तो उचित समझता है तथा न इस विभाजन को स्वीकार करता है। वह भारत को अखंड, अविभाज्य एक राष्ट्र समझता है। संपूर्ण राष्ट्र की संस्कृति एक है, इस बात पर दृढ़ विश्वास और आस्था रखता है। जनसंघ धर्मों के आधार पर भिन्न संस्कृतियों की कल्पना को स्वीकार नहीं करता। हमारे अनुसार तो राष्ट्र एक जीवमान इकाई है। राष्ट्रीयता की यह संस्कृतिवादी अवधारणा ही जनसंघ की मौलिकता है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जनसंघ के बारे में कहते हैं कि, “जनसंघ मूलतः संस्कृतिवादी है। संस्कृति की आधारशिला पर हमारा आर्थिक, राजनीतिक और सामाजिक चिंतन खड़ा है।”

निष्कर्ष

भारतीय राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों का होना कितना अवश्यक है, यह हम वर्तमान भारतीय राजनीति के दौर में भली भांति अनुभव कर सकते हैं। राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार हमें आसानी से राजनीतिक दलों के नेताओं में दिख सकता है। हम यह नहीं कहते कि भारत में सभी राजनेता भ्रष्टाचार में संलिप्त हैं और उनकी कार्यशैली संदेह के घेरे में है पर एक कहावत के अनुसार एक गंदी मछली पूरे तालाब को गंदा कर देती है, उसी तरह अगर ऐसे भ्रष्टाचारी नेताओं को उनके राजनीतिक दल संरक्षण प्रदान करते रहेंगे तो वो भी संदेह के घेरे में आएंगे। अक्सर यह देखने को मिलता है कि राजनेता महिलाओं के शारीरिक शोषण करने के कई मामलों में संलिप्त पाए जाते हैं। अपनी राजनीतिक सत्ता का

दुरुपयोग भी इन नेताओं द्वारा जमकर किया जाता है और कई मामलों को तो दबा ही दिया जाता है। ऐसी मानसिकता वाले नेता अगर भारतीय राजनीति का हिस्सा बने रहेंगे तो आने वाले समय में राजनीतिक क्षेत्र की अस्मिता पर भी कुठारघात होगा। राजनेता का शिक्षित होने के साथ साथ संस्कारी तथा राष्ट्रभक्त होना भी बहुत जरूरी हो जाता है। अगर यह गुण भारतीय राजनीतिज्ञों में होंगे तो वो समाज को सही दिशा दिखा सकते हैं। सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों की जब बात होती है तो वो हमें दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के सांस्कृतिक विचार में मिलती है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा अपनी भारतीय संस्कृति के सद्गुणों को अपने विचार में परिभाषित किया है। उन्होंने प्रयास किया है कि भारतीय राजनीति में इन सभी मूल्यों को स्थापित किया जाए तथा भारतीय राजनीतिक क्षेत्र को सकारात्मक दिशा प्रदान हो। जनसंघ ने इन मूल्यों को अपने राजनीतिक दल में स्थापित किया। जनसंघ की इस प्रगति का कारण उसमें मौलिकता का उत्साह, राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ की शक्ति व उससे प्राप्त कार्यकर्ता एवं दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का नेतृत्व क्षमता थी। पंडित जी ने अपने जीवन में केवल राजनीतिक उपदेश ही नहीं दिए बल्कि अपने जीवन से आने वाले कार्यकर्ताओं को एक आदर्श स्थापित किया। उनका स्वयं का जीवन अत्यंत अनुशासित, पवित्र एवं निश्कलंक था। राजनीति जैसे प्रतिस्पर्धावादी क्षेत्र में भी उन्होंने सद्भावनापूर्ण, राजनीतिक जीवन में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों की पुनर्प्रतिष्ठा के लिए जीवनभर संघर्ष किया। पंडित जी का भारतीय राजनीति को यह अहम योगदान है। जनसंघ ने जो सांस्कृतिक राष्ट्रवाद की कल्पना देश के सामने रखी थी उसके परिणामस्वरूप भारत के महत्वपूर्ण सांस्कृतिक केंद्रों ने प्रथम वर्ष में ही जनसंघ को एक उत्साहवर्द्धक स्वागत प्रदान किया।

संदर्भ सूची

- 1 भारतीय जनसंघ: घोशणाएं व प्रस्ताव, 1951-72, भाग-4, आंतरिक प्रश्नों पर प्रस्ताव संख्या 52.25 'सांस्कृतिक पुनरुत्थान' (31 दिसंबर 1952; कानपुर, पहला सा. अ.) भारतीय जनसंघ प्रकाशन, नई दिल्ली, भारतवर्ष ; पृ 24-25
- 2 सूर्यकांत त्रिपाठी निराला, 1935, राष्ट्र के समक्ष समस्याएं
- 3 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, खंड 1, राष्ट्र जीवन की समस्याएं, राष्ट्र धर्म, अंक 9, शरद पूर्णिमा, (2006 अक्टूबर 6, 1949)
- 4 Ministry of External Affairs, India, You Tube Channel, EAM's speech at the first Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyay International Oration, Published on May 22, 2018
- 5 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, खंड एक, भारतीय राजनीति की एक मौलिक भूल, राष्ट्रधर्म, दिसंबर 5, 1949
- 6 श्री अरविंद, एशिया की भूमिका, वंदेमातरम, 9 अप्रैल 1906, पृ 71
- 7 ग्वालियर में आयोजित पांच दिवसीय (11 अगस्त से 15 अगस्त, 1964) प्रशिक्षण शिविर में भाषण, पांचवजन्य, 24 अगस्त, 1964, पृ 7

लोकमत परिष्कार से भारतीय लोकतंत्रीय व्यवस्था होगी मजबूत : पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय

- सन्नी शुक्ला

सारांश

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के चिंतन की सबसे बड़ी प्राथमिकता यह है कि उनका सारा चिंतन भारतीय संस्कृति से प्रेरणा लेते हुए भारत की तत्कालिक परिस्थितियों के अनुरूप ही होता था। भारतीय राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित करने के साथ ही भारतीय लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था को मजबूत करने में भी पंडित जी का अहम योगदान रहा है। पंडित जी का मानना था कि राष्ट्रीय एकता स्थापित करने के लिए प्रजातंत्र का होना आवश्यक होता है। जिस तरह से एकता के लिए प्रजातंत्र का होना आवश्यक है, उसी तरह प्रजातंत्र को स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत बनाने में राजनीतिक दलों तथा मतदाताओं की परस्पर सामूहिक जिम्मेबारी भी होती है। दोनों को अपनी जिम्मेबारी का निर्वहन राष्ट्रहित में ही करना चाहिए। प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में पंडित जी के विचारों की प्रासंगिकता इसलिए भी अहम हो जाती है, क्योंकि वर्तमान समय में कहीं न कहीं अधिकांश राजनीतिक दल अपनी आचार संहिताका पालन न कर केवल सत्ता प्राप्ति का ध्येय लेकर कार्य करने लगते हैं। तो वहीं मतदाता भी अपने उचित विवेक का उपयोग न कर संप्रदाय, जातिविशेष, धर्म, वंशवाद तथा धनबल आदि हथकंडों में फंसकर अपने महत्वपूर्ण मत का उपयोग करते हैं। राजनीतिक दल धर्म, जाति, संप्रदाय के नाम पर मतदाताओं को लुभावने सपने दिखाकर वोट बैंक की राजनीति करते हैं, जो कि एक स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र की पहचान नहीं है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का मानना था कि 'लोकमत परिष्कार' से लोगों को जागरूक करना चाहिए। राजनीतिक दलों के साथ ही मीडिया, विद्वानों तथा सामाजिक संगठनों को इसमें अपनी अहम भूमिका निर्वहन करनी चाहिए। पंडित जी एक दूरदर्शी राजनीतिज्ञ होने के साथ ही हमेशा समस्याओं के प्रति सजग रहते थे। लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था में विभिन्न

समस्याओं के समाधान तथा आने वाले भविष्य के प्रति सजग रहते हुए पंडित जी अपने लेखन तथा भाषणों के माध्यम से आम जनमानुष को जागरूक करते रहते थे। भारत में उस समय पंडित जी एकमात्र ऐसे राजनेता थे, जो कि राजनीति में आने के पश्चात 'लोकमत परिष्कार' का माध्यम चुन कर लोगों को जागरूक करने का जिम्मा उठाए हुए थे। उनका मानना था कि यदि मतदाता जागरूक होगा और अपने विवेक का सही उपयोग करेगा, तो लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था स्वस्थ बनी रहेगी। पंडित जी हमेशा सकारात्मक दृष्टीकोण से ही अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करते थे। उनके लेखन तथा भाषणों में ऐसे शब्दों का उपयोग नहीं होता था, जिससे किसी दूसरे व्यक्ति को पीड़ा हो। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का स्वयं का जीवन आदर्श स्थापित करने वाला था। राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले नेताओं को उनके जीवन से सीख तथा प्रेरणा लेकर राजनीति में नए आयाम स्थापित करने चाहिए। उन्होंने अपना सार्वजनिक जीवन एक राजनीतिज्ञ होते हुए भी आम मानव की तरह व्यतीत किया। वो राजनीति में सुख सुविधाएं प्राप्त करने के लिए नहीं, बल्कि आम जनता की भावनाओं को समझकर राष्ट्रहित में सेवा का ध्येय लेकर आए थे। निःस्वार्थ सेवाभाव तथा त्याग की भावना लिए पंडित जी ने अपना पूरा जीवन राष्ट्र के लिए समर्पित कर गए। लोकतंत्र को मजबूत करने तथा स्वस्थ बनाने में पंडित जी के विचारों की प्रासंगिकता वर्तमान समय में भी बनी हुई है और भविष्य में भी बनी रहेगी।

प्रस्तावना, उद्देश्य व समीक्षा : प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाने के लिए प्रस्तुत विचारों का वर्तमान संदर्भ में प्रासंगिकता के संदर्भ में अध्ययन किया गया। भारत दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा लोकतांत्रिक देश है। लोकतंत्र में जनता के हाथ में यह शक्ति होती है, कि सत्ता किसे सौंपनी है। लोकतंत्र में विभिन्न तरह के राजनीतिक दल सत्ता प्राप्त करने के लिए मैदान में उतरते हैं। स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र के लिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि मतदाता अपने मत का सही प्रयोग कर सत्ता ऐसे राजनीतिक दल को सौंपे, जो कि राष्ट्रहित में कार्य करे। साथ ही स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र में विपक्ष की भूमिका भी अहम हो जाती है, जो कि शासक की गलत नीतियों का विरोध कर उसे सही दिशा प्रदान करने में सहायक हो। देश की राजनीति को स्वस्थ दिशा देने के लिए यह भी अति आवश्यक हो जाता है कि राजनीतिक दलों तथा राजनीति में कार्य करने वाले नेतृत्व के साथ साथ मतदाताओं का प्रशिक्षित होना जरूरी हो। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय पहले ऐसे राजनेता थे जो कि राजनीति में आदर्श स्थापित कर मतदाताओं तथा राजनेताओं को प्रशिक्षित करने का दायित्व अपने ऊपर लेकर राष्ट्रहित में राजनीति करने के पक्षधर थे। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय देश की राजनीति को एक स्वस्थ दिशा देकर राष्ट्रहित में राजनीति करके लोकतंत्र को भी स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत बनाना चाहते थे। लोकतंत्र तभी स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत हो सकता है, जब मतदाता अपने मत का सही प्रयोग करे तथा जागरूक रहे। लोकतंत्र की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि यहां मतदाता द्वारा तय किया जाता है कि किसे देश की सत्ता की बागडोर सौंपनी है। लोकतंत्र की अवधारणा को पंडित जी बड़े उत्साह के साथ स्वीकार करते हैं। हालांकि स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात जैसे ही लोकतंत्र

की स्थापना तथा व्यस्क मताधिकार की संवैधानिक व्यवस्था हुई तो वो एकदम दिए गए व्यस्क मताधिकार के संबंध में थोड़ा शंकित जरूर थे, कि वर्षों की गुलामी, अशिक्षा तथा गरीबी के बीच क्या व्यस्क अपने मताधिकार का सही उपयोग कर पाएंगे? लेकिन बहुत जल्दी वे इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंच गए कि “सहभागिता का अवसर ही शिक्षा का भी सबसे बड़ा माध्यम है। अतः वे व्यस्क मताधिकार के प्रबल पक्षधर बन गए थे।”¹ उपाध्याय यह मानते थे कि लोकतंत्र की अवधारणा भारत को पश्चिम की देन नहीं है। भारत की राज्यावधारणा प्रकृतितः लोकतंत्रवादी है। वे लिखते हैं, ‘वैदिकसभा’ और ‘समिति’ का गठन जनतंत्रीय आधार पर ही होता था तथा मध्यकालीन अनेक गणराज्य पूर्णतः जनतंत्रीय थे। राजतंत्रीय व्यवस्था में भी हमने राजा को मर्यादाओं में जकड़कर प्रजानुरागी ही नहीं, प्रजा अनुगामी भी माना है। इन मर्यादाओं का अतिक्रमण करने वाली नृपतियों के उदाहरण अवश्य मिल सकते हैं किंतु उनके विरुद्ध जनता का विद्रोह तथा उनको आदर्श शासक न मानकर, हीनता की श्रेणी में गिनने के प्रयत्नों से ही हमारी मौलिक जनतंत्रीय भावना की पुष्टि होती है।”² पंडित जी कहते हैं कि लोकतंत्र की एक व्याख्या की गई है कि वह वाद विवाद से चलने वाला राज्य है। ‘वाद वादे जायते तत्त्वबोधाः’ यह हमारे यहां कि पुरानी युक्ति है। किंतु यदि दूसरे का दृष्टिकोण समझने का प्रयत्न न करते हुए अपने ही दृष्टिकोण का आग्रह करते जाएं, तो ‘वाद वादे जायते कंठशोशाः’ की उक्ति चरित्रार्थ होगी। वाल्टेयर ने जब कहा कि, ‘मैं तुम्हारी बात सत्य नहीं मानता; किंतु अपनी बात कहने के तुम्हारे अधिकार के लिए मैं पूरी शक्ति से लड़ूंगा’— तो उसने मनुष्य के केवल ‘कंठशोशा’ के अधिकार को ही स्वीकार किया। भारतीय संस्कृति उससे आगे बढ़कर ‘वाद विवाद’ को ‘तत्त्वबोध’ के साधन के रूप में देखती है।”³

पश्चिम में प्रजातंत्र के उदय की प्रक्रिया, उसके पूंजीवाद के रूप में विकृत हो जाने एवं कार्ल मार्क्स की तनाशाहीपरक प्रतिक्रिया आदि का विवेचन करते हुए उपाध्याय कहते हैं, “राष्ट्रवाद के बाद दूसरी क्रांतिकारी कल्पना प्रजातंत्र की है, जिसका यूरोप की राजनीति पर महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव हुआ है। प्रारंभ में तो जितने राष्ट्र बने, उनमें राजा ही शासनकर्ता रहा किंतु राजा की निरंकुशता के विरुद्ध जनता में भी धीरे धीरे जागरण हुआ। औद्योगिक क्रांति के कारण तथा अंतरराष्ट्रीय व्यापार के परिणामस्वरूप सभी देशों में एक वैश्ववर्ग का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। स्वभावतः इनका पुराने सामंतों तथा राजाओं से संघर्ष आया। इस संघर्ष ने प्रजातंत्र की तात्त्विक भूमिका ग्रहण की। यूनान के नगर राज्यों से इस विचारधारा का उद्गम ढूंढा गया। प्रत्येक नागरिक की समानता, बंधुता और स्वतंत्रता के आदर्श के सहारे जनसाधारण को इस तत्व के प्रति आकृष्ट किया गया। फ्रांस में बड़ी भारी राज्य क्रांति हुई। इंग्लैंड में भी समय समय पर आंदोलन हुए। प्रजातंत्र की जन मन पर पकड़ हुई। राजवंश या तो समाप्त कर दिए गए अथवा उसके अधिकार मर्यादित कर वैधानिक राजपद्धति की नींव डाली गई। आज प्रजातंत्र यूरोप की मान्य पद्धति है। जिन्होंने प्रजातंत्र की अवहेलना की, वे भी प्रजातंत्र के प्रति निष्ठा व्यक्त करने में कमी नहीं करते। हिटलर, मुसोलिनी तथा

स्टालिन जैसे तानाशाहों ने भी प्रजातंत्र को अमान्य नहीं किया।⁴ पश्चिम में लोकतंत्र का विकास एक आदर्शवादी लोकप्रिय अवधारणा के रूप में हुआ था, लेकिन नवोदित वैश्यवर्ग एवं नवअनुसंधानित औद्योगिक क्रांति ने उसे पूंजीवादी शोषण का औजार बना दिया। अतः उपाध्याय आगे विवेचित करते हैं कि, प्रजातंत्र ने यद्यपि प्रत्येक नागरिक को मतदान का अधिकार प्रदान किया किंतु जिन लोगों ने प्रजातंत्र का नेतृत्व किया था, शक्ति उन्हीं के हाथों में रही। आद्योगिक क्रांति के परिणामस्वरूप उत्पादन की नई पद्धति का विकास हो गया था। स्वतंत्र रहकर घर में काम करने वाला श्रमिक, अब कारखानेदार का नौकर बनकर काम करने लगा था। अपना गांव छोड़कर नगरों में आ बसा था। वहां उसके आवास की व्यवस्था बहुत अधूरी थी। कारखानों में जिस ढंग से काम होता था, उसके कोई नियम नहीं थे। मजदूर असंगठित और दुर्बल था। वह शोषण, उत्पीड़न, व अन्याय का शिकार हो गया था। राज्य की शक्ति जिनके हाथ में थी, वे भी उसी वर्ग में से थे, जो उनका शोषण कर रहे थे। अतः राज्य से भी कोई आशा नहीं थी। इस अन्यायपूर्ण व्यवस्था के विरुद्ध विद्रोह तथा स्थिति सुधार की भावना लेकर अनेक महापुरुष खड़े हुए। उन्होंने अपने आप को समाजवादी कहा। कार्ल मार्क्स भी उन समाजवादियों में से एक हैं। उन्होंने विद्यमान अन्याय का विरोध करने के प्रयत्न में अर्थव्यवस्था तथा इतिहास का एक विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत किया। कार्ल मार्क्स की विवेचना के बाद समाजवाद एक वैज्ञानिक आधार पर खड़ा हो गया। बाद में समाजवादियों ने कार्ल मार्क्स को माना हो या नहीं, किंतु उनके विचारों पर उसकी गहरी छाप है।⁵ दीनदयाल उपाध्याय लोकतंत्र की तात्त्विक अवधारणा से सहमत होते हुए भी, पाश्चात्य निरंकुष राजशाही की प्रतिक्रिया से उत्पन्न, पूंजीवाद से पोषित व सर्वसत्तावादी राज्यवाद की प्रतिक्रिया उत्पन्न करने वाले लोकतंत्र को भारतीयकृत करना चाहते हैं। लोकतंत्र का भारतीयकरण करने का आहवान उन्होंने किया।

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का राजनीतिक प्रबोधन लोकतंत्र का भारतीयकरण तथा उसे स्वस्थ बनाने के लिए था। उनका मानना था कि लोगों का जागरूक होना एक स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र के लिए उतना ही आवश्यक है, जितना प्यासे को पानी। यदि देश का मतदाता जागरूक होगा तो वो अपने महत्वपूर्ण मत का उपयोग भी सही कल्पना के साथ करेगा, जिससे कि वो देश की प्रगति का हिस्सा बनेगा। देश में संविधान लागू होते ही सभी व्यक्तियों को मताधिकार तो प्राप्त हो गया था किंतु इस लोकमत को सामाजिक, राष्ट्रीय, अंतरराष्ट्रीय मुद्दों को समझना अति आवश्यक हो जाता है। मतदाता की जानकारी का स्तर बढ़ना चाहिए और वो इस काबिल भी होना चाहिए कि विभिन्न तरह के राजनीतिक दलों के विचारों और नीतियों का तुलनात्मक विश्लेषण भी कर सके। राजनीतिक दलों का भी यह कर्तव्य बनता है, कि वो मतदाताओं को भ्रमित व लुभावने प्रस्तावों को जनता के समक्ष ले जाने से बचें। राजनीतिक दलों के सामने मतदाता देवस्वरूप होता है और साथ ही देश का मतदाता देश का भाग्यविधाता भी होता है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय मतदाताओं से मतदान करते समय जिन बातों का स्मरण करना चाहिए और अपने मत का प्रयोग सभी दृष्टि से आंकलन

करके, जो विशेष बातें ध्यान रखनी चाहिए मतदाताओं से आहवान् करते हैं। पंडित जी कहते हैं कि, “मतदाता को शिकायत न करते हुए अपने अधिकार का प्रदर्शन करना चाहिए। उसे इच्छा नहीं मांग करनी चाहिए। उसे केवल असंतोश प्रकट कर उदासीन नहीं रहना चाहिए वरन् दृढ़ता के साथ अपनी बात रखनी चाहिए। मतदाता को ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि वह अपने मताधिकार का प्रयोग पार्टी के लिए न कर, सिद्धांत के लिए, व्यक्ति के लिए न कर, पार्टी के लिए और धन के लिए न कर, व्यक्ति के लिए कर रहा है। मतदाता को जाति का विचार न कर सिद्धांत और समस्या का विचार करना चाहिए। विजयी होने वाले प्रत्याशी को न चुनकर योग्य को चुनना चाहिए। योग्य व्यक्ति का चुनाव करना चाहिए और फिर इस बात की भी चिंता करनी चाहिए कि वह जीत भी सके, क्योंकि वह विजय केवल उस प्रत्याशी की विजय न होकर आपकी और नेता की विजय होगी। किंतु इसके स्थान पर आप प्रचार का शिकार होकर किसी भी व्यक्ति को केवल इस आधार पर ही अपना मत दे आते हैं कि वह विजयी होने वाला है, तो चुनाव परिणाम कुछ भी हो, परंतु वह आपकी हार ही कही जाएगी। मतदान का अधिकार आपके सद्विचार और आपके सद्विवेक की कसौटी है, अतः उस ओर से उदासीन न हों, उसे बेचें नहीं और न उसे नष्ट हो जाने दें। मतदान का अधिकार प्रत्येक नागरिक का ऐसा अधिकार है, जो संपूर्ण समाज से संबंध रखता है। वह उसकी स्वाधीनता का प्रतीक है और इस कारण एक लोकतंत्रवादी होने से आपको उसका उपयोग किसी के निर्देश पर न आकर स्वयं के सद्विवेक और आत्मा की पुकार पर करना चाहिए। राजनीतिक दल, जो जनता के हित के लिए होते हैं, जनशक्ति के सहारे ही खड़े होते हैं। अतः यदि समाज यह चाहता है कि उसे कोई भी झुका सके तो उसे अपनी शक्ति का परिचय देना होगा। जनता को एक बार पुनः यह ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि वही राजनीतिक दलों के निर्माता है और उनके माध्यम से अपनी राजनीतिक ताओं की पूर्ती करते हैं। इसलिए उसे इस महान परीक्षा में अपनी सफलता और योग्यता का समुचित परिचय देना चाहिए।⁶ दीन दयाल उपाध्याय एकमात्र ऐसे राजनेता थे, जो चाहते थे कि मतदाताओं का प्रशिक्षण कर उन्हें राष्ट्रीय, अंतरराष्ट्रीय तथा स्थानीय मुद्दों से अवगत करवाकर जनजागरण किया जाए। दीनदयाल मतदाताओं को अहसास करवाना चाहते थे कि राजनीतिक दल के नेता उन्हीं के द्वारा जीता कर विधानसभा तथा संसद में भेजे जाते हैं। अपने आहवानों के माध्यम से पंडित जी आम जनता को यह अहसास भी दिलाना चाहते थे कि लोकतंत्र में जनता के पास मताधिकार की सबसे बड़ी शक्ति उपलब्ध है और उसका सही उपयोग करना मतदाताओं को आना चाहिए। मतदाता को जागरूक होकर राजनीतिक दलों के लुभावने हथकंडों में नहीं फंसना चाहिए और सही विचार कर राष्ट्रहित में ही अपने मत का प्रयोग करना चाहिए।

कांग्रेस स्वतंत्रता से पूर्व लोगों के दिलों में बसी हुई थी, क्योंकि कांग्रेस एक संगठन बना था, जिसमें स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के उद्देश्य से सभी राष्ट्रभक्त इकट्ठे होकर अपना ध्येय निश्चित कर देश को आजाद करवाने में लगे हुए थे। स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में कांग्रेस द्वारा महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका का निर्वहन किया गया और आजादी के पश्चात भी भारत का बेहतर तथा

भव्य भविष्य कांग्रेस को ही तय करना था। स्वतंत्रता के बाद कांग्रेस बिना किसी ध्येय तथा कुछ तथाकथित राजनेताओं के हाथों की कठपुतली बनकर देश में कार्य करनी लगी। परिणाम यह हुआ कि धीरे धीरे कांग्रेस से कुछ प्रमुख नेताओं को निकलना प्रारंभ हो गया और नए राजनीतिक दलों का निर्माण होना भी शुरू हो गया। लोगों के मन में कांग्रेस के प्रति अथाह आस्था तथा अंधभक्ति भरी हुई थी, क्योंकि कांग्रेस के प्रयास से ही आजादी का आंदोलन जीता गया था। परंतु स्वतंत्रता से पूर्व कांग्रेस तथा स्वतंत्रता के बाद की कांग्रेस में दिन रात का अंतर आ चुका था परंतु आम जनमानुष यह स्वीकार करने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध नहीं था, कि कांग्रेस के अलावा और राजनीतिक दल भारत में स्वीकार्य हो सकता है। लोगों के मन में कांग्रेस के प्रति विश्वास तथा आस्था उस समय के देश में मौहोल के अनुरूप स्वाभाविक ही उचित थी। लोगों के मन में इतना प्रेम तथा विश्वास कांग्रेस के प्रति था, परंतु कांग्रेस के राजनेता अपने राजनीतिक स्वार्थों की पूर्ती करने में लगे रहे, जिससे कि जनआक्रोश भी स्वाभाविक था। अन्य राजनीतिक दल अब धीरे धीरे उभरने शुरू हो चुके थे, जिनमें जनसंघ भी एक राजनीतिक दल था। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने एक लेख में लिखते हैं कि, “एक समय था, जब लोग कांग्रेस का चिन्ह प्राप्त किए बिजली के खंभे को भी वोट देने को तत्पर दिखाई देते थे। और यही कारण था कि प्रथम आम निर्वाचन में आचार्य नरेंद्र देव और आचार्य कृपलानी सरीखे महान व्यक्तित्व भी कांग्रेसी छुटभइयों के सम्मुख पराजित हो गए। यद्यपि अब बिजली के खंभे का युग तो बीत चुका है, पर घड़ी का पेंडुलम दूसरे छोर पर पहुंच गया है और इसलिए एक सज्जन ने अभी पिछले दिनों कहा कि वह एक मील के पत्थर को अपना मत दे सकते हैं, लेकिन कांग्रेस को नहीं। पर चाहे आप कांग्रेस के बिजली के खंभे को अपना मत दें अथवा कांग्रेस से अत्यधिक असंतुष्ट होने के कारण मील के पत्थर को, यह दोनों स्थितियां ही गलत हैं और यह व्यक्ति की तक्रशक्ति और सूझबूझ से मेल नहीं खाती।” उस समय की परिस्थितियों के अनुसार दीन दयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा कांग्रेस को सत्ता से हटाने के लिए लोगों को जागरूक करना उचित समझा और मतदाताओं से आहवान भी किया कि वो किसी झांसे में न आकर अपने विवेक का सही उपयोग कर राष्ट्र हित में मतदान करें। यह सही है कि मतदाताओं को जागरूक होकर ही मतदान करना चाहिए और मतदाताओं को यह समझना भी अतिआवश्यक हो जाता है कि वह सभी राजनीतिक दलों के आचार व्यवहार, सिद्धांतों, चुनावी घोषणा पत्रों तथा संगठनात्मक विचारों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन कर अपने विवेक व बुद्धि का परिचय दें। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने उस समय यह पहल कर प्रयास किया कि लोगों को अपने मत तथा राजनीतिक दलों की कार्यपद्धति के प्रति जागरूक किया जाए। वर्तमान समय में हम देख सकते हैं कि विभिन्न तरह के सामाजिक संगठनों के द्वारा जनजागरण कर सरकार की कार्यप्रणाली को लोगों के समक्ष रखा जाता है और स्वयं सरकार के द्वारा भी भिन्न भिन्न तरह के कार्यक्रमों के माध्यम से अपना विजन प्रस्तुत किया जाता है। इसमें हमें दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के चिंतन के कुछ अंश देखने को मिल सकते हैं। मतदाताओं को जागरूक करने के साथ ही पंडित जी यह कहते हैं कि, “लोकमत का तात्कालिक निर्णय चाहे बहुमत से हो,

लेकिन लोकमत केवल बहुमत के शासन व अल्पमतों की वैचारिक स्वतंत्रता से अपने को ठीक प्रकार से अभिव्यक्त नहीं कर पाता। इससे दलीय कटुता व समाज में अखंड कलह का निर्माण होता है, अतः लोकतंत्र न बहुमत का शासन है और न ही अल्पमत का, यह जनता की सामान्य इच्छा का शासन है।”⁸

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने ‘लोकमत परिष्कार’ पर बहुत बल दिया। उनके अनुसार हमें देश को जागरूक करने की आवश्यकता है और साथ ही हम जाति, पंथ, संप्रदाय, धर्म से दूर रहकर आपसी सद्भावना का संदेश देकर एकता स्थापित कर भव्य भारतवर्ष का निर्माण करने में अपनी भूमिका का निर्वहन करें। हमें यह ध्यान रखना और समझना होगा कि इन आधारों पर आपसी मनमुटाव न हों। धर्म, संप्रदाय, जाति आदि को राजनीति का हिस्सा न बनाकर ऐसी आर्थिक नीतियों का निर्माण हो, जहां कम से कम आपस में विसंगतियां हों और जब यह सारी चीजें संभव हो सकेंगी, तो हम एक अच्छे समाज का निर्माण कर सकेंगे, अच्छे समाज का निर्माण करेंगे, तो अच्छी राजनीति होगी और अच्छी राजनीति होगी, तो अच्छी सरकार बनेगी और अच्छी सरकार बनेगी, तो अच्छा देश का निर्माण और विकास होगा। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा एक स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत लोकतंत्र के लिए ही ‘लोकमत परिष्कार’ का सुझाव रखा था। उस समय के देश की परिस्थितियों में अगर देखा जाए तो जनसंघ एकमात्र ऐस राजनीतिक दल था, जो कि ‘लोकमत परिष्कार’ को लेकर राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ा। लोकचेतना के संतुलित विकास की आवश्यकता रहती हैं इसी को पंडित जी प्राचीन भारत की ‘लोकमत परिष्कार’ पद्धति कहते हैं। “लोकमत परिष्कार एक सांस्कृतिक प्रक्रिया है। पंडित जी के अनुसार ‘लोकमत परिष्कार’ का कार्य है, वीतराग द्वंद्वातीत संन्यासियों का। लोकमत के अनुसार चलने का कार्य है राज्य का। संन्यासी सदैव धर्मतत्त्वों के अनुसार जनता के ऐहिक एवं अध्यात्मिक उत्कर्ष की कामना लेकर अपने वचनों एवं निरीह आचरण से जनजीवन के ऊपर संस्कार डालते रहते हैं। उन्हें धर्म की मर्यादाओं का ज्ञान करवाते रहते हैं। उनके समक्ष कोई लोभ और मोह न होने के कारण वे सत्य का उच्चारण सहज ही कर सकते हैं। शिक्षा और संस्कार से ही समाज के जीवन मूल्य बनते और सुदृढ़ होते हैं। इन मूल्यों का बांध रहने के बाद, लोकेच्छा की नदी कभी अपने तटों का अतिक्रमण करके संकट का कारण नहीं बनेगी।”⁹ दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का चिंतन सकारात्मक था। वह कभी नकारात्मक विचारों को अपने ऊपर तथा संगठन की कार्यपद्धति पर हावी नहीं होने देते थे। जिस समय दीन दयाल उपाध्याय राजनीति में आए उस समय देश में कांग्रेस पार्टी का वर्चस्व था और कोई यह कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकता था कि जनसंघ कांग्रेस का विकल्प बन कर राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आ सकता है। शुरुआती दौर में जब चुनावों में जनसंघ को कोई सफलता नहीं मिलती, तो दीनदयाल उपाध्याय से प्रश्न भी किया जाता था कि जब जनसंघ के अधिकांश उम्मीदवारों की जमानत भी जब्त हो रही है तो चुनाव लड़ने की भी क्या आवश्यकता है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय हमेशा सकारात्मक रहते थे और इस बारे में उनका कहना होता था कि चुनाव के

माध्यम से जनसंघ की विचारधारा का प्रचार हो जाता है। जीत या हार कोई ज्यादा मायने हमारे लिए अभी तक नहीं रखती। लोगों तक हमारा विचार तथा कार्यपद्धति पहुंच रही है और कभी न कभी लोग इसको समझेंगे और हमें सफलता भी प्राप्त होगी। अभी जरूरत है सकारात्मक दृष्टि से कार्य कर अपने को वैचारिक रूप से संगठित और मजबूत करने की। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का हमेशा यह प्रयत्न रहता था कि कार्यकर्ता को अनुशासित तथा वैचारिक रूप से मजबूत किया जाए और फिर वो ही कार्यकर्ता 'लोकमत परिष्कार' में अपनी भूमिका तथ्यों सहित निभाए। लोकमत परिष्कार को माध्यम बनाकर दीन दयाल उपाध्याय यह भी कहना चाहते थे कि यदि राजनीतिक पार्टियां गलत रास्ते का अनुसरण कर रही हों, तो उन्हें सुधारने का कार्य भी मतदाता को करना होगा। आज वर्तमान समय में हम देख सकते हैं कि अधिकांश राजनीतिक पार्टियां वंशवाद के रोग से भी ग्रसित हैं। मतदाताओं को यह समझना भी अतिआवश्यक हो जाता है कि जो राजनीतिक दल वंशवाद पर आधारित होगा, वह सत्ता हासिल करने के बाद भी वंशवाद को मजबूत करने के लिए प्रयासरत रहेगा। कांग्रेस में इसका उदाहरण हम देख सकते हैं, हम यह नहीं कह सकते कि कांग्रेस ही इस वंशवाद से ग्रसित है और राजनीतिक दल नहीं। यहां हम कांग्रेस का उदाहरण इसलिए भी दे रहे हैं कि कांग्रेस में वंशवाद व्यापक स्तर पर बढ़ चुका था और जिसके परिणाम अब धीरे धीरे सभी के समक्ष भी आ रहे हैं। वंशवाद का नमूना अब हम कांग्रेस पार्टी के अंदर भी देख सकते हैं, जहां कांग्रेस राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष का पद वर्षों से एक ही परिवार में घूम रहा है, जिस कारण अब पार्टी में विखराव आना भी शुरू हो चुका है। राजनीतिक दल वंशवाद और जातिवाद पर आधारित हो सकते हैं पर अगर 'लोकमत परिष्कार' होगा तो इन कमियों पर विचार अवश्य होगा। जातिवाद पर आधारित राजनीतिक दल देश की एकता और अखंडता पर भी घातक सिद्ध हो सकते हैं और साथ ही जातिवाद पर आधारित पार्टियां समाज में भेदभाव बढ़ाने वाली होती हैं। ऐसे राजनीति दलों द्वारा जाति या मजहब विशेष को वरियता दी जाती है और समाज का शेष वर्ग उपेक्षित रह जाता है।

अधिकांश राजनीतिक दल सत्ता प्राप्ति का लक्ष्य रखकर, किसी भी तरह चुनाव जीतना चाहते हैं, जो कि स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र और राजनीति के लिए सही नहीं है। राजनीतिक दलों का उद्देश्य केवल चुनाव जीतना ही न होकर बल्कि समाज को बदलने के प्रति भी जबाबदेह होना चाहिए। यदि राजसत्ता समाज को बदलने में बाधक हो तो उसे भी बदलने का प्रयास होना चाहिए और यह 'लोकमत परिष्कार' के माध्यम से ही हो सकता है। राजनीतिक दलों का उद्देश्य केवल वोट वटोरना ही न होकर, समाज को जागरूक करना भी होना चाहिए। राजनीतिक दल अपने विचार तथा सिद्धांतों को लेकर मतदाता के समक्ष जाए और मतदाता भी इतना जागरूक होना चाहिए कि सभी राजनीतिक दलों के विचार का मूल्यांकन कर अपने मत का प्रयोग लोकतंत्र को स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत बनाने में करें। पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय लोकतंत्र की अवधारणा को भारतीय संस्कृति से जोड़ते हुए दिखाते हैं। जिस तरह से भारतीय संस्कृति की विशेषता है कि यह हमेशा से सहिष्णुता का संदेश देती रहती

है। पंडित जी के अनुसार उसी तरह लोकतंत्र की मुख्यधारा सहिष्णु रही है। सहिष्णुता के आधार पर ही जनता जनार्दन की आत्मा का स्तर पहचानने की शक्ति प्राप्त होती है। इसके बिना चुनाव, विधायिका आदि कुछ भी नहीं है। यह हमें यह दूढ़ने की भी ताकत देता है कि जनता की क्या इच्छाएं हैं। जीवन में सहिष्णुता को साधने के लिए संयम आवश्यक है। उपाध्याय के अनुसार मर्यादाओं के अंतर्गत क्रिया का नाम संयम है। भूखा मरना संयम नहीं; अपितु शरीर की आवश्यकता के अनुरूप गुण और मात्रा में भोजन करना संयम है। बिल्कुल न बोलना, यहां तक कि अत्याचारों के विरुद्ध आवाज भी न उठाना अथवा किसी को सत्परामर्श भी न देना, संयम नहीं। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के अनुसार "असंयम और गैर जिम्मेदारी साथ साथ चलते हैं। लोकराज्य तभी सफल हो सकता है, जब नागरिक अपनी जिम्मेवारी को समझेगा और उसका निर्वाह करने के लिए प्रयत्नशील रहेगा। समाज जितना यह समझता जाएगा कि राज्य चलाने की जिम्मेदारी उसकी है, उतना ही वह संयमशील बनता जाएगा। जिस दल को यह लगता है कि आज नहीं तो कल मेरे कंधों पर राज्य सिंहासन का भार आ सकता है, वह कभी अपने वायदों और व्यवहार में गैरजिम्मेदार व असंयत नहीं होगा। फिर जनता के ऊपर तो राज्य चलाने की जिम्मेदारी सदैव ही रहती है।"¹⁰ दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के चिंतन से यह समझना सहायक होता है कि राज्य में आम जनता की जिम्मेदारी राजनेताओं से अधिक हो जाती है। जनता के हाथ में वो शक्ति है, जिससे वे किसी भी राजनीतिक दल को सत्ता सौंपने का अधिकार रखते हैं। जनता द्वारा राजनेताओं को चुनकर सरकार तो बना दी जाती है और अब जनता की भी यह जिम्मेदारी बनती है कि वो भी अपनी भूमिका सकारात्मक रूप में अपने कर्तव्यों को समझकर निभाए। सरकार तथा जनता के बीच आपसी सामंजस्य बनाना दोनों की बराबर की जिम्मेवारी बनती है। अतः जनता को दायित्वान व संयमशील बनाना लोकतंत्र की सफलता के लिए उसकी औपचारिक व्यवस्थाओं से भी अधिक जरूरी लगता है। हम अक्सर देखते हैं कि कभी कभी राजनीतिक दलों द्वारा अपनी हार को स्वीकार करने का सामर्थ्य नहीं दिखाया जाता और चुनावों में हार के पश्चात हिंसा का वातावरण बनाकर देश की संपत्ति को नुकसान पहुंचाकर एक दूसरे पर आरोप लगाने का सिलसिला जारी रहता है। जो कि स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र का परिचायक नहीं है। यह सब सत्ता के लालच की भावना से ही होता है। यह सत्ता के लालच की भावना ही जन तथा जननेताओं को जनता की 'समान्य इच्छा' की अवहेलना के लिए प्रेरित करती है। यहां यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि समाज का वातावरण एवं शिक्षा ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि व्यक्ति 'लोलुपभाव' से नहीं वरन् 'अनासक्त भाव' से लोकराज्य के नियमन में सहभागी हो। प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति से जोड़ते हुए पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय प्रभु राम का उदाहरण देते हुए कहते हैं कि, "जनतंत्र में सत्ता के प्रति उच्चस्तर की निरासक्ति है। भगवान् राम की तरह जनतंत्र में राजनीतिज्ञ को आहवान् मिलने पर सत्ता स्वीकार करने और क्षति की चिंता किए बिना उसका परित्याग कर देने के लिए सदा तैयार रहना चाहिए। एक खिलाड़ी की तरह उसे विजय के लिए संघर्ष करना चाहिए किंतु साथ ही पराजय के लिए भी तैयार रहना चाहिए। अगर वह पराजय को गौरव

के साथ शिरोधार्य नहीं कर सकता और अपने प्रतिस्पर्धी को उसकी विजय के लिए बधाई नहीं दे सकता तो वह जनतंत्रवादी नहीं है। यही वह भावना थी कि जिसके साथ चर्चिल ने एटली को और एटली ने एडेन को सत्ता सौंप दी।¹¹ दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का हमेशा से यह प्रयास रहा कि स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र की स्थापना के लिए भरसक प्रयास किए जाएं। उनके द्वारा यह आहवान भी किया गया कि भारतीय संस्कृति हमें बहुत कुछ सीखाती है जिसका अनुसरण कर हम बेहतर तथा भव्य भारत का निर्माण करने में अपनी अपनी भूमिका निभा सकते हैं। त्याग की भावना नेताओं के साथ साथ आम जनमानुष में भी होनी चाहिए। केवल सत्ता की भूख स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र की पहचान नहीं है। अगर लोकतंत्र को मजबूत और स्वस्थ बनाना है तो हमें अपने अंदर के अहंकार, तृष्णा, नकारात्मक उर्जा जैसे कुसंस्कारों को त्यागना होगा। अनासक्त भाव को अगर लाना है तो हमें उत्तम संस्कारों को अपनाना पड़ेगा। केवल लोकतंत्र की औपचारिक व्यवस्था से व्यक्ति अपने व्यक्तित्व को लोकेच्छा से समरस नहीं कर लेता है। व्यक्ति को लोलुपता पर विजय पाने के लिए सत्संग, स्वाध्याय तथा संयम की आवश्यकता रहती है।

कानून का आदर करना एक नैतिक समाज की पहचान होता है। जहां कानून का आदर नहीं होता वो राज्य 'कानून के राज्य' के दायरे में नहीं आता, हम ऐसा कह सकते हैं। कानून का निर्माण एक संवैधानिक व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत आता है और यह समस्त समाज का कर्तव्य भी बनता है कि हम उस कानून का पालन कर अपनी संवैधानिक व्यवस्था को और मजबूत करें। कानून का समादर करने वाला समाज ही 'कानून के राज्य' को ठीक से वहन कर सकता है। जहां कानून के प्रति समादर भाव सामाजिक रूप से नहीं होता वहां का कानून व्यक्तियों के प्रति अविश्वासी बन जाता है तथा व्यक्ति कानून की अवहेलना करने वाले बन जाते हैं। इससे समाज में अनैतिकता का प्रसार होता है और अपराधों को भी बढ़ावा मिलता है। कानून का निर्माण तो संवैधानिक व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत होता है पर इससे भी जरूरी समाज का जागरूक होना अतिआवश्यक हो जाता है, जिससे कि वो अपने कर्तव्यों तथा जिम्मेवारियों का अच्छे से निर्वहन करें। लोकतंत्र को स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत बनाने के लिए यह भी जरूरी हो जाता है कि लोग राजदंड के भय से नहीं बल्कि अपने सामाजिक विवेक से कानून का पालन करें। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय समाज में नैतिकता तथा लोगों को जागरूक करने के लिए राजनीतिक दलों से आग्रह करते हैं कि वो समाज में नैतिक नियमों का प्रसार करने के लिए 'लोकमत परिष्कार' का कार्य कर अपने सार्वजनिक जीवन से आदर्श प्रस्तुत करें। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का राजनीतिक दलों के नुमाईदों से यह आग्रह इसलिए भी किया गया क्योंकि लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था में राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में काम करने वाले नेता अपने अपने समाज और अपने अपने क्षेत्र का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे होते हैं और उनके जीवन तथा कार्यशैली का समाज पर बहुत प्रभाव पड़ता है। इसलिए दीन दयाल उपाध्याय कहते हैं कि, "जनता में कानून के प्रति समादर की भावना पैदा करने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि कानून का संरक्षण करने की आकांक्षा रखने वाली पार्टियां इस

दिशा में स्वयं उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करें। स्वशासन की भावना और क्षमता जनता का सार है। अगर पार्टियां स्वयं अपने आपको शासित नहीं कर सकती तो वे समाज में स्वशासन की इच्छा उत्पन्न करने की आशा कैसे कर सकती हैं।¹² दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का यह आहवान तो राजनीतिक दलों से था, परंतु इससे भी अतिआवश्यक यह हो जाता है कि समाज स्वयं भी जागरूक रहे। क्योंकि वर्तमान समय में हम देखें तो यह भी देखा जाता है कि अधिकांश राजनीतिक दलों के नेता स्वयं अपराधों में संलिप्त पाए जाते हैं, उनकी छवि समाज में गुंडो की तरह भी बनी हुई है, जिसका समाज पर भी गलत प्रभाव पड़ता हुआ दिखाई देता है। राजनीतिक दलों के नेता स्वयं सत्ता का दुरुपयोग करते हुए कानून का उल्लंघन करने से नहीं डरते। ऐसे में यह लोकतंत्र में आवश्यक हो जाता है कि समाज अपने विवेक का उपयोग कर सत्ता की चाबी ऐसे समाजसेवी नेताओं को सौंपे जो कि समाज से भावनात्मक रूप से जुड़े होने के कारण एक सभ्य समाज के लिए आदर्श हों। समाज में नैतिक मूल्यों की भावना संस्कारों तथा अच्छी शिक्षा से ही प्राप्त हो सकती है पर शिक्षा से भी जरूरी हमें समाजिक 'संस्कार' ही ऐसी भावनाओं को जागृत करने में अहम भूमिका निभाते हैं और यह संस्कार हमें अपनी भारतीय संस्कृति में सम्मिलित हुए दिखाई देते हैं। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने चिंतन में भारतीय संस्कृति को अहम स्थान देते हुए कहते हैं कि भारतीय संस्कृति ही है, जो विश्व को ज्ञान तथा दिशा देने में सार्थक रखती है। लोकतंत्र को स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत बनाने में जितनी अहम भूमिका समाज में रह रहे हर एक आम नागरिक की है, उतनी ही भूमिका समाज का नेतृत्व करने वाले राजनीतिक दलों की है। हम इन दोनों को अलग करके विचार नहीं कर सकते। समाज में जहां कानून के प्रति आदर करने के लिए लोकतांत्रिक मानसिकता की जरूरत है, वहीं यह भी जरूरी हो जाता है कि कानून निर्माता जन प्रतिनिधि, विद्वानजन तथा पत्रकार जगत् समाज को कानून की तत्संगतता के बारे में शिक्षित करने के साथ साथ स्वयं के आचरण में भी सुधार लाकर एक आदर्श स्थापित कर जनजागरण करें। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय विचारक, दार्शनिक अकादमिक विद्वान होने के साथ साथ राजनीतिक नेता भी थे। वे राजनीति को साधन मानकर समाज सेवा के लिए ही राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आए थे।

राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में होने के नाते पंडित जी का मानना था कि निर्वाचन प्रक्रिया सत्ता स्पर्धा का हथियार न होकर समाजिक सहभागिता का माध्यम होनी चाहिए। लोकतंत्र तभी मजबूत तथा लोगों की आस्था का केंद्र बन सकता है, जब राजनीतिक दल एक अच्छे विचार के साथ अपना ध्येय निश्चित कर समाज में अपनी सहभागिता सुनिश्चित करें। राजनीतिक दल ऐसे उम्मीदवार घोषित करें जो समाज में अपनी अच्छी छवि के रूप में जाने जाते हों तथा समाज के समक्ष अपने सार्वजनिक जीवन से आदर्श स्थापित करने वाले हों। राजनीतिक दलों के साथ ही मतदाता भी जागरूक होना चाहिए, जो सभी राजनीतिक दलों का मूल्यांकन कर यह तय कर सके कि यह नेतृत्व देश तथा समाज के लिए जरूरी है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा एक राजनीतिज्ञ होने के साथ ही विचारक होने के नाते राजनीतिक क्षेत्र का अध्ययन कर अपने विचार प्रस्तुत किए जो उनकी राजनेता नहीं, वरन्

राजनीतिज्ञ की छवि प्रस्तुत करते हैं। लोकतंत्र को मजबूत तथा स्वस्थ बनाने के लिए आम नागरिक तथा राजनीतिक दलों की समान सहभागिता होती है। राजनीतिक दलों को राष्ट्रहित का ध्यान रखते हुए अनुशासन का पालन तथा राष्ट्र को सुखी, समृद्ध तथा शक्तिशाली बनाने के साथ ही सुरक्षित रखने का ध्येय निश्चित कर कार्य करने की जरूरत होती है। उसी तरह आम नागरिक को जागरूक होकर राजनीतिक दलों के लुभावने वादों को दरकिनार कर अपने विवेक का उपयोग कर निजि स्वार्थों की जगह देश हित को प्राथमिकता देते हुए, अपने महत्वपूर्ण मत का उपयोग कर लोकतंत्र को बचाए रखने के लिए अपनी भूमिका सुनिश्चित करना अतिआवश्यक हो जाता है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय दूरदर्शी राजनीतिज्ञ थे और राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आने के बाद वे राजनीतिक दलों की नब्ज तथा मतदाताओं का राजनीतिक दलों के प्रति आकर्षित होने के कारणों को भली भांति समझ चुके थे। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता के नाते राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में राष्ट्र हित के कार्य को ध्येय बनाकर ही आए थे। अधिकतर राजनीतिक दलों की भी यह मंशा रहती है कि चुनावी मैदान में जीत हासिल करने के लिए किसी भी तरह की रणनीति बनाई जाए जिसमें एकमात्र लक्ष्य जीत हासिल करना होता है, फिर चाहे वो रणनीति देश के अहित में ही क्यों न हो। इसी पर चिंतन करते हुए पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय समय समय पर अपने विचार प्रकट करते रहते थे, जिससे कि दुनिया के सबसे बड़े लोकतांत्रिक देश की लोकतंत्र के प्रति सद्भावना तथा गरिमा बनी रहे। लोकतंत्र की गरिमा भी तभी बनी रह सकती है, जब राजनीतिक दल अपनी आचार संहिता को समझे तथा मतदाता जागरूक होकर अपने मतदान का प्रयोग करें। लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था में राजनीतिक दलों की अहम भूमिका रहती है, इसी को प्रतिपादित करते हुए पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करते हुए अच्छे राजनीतिक दल की क्या परिभाषा हो सकती है और भारत में राजनीतिक दलों की किस प्रकार की कार्यप्रणाली तथा सैद्धांतिक भूमिका रहती है इस पर चिंतन करते हुए कहते हैं कि, “सत्ता पर अधिकार प्राप्त करने के इच्छुक व्यक्तियों का झुंड न होकर एक जीवमान संगठन हो, जिसका सत्ता प्राप्त करने के अतिरिक्त अपना अलग वैशिष्ट्य हो। ऐसे दल की दृष्टि में सत्ता पर अधिकार करना उद्दिष्ट न होकर, अपने सिद्धांतों एवं कार्यक्रमों को क्रियान्वित करने का एक साधन होगा, और इसलिए उस दल के सर्वोच्च पदाधिकारियों से लेकर साधारण से साधारण सदस्य तक में अपने इस आदर्शवाद के प्रति एक निश्ठा होगी। हमें स्मरण रखना चाहिए कि यह निश्ठा ही अनुशासन और आत्मसमर्पण की भावना उत्पन्न करती है। यदि अनुशासन उपर से थोपा जाता है तो वह किसी भी दल की आंतरिक शक्तिहीनता को ही प्रकट करता है।”¹³ इस प्रकार दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का स्पष्ट मानना था कि जिस दल के सभी कार्यकर्ता कुछ उद्देश्यों तथा आदर्शों को सामने रखकर कार्य करते हैं, वे ही देश को कुछ दिशा दे सकते हैं।

वर्तमान समय में भी यह देखा जाता है कि अक्सर राजनीतिक दलों द्वारा धर्म को राजनीति में जबरदस्ती घुसेड़ा जाता रहा है और समुदायों को धर्म के आधार पर बांटकर वोट हासिल करने के चुनावों में जीत हासिल करने की रणनीति बनाई जाती है। जो कि आने वाले

भविष्य के लिए भी खतरा बनती हुई नजर आती है। धर्म के आधार पर लोगों को आपस में लड़वाया जाता रहा है और कई तरह के दंगों में भी इसी तरह की राजनीति का हाथ देखा जा सकता है। जो कि एक राष्ट्र के लिए आंतरिक सुरक्षा के अनुसार भी उचित नहीं है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने एक लेख में अपने विचार व्यक्त करते हुए कहते हैं कि, “भारतीय जनसंघ का मत है कि यदि राष्ट्र में ऐक्य प्रस्थापित करना है, तो उसके लिए रचनात्मक उपायों का सहारा लेना पड़ेगा। जहां एक ओर वह प्रत्येक की श्रद्धा, पूजा पद्धति तथा उपासना की स्वतंत्रता की गारंटी देता है, वहां वह धर्म को राजनीति में घुसेड़ने का पूर्ण विरोधी है और उस आधार पर विशेष सुविधाएं मांगने अथवा देने को राष्ट्रघातक समझता है। इसलिए भारतीय जनसंघ समस्त भारतीयों में भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रति दृढ़ आस्था एवं श्रद्धा उत्पन्न कर राष्ट्रीय एकता प्रस्थापित करने का प्रयास करेगा।”¹⁴ दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का राजनीति में आने का लक्ष्य राष्ट्र हित में कार्य करना निर्धारित था और वह समाज को धर्म, संप्रदायों तथा जाति के आधार पर बांटने के पक्षधर नहीं थे और साथ ही इन उपयोगों को राजनीति में इस्तेमाल करने के पक्षधर थे। उनका स्पष्ट मानना था कि भारतीय लोकतंत्र को मजबूत तथा राष्ट्रीय एकता स्थापित करने के लिए हमें भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रति दृढ़ आस्था और श्रद्धा की भावना ‘लोकमत परिष्कार’ कर भारतीय जनसमाज में जागृत करनी होगी। भारतीय लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था को स्वस्थ बनाए रखने के लिए दीन दयाल उपाध्याय हमेशा से प्रयासरत रहते हुए दिखते थे। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का स्वयं का राजनीतिक जीवन राजनीतिक दलों के लिए आदर्श स्थापित करता है कि राजनीति तो केवल एक साधन है, जिससे कि राष्ट्रहित का ध्येय साधा जा सके। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय राष्ट्र हित के लिए ही राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आए थे। राजनीतिक दलों के द्वारा ऐसे उम्मीदवार भी अक्सर चुनावी मैदान में उतारे जाते हैं, जो कि धनबल तथा किसी राज घराने से संबंधित हों। जो कि स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र के लिए घातक भी सिद्ध होते हैं क्योंकि धन से किसी की श्रद्धा तथा आस्था को खरीदा नहीं जा सकता। जनता के दिल में तभी स्थान बनाया जा सकता है, जब नेता जनता के सुख दुःख तथा उनसे भावनात्मक रूप से जुड़ा हो। इसलिए दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का यह मानना भी था कि किसी योग्य उम्मीदवार को ही चुनाव में अपना उम्मीदवार घोषित करना चाहिए।

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय इस संदर्भ में कहते हैं कि भारत में राजनीतिक दल यही चिंता करता है कि किसी भी रीति से उसका प्रत्याशी विजय घोषित होना चाहिए। “इसलिए घुड़दौड़ में दौड़ने वाले घोड़ों की भांति उन्हें किसी विशेष घोड़े से स्नेह नहीं होता। यही कारण है कि आज भी पुराने राजा महाराजाओं, नवाबों और जागीरदारों को अपने अपने दल में घसीटने का प्रयत्न किया जाता है और जब इस प्रकार का कोई व्यक्ति चुनाव संघर्ष के मैदान में कूद पड़ता है, तो उसका विरोध करने का साहस कोई भी नहीं कर पाता।”¹⁵ पंडित जी राजनीतिक दलों को सुझाव देने के साथ ही मतदाताओं को जागरूक करना भी नहीं भूलते थे क्योंकि वो जानते थे कि जाति, धर्म, संप्रदाय, धनबल और राज परिवारों का सहारा लेकर राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में अपने ध्येय को तथा लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था को मजबूत नहीं किया

जा सकता। वर्तमान समय में भी हम देखते हैं कि राजनीतिक दलों के द्वारा अपना संगठनात्मक ढांचा तैयार करने के साथ ही चुनावों में अपने उम्मीदवार धर्म, जाति, धन, संप्रदाय आदि के आधार पर ही घोषित किए जाते हैं। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय इस संदर्भ में तथा समाधान देते हुए मतदाताओं को जागरूक करते हुए कहते हैं कि, “हमें स्मरण रखना होगा कि एक अयोग्य उम्मीदवार इस आधार पर हमारा मत प्राप्त करने का अधिकारी नहीं है, क्योंकि उसका संबंध अच्छे दल से है। यह संभव है कि ऐसे अयोग्य व्यक्ति को अपना टिकट प्रदान करते समय उस दल ने संस्था के लाभ से प्रभावित होकर ऐसा निर्णय लिया हो या ऐसी मंशा न होने के बाद भी उससे निर्णय की भूल हुई हो। अतः उत्तरदायी मतदाता का अब यह कार्य हो जाता है कि वह अपनी जागरूकता का परिचय देकर उक्त गलती को दुरस्त कर दे।”¹⁶ सत्ता प्राप्ति का एकमात्र लक्ष्य जब राजनीतिक दलों के द्वारा अपने समक्ष रखा जाता है, लोकतंत्र में अवसरवादी राजनीति को भी बढ़ावा मिलता है, जो कि लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों के खिलाफ होता अक्सर राजनीतिक दल संयुक्त मोर्चों के माध्यम से सत्ता प्राप्ति का स्वपन देखते हुए भी राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में सफलता प्रदान करना चाहते हैं। जिससे कहीं न कहीं वो अपने सिद्धांतों तथा विचारों को दरकिनार कर लोभ में सत्ता प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं, जो कि लोकतांत्रिक राज्य में प्रजातंत्र के लिए एक बड़ी चुनौती है। इसी चुनौती के प्रति दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने चिंतन में विचार करते हुए कहते हैं कि, “संयुक्त मोर्चे भी अपने देश में बनाए जाते रहे हैं, जिन समझौतों और संयुक्त मोर्चों का आधार यही रहा करता है कि विभिन्न राजनीतिक दल पृथक् पृथक् रूप से लड़कर सत्तारूढ़ दल को पराजित न कर सकेंगे और इसलिए सभी को मिलकर कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध एक प्रत्याशी खड़ा करना चाहिए। ये समझौते और संयुक्त मोर्चे जनता में निशेधात्मक वृत्ति पैदा करते हैं, जो कभी भी उचित नहीं है। ऐसे समझौते करने वाले तत्व संयुक्त मोर्चे बनाते समय सिद्धांतों में भी सौदेबाजी करते हैं, जिससे देश में अवसरवादी तत्वों को प्रश्रय मिलता है।”¹⁷ दीन दयाल उपाध्याय दूरदर्शी राजनीतिज्ञ थे, वो जानते थे कि ऐसे समझौते जो कि सिद्धांतों को दरकिनार करके किए जाते हैं, वे राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में टकराव की स्थिती लाकर खड़ा करते हैं, जो कि देश के लिए भी अहितकर होते हैं। इसलिए ऐसे समझौतों से बचकर राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में राष्ट्र हित का ध्यान रखते हुए अपने सिद्धांतों तथा विचार के साथ ही आगे बढ़ना चाहिए। राजनीति में जो लोग समझौतावादी होते हैं वो आदर्श व नीति को तात्कालिक परिणामों के भय से त्याग करने में अपनी अनुभवहीनता तथा लोभ का परिचय देते हैं। उनकी इसी अनुभवहीनता तथा सत्ता प्राप्त करने के एकमात्र लक्ष्य के कारण अवसरवाद पनपता है। जो कि लोकतांत्रिक राज्य में काला धब्बा भी साबित होता है। जिस अवसरवाद का जिक्र दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने चिंतन के माध्यम से समय समय पर व्यक्त करते रहते थे और इसके प्रति राजनीतिक दलों तथा समस्त जनता का चेताया करते थे, उसका जब भयानक दौर भारत में प्रारंभ हुआ, उसे विडंबना भी कहा जा सकता है कि उसी दौर में पंडित जी की हत्या हो जाती है। जो कि भारतीय लोकतंत्र के लिए बहुत बड़ी क्षति साबित होती है।

पंडित जी भारतीय विचारक होने के नाते भारत की स्थितियों तथा राजनीतिक वातावरण को बड़ी अच्छी तरह से समझते थे। तथ्यों को इकट्ठा करते हुए ही पंडित जी अपने विचार प्रकट करते हुए समस्याओं का समाधान भी अपने चिंतन में प्रकट करते थे। जब राजनीतिक दलों के द्वारा अपनी आचार संहिता का पालन नहीं किया जाता और वे सत्ता प्राप्ति को ही अपना ध्येय बनाकर कार्य करने लगते हैं, तो धनबल तथा बाहुबल का प्रयोग करते हैं। राजनीति इस कदर की जाती है कि समाज को धर्म, संप्रदायों में भी बांटा जाता रहा है, वंशवाद को भी बढ़ावा वर्तमान समय तक दिया जाता रहा है और शायद यह सब तब तक चलता रहेगा, जब तक भारत का मतदाता सजग तथा जागरूक नहीं होगा। लोकतंत्र को मजबूत बनाने का समाधान देते हुए पंडित जी मतदाताओं से आग्रह करते हुए कहते हैं कि, बुद्धिमता ही इसका इलाज है। "ये सब ऐसे तथ्य हैं जो देश की राजनीति को गलत दिशा में ले जा रहे हैं। राजनीतिक दलों को, जो देश की राजनीति में प्रमुख दल के रूप में विकसित होना चाहते हैं, इन खतरों से सचेत रहकर अपने सिद्धांत की हत्या नहीं करनी चाहिए। इसी भांति जनता का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह जागरूक रहकर बुद्धिमता के साथ हंस के समान अपने नीर क्षीर विवेक का परिचय दें, जिससे देश के राजनीतिक दलों के गलत दृष्टिकोण को सुधारा जा सके।"¹⁸ राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए प्रजातंत्र का होना बहुत आवश्यक हो जाता है। लोकतांत्रिक राज्य में प्रजातंत्र अगर स्वस्थ तथा मजबूत होगा तो राष्ट्रीय एकता भी बनी रहती है। किसी भी देश की उन्नति तथा समृद्धि के लिए वहां के जनों में एकता का होना बहुत आवश्यक होता है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का मत था कि, भारत की परिस्थिति में प्रजातंत्र का राष्ट्रीय एकता से गहरा संबंध है। यदि यहां प्रजातंत्र समाप्त हो गया तो एकता को भी नष्ट होते देर नहीं लगेगी। जो प्रजातंत्रीय पद्धति का अनुसरण करेंगे, वे शनैः शनैः राष्ट्रवाद की ओर बढ़ते जाएंगे। चुनावों में जातिवाद व क्षेत्रवाद का सहारा लेने वाले भी जब जीतकर आएंगे तो सबको साथ लिए बिना अकेले नहीं बैठ सकेंगे। यही कारण है कि द्रविड़ मुन्नेत्र कशगम के रूप में धीरे धीरे परिवर्तन हो रहा है। प्रजातंत्र के रहते हुए किसी प्रांत विशेष में किसी दल विशेष का प्रभुत्व भी आ गया तो वह अलग नहीं हो सकता; किंतु यदि प्रजातंत्र समाप्त हुआ तो एकता पहले समाप्त हो जाएगी। भारत की एकता के लिए प्रजातंत्र जरूरी है।¹⁹ दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का मानना था कि अगर राष्ट्रीय एकता को बनाए रखना है तो प्रजातंत्र का होना अतिआवश्यक हो जाता है। जहां एकता के लिए प्रजातंत्र का होना जरूरी है, तो उसी प्रजातंत्र को मजबूत तथा स्वस्थ बनाना राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में काम करने वालों के साथ साथ आम जनमानुष का दायित्व भी बनता है। जहां राजनीतिक दलों को अपनी आचार संहिता का पालन करना जरूरी है वहीं मतदाताओं को अपने विवेक का सही उपयोग कर अपने दायित्व का निर्वहन करना अति आवश्यक हो जाता है। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का अपने सार्वजनिक जीवन में हमेशा से यह प्रयास रहा कि प्रजातंत्र को मजबूत तथा स्वस्थ बना कर राष्ट्रीय एकता को बनाए रखा जाए। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय संगठन के महामंत्री होने के नाते देश भर में प्रवास

कर वैचारिक प्रबोधन से कार्यकर्ताओं का मार्गदर्शन करते रहते थे। उनके जीवन से जुड़ी एक घटना राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ताओं के लिए आदर्श बन गई, जो कि चुनाव से संबंधित थी। पहले तो दीन दयाल उपाध्याय राजनीति में आना ही नहीं चाहते थे, वो तो एक सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता बनकर राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के मार्गदर्शन में ही राष्ट्रहित में जीवनभर काम करना चाहते थे। फिर भी अपने मार्गदर्शक माननीय गोलवलकर जी के आदेश पर राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आए। संगठन को सुदृढ़ तथा मजबूत बनाने के लिए वैचारिक प्रशिक्षण का सहारा लेकर कार्यकर्ताओं को वैचारिक रूप से मजबूत बनाना पंडित जी ने ठान लिया था। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के जीवन में एक रोचक घटना तब जुड़ गई, जब उनको लोकसभा उपचुनाव का उम्मीदवार घोषित किया गया। सन् 1962 में चीनी आक्रमण के बाद मई, 1963 में तीन महत्वपूर्ण उपचुनाव उत्तर प्रदेश में तथा एक गुजरात में हुआ। अमरोहा से आचार्य कृपलानी, फर्रुखाबाद से डा राममनोहर लोहिया तथा जौनपुर से पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय संयुक्त विपक्ष के उम्मीदवार थे। गुजरात की राजकोट सीट से स्वतंत्र पार्टी के महामंत्री मीनू मसानी भी संयुक्त विपक्ष के प्रत्याशी थे। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने उस समय देश के प्रसिद्ध नेताओं की सूची में स्थान हासिल कर लिया था। देश में उनकी पहचान थी और जनसंघ के महामंत्री के रूप में प्रसिद्धि भी प्राप्त कर चुके थे। परंतु फिर भी चुनावों में उनकी हार हुई। तीन चुनावी क्षेत्रों में कांग्रेस की हार हुई और संयुक्त विपक्ष के उम्मीदवारों की जीत हुई, केवल पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय संयुक्त विपक्ष के उम्मीदवार के रूप में जौनपुर से चुनाव हारे। इस हार के कई राजनीतिक कारण तो थे ही परंतु एक कारण यह भी रहा कि स्वयं पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय भी जीतने के लिए चुनाव लड़ ही नहीं रहे थे। दीन दयाल उपाध्याय स्वयं चुनाव लड़ने के पक्षधर नहीं थे और साथ ही उनके मार्गदर्शक माननीय गोलवलकर जी भी उन्हें चुनाव नहीं लड़वाना चाहते थे। गोलवलकर ने इस संदर्भ में यहां तक कहा था कि, “हर हालत में हानि होगी, जीते या हारे। हारने पर कम तथा जीतने पर ज्यादा हानि होगी।”²⁰ जौनपुर संसदीय उपचुनाव पूरी तरह से जातिवाद के आधार पर लड़ा जाता था। पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जातिवाद के आधार पर चुनाव नहीं लड़ना चाहते थे। वो कभी भी सिद्धांतों से समझौता करने वाले नेता नहीं थे। कांग्रेस के द्वारा जातिवाद का सहारा लेकर चुनाव प्रचार किया गया, वहीं जब जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ताओं द्वारा भी जातिवाद का सहारा लेने की कोशिश की गई, तो पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अपने कार्यकर्ताओं पर बिगड़े और कहा कि इस तरह के हथकंडों से चुनाव जीतने का प्रयास किया गया तो मैं चुनाव से हट जाऊंगा और चुनाव नहीं लड़ूंगा। वे अपना पूरा चुनाव जनसंघ के विचार, सिद्धांत तथा राजनीतिक व आर्थिक मुद्दों पर ही लड़ना चाहते थे और अपने भाषणों में भी इन्हीं मुद्दों का आहवान कर वोट मांगते थे। चुनाव दौर में उनके साथ रहे एक कार्यकर्ता लिखते हैं, जौनपुर के उपचुनाव में मेरा व उनका साथ बराबर रहा। उन्होंने दौरे के बीच हार-जीत की एक बार भी चर्चा नहीं की। वे पूर्वनिर्धारित योजना के अनुसार दौरा करते थे। “उन्होंने कहा, विजयी व्यक्ति को सबसे पहली बधाई मेरी ओर से मिलनी चाहिए, मैं लिख देता हूं,

तुम किसी से भेज दो।" मेरे आश्चर्य करने पर उन्होंने मुझसे कहा, "यह तो हमारी परंपरा है कि विजयी प्रत्याशी को सबसे पहली बधाई उसका प्रतिद्वंद्वी ही दे। आखिर हमारे राजनीति में आने का क्या उपयोग ? यदि हम भी लोकतंत्र की स्वस्थ परंपरा का निर्माण नहीं कर पाए।" 21 पंडित जी इस चुनाव में हार कर भी अपने समर्थकों के साथ ही राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में सभी के लिए आदर्श स्थापित कर गए। हार जीत कोई इतना मायने नहीं रखती, जितनी हमारी सहिष्णुता के साथ राजनीति में अपनी जिम्मेवारियों का निर्वहन करते हुए लोकतंत्रीय परंपरा को स्वस्थ बनाए रखना जरूरी होता है।

निष्कर्ष:

दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का लोकतंत्रीय व्यवस्था को स्वस्थ बनाने वाले विचार लोकतंत्र के भारतीयकरण अथवा लोकमत परिष्कार पर केंद्रित हैं। पंडित जी जितनी श्रद्धा तथा आस्था अपने राष्ट्र के प्रति रखते हैं उतनी ही श्रद्धा वे लोकतंत्रीय व्यवस्था में रखते हुए दिखते हैं। अपने राजनीतिक जीवन में उनका यही प्रयास रहा कि लोकतंत्र का भारतीयकरण कर इसे स्वस्थ बनाया जाए। राजनीतिक दलों को अपनी आचार संहिता का पालन करना चाहिए तथा मतदाताओं को अपने विवेक का सही और उचित उपयोग। वे पाश्चात्य लोकतंत्र के नकलची बनना स्वीकार नहीं करते थे। उनका मानना था कि भारतीय लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं, संगठनों, उनके स्वरूप, नीतिगत एवं सैद्धांतिक ढांचे का विकास भारतीय जनमानस के अनूकूल हो। पंडित जी अवसरवादी नेता न होते हुए, राष्ट्रहित में कार्य करने वाले देशभक्त नेताओं की श्रेणी में आते थे। वे देश की तात्कालिक एवं भावी समस्याओं के प्रति चिंतित रहते हुए उनके समाधान का रास्ता भी दिखाते रहते थे। उन्होंने अपने संपूर्ण राजनीतिक जीवन में लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों को गतिशीलता प्रदान करते हुए राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आदर्श स्थापित किया। राजनीतिक दल, प्रत्याशी, जनता का दायित्व, मतदान कानून के प्रति आदर, अवसरवादी राजनीति को श्रद्धांजली, विरोधी दलों की भूमिका संबंधी जो विचार प्रस्तुत किए हैं, वे भारतीय लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था के लिए आज भी मूल्यवान हैं और भविष्य में भी रहेंगे, इसमें कोई दोराय नहीं है। राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में पंडित जी आदर्श के रूप में स्थापित हुए, जिस तरह से उनका चिंतन आदर्शवादी था उसी तरह उनका स्वयं का जीवन भी राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले नेताओं के लिए आदर्श था। उनका अपना जीवन इतना सरल तथा व्यावहारिक था कि, उनका शरीर इस दुनिया से तो विदा अवश्य हो गया पर उनके विचार तथा आचरण आज भी विद्यमान हैं। जनसंघ को वैचारिक प्रबोधन से मजबूत करने के साथ ही आज वर्तमान समय में भाजपा भी उसी का अंश बनकर राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में उतरी है तथा भाजपा में काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ताओं के लिए प्रेरणादायी व्यक्तित्व के रूप में दीन दयाल उपाध्याय को हमेशा याद किया जाता रहेगा। उनके चिंतन तथा विचारों से प्रेरणा लेते हुए भाजपा वर्तमान समय में केंद्र सरकार के रूप में कार्य कर रही है।

संदर्भ सूची

- 1 बाबा साहब आपटे द्वारा लिखा गया संस्मरण, 'दस वर्ष पर्याप्त हैं', पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय: व्यक्ति दर्शन; दीन दयाल शोध संस्थान, नई दिल्ली, पृ 12
- 2 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, 'राष्ट्र चिंतन', अध्याय 11, लोकतंत्र का भारतीयकरण, पृ 79
- 3 राष्ट्र चिंतन, अध्याय 9, लोकमत का नियामक कौन? पृ 66
- 4 राष्ट्रवाद की सही कल्पना, क्रमांक 1, अध्याय 1 पृ 8
- 5 राष्ट्रवाद की सही कल्पना, क्रमांक 1, अध्याय 1 पृ 9
- 6 मताधिकार कागज का टुकड़ा नहीं, लोकाज्ञा है, पांच्वजन्य, जनवरी 29, 1962
- 7 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, संपूर्ण वांडमय, खंड दस, मतदाता समय की चुनौती का उत्तर देंगे ? पांच्वजन्य, फरवरी 5, 1962,
- 8 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, 'पालिटिकल डायरी', अध्याय 9, लोकमत का नियामक कौन ? पृ 65
- 9 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय: कर्तृत्व एवं विचार, राजनीतिक विचार, लोकमत का नियामक कौन ? पृ 68
- 10 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, पालिटिकल डायरी, अध्याय 9, लोकमत का नियामक कौन?
- 11 पालिटिकल डायरी, क्रमांक 14, कांग्रेस और जनतंत्र, पृ 140
- 12 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, पालिटिकल डायरी, जनतंत्र और राजनीतिक पार्टियां, पृ 145
- 13 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, 'क्या मतदाता समय की चुनौती का उत्तर देंगे ?; पांच्वजन्य, 5 फरवरी, 1962, पृ 19
- 14 अल्पसंख्यक और बहुसंख्यक की संज्ञाएं घातक हैं, पांच्वजन्य, जनवरी 15, 1962
- 15 मताधिकार कागज का टुकड़ा नहीं, लोकाज्ञा है, पांच्वजन्य, जनवरी 29, 1962
- 16 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, 'क्या मतदाता समय की चुनौती का उत्तर देंगे ?; पांच्वजन्य, 5 फरवरी, 1962, पृ 19
- 17 पांच्वजन्य, 5 फरवरी, 1962, पृ 22
- 18 पांच्वजन्य, 29 जनवरी 1962, पृ 41
- 19 दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, 'जनतंत्रद्रोहियों से देश की रक्षा करें'; पांच्वजन्य, 15 अगस्त, 1966, पृ 7
- 20 नानाजी देशमुख से भेंटवार्ता, दिल्ली, दिनांक 1 जनवरी, 1984, साक्षात्कार पंजिका, पृ 26
- 21 राजनीति सिंह, 'जब वे चुनाव लड़े', राष्ट्रधर्म, दीन दयाल उपाध्याय स्मृति अंक, जून-जुलाई, 1968, पृ 43

HIMACHAL PRADESH UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (HPUJ)

(A Bi-annual Multi-disciplinary Research Journal)

ISSN : 2277-1425; e-ISSN: 2277-1433

General Information

Himachal Pradesh University Journal (ISSN : 2277-1425; e-ISSN: 2277-1433) is a bi-annual peer reviewed multi-disciplinary research journal published on behalf of Himachal Pradesh University covering all areas of research and studies being conducted at Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.

Submission of Manuscripts

Manuscripts for publication in HPU should be sent in the form of soft copy on the journal's email ID: hpuniversityjournal@gmail.com directly. On receiving the soft copy of the manuscript, the Associate Editors of respective sections will process the manuscripts for reviewing and publication. The authors are required to confirm that the manuscript has not been published or under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Instruction to the authors

Manuscripts should be written in English (except in subjects of languages) in Microsoft Office Word 2007 with 1.5 spacing in Times New Roman font 12. Authors are required to present the text as concise as possible (not more than 7000 words).

Sections of the paper should be arranged in the following order: 1. Title page, 2. Introduction, 3. Materials and Methods, 4. Results, 5. Discussion, 6. Reference (arranged alphabetically), 7. Tables, 8. Figures. The title page should comprise of title of the paper, names and address of authors, abstract (not exceeding 250 words) and key words.

Reference style should be followed as :

Journal article: Levan. A., Fredga, K. and Sandberg, A. 1964. Nomenclature for centromeric position on chromosome. *Hereditas*, 52:201-220.

Book: Stebbins, G.L. 1971. *Chromosome evolution in higher plants*, Edward, Arnold, London.

Book Chapter: Randall, J.E. 1995. Groupers, seabasses and their allies. In: Paxton, J. R. and Eschemeyer, W.N. (eds). *Encyclopedia of fishes*. Academic Press, pp 197-201.

Disclaimer

The information and opinion expressed in the Himachal Pradesh University Journal reflect the views of the authors only and not of the journal or its editorial board or the publisher. Publication does not constitute endorsement by the journal. Himachal Pradesh University Journal or editorial board of HPUJ does not assume any liability or responsibility for the accuracy, completeness and usefulness of any information provided in the journal.

Contact details

Editor
Himachal Pradesh University Journal
Himachal Pradesh University,
Shimla - 171 005 India

Email: hpuniversityjournal@gmail.com
Copyright : Himachal Pradesh University Journal (HPUJ) 2019

Published by:
Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla-5

Printed by:
**Design India, Power House, New Totu,
Shimla - 1710 11 Mob.:93180-17070**