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Evaluation of Indo-ASEAN Business Relations: A Trade Intensity Approach

Jyoti Kumari
Raj Kumar Singh

Abstract

ASSOCIATION of Southeast Asian Nations(ASEAN) established on 8th August 1967 was initially joined by five countries Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Philippines. The strength of ASEAN increased to ten members with addition of Brunei, Laos, Vietnam Myanmar and Cambodia by 1999. The key drivers behind the formation of ASEAN were stability of regional politics, regional peace, conflict resolution, security guarantee, economic development and co-operation and act jointly especially on the matters relating to regional concern. The success and prosperity achieved by ASEAN has attracted the attention of other countries of the world including India. Thus, India initiated special measures like *Look East Policy* and *Act East policy* to strengthen its social-political-economic relations with ASEAN. The major objectives of the present study are: to analyse India's trade relations with ASEAN countries; to examine India's trend of trade and its projections for the next 10 years and; to evaluate India's trade intensity with ASEAN countries. The study is based on secondary data and conducted from 1995 to 2018. The statistical tools applied for analysis include mean, standard deviation, skewness, kurtosis, coefficient of variance, compound annual growth rate, ANOVA post-hoc, trend analysis and trade intensity approach to measure the intensity of India's trade relations with ASEAN countries. The findings of the study reveal that India's exports and imports position with ASEAN countries has improvised over the years; India has trade deficit with Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, Brunei and Laos and trade surplus with Vietnam, Singapore, Philippines and Cambodia; and India's exports and imports relations are more intense with Myanmar as compared to other ASEAN countries.

Key Words: ASEAN, Look East Policy, Act East Policy, Import, Export, Trade Intensity Approach.

JEL Classification Code: F10, F14, F17, C1

Introduction

India and Southeast Asia share a long colonial and cultural history which over the years helped in shaping business relations between them. As India progressed towards liberalised regime in the early 1990s, its interest in collaborating with the world but especially with the Eastern and South-Eastern neighbours become more intense (Bhagal, 2018) and initiative in this direction was formulation of *Look East Policy* in 1991. The trajectory of Indo-ASEAN business relations has been growing steadily towards a new height with ASEAN being India's fourth largest trading partner (Ministry of External Affairs, 2018). The concerted efforts to strengthen business ties with ASEAN countries brought positive outcomes in the form of signing various agreements such as India's sectoral dialogue partnership with ASEAN in 1992, full dialogue partner in 1995, summit partner in 2002 and strategic partner in 2012. The longstanding deadlock among the SAARC nations due to Indo-Pak conflict urged the government of India to explore new markets in Asia and Southeast Asia. Consequently, to provide special preference to its business relations with ASEAN countries, government of India restructured the *Look East Policy* as *Act East Policy* in 2015, with the motive to accelerate inclusive engagement between the two growth poles of vibrant Asia (Sermcheep, Srisangnam and Thamanovanish, 2017).

India and ASEAN have celebrated silver jubilee of their relations in 2017 which shows that India's business relations with ASEAN are strengthening during liberalized regime. India's trade with ASEAN was US\$ 5.31 billion in 1995 that was 7.77 percent of its total global trade which increased to US\$93.48 billion and stands at 11.26 percent in 2018. India's exports and imports with ASEAN stood at 8.61 percentage and 7.05 percentage of its global exports and imports in 1995 which increased to 11.21 percent and 11.29 percent respectively in 2018 (UNCOMTRADE). Equilibrium in balance of trade is essential to strengthen the trade relations between the nations and regional groupings. The balance of trade with ASEAN countries was in favour of India during the early years of globalisation as the favourable balance of trade was US\$ 151.44 million in 1995, while during the later years it turned against India and adverse balance of trade reached at US\$ 21.17 billion in 2018. Not only trade but Indo-ASEAN investment relations are also registering an impressive position. FDI inflows into India from ASEAN during April 2000 to March 2018 were approximately US\$ 68.91 billion dollar while FDI outflows from India to ASEAN countries from April 2007 to March 2015 was US\$ 38.672 billion (Ministry of External Affairs, 2018). In order to strengthen the business relations with ASEAN countries free trade agreement in goods was signed in 2009 and free trade agreement in services and investment was signed in 2015 (Bhagal, 2018). To enhance the role of private sector, the ASEAN-India Business Council was setup in 2003 in Kuala-Lumpur

as a forum to bring private sector players on a single platform for enhancing business networking (Ministry of External Affairs, 2018). Road, air and maritime connectivity is a pre-requisite for economic integration. In this direction India has made a considerable progress in implementing the India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral highway with possible extension to Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (Bhagal, 2018). This research paper discusses different dimensions of India's trade ties with ASEAN; trend analysis of exports, imports, trade and terms of trade; projections of trade related information for next ten years; and evaluation of India's exports and imports intensity with ASEAN to identify the intensity of trade relations during study period.

Review of Literature

In the proposed research work, the reviews of all possible academic literature available in the domain of India's trade relations with ASEAN countries has been made which facilitated the development of new insight to explore the various facets of the Indo-ASEAN trade relations. The reviews of various studies have been presented as under: India's trade relations with ASEAN have been strengthened since 1991, as a part of its 'Look East Policy'. India's complementary economic structure with ASEAN involves significant mutual gains. The trade dependence between India and ASEAN countries has increased over the period (Madan, 2004). One of the basic needs of economic cooperation is the existence of complementarities among the partner countries. The South Asian economic cooperation has become a necessity rather than an option (Shobha and Bhattacharya, 1988). ASEAN focused on economic reforms and trade liberalization strategy (Azis, 1996). The provisions of framework agreement like trade in goods, services, investment etc. and their implications as well as prospects and constraints has been analysed. It was observed that ASEAN and India were actively following free trade agreement with their trading partners within and outside the region. It is concluded that transportation and communication links should be there, for boosting up trade and other linkages. Further, it was revealed that trade and investments are the basic building blocks of ASEAN and India ties (Gaur, 2003). The review titled Economic Briefing (2004) believed that the regional cooperation opens up new opportunities for faster and more balanced economic growth for participating economies. A vast potential remained untapped irrespective of growing trade ties between India and ASEAN. Acknowledging the economic potential of closer linkages, both sides have signed the ASEAN-India Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation at the Bali summit in 2003 for deepening trade and investment ties. The article titled "Go with the Gang ASEAN" investigate unexplored trade potential and economic impacts of bilateral trade potential and economic impacts of bilateral free trade agreement

between ASEAN-5 member countries and the seven candidate FTA partners. By using gravity model and the computable general equilibrium (CGE) model it is found that ASEAN-5 would benefit from the FTAs if they fully liberalise trade among themselves (Sudsawasd and Mongswad, 2007). Further, Mohit Anand embarked light on the India-ASEAN relations from rise of regionalism in Southeast Asia to India's focus on ASEAN. The trends in interaction between India and ASEAN were highlighted and elaborated their relation in the context of economic ties. The study found that India-ASEAN partnership holds ample potential for a successful future (Anand, 2009). ASEAN-India FTA has created one of the largest regional blocs in the world. ASEAN was India's fourth largest trading partner. It is concluded that AIFTA with trade in goods would bring modest benefit to India (Yadav, 2010). India's trade prospect with ASEAN countries by analyzing the pattern and trends in India's bilateral merchandise trade with ASEAN countries and their revealed comparative advantage in different products has in order to enlarge international trade benefits. India should pay attention to pave the way for concluding the multilateral trade liberalization under WTO's Doha round trade negotiations (Ohlan, 2012). The study conducted on Indian-ASEAN trade revealed that there is large potential for business between India and ASEAN countries and further, suggested that there is a need to look into the tariff structure between two to exploit their true trade potential among themselves (Sarin and Madan, 2012). One more study analysed the growth and direction of Indo-ASEAN trade and observed that Both the regions were complementary to each other rather than competitive (Choudhary, 2013). The competitiveness and potential of agricultural trade between India and ASEAN members analyzed that ASEAN stood as a major supplier of agricultural commodities to India in Asia and the export promotion measures by India should be taken to increase the trade with ASEAN countries (Renjini, et al., (2017). The future possibilities in Economic relations between India and ASEAN countries analyzed that there have been few challenges in terms of physical, institutional and people to people connectivity which could slow down the economic growth of India and ASEAN (Bhagal, 2018).

Statement of the Problem

The review of literature covered the significant areas of India's business relations with ASEAN countries but still there have been some unexplored areas which needed to be examined. In this research paper an endeavour has been made to study some of the significant dimensions of India's business relations with ASEAN countries. Therefore, the present study is undertaken with the title, "Evaluation of Indo-ASEAN Business Relations: By Using Trade Intensity Approach".

Scope of the Study

The scope of present study is confined to analyse India's Trade Relations with ten ASEAN countries namely Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. The study is confined to the analysis of exports, imports, balance of trade, trend analysis, projection of trade for the year 2028 and to find out intensity of India's trade lie with ASEAN countries.

Objectives of the Study

Objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To analyse India's trade relations with ASEAN countries.
2. To examine India's trend of trade and its projections for the next 10 years.
3. To evaluate India's trade intensity with ASEAN countries.

Hypothesis of the Study

$H_{0(1)}$: There is no significant difference in India's exports to ASEAN countries.

$H_{0(2)}$: There is no significant difference in India's imports from ASEAN countries.

Research Methodology

The methodological framework of the present study is elaborated as under:

Source of Data: The study is purely based on secondary sources of information. In order to accomplish the objectives of the study, the nominal value of trade data for the period 1995-2018 has been obtained from UNCOMTRADE Database. Data for calculating intensity indices has been obtained from International Monetary Fund.

Statistical Technique: After collecting the data from secondary sources, it has been edited and analysed by using SPSS software. The statistical techniques ANOVA and Tukey Test has been used to test the hypotheses. Trade intensity indices have been calculated to examine the level of India's intense relations with ASEAN in terms of exports and imports during the studied period.

Trade Intensity Index (TII): The trade intensity statistic is the ratio of two export shares. The numerator is the share of one country's exports going to a partner and the denominator is the share of the world exports going to a partner. The statistic tells us whether or not a region exports more (as a percentage) to a given destination than the world does on average. It does not suffer from any "size" bias, so we can compare the statistic across regions, and over time when exports are growing rapidly. Trade Intensity Index is further divided in to Export Intensity Index (EII) and Import Intensity Index (III) for looking the pattern of exports and imports. In this study, the trade intensity index developed by K. Kojima (Kojima, 1964) has been used and restated as follows:

Export Intensity Index (EII) of India's trade with ASEAN

$$EII_{IA} = \frac{X_{IA}}{X_I} \div \frac{M_A}{M_W - M_I}$$

Here,

X_{IA} = India's Exports to ASEAN;

X_I = Total Exports of India

M_A = Total Imports of ASEAN;

M_W = Total World Imports

M_I = Total Imports of India

Import Intensity Index (III) of India's trade with ASEAN

$$III_{IA} = \frac{M_{IA}}{M_I} \div \frac{X_A}{X_W - X_I}$$

Here, |

M_{IA} = India's Imports from ASEAN;

M_I = Total Imports of India

X_A = Total Exports of ASEAN;

X_W = Total World Exports

X_I = Total exports of India

The value of Trade Intensity Index ranges from 0 to 1 (0 to 100 when multiplied with 100). If the value is 0, it implies no trade relationship between India and ASEAN. On the other hand, if the value is 1, indicates high trade relations. If import intensity index is more (or less) than 1, it indicates that India is importing more (or less) from ASEAN than might be expected from that ASEAN's share in total world trade. In exports too, if value is 0 it implies export link between India and ASEAN is negligible and if value is nearer to 1 that indicates that performance is significant and if it exceeds 1, it indicates that India is exporting more to ASEAN than might be expected from that ASEAN's share in world trade. In this analysis, if the intensity indices between India and ASEAN are well below 1, it is believed that both have much trade potential to reap between them. Bilateral trade relationships between India and ASEAN, which is described in terms of import and export intensity indices, helps to identify how intensively both are trading with each other (Sundar Raj, 2014).

Analysis and Interpretation

In this section, data has been analysed and interpreted with statistical tools and techniques in order to arrive at the logical inferences. The analysis and interpretation of India's trade relations with ASEAN countries have been presented as under:

8.1 India's Exports to ASEAN Countries: Table-1, presents the information relating to India's Exports to ASEAN countries during 1995-2018. India's compound annual growth rate of exports to world (CAGR) is 10.61 whereas India's compound annual growth rate of exports to ASEAN 11.89 percent, which shows that India's growth of exports is better with ASEAN countries as

compared to world during 1995-2018. The CAGR of exports is maximum for Laos followed by Cambodia, Vietnam, Myanmar, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, and Indonesia. In 1995, Singapore accounted for 32.92 % share in India's total exports to ASEAN followed by Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia with a market share of 24.19%, 17.27% and 14.36% respectively. After 23 years in 2018, exports' share in the ASEAN market have undergone a major change with Singapore, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand accounting for a share of 28.90%, 18.54%, 18.13%, 13.26% and 12.13% in India's total exports to ASEAN.

Table-1: India's Exports to ASEAN Countries

Year	Brunei	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Myanmar	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Viet Nam	ASEAN	World
1995	7.22	2.13	660.40	0.31	391.95	30.08	143.78	898.88	471.47	123.99	2730.22	31698.60
1996	6.03	1.58	591.82	0.37	531.10	45.20	183.62	977.42	447.05	118.07	2902.24	33468.60
1997	2.25	2.94	437.37	0.31	490.06	49.32	238.77	774.70	342.97	126.63	2465.32	34793.80
1998	3.26	5.71	185.42	1.24	321.56	30.10	118.68	517.33	320.87	125.38	1629.55	33207.30
1999	1.30	7.90	324.78	1.40	449.28	34.29	144.36	672.68	452.08	155.30	2243.37	36919.90
2000	3.06	7.89	390.37	3.51	530.95	43.18	174.19	787.05	525.24	195.39	2660.83	42358.10
2001	2.21	10.54	476.78	5.77	788.13	57.66	231.77	926.00	598.29	217.96	3315.11	43878.50
2002	4.65	16.97	769.61	2.02	742.79	73.94	467.31	1380.39	741.18	304.44	4503.30	50097.90
2003	4.86	20.27	1039.62	0.52	793.09	76.61	324.32	1701.91	731.77	378.84	5071.80	59360.70
2004	4.90	16.75	1205.59	0.10	1040.21	112.70	362.92	3416.46	856.83	534.85	7551.30	75904.20
2005	4.40	21.35	1390.07	6.54	1143.77	117.25	482.11	5427.55	1059.27	633.47	10285.77	100352.60
2006	44.46	48.09	1869.81	2.36	1331.36	124.09	596.84	6127.25	1350.98	874.10	12369.34	121200.60
2007	8.81	44.83	1878.20	2.94	1850.25	162.76	571.41	6390.07	1673.34	1241.48	13824.08	145898.10
2008	17.15	53.85	2659.31	4.59	3034.41	237.33	755.03	8853.90	2005.28	1812.61	19433.47	181860.90
2009	25.30	41.56	3002.99	26.92	3524.71	208.18	697.31	6827.54	1710.81	1833.50	17898.83	176765.00
2010	21.24	61.05	4557.08	8.18	3555.31	272.58	801.61	9066.23	2139.58	2475.60	22958.45	220408.50
2011	870.61	89.57	6400.25	13.97	3798.82	455.86	1006.62	15627.48	2767.92	3466.53	34497.61	301483.30
2012	33.40	110.08	6021.92	27.31	3791.20	526.85	1119.25	13552.71	3454.13	3658.16	32295.00	289564.80
2013	40.25	136.77	5557.94	61.31	5496.82	742.87	1469.07	14189.02	4203.81	5987.61	37885.47	336611.40
2014	42.48	154.07	4444.76	63.61	4642.23	868.53	1436.90	9676.62	3438.52	6526.52	31294.24	317544.60
2015	30.39	145.35	2868.88	51.26	4892.06	859.97	1304.35	7805.08	3113.56	5357.21	26428.12	264381.00
2016	37.45	109.28	3131.50	23.93	4188.65	1141.17	1474.26	7354.86	2962.38	5957.68	26381.17	260326.90
2017	48.03	120.31	3762.67	23.59	5546.20	1063.02	1584.55	11559.94	3588.64	8114.68	35411.64	294364.49
2018	66.34	179.29	4792.58	37.56	6553.91	1242.14	1745.81	10450.88	4386.11	6701.63	36156.26	322492.10
CAGR*	10.12	21.25	9.00	23.19	13.03	17.56	11.47	11.26	10.18	18.94	11.89	10.61

*CAGR-Compound Annual Growth Rate, MS Excel Calculation.

Source: Data retrieved from UNCOMTRADE Database on 10 September 2019.

Table-1 (a)
Descriptive Statistical Analysis of India's Exports to ASEAN Countries

Countries	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Skewness	Kurtosis	C.V.
Brunei	24	55.419	174.639	35.648	4.808	23.377	315.127
Cambodia	24	58.672	56.741	11.582	0.767	-0.796	96.709
Indonesia	24	2434.155	1992.057	406.627	0.633	-0.892	81.838
Laos	24	15.401	19.940	4.070	1.412	0.944	129.472
Malaysia	24	2476.201	2016.513	411.619	0.515	-1.188	81.436
Myanmar	24	357.320	401.538	81.964	1.120	-0.202	112.375
Philippines	24	726.452	533.911	108.984	0.566	-1.107	73.496
Singapore	24	6040.081	4850.891	990.184	0.412	-0.999	80.312
Thailand	24	1805.920	1350.922	275.756	0.553	-1.137	74.805
Vietnam	24	2371.735	2637.292	538.335	0.920	-0.647	111.197

Source: SPSS, Descriptive Statistics Output

Table-1(b), highlights the output of the ANOVA analysis and whether there is a statistically significant difference between group means. Before applying the ANOVA, homogeneity assumption required to be satisfied which states that the population variances are equal for each group. Since, data is of equal sample sizes for each group, the ANOVA can be used without satisfying homogeneity assumption (statistics.laerd.com). So, it is evident from the results of the analysis that the computed value of the F-test is 20.499 and its p-value is 0.000, which indicates that the null hypothesis is rejected at 1 percent level of significance. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference in India's exports to ASEAN countries mean during the studied period. But it is not known which of the specific countries trade differed. This could be found out in the multiple comparisons table which contains the results of the Tukey post hoc test.

Table-1(b)
ANOVA Results of India's Exports to ASEAN Countries

Exports	Sum of Square	Df	Mean Square	F	P-value
Between Groups	753213761.700	9	83690417.967	20.499	0.000
Within Groups	939008767.950	230	4082646.817		
Total	1692222529.650	239			

Source: SPSS, ANOVA Output

Table-1(c), describes the post-hoc results of India's Exports to ASEAN countries. It is evident from the study that there is a significant difference in India's Exports to ASEAN countries with respect to Brunei and Indonesia, Brunei and Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore, Brunei and Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia, Cambodia and Malaysia, Cambodia and Singapore, Cambodia and Vietnam, Indonesia and Laos, Indonesia and Myanmar, Indonesia and Singapore, Laos and Malaysia, Laos and Singapore, Laos and Vietnam, Malaysia and Myanmar, Malaysia and Singapore, Myanmar and Singapore, Myanmar and Vietnam, Philippines and Singapore, Singapore and Thailand, Singapore and Vietnam. Exports are insignificant with the rest of the countries.

Table-1(c)
Post-hoc Results of India's Exports to ASEAN Countries

Countries	Brunei	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Myanmar	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Vietnam
Brunei	--	-3.253	-	40.018	-	-301.901	-671.033	-5984.663*	-1750.501	-
			2378.736*		2420.782*					2316.316*
Cambodia	3.253	--	-	43.271	-	-298.648	-667.780	-5981.409*	-1747.248	-
			2375.483*		2417.529*					2313.063*
Indonesia	2378.736*	2375.483*	--	2418.754*	-42.046	2076.835*	1707.703	-3605.926*	628.235	62.420
Laos	-40.018	-43.271	-	--	-	-341.919	-711.051	-6024.680*	-1790.519	-
			2418.754*		2460.800*					2356.334*
Malaysia	2420.782*	2417.529*	42.046	2460.800*	--	2118.881*	1749.749	-3563.881*	670.281	104.466
Myanmar	301.901	298.648	-	341.919	-	--	-369.132	-5682.761*	-1448.600	-
			2076.835*		2118.881*					2014.415*
Philippines	671.033	667.780	-	711.051	-	369.132	--	-5313.630*	-1079.468	-1645.283
			1707.703		1749.749					
Singapore	5984.663*	5981.409*	3605.926*	6024.680*	3563.880*	5682.761*	5313.630*	--	4234.161*	3668.347*
Thailand	1750.501	1747.248	-628.235	1790.519	-670.281	1448.600	1079.468	-4234.161*	--	-565.815
Vietnam	2316.316*	2313.063*	-62.420	2356.334*	-104.466	2014.415*	1645.283	-3668.347*	565.815	--

Source: SPSS, Post-hoc output

8.2 India's Imports from ASEAN Countries: Table-2 presents the information relating to India's imports from ASEAN countries during 1995-2018. It shows that there is compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 14.44 percent in India's imports from ASEAN whereas India's imports from world increased by 12.11 percent compound annual growth rate during 1995-2018. The CAGR of imports is high with Brunei, followed by Cambodia, Vietnam, Myanmar, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei and Indonesia. It is evident from the table that the combined share of 4 countries (Malaysia, Singapore Indonesia and Thailand) in India's total imports from the ASEAN remained high, though it has fallen from 92.28% in 1995 to 83.83 % in 2018. In 1995, Malaysia was the largest source of imports from the ASEAN with a share close to 35% of total imports from the ASEAN, that status has been taken over by Indonesia with a share of 27.99 % in total imports from the ASEAN in 2018.

Table-2: India's Imports from ASEAN Countries

Year	Brunei	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Myanmar	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Viet Nam	ASEAN	World
1995	0.04	0.34	460.09	0.01	896.82	161.99	21.41	853.34	169.30	15.46	2578.79	36592.10
1996	0.03	0.00	596.74	0.00	1102.72	177.11	16.43	840.65	197.08	1.70	2932.45	3912.80
1997	0.02	1.51	730.64	0.01	1177.31	223.71	23.02	1000.64	226.24	8.72	3391.82	41429.40
1998	0.05	2.44	829.84	0.00	1669.81	173.92	37.28	1385.40	273.34	9.15	4321.22	42424.90
1999	0.11	0.25	964.09	0.00	2035.21	172.54	56.55	1542.87	329.55	11.59	5112.75	50010.90
2000	0.18	1.27	985.84	0.00	1311.03	178.50	68.26	1401.56	339.21	13.54	4299.39	52940.30
2001	0.30	1.11	966.89	0.00	1152.34	350.42	77.73	1354.74	424.59	17.38	4345.49	50671.10
2002	0.31	0.68	1263.25	0.07	1330.50	352.86	132.77	1333.69	365.09	28.05	4807.28	57453.50
2003	0.34	0.31	1879.77	0.21	1894.29	360.23	111.91	1867.03	539.24	3.36	6656.68	72430.50
2004	0.46	0.23	2427.66	0.09	2214.49	410.69	180.85	2492.15	750.16	73.21	8549.99	98981.10
2005	0.83	0.42	3018.95	0.07	2436.00	489.16	203.20	3159.42	1196.60	127.38	10632.02	140861.70
2006	225.72	1.48	3610.44	0.38	4655.93	702.70	208.77	5184.56	1550.81	159.83	16300.61	178212.40
2007	234.09	1.24	4840.35	0.08	5725.56	809.07	173.54	6901.61	2192.37	153.13	21031.03	218645.30
2008	325.86	4.27	6431.34	0.52	7461.39	906.27	227.64	8304.75	2664.79	371.60	26698.44	315712.10
2009	489.04	3.74	7599.64	0.19	4990.27	1181.82	342.97	6141.63	2775.88	442.91	23968.10	266401.60
2010	207.13	7.64	9695.33	20.12	5995.90	1122.15	394.45	7263.14	3940.82	993.51	29640.18	350029.40
2011	704.93	8.41	13964.66	70.17	9106.22	1262.04	430.28	8155.30	5055.56	1554.28	40331.86	462402.80
2012	939.26	10.13	14068.29	143.73	10494.09	1346.18	494.19	7797.33	5499.27	1945.49	42737.96	488976.40
2013	766.06	12.79	14984.08	11.13	9330.74	1366.24	408.79	7026.64	5475.44	2826.67	42208.59	466045.60
2014	942.65	16.42	15184.88	59.63	10928.50	1392.76	400.69	7069.42	5680.94	2781.69	44457.58	459369.50
2015	607.78	42.99	13902.02	142.95	9559.92	1016.30	518.19	7396.00	5650.14	2680.09	41516.39	390744.70
2016	461.96	43.21	12189.26	172.41	8653.35	1084.93	475.84	6719.48	5316.38	3105.62	38222.45	356704.80
2017	595.32	47.88	16235.40	249.86	8901.93	738.04	711.11	7235.42	6456.38	4141.95	45313.30	444052.35
2018	433.29	48.08	16045.67	16.39	10402.72	454.86	614.75	14436.51	7646.92	7223.37	57322.55	507615.73
CAGR*	50.38	24.01	16.70	37.96	11.24	4.59	15.72	13.09	18.02	30.64	14.44	12.11

*CAGR-Compound Annual Growth Rate, MS Excel Calculation.

Source: Data retrieved from UNCOMTRADE Database on 10 September 2019.

Table-2(a), presents the descriptive statistical analysis of India's imports from ASEAN from the period 1995 to 2018. Analysis reveals that India's average imports is maximum with Indonesia i.e. US\$ 6786.463 million, with standard deviation of US\$ 6114.578 million followed by Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar, Brunei, Philippines, Laos and Cambodia with the mean imports of US\$ 5140.293 million, US\$ 4869.303 million, US\$ 2696.504 million, US\$ 1195.403 million, US\$ 684.770 million, US\$ 288.990 million, US\$ 264.609 million, US\$ 37.001 million and US\$ 10.702 million respectively along with the standard deviation of US\$ 3727.125 million, US\$ 3515.047 million, US\$ 2506.161 million, US\$ 1808.039 million, US\$ 443.759 million, US\$ 327.650 million, US\$ 207.698 million, US\$ 69.052 million, and US\$ 16.529 million respectively. The positive values of skewness in case of all ASEAN countries indicates that variation is on the lower side of mean. The value of kurtosis is higher than zero in case of Cambodia, Laos, Singapore, and Vietnam, which depicts that distribution is leptokurtic whereas the value of kurtosis was lower than zero in case of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines and Thailand which shows that distribution is platykurtic. The analysis of coefficient of variance revealed that India's imports is most consistent with Myanmar, followed by Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

Table-2(a)
Descriptive Statistical Analysis of India's Imports from ASEAN Countries

Countries	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Skewness	Kurtosis	C.V.
Brunei	24	288.990	327.650	66.881	0.737	-0.781	113.378
Cambodia	24	10.702	16.529	3.374	1.666	1.252	154.452
Indonesia	24	6786.463	6114.578	1248.133	0.437	-1.615	90.100
Laos	24	37.001	69.052	14.095	1.987	3.208	186.623
Malaysia	24	5140.293	3727.125	760.796	0.268	-1.670	72.508
Myanmar	24	684.770	443.759	90.582	0.301	-1.481	64.804
Philippines	24	264.609	207.698	42.396	0.519	-0.859	78.492
Singapore	24	4869.303	3515.047	717.506	0.672	0.442	72.188
Thailand	24	2696.504	2506.161	511.568	0.510	-1.330	92.941
Vietnam	24	1195.403	1808.039	369.064	1.949	4.233	151.249

Source: SPSS, Descriptive Statistics Output

Table 2(b) highlights the ANOVA results of India's imports from ASEAN Countries. It is evident from the results of the analysis that the computed value of the F-test is 20.752 and its p-value is 0.000, which indicates that the null hypothesis is rejected at 1 percent level of significance. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference in India's imports from ASEAN countries.

Table-2(b)
ANOVA Results of India's Imports from ASEAN Countries

Imports	Sum of Square	Df	Mean Square	F	P-value
Between Groups	1373448593.056	9	152605399.228	20.752	0.000
Within Groups	1691359701.435	230	7353737.832		
Total	3064808294.491	239			

Source: SPSS, ANOVA Output

Table-2(c) describes the post-hoc results of India's Imports from ASEAN countries. It is evident from the study that there is a significant difference in India's imports from ASEAN countries with respect to Brunei and Indonesia, Brunei and Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore, Cambodia and Indonesia, Cambodia and Malaysia, Cambodia and Singapore, Cambodia and Thailand, Indonesia and Laos, Indonesia and Myanmar, Indonesia and Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam, Laos and Malaysia, Laos and Singapore, Laos and Thailand, Malaysia and Myanmar, Malaysia and Philippines, Malaysia and Vietnam, Myanmar and Singapore, Philippines and Singapore, Singapore and Vietnam. Imports are insignificant with the rest of the countries.

Table-2(c)
Post-hoc Results of India's imports from ASEAN Countries

Countries	Brunei	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Myanmar	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Vietnam
Brunei	--	278.288	-6497.473*	251.989	-4851.303*	-395.780	24.381	-4580.313*	-2407.514	-906.413
Cambodia	-278.288	--	-6775.762*	-26.299	-5129.592*	-674.069	-253.908	-4858.602*	-2685.803*	-1184.702
Indonesia	6497.473*	6775.762*	--	6749.463*	1646.170	6101.693*	6521.854*	1917.160	4089.959*	5591.060*
Laos	-251.989	26.299	-6749.463*	--	-5103.293*	-647.770	-227.608	-4832.303*	-2659.503*	-1158.403
Malaysia	4851.303*	5129.592*	-1646.170	5103.293*	--	4455.523*	4875.684	270.990	2443.789	3944.890*
Myanmar	395.780	674.069	-6101.693*	647.770	-4455.523*	--	420.161	-4184.533*	-2011.734	-510.633
Philippines	-24.381	253.908	-6521.854*	227.608	-4875.684*	-420.161	--	-4604.694*	-2431.895	-930.794
Singapore	4580.313*	4858.602*	-1917.160	4832.303*	-270.990	4184.533*	4604.694*	--	2172.799	3673.900*
Thailand	2407.514	2685.803*	-4089.959*	2659.503*	-2443.789	2011.734	2431.895	-2172.799	--	1501.101
Vietnam	906.413	1184.702	-5591.060*	1158.403	-3944.890*	510.633	930.794	-3673.900*	-1501.101	--

Source: SPSS, Post-hoc output

8.3 India's Balance of Trade with ASEAN Countries:

Table-3 presents the information relating to India's balance of trade with ASEAN countries during 1995-2018. It shows that there is negative compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 223.96 percent in India's balance of trade with ASEAN whereas India's trade deficit with world increased by 17.11 percent of compound annual growth rate during 1995-2018. The net trade deficit of US\$ 21166.29 million with the ASEAN in 2018 is the outcome of trade deficit of US\$ 11253.09 million with Indonesia, US\$ 3985.62 million with Singapore, US \$ 3848.81 million with Malaysia, US \$ 3260.81 million with Thailand, US\$ 521.73 million with Vietnam, and US\$ 366.95 million with Brunei. India's trade deficit with ASEAN in 2018 would have been higher but for the fact that India ran a trade surplus of US\$ 1131.06 million with Philippines, US\$ 787.29 million with Myanmar, US\$ 131.21 million with Cambodia and US\$ 21.16 million with Laos.

Table-3: India's Balance of Trade with ASEAN Countries
(Value in US\$ Millions)

Year	Brunei	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Myanmar	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Viet Nam	ASEAN	World
1995	7.18	1.79	200.31	0.31	-504.87	-131.90	122.37	45.54	302.17	108.53	151.44	-4893.50
1996	6.00	1.58	-4.92	0.37	-571.62	-131.91	167.19	136.77	249.97	116.37	-30.21	-5644.20
1997	2.23	1.43	-293.27	0.29	-687.25	-174.39	215.75	-225.94	116.73	117.91	-926.51	-6635.60
1998	3.21	3.26	-644.42	1.24	-1288.25	-143.81	81.41	-868.07	47.53	116.23	-2691.67	-9217.60
1999	1.19	7.65	-639.30	1.40	-1585.93	-138.25	87.82	-870.19	122.53	143.71	-2869.37	-13091.00
2000	2.87	6.62	-595.47	3.51	-1780.08	-135.31	105.94	-614.51	186.02	181.85	-1638.56	-10582.20
2001	1.91	9.43	-490.11	5.77	-364.21	-292.76	154.04	-428.74	173.70	200.58	-1030.38	-6792.60
2002	4.33	16.29	-493.64	1.96	-587.72	-278.92	334.53	46.70	376.10	276.39	-303.98	-7355.60
2003	4.52	19.96	-840.15	0.31	-1101.20	-283.62	212.41	-165.12	192.53	375.48	-1584.88	-13069.80
2004	4.44	16.52	-1222.07	0.00	-1174.28	-297.99	182.07	924.30	106.66	461.64	-998.69	-23076.90
2005	3.56	20.93	-1628.88	6.47	-1292.22	-371.92	278.91	2268.14	-137.33	506.09	-346.26	-40509.10
2006	-181.26	46.61	-1740.64	1.99	-3324.56	-578.61	388.07	942.69	-199.82	714.27	-3931.27	-57011.80
2007	-225.28	43.58	-2962.15	2.86	-3875.30	-646.31	397.88	-511.54	-519.03	1088.34	-7206.95	-72747.20
2008	-308.71	49.58	-3772.02	4.07	-4426.98	-668.93	527.39	549.15	-659.51	1441.00	-7264.97	-133851.20
2009	-463.74	37.82	-4596.65	26.73	-1465.56	-973.64	354.35	685.90	-1065.08	1390.59	-6069.26	-89636.60
2010	-185.89	53.41	-5138.25	-11.94	-2440.59	-849.57	407.16	1803.09	-1801.24	1482.08	-6681.73	-129620.90
2011	165.68	81.16	-7564.41	-56.20	-5307.41	-806.19	536.34	7472.18	-2287.64	1912.25	-5834.25	-160919.50
2012	-905.86	99.96	-8046.37	-116.42	-6702.90	-819.33	625.06	5755.38	-2045.14	1712.68	-10442.96	-199411.60
2013	-725.81	123.97	-9426.15	50.17	-3833.92	-623.37	1060.27	7162.39	-1271.63	3160.95	-4323.12	-129434.20
2014	-900.17	137.64	-10740.12	3.98	-6286.27	-524.22	1036.22	2607.20	-2242.42	3744.83	-13163.33	-141824.90
2015	-577.39	102.36	-11033.14	-91.69	-4667.86	-156.33	786.16	409.09	-2536.58	2677.12	-15088.27	-126363.70
2016	-424.51	66.07	-9057.76	-148.48	-4464.70	56.24	998.42	633.38	-2353.99	2852.05	-11841.28	-96377.90
2017	-547.30	72.43	-12472.73	-226.26	-3355.73	324.98	873.44	4324.52	-2867.74	3972.73	-9901.66	-149687.86
2018	-366.95	131.21	-11253.09	21.16	-3848.81	787.29	1131.06	-3985.62	-3260.81	-521.73	-21166.29	-185123.63
CAGR	-218.65	20.53	-219.14	20.15	9.23	-208.08	10.15	-221.46	-210.90	-207.07	-223.96	17.11

Table-3(a), presents the descriptive statistical analysis of India's balance of trade with ASEAN from the period 1995 to 2018. Analysis reveals that India's average positive balance of trade is maximum with Vietnam i.e. US\$ 1176.331 million, with standard deviation of US\$ 1276.645 million followed by Singapore and Philippines with the mean balance of trade of US\$ 1170.779 million, US\$ 461.844 million and US\$ 44.414 million respectively along with the standard deviation of US\$ 2659.367 million, US\$ 343.963 million and US\$ 44.414 million respectively. Whereas, India's negative balance of trade is maximum with Indonesia i.e. US\$ 4352.308 million, with standard deviation of US\$ 4362.504 million followed by Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, Brunei and Laos with the mean balance of trade of US\$ 2664.093 million, US\$ 890.584 million, US\$ 327.449 million, US\$ 233.573 million, and US\$ 21.600 million respectively along with standard deviation of US\$ 1968.478 million, US\$ 1205.778 million, US\$ 397.188 million, US\$ 312.929 million, and US\$ 62.943 million respectively. The positive values of skewness in case of all ASEAN countries except Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia and Thailand, indicates that variation is on the lower side of mean. The value of kurtosis is higher than zero in case of Laos, Myanmar and Singapore which depicts that distribution is leptokurtic whereas the value of kurtosis is lower than zero in case of Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam which shows that distribution is platykurtic.

Table-3(a)
Descriptive Statistical Analysis of India's
Balance of Trade with ASEAN Countries

Countries	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Skewness	Kurtosis	C.V.
Brunei	24	-233.573	312.929	63.876	-0.932	-0.203	-133.975
Cambodia	24	47.969	44.414	9.066	0.762	-0.641	92.588
Indonesia	24	-4352.308	4362.504	890.492	-0.636	-1.229	-100.234
Laos	24	-21.600	62.943	12.848	-2.108	4.337	-291.405
Malaysia	24	-2664.093	1968.478	401.814	-0.540	-0.929	-73.889
Myanmar	24	-327.449	397.188	81.076	0.757	1.447	-121.298
Philippines	24	461.844	343.963	70.211	0.767	-0.762	74.476
Singapore	24	1170.779	2659.367	542.841	1.056	1.295	227.145
Thailand	24	-890.584	1205.778	246.128	-0.610	-1.215	-135.392
Vietnam	24	1176.331	1276.645	260.594	0.926	-0.214	108.528

Source: SPSS, Descriptive Statistics Output

8.4 Trend Analysis of Indo-ASEAN Trade

Figure-1 exhibits trend lines and lines of best fit for India's exports, imports and total trade with ASEAN during 1995-2018. It is evident from the figure that trends of exports and trade are showing the same kind of fluctuations during the studied period, whereas trend of imports is showing a different kind of fluctuations 2011 onwards. Overall, the trend lines show the increasing tendency during the studied period. The line of best fit explains the potential relationship between dependent variables – export, import and trade, and independent

variable – time (Gupta and Chaturvedi, 2017). The R^2 values in respect to export, import and trade are 0.872, 0.91 and 0.9021 respectively which demonstrates that 87.2 percent, 91 percent and 90.21 percent variation in India's exports, imports, and trade with ASEAN can be explained by independent variable during the reference period.



Source: Author's Calculations, computed from the data extracted from UN COMTRADE Statistics and International Trade Centre(ITC).

Table-4: India's Projected Trade and Terms of Trade with ASEAN
(Values in US\$ Millions)

Years	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	TOT
2019	38166.80	52186.30	90353.00	0.7314
2020	39912.80	54603.30	94516.00	0.7310
2021	41658.80	57020.30	98679.00	0.7306
2022	43404.80	59437.30	102842.00	0.7303
2023	45150.80	61854.30	107005.00	0.7300
2024	46896.80	64271.30	111168.00	0.7297
2025	48642.80	66688.30	115331.00	0.7294
2026	50388.80	69105.30	119494.00	0.7292
2027	52134.80	71522.30	123657.00	0.7289
2028	53880.80	73939.30	127820.00	0.7287

Source: Authors Calculation, Based on Least Square Method. TOT – Terms of Trade

9. Analysis of India's Trade Intensity with ASEAN Countries: Trade intensity explain the intensity of trade relations between the trading countries/region. India's trade intensity index in terms of exports and imports with ASEAN countries have been calculated for the time period 1995 to 2018. The analysis and interpretation of India's trade intensity with ASEAN has elaborated as under:

9.1 Analysis of India's Export Intensity Index with ASEAN: Table-5, explains India's export intensity indices with ASEAN countries from 1995 to

2018. It is evident from the study that during the reference period, India's export intensity is above one ($EII > 1$) for Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore and Vietnam which implies that India's exports to these countries are higher than would be expected given these countries share in world. While in case of Brunei, Cambodia, and Laos value of indices maintained less than unity for most of the time period. The export intensity is showing fluctuating trend over the years for Philippines and Thailand. For the year 2018, India got high trade intensity in terms of exports with all ASEAN countries except Brunei, Cambodia, Laos and Philippines.

Table-5: Analysis of India's Export Intensity Index with ASEAN

Year	Brunei	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Myanmar	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Vietnam
1995	0.28	0.53	2.06	0.09	0.76	1.51	0.72	1.08	1.00	1.94
1996	0.30	0.66	2.19	0.10	0.96	2.83	0.90	1.19	0.96	1.86
1997	0.16	0.46	1.83	0.13	1.01	2.71	0.92	1.00	0.93	1.68
1998	0.21	0.44	1.48	0.25	1.01	2.41	0.82	0.93	1.22	1.81
1999	0.22	0.23	1.95	0.27	1.02	2.10	0.72	0.92	1.33	2.01
2000	0.53	0.31	1.78	1.18	1.07	2.35	0.84	0.95	1.27	2.05
2001	0.29	0.22	2.22	0.87	1.56	2.97	1.02	1.15	1.41	1.96
2002	0.35	0.33	3.15	0.38	1.24	3.30	1.54	1.47	1.40	2.04
2003	0.43	0.35	4.07	0.12	1.30	3.96	1.21	1.80	1.33	1.95
2004	0.69	0.29	3.35	0.26	1.16	4.70	1.06	2.43	1.12	1.93
2005	3.39	1.42	2.55	0.43	1.08	4.34	1.08	2.73	0.94	1.92
2006	1.02	0.57	3.08	0.20	0.98	4.59	1.10	2.49	1.04	2.04
2007	0.43	0.25	2.62	0.16	1.40	4.16	1.00	2.44	1.11	2.11
2008	0.59	0.34	1.84	0.13	1.66	4.16	1.07	2.37	1.00	2.06
2009	0.76	0.47	2.26	0.57	2.11	4.27	1.15	2.06	0.89	1.86
2010	0.57	0.29	2.28	0.16	1.46	4.37	0.90	1.98	0.78	2.02
2011	14.51	8.48	2.25	0.19	1.21	3.13	0.89	2.56	0.82	1.89
2012	0.57	0.28	1.92	0.27	1.17	4.08	1.00	2.35	0.84	2.00
2013	0.60	0.23	1.62	0.38	1.43	3.24	1.17	2.10	0.91	2.39
2014	0.69	0.24	1.45	0.48	1.28	3.09	1.17	1.53	0.89	2.65
2015	0.57	0.17	1.26	0.43	1.71	3.09	1.09	1.58	0.95	1.85
2016	0.85	0.18	1.40	0.23	1.50	4.44	0.98	1.62	0.92	1.94
2017	0.91	0.17	1.40	0.20	1.66	3.21	1.00	2.09	0.94	2.10
2018	0.95	0.20	1.47	0.30	2.00	3.74	0.95	1.66	1.03	1.71

Note: Authors' calculations, computed from the data extracted from IMF on 7 September 2019.

Table-5(a), presents the descriptive statistical analysis of India's export intensity index with ASEAN countries from 1995 to 2018. Analysis reveals that India's mean export intensity index is maximum with Myanmar i.e. 3.448, with standard deviation 0.870 followed by Indonesia, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, and Laos with the mean value of 3.448, 2.145, 1.990, 1.770, 1.323, 1.245, 1.043, 1.013, 0.713, and 0.324 respectively along with standard deviation 0.706, 0.200, 0.593, 0.338, 2.895, 0.188, 0.175, 1.674 and 0.255 respectively, while the positive values of skewness in case of all ASEAN countries except Myanmar and Singapore indicates that variation is on the lower side of mean. The value of kurtosis is higher than zero in case of Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines and Vietnam, which depicts that distribution is leptokurtic whereas the value of kurtosis was lower than zero in case of Myanmar, Singapore and Thailand, which shows that distribution is platykurtic. The analysis of coefficient of variance reveals that India's export intensity index is most consistent with Vietnam followed by Philippines, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Laos, Brunei and Cambodia.

Table-5(a): Descriptive Statistical Analysis of Export Intensity Index

Countries	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Skewness	Kurtosis	C.V.
Brunei	24	1.245	2.895	0.591	4.565	21.497	232.574
Cambodia	24	0.713	1.674	0.342	4.720	22.711	234.878
Indonesia	24	2.145	0.706	0.144	1.102	1.048	32.898
Laos	24	0.324	0.255	0.052	2.140	5.165	78.610
Malaysia	24	1.323	0.338	0.069	0.692	0.096	25.557
Myanmar	24	3.448	0.870	0.178	-0.392	-0.657	25.247
Philippines	24	1.013	0.175	0.036	0.877	2.520	17.253
Singapore	24	1.770	0.593	0.121	-0.040	-1.384	33.515
Thailand	24	1.043	0.188	0.038	0.758	-0.599	18.031
Vietnam	24	1.990	0.200	0.041	1.696	4.722	10.066

Source: SPSS, Descriptive Statistics Output

9.2 Analysis of India's Import Intensity Index with ASEAN: Table-6, present the analysis of India's import intensity index with ASEAN countries. The import intensity of India with Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Vietnam were 0.00, 1.23, 0.00, 1.53, 0.12, 0.36, 1.19 and 0.40 respectively in 1995 which increased to 2.47, 3.33, 0.11, 1.58, 0.34, 1.30, 1.15 and 1.13 respectively in 2018, while in case of Cambodia, and Myanmar import intensity indices were 11.82 and 19.58 in 1991 which declined to 0.15 and 1.00 respectively in 2018. The study indicates that India's import intensity is above one for Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar and Singapore during the reference period. However, it maintained fairly high with Myanmar till the year 2016 due to its geographical proximity and low imports from the rest of the world due to political reasons (Chandran, 2010). India's import intensity was negligible with Brunei till the year 2005, afterwards it improved significantly mainly due to rise in petroleum import by Indian petrochemical companies, as the main import of

India from Brunei in the recent years is crude oil (**Ministry of External Affairs, 2013**). India's import intensity was low with Thailand for many years but improved strongly after signing the bilateral trade agreement (**Chandran, 2010**). For the year 2018, except Cambodia, Laos and Philippines, India has got high import Intensity with ASEAN countries.

Table-6: Analysis of India's Import Intensity Index with ASEAN Countries

Year	Brunei	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Myanmar	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Vietnam
1995	0.00	11.82	1.23	0.00	1.53	19.58	0.12	1.19	0.36	0.40
1996	0.00	0.18	1.69	0.00	1.74	18.30	0.15	1.14	0.45	0.02
1997	0.00	0.24	1.75	0.00	1.98	25.19	0.13	1.25	0.52	0.10
1998	0.00	0.30	2.09	0.00	2.60	20.82	0.15	1.55	0.60	0.12
1999	0.00	0.08	2.24	0.00	2.67	14.52	0.17	1.53	0.63	0.11
2000	0.01	0.09	1.88	0.00	1.79	6.93	0.20	1.36	0.62	0.11
2001	0.01	0.09	2.06	0.00	1.56	10.22	0.29	1.34	0.76	0.14
2002	0.01	0.04	2.48	0.04	1.62	8.79	0.36	1.22	0.62	0.17
2003	0.01	0.02	3.22	0.04	1.84	9.90	0.34	1.22	0.70	0.18
2004	0.01	0.01	3.07	0.02	1.56	8.52	0.38	1.12	0.73	0.24
2005	0.01	0.02	2.51	0.01	1.25	7.23	0.40	1.02	0.75	0.27
2006	1.88	0.03	2.59	0.02	1.92	8.28	0.26	1.22	0.83	0.27
2007	1.83	0.04	2.39	0.01	1.93	7.40	0.23	1.46	0.82	0.21
2008	1.50	0.05	2.32	0.02	1.88	5.78	0.26	1.28	0.78	0.31
2009	3.22	0.04	3.21	0.01	1.49	7.70	0.38	1.06	0.84	0.35
2010	0.99	0.06	2.62	0.45	1.29	6.23	0.33	0.88	0.87	0.60
2011	2.21	0.05	2.64	0.91	1.53	5.90	0.36	0.77	0.88	0.63
2012	2.14	0.05	2.75	1.70	1.64	5.43	0.35	0.68	0.88	0.66
2013	2.52	0.05	3.28	1.23	1.56	4.70	0.30	0.67	0.95	0.87
2014	3.56	0.10	3.47	0.55	1.88	4.92	0.26	0.69	1.01	0.77
2015	3.93	0.20	3.79	1.54	1.96	3.68	0.36	0.87	1.10	0.69
2016	4.10	0.19	3.93	1.79	2.00	4.01	0.37	0.89	1.09	0.77
2017	4.12	0.17	3.74	2.00	1.59	2.07	0.44	0.77	1.07	0.76
2018	2.47	0.15	3.33	0.11	1.58	1.00	0.34	1.30	1.15	1.13

Note: Authors' calculations, computed from the data extracted from IMF on 7 September 2019.

Table-6(a), presents the descriptive statistical analysis of India's import intensity index with ASEAN from the period 1995 to 2018. Analysis reveals that India's import intensity index is maximum with Myanmar i.e. 9.0458, with standard deviation 6.20727 followed by Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Philippines with the mean value 2.6783, 1.7663, 1.1033, 00.7921, 0.5862, 0.4354, 0.4117 and 0.2888 respectively along with

standard deviation 0.71820, 0.33910, 0.27113, 0.20881, 2.39405, 0.68456, 0.30606 and 0.09433 respectively. The positive value of skewness in case of all ASEAN countries except Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand indicates that variation is on the lower side of mean. The value of kurtosis is higher than zero in case of Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia and Myanmar which depicts that distribution is leptokurtic whereas the value of kurtosis was lower than zero in case of Brunei, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam which shows that distribution is platykurtic. The analysis of coefficient of variance revealed that India's import intensity index is most consistent with Malaysia followed by Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Vietnam, Brunei, Laos, and Cambodia respectively

Table-6(a): Descriptive Statistical Analysis of Import Intensity Index

Countries	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Skewness	Kurtosis	C.V.
Brunei	24	1.439	1.541	0.315	0.513	-1.229	107.106
Cambodia	24	0.586	2.394	0.489	4.890	23.942	408.402
Indonesia	24	2.678	0.716	0.147	-0.004	-0.681	26.816
Laos	24	0.435	0.685	0.140	1.349	0.256	157.226
Malaysia	24	1.766	0.339	0.069	1.244	2.122	19.198
Myanmar	24	9.046	6.207	1.267	1.292	1.010	68.620
Philippines	24	0.289	0.094	0.019	-0.466	-0.990	32.663
Singapore	24	1.103	0.271	0.055	-0.172	-1.042	24.574
Thailand	24	0.792	0.209	0.043	-0.126	-0.458	26.362
Vietnam	24	0.412	0.306	0.062	0.692	-0.582	74.341

Source: SPSS, Descriptive Statistics Output

10. Findings and Conclusion: The present study provides an exhaustive and critical analysis of Indo-ASEAN business relationship in the backdrop of exports, imports, balance of trade and trade intensity from 1995 to 2018. India's trade with ASEAN countries is witnessing an impressive position as the analysis indicates that the compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of India's exports and imports is better with ASEAN countries as compared to its global exports and imports. India's imports are more compared to its exports with ASEAN which depicts that India's balance of trade remained in favour of ASEAN throughout the period. India's total trade deficit was US\$ 21166.29 million in 2018 with ASEAN. It is founded from the descriptive statistical analysis of balance of trade that India's mean trade deficit was highest with Indonesia that is US\$ 4352.308 million followed by Malaysia-US \$ 2664.093 million, Thailand-US \$ 890.584 million, Myanmar US\$ 327.449 million, Brunei-US\$ 233.573 million and Laos US\$ 21.600 million. Whereas India's mean trade surplus with Vietnam, Singapore, Philippines and Cambodia was US\$ 1176.331 million, US\$ 1170.779 million, US\$ 461.844 million and US\$ 47.969.16 million respectively.

The null hypothesis $H_{0(1)}$ is rejected which states that there is significant difference in India's exports to ASEAN countries. India's exports are maximum to Singapore followed by Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Philippines, Myanmar, Cambodia, Brunei and Laos. The rejection of null hypothesis $H_{0(2)}$ indicates that there is significant difference in India's imports from ASEAN countries. India's imports are maximum from Indonesia followed by Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar, Brunei, Philippines, Laos and Cambodia.

India's intensity of trade relations with ASEAN countries has been measured through the trade intensity approach in the framework of export and import intensity index. The mean export intensity index is highest in case of Myanmar (3.448) which is more than one ($EII > 1$) followed by Indonesia, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand and Philippines which indicates that India's export relations are very strong with these ASEAN countries. On contrary, export intensity index is less than one ($EII < 1$) in case Cambodia (0.713) and Laos (0.324), which shows that India's export relations with these countries are very weak. The analysis of coefficient of variance explains that India's export relations are more consistent with Vietnam followed by Philippines, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Laos, Brunei and Cambodia.

The analysis of India's import intensity index reports that mean import intensity index is highest for Myanmar (9.046) which is more than one ($III > 1$) followed by Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore which exhibits that India's import relations are very strong with these ASEAN countries while import intensity index is less than one ($EII < 1$) for Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Philippines which reports that India's import relations with these countries are of low level. The analysis of coefficient of variance highlights that India's import relations are more consistent with Malaysia followed by Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Vietnam, Brunei, Laos and Cambodia.

11. Limitations of the Study and Scope for Future Research: The political, intellectual and economic elites of both India and ASEAN should work collectively to strengthen the socio-economic-political relations through meaningful interactions. However, there are number of areas, where mutual cooperation exists but it requires capacity and willingness to explore the emerging economic opportunities in order to strengthen the trade relations. The study relating to Indo-ASEAN business relations has wide scope. The study has some limitations such as it is based on secondary data, confined to period from 1995 to 2018, analysed only India's import, export and balance of trade with ASEAN countries and applied only trade intensity approach to measure the strength of import and export relations. The prospective area of research on this topic may include India's business relations with ASEAN countries with gravity

model approach, revealed comparative advantages index, trade potential index, trade complementarities index, Impact of global financial slowdown on Indo-ASEAN business relations and so on. However, these areas of research require exhaustive analysis with wider coverage of variables, expert's opinion and statistical analysis supported by theories and models.

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Job Stress among Police Personnel in Himachal Pradesh (India)

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Abstract

POLICE WORK is one of the top rated professions for job stress. The work of police is to protect life and property. Due to the complexity of their job design and ambience of working environment, it is anticipated that officers sometimes face high level of stress mainly linked with the security, social factors, working environment and inactivity/inadequacy. The broad objective of the study was to evaluate to what extent all four ranks of police personnel differ in terms of Job Stress. Mean standard deviation and one way analysis of variance was carried out on all the self-report measures to see the extent of difference between the total sample of 280 police personnel from the four ranks included in the study. It was found that police personnel at the position of constables reported significantly higher job stress scores than those at the rank of head constables and assistant sub-inspectors. Head constables report significantly higher job stress than their assistant sub-inspector counterparts and inspectors report significantly higher job stress scores than their assistant sub-inspector counterparts. Thus, the job stress scores of constables were highest followed by inspectors, head constables and assistant sub-inspectors, head constables and assistant sub-inspectors. So, the constables and inspectors are quite close to each other on the job stress scores.

Keywords: Police personnel, Job stress

Introduction

Job stress is a universal phenomenon which is part of mankind's working environment. It is widely viewed as an outcome of mismatch between the individual and his/her physical or social environment (Beehr and Newman, 1978; Harrison, 1978). However, Selye was probably the first to use the term stress in psycho-physiological context. Selye (1974) defined stress as a “non-specific response of the body to any demand made upon it”. It was reported that for every activity (task), there is an optimal level of stress that is required to perform that activity; both before and beyond this point, the level of stress is either too little or too great. This is most often illustrated using Yerkes and

Dodson's (1908) inverted "U" curve. When the level of stress exceeds the optimal level, it has the potential to be harmful and damaging to the individual. According to Thoits (1996), stress is experienced when people are faced with undesirable life demands that disrupt their ability to engage in everyday activities. Stress is presumed to arise when this appraisal produces the judgment that demands are about to tax or exceed the individual's resources for dealing with them, thus threatening well-being (Holroyd and Lazarus, 1992). According to Pestonjee (1987), stress occurs in a person when he/she is faced with demands that tax his/her adaptive resources.

The modern day, life style has created severe stress which is increasing every day. The police personnel are one of the most stressed groups of people in the society. In fact, stress has led to many problems in both personal and professional life. In today's fast-paced world, police personnel are experiencing more stress at every stage of their life than ever before. Law enforcement tends to impose a higher degree of stress and a multiplicity of stress situation on the police personnel than other professions (Violanti and Marshall, 1983; Colwell, 1988; Raiser, 1974; Kroes, Margolis & Hurrell, 1974, 1976; Selye, 1978; Somodevilla, 1978; Reilly and DiAngelo, 1990; Horn, 1991; Violanti, 1992; Brown & Campbell, 1994). Although the presence of stress among policemen is always felt, it is not recognized as the major enemy (Mathur, 1994). Stress appears to be the inevitable price of a career in police force (Barry, 1978; Colwell, 1988), in which high incidences of stress related illness, mortality, divorce and suicide, as compared with other occupations, have been observed (Capland, 1984; Mayers, 1982). Social change, economic conditions, police organizations, total criminal justice system, the demands made on policeman's time with their families all contribute towards high stress level (Grencik, 1975). In particular, insufficient time for the family has been the top ranking stressor (Kumar, 1995; Kroes *et al.*, 1974), while work overload has been observed as the second highest ranking job related stressor (Mathur 1993). Meanwhile, the highest job related stress to structure and climate, co-worker relationship and their managerial role has been observed among police personnel, whereby boredom and monotonous duties have been reported to be the stressful aspects for police officers (Alexander, 1991; Brown *et al.*, 1996).

Over the years, many researchers, administrators, and clinicians have issued ominous statements concerning stress in policing, for example, one psychologist has asserted, "it is an accepted fact that a police officer is under stress and pressure unequalled by any other profession" (Somodevilla, 1978.). Several factors like 24 hours availability, administration problem make this job as the most stressful job. A number of studies were carried out in different parts of the

world for understanding nature of stress among police personnel. The reasons for stress are negative working environment plenty, long working hours, lack of time for family, irregular eating habits, need to take tough decisions, sleepless nights, poor living conditions, torture by seniors, disturbed personal life and the dwindling public confidence in the police force (Water and Ussery, 2007; Malach-Pines and Keinan, 2007, McCarty, Zhao and Garland, 2007). On the other hand Gibbons and Gibbons (2007), He *et al.* (2002 and Malach-Pines and Keinan (2007) argue that job stress involving police officers indicates that police officers are exposed to various stressful situations which impact negatively on the health and performance of the individual officer. In addition to above, stress may occur due to organizational factors like management style, poor communication, lack of support, inadequate resources and work overload (Kop, Euwema and Schaufeli, 1999).

In India, several studies have been conducted by researchers on stress among the police personnel. Dangwal and Gangopadhyaya (1982) studied on a sample including three states and subordinate police personnel only. They suggested a more representative sample including more states and inclusion of all the level of police hierarchy. Bhaskar (1982) suggested exploring the relationship between behavioural, psychological, health effects and experience of job stress among the police. Pillai's (1987) study suggested exploring the need for periodical diagnosis of stress and related symptoms to reinforce improved functioning of system and enhancing the health and job satisfaction among the police personnel. Ramchandaran (1989) suggested the need for a more intensive study which would depict insights into behavioral patterns at other level of hierarchy. Suresh (1992) found the need of research for extending the findings of the study to police officers in divergent regional and culture context. Tripathi, Naidu, Thapa, and Biswas (1993) gave a scope for a larger and more representative sample in future studies in police. His study was based on four districts of UP state. Channabasavanna, Chandra, Gururaj, Chaturvedi and Subbakrishna (1996), highlighted the stressors of police personnel as too much responsibility, lack of time, less time for family, behaviour of senior officers, less salary and perks, less leave facilities and lack of facilities for family and the police personnel himself as well as to his family members. Mathur (1999) suggested that longitudinal studies would be very better to identify the impact of police work on individual's behaviour. He also suggested that the family members of police personnel can also be included in future studies. Dhaliwal (2003) pointed out that most of the policemen remained over burdened worked and have to stay away from their families and kids for long period which often lead to family problems and disputes. Inability to handle domestic tension and job related stress may result in rude behaviour on duty. It has also been observed that officers treat

their subordinates in a shabby and insulting manner. There are officers who habitually abuse their subordinates. Rarely the subordinates are offered chairs by senior in their offices. Need for holding extensive programmes have been demanded by the senior police officers in order to put police personnel in the normal mode of functioning. The review of the literature indicates that the Indian studies on various dimensions of stress among police personnel are too few. Therefore, a large research gap exists. More particularly in Himachal Pradesh, no information is available even on the level and content of stress among the police personnel. In the view of this, a paucity of such endeavors in Himachal Pradesh has provided the research base for present effort and a modest attempt in this direction with the following objective.

Objective

The broad objective of the study was to explore to what extent all the four ranks of police personnel differ in terms of job stress.

Methodology

Data were collected from 280 police personnel, i.e. Constables, Head Constables, Assistant Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors in Himachal Pradesh. Multistage random sampling method was used to select police personnel at all level. A structured questionnaire with relevant questions related to stress was administered to selected police personnel. Mean standard deviation and one way analysis of variance was carried out on all self-report measures to see the extent of difference between the total sample (280) police personnel from the four ranks were included in the present study. Turkey Multiple Comparison Test was carried out for the post hoc comparisons between the means of all four ranks of police personnel after one way analysis of variance.

Experimental Design

To meet the objective, one way analysis of variance was carried out to see if any between group differences existed among the police personnel of different ranks with regard to all the dependent variables of the study.

Tool

Police Stress Questionnaire: The scale was developed by Ranta (2004) for the purpose of the present study. A pilot study was conducted to identify the type of stressful events that police personnel experience on their job. A sample of 280 police personnel from different categories were asked to list the most stressful events they had experienced during the work. The questionnaire originally included 90 items, which was rated by 10 senior police officers. Finally, a 45 items questionnaire was developed to assess job related stressor for police personnel.

Results

Inter Rank Comparison in Police Personnel on Job Stress:

Vide Table 1.1, it can be seen that through one way ANOVA, significant between group differences, emerged among the police personnel of different ranks in terms of job stress ($p < .001$).

It is evident from Table 1.2 that the constables appeared to report significantly higher ($p < .01$) job stress scores (mean = 95.24) than their head constables (mean = 89.04) and assistant sub-inspectors (mean = 80.90) counterparts. Whereas, the job stress scores of head constables are significantly higher ($p < .01$) than their assistant sub-inspector counterparts. Further, while inspectors did not appear to differ significantly in terms of their job stress from constables as well as head constables, their job stress scores (mean = 92.67) were lower than constables but were higher than head constables. However, the job stress scores of this group were significantly higher than their assistant sub-inspector counterparts ($p < .01$). However, here it may be mentioned that job stress scores of all police personnel are towards the higher side only (Highest score being 135), while the job stress scores of inspectors are quite close to those of constables

Table – 1.1

Showing comparison of F Value of one way analysis of variance on job stress scores of all dependent variables for all the police personnel of four different ranks

Variables		Sum of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Square	F	Sig
JOB STRESS	Between Group	6332.113	3	2110.704	10.097	.000
	Within Group	57698.46	276	209.052		
	Group	64030.57	279			
	Total					

Table – 1.2

Multiple comparisons of all the mean on job stress scores of all the dependent variables for I Constables, II Head Constables, III Assistant Sub Inspectors and IV Inspectors.

Variable	Rank	Sample Size	Mean of Variable	SD	I	II	III
JOB STRESS	I	100	95.24	14.31			
	II	100	89.04	14.45	.013**		
	III	40	80.90	13.45	.000**	.014**	
	IV	40	92.67	15.74	.779	.535	.002**

*= .05 level of significance on Tukey's Multiple Comparison Test.

**= .01 level of significance on Tukey's Multiple Comparison Test.

With regard to job stress scores perusal of Table 1.2 shows that police personnel at the ranks of constables reported significantly high job stress scores than those at the rank of head constables and assistant sub inspectors. Head constables report significantly higher job stress than their assistant sub-inspector counterparts and inspectors report significantly higher job stress scores than their assistant sub-inspector counterparts. Thus, job stress scores of constables were highest followed by inspectors, head constables and assistant sub-inspectors, head constables and assistant sub-inspectors, while constables and inspectors are quite close to each other on the job stress scores. These significant differences among the different ranks of police personnel support the conclusion of many studies reported earlier that psychological, emotional or physical stress experienced by police officers may vary by career stage and by ability to handle stress (Bhaskar, 1986; Dangwal and Gangopadhyaya, 1982; Gudjonsoon and Adlam 1985; Mathur, 1999; Suresh, 1992; Yadav, 1994). All these studies highlight the stress experienced by subordinate officers. Cooper *et al.* (1982) reinforced the view that the senior officers too are a stressed lot (Siwach 2001). The source and level of stress differ from the subordinate rank (Gudjonsson, 1983). There are many studies which have also highlighted that Deputy Superintendent of police and Gazetted Officers were least stressed group. However, in the present study police personnel of higher rank were not included. Therefore, no assumption can be made with regard to the level of stress experienced by the high rank officers. This suggests the need for further research, comparing the job stress levels of senior and junior police officers.

Conclusion

However, one thing that is clearly reflected in present study is that police personnel of all four ranks experience a high level of job stress. This clearly highlights that job stress is a phenomenon which is distinctly a part of work environment and even the police personnel's work environment cannot escape from these realities.

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Relationship of Selected Upper and Lower Extremities : Circumference Measurements with Hockey Playing Ability

Sunil Sen
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Abstract

THE AIM of the study was to find out the relationship of selected upper and lower extremities circumference measurements with playing ability of hockey players. The researcher undertook null hypothesis to investigate the relationship of selected upper and lower extremities circumference measurements with hockey playing ability variables. Selective sampling device was used to select the subjects. 128 male subjects were selected for the present study, who played quarterfinals in the Himachal Pradesh University's Inter-College Hockey (Men) Championship, from various colleges. Anthropometric variables were measured with standardized steel tape and playing ability of hockey players were measured by Munjal's Hockey Skill Test having variables shooting, rolling, push, shuttle rolling, hit, sprint, scoop, pass and flick. For the purpose of analysis coefficient of correlation was found between selective anthropometric variables and hockey playing ability variables. Level of significance was established at 0.05 level of confidence and results showed that most of the selected circumference measurements of upper and lower extremities have no significant relation with most of hockey playing abilities.

Keywords: Anthropometry, Circumference Measurements, Upper and Lower Extremities, Hockey Playing Ability.

Introduction

The oldest form of measurement, known as anthropometry, is the measurement of human body parts. Anthropometry was of interest of ancient India and later in Egypt where study was undertaken to find one part or component of the body that could be used as a common measure for all body parts. Egyptians, for example, believed that the length of the middle finger could be used as a common measure; the knee should be 8 finger lengths. The early Greeks also practiced anthropometry in their studies of body proportions (Kansal, D.K., 1996).

Anthropology is the scientific study of mankind. Man, the most intelligent species of the animal kingdom, has used his intelligence and skill in making his life creative, comfortable and institutionalized. Sports as an institutions has been a source of play, work, celebration, exercise and fitness to encompassing larger goals in representing the state or nation in National and International games, bringing pride to the nation besides, oneself and family. Anthropologists in their endeavour in studying the physical structure, size and shape to the understanding of physiological functioning in the physical and socio-cultural environment of mankind have ventured to find the effect it has on the overall performance of a sportsman.

Anthropometry has begun an important tool in the hands of physical educationist and sports scientists to study the size, shape and body composition of sportsperson in relation to their performance. Anthropometry, at the basic level involves the identification of a sportsperson. Various anthropometric measurements and indices, and their bearings on motor skill performance have been extensively studied. Thus, sports anthropometry has developed as a special branch, not only as a parameter of selective diagnostic procedure but also as a performance prediction tool. However, mere identification is not enough. There is need to find out the special area of sports (specialization), wherein that person would fit best so that specialized training may be important in that direction. This is possible if an advanced study is made of the size, shape proportion, body composition (fat, muscle, bone mass etc.) of the concerned person.

Man's interest in the body structure of his own species can be traced back to ancient civilization. History reveals how in ancient Greece, a new born was produced before a council of elders who decided whether a child may be allowed to be brought up, after examining the physical features and prospects of physical development, how Greek sculptors, painters and poets visited the pales trace and athletic contest areas to observe the beauty of human form in action and response, in order to expresses their impressions in their artifacts (Van Dalam et. al. 1971).

There are a variety of factors which influence the successful hockey performance of an individual. The key factors can be determined by an analysis of the tasks involved in hockey. The analysis must show exactly what occurs in the performance of the game and the demands made upon the player (Woodman, 1985).

Hockey is a game played over periods of short burst of activity and rest. Thus it is an 'interval' type of game. The player could be field for 70 minutes. Further, the length of a match is unknown and the player could face extra time if the result is not decided. Although the field is big with artificial turf the ball then hit, dribble,

push, scoop and execute other skills with power and great control.

It is certain that mere skill alone never assures victory. Higher level of performance in Hockey depends upon the body constitution, motor fitness, techniques tactics and psychological factors. All are inter related and inter-linked for the higher performance. As per the performance stature in Hockey, the players should have constitutional factors, physical abilities, technical, individual tactics, collective tactics, moral and will power qualities. The performance of Hockey players is influenced by motor abilities, such as strength, agility, speed, endurance, flexibility, explosive power and coordinative abilities; the body constitutional factors such as height, weight, body proportions, limbs lengths, hand span and body fat; the techniques of catching, passing, dribbling and throw on goal; the tactics of offence and defense both individual and psychological factors such as will power, killer instinct, fear, anxiety, stress, anger, over excitement, conflicts and motivation.

Generally, it is considered that success in team game is more related to knowledge of the game strategies, technical efficiency, and tactical skills and performance capabilities. Therefore, it becomes difficult to predict potentially talented players. There are number of factors which affect the performance of sportspersons, such as age, sex, physical growth, physiological, biochemical, biomechanical, genetical, anthropological and psychological (Carter, 1970). Among these factors the size, shape, physique, proportions, somatotype fitness skill efficiency level also play significant role in better performance.

Hooks (1950) made a study to access the relationship of 29 selected structured and strength measure to success in the baseball skills. The results indicated that structural measures tested have constantly low correlation with criterion. Hindmarch (1960) conducted a study on 100 Canadian born white boys. He found that correlation between the anthropometric variables and performance tests and the flexibility criteria were low.

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to find out the relationship between selected upper and lower extremities circumference measurements with playing ability of hockey players.

Materials And Methods

Researcher undertook null hypothesis to investigate relationship between selected upper and lower extremities circumference measurements with the playing ability variables. Selective sampling device was used to select the subjects. 128 male subjects were selected for the present study who played

quarterfinals of H.P.U. Inter-college Hockey (Men) Championship held at MLSM College, Sundernagar (w.e.f. 12th Nov to 15th Nov. 2011). Selected anthropometric measurements were taken by steel tape and playing ability of hockey players were measured by Munjal's Hockey Skill Test. Variables for the present study were shoulder circumference, upper arm circumference, lower arm circumference, wrist circumference, hip circumference, thigh circumference, calf circumference, ankle circumference, shooting, rolling, push, shuttle rolling, hit, sprint, scoop, pass and flick. For the purpose of analysis Pearson's product moment correlation method was used to find out the relationship between the collected data.

Results

It is evident from the table-1 that shoulder circumference and upper arm circumference have significant relationship with rolling, push, hit, scoop and pass skills. Also shoulder circumference exhibited significant relationship with flick but no significant relationship with shooting, shuttle rolling and sprint skills. Upper arm circumference has no significant relationship with shooting and flick skills. Upper arm circumference has negative and non-significant relationship with shuttle rolling and sprint skills. Lower arm circumference exhibited non-significant relationship with all the playing abilities. Wrist circumference has positive and significant relationship with push, scoop, and flick skills. Also wrist circumference exhibited positive but non-significant relationship with shooting, rolling, shuttle rolling, hit and pass skills. Wrist circumference revealed negative and non-significant relationship with sprint skill. Hip circumference has significant relationship with rolling and scoop skills but non-significant relationship with rest of the playing abilities. Thigh circumferences displayed significant relationship with scoop and pass skill only where as revealed non-significant relationship with rest of the playing abilities. Calf circumference and ankle circumference exhibited non-significant relationship with all the hockey playing abilities.

Discussion of Findings

1. On the basis of obtained results shoulder circumference, upper arm circumference and wrist circumference revealed significant relationship with most of the hockey playing abilities.
2. On the basis of obtained results lower arm circumference displayed no significant relationship with all the hockey playing abilities.
3. On the basis of obtained results circumference measurements of lower extremity exhibited no significant relationship with most of the hockey playing abilities.

The results of the study are partially supported by Hooks (1950), who reported that the structural measures have constantly low

correlation with success in baseball skills. Hindmarch (1960) had also reported that the correlation between the anthropometric variable and performance tests were low.

Conclusion

It is evident from the results that most of the selected circumference measurements of upper extremity are significantly related with most of the hockey playing abilities whereas the majority of the selected circumference measurements of lower extremity have no significant relation with most of the hockey playing abilities.

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Table-1
Correlation of Selected Upper and Lower Extremities Circumference
Measurements with Playing Ability of Hockey Players

	Shoulder Circumference	Upper Arm Circumference	Lower Arm Circumference	Wrist Circumference	Hip Circumference	Thigh Circumference	Calf Circumference	Ankle Circumference
N	128	128	128	128	128	128	128	128
Mean	102.544	34.329	25.618	15.915	86.822	47.955	32.055	21.302
S.D.	4.9396	2.4967	17.639	0.9558	7.2376	4.5423	3.8207	1.6855
df	126	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Shooting	0.149	0.048	-0.074	0.090	-0.015	0.068	0.077	-0.128
Rolling	0.219*	0.185*	0.074	0.144	0.201*	0.102	0.048	0.016
Push	0.271**	0.187*	-0.098	0.285*	0.010	0.112	0.073	0.093
Shuttle Rolling	0.162	-0.053	-0.031	0.030	0.092	0.025	0.080	0.086
Hit	0.218*	0.185*	-0.029	0.166	0.048	0.148	0.087	0.065
Sprint	0.021	-0.030	0.082	-0.057	-0.034	-0.012	0.028	-0.042
Scoop	0.278**	0.187*	0.120	0.211*	0.236**	0.193*	0.119	0.027
Pass	0.270**	0.215*	-0.004	0.129	0.135	0.206*	0.121	0.056
Flick	0.212*	0.156	-0.010	0.235*	0.047	0.103	0.75	0.021

Analysis of Availability of Reproductive Health Services: A Study of Shimla District in Himachal Pradesh

Anjna Thakur

Abstract

HEALTH is a man's natural condition and his birth right. It is the result of living in accordance with the natural laws pertaining to the body, mind and environment. These laws related to fresh air, sun light, diet, exercise, rest and relation, sleep, cleanliness elimination, right attitudes of mind, good habit all above are life style. In this study urban and rural areas of Shimla district were selected as study area. Total 314 sample respondents were selected with the help of random sampling technique. There were 152 samples from urban area and 162 samples were from rural area of Shimla district, according to the proportion of population. The results of the study reveal that the reproductive health facilities especially in the rural areas are not up to the mark and there is a need to pay a special attention towards the rural to provide them better health care facilities.

Keywords: Analysis, Availability, Reproductive Health Services, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh

Introduction

Health is one of the fundamental rights and it is vital responsibility of the state to look after the health of its people. The state is committed to fulfill his responsibility by taking appropriate health and social welfare measures. In recent years, health has been accorded a privileged place on the global agenda, with its recognition as a central issue and condition for development. Growing poverty and inequity in a globalized world, heightened risks posed by ecological, demographic and socio-economic changes and their impact on public health had define health as a priority for the state. Consequently the state has intended to deliver health care services to meet the needs of entire population through various health care systems such as Sub-Centers, primary Health Centers, Community Health Centers and hospitals. Hospital is a health care agency of health care delivery system which is manned by different groups of professionals using a variety of equipments and supplies for rendering patient care and expansion of medical knowledge. An expert committee of the World Health

Organisation defined the hospital as an integral part of a social and medical organisation, the function of which is to provide for the population complete health care, both curative and preventive and whose outpatient services reach out to the family in its home environment; the hospital is also a centre for the training of health workers and for bio-social research.

The primary purpose of any health care facility like hospital is to provide the best possible patient care. The basic quality of care given and the efficiency with which the facility operates are ultimately a reflection of performance of human resource. With different level of impact, the physicians, nurses, administrators and other health care workers combine their talents and efforts to provide patients with the care and treatment they need. Health is a most basic and primary need of every human being, which makes the nation progress in socio-economic, scientific, literary and culturally. Investment on health is investment in human capital. Health care for everyone and particularly for the weaker section living in rural areas is still not satisfactory. The medical and health situation today still remains critical. A number of civil hospitals, primary health centers and other health care units are established in the remote areas of the country.

Study Area

To investigate the availability of the reproductive health care facilities Shimla district was selected. Shimla is the capital city and all the basic facilities are good than the other parts of the state. A comparative study was conducted between rural and urban areas of Shimla district. For the purpose of the study Kumarsain block from rural area and Shimla urban was selected.

Sampling

The Shimla district is divided into 17 tehsils and sub-tehsils. Kumarsain was selected from rural and Shimla urban was from urban area. 2 Primary Health Centers from Kumarsain and 2 Primary Health Centers from Shimla urban were selected for rural urban comparative analysis. The PHCs under study area covers cover more than 80,000 populations. Couples between the ages of 15 to 35 constituting young adults were selected as sample. This is an important age group in which fertility tends to be higher. 314 sample respondents were selected for the present study. Random sampling technique was used to select the samples.

Objectives of the Study

- 1) To analyse the existing reproductive health services in the study area.
- 2) To suggest the measures to improve reproductive health services.

Data Collection

For the purpose of the present primary and secondary data were used. Secondary data was collected from the journals, books, published reports of the different departments, thesis, dissertations, internet, etc. primary data was collected from field survey.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Data

After the collection of the data, it was edited, coded, analysed and presented in the table format. In order to make the data meaningful, the qualitative information was coded into quantitative mode with each item and information given a code. A code design was prepared for carrying out this exercise. At the end the data was interpreted.

Table No. 1. Availability of Reproductive and Child Health Facilities

Response	Urban	Rural	Total
Facility Available			
Yes	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
No	-	-	-
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Distance			
Up to 5 Kms.	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Total	152 (100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Time Taken to Reach			
Up to 5 Hours	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Mode of Transportation			
On Foot	152 (100.0)	70 (43.2)	222 (70.7)
By Bus	-	73(45.1)	73(23.2)
By Taxi	-	2 (1.2)	2(0.6)
By Own Vehicle	-	17(10.5)	17(5.4)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Cost of Travelling (in Rs.)			
Up to 10	-	73 (45.0)	73 (23.3)
50-80	-	17(10.5)	17(10.4)
Above 100	-	2 (1.3)	2 (0.6)
No Cost	152 (100.0)	17(43.2)	222 (70.7)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages

Table 1 reveals that reproductive health facilities are available in both rural as well as urban areas. All the respondents of rural and urban areas have to cover distance of up to 5 Kms. which is time and money consuming. Most of the people in urban areas go to their respective health institutions on foot, because of less distance between the health institutions and the house. It also saves the time and money of the urban people during availing of health facilities.

Table No. 2. Reproductive Health Services Available

Health Services	Urban	Rural	Total
Pre-Natal			
Yes	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
No	00	00	-
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Postal-Natal			
Yes	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	152 (48.4)
No	00	00	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Pregnancy Test/Checkup			
Yes	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	152 (48.4)
No	00	00	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Medical Termination of Pregnancy			
Yes	112 (73.7)	00	112 (35.7)
No	40 (26.3)	160	202 (64.4)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Operation of Family Planning			
Yes	152 (100.0)	00	152 (48.4)
No	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
X-Ray Facility			
Yes	152 (100.0)	00	152 (48.4)
No	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Lab Test (Blood, Urine etc.)			
Yes	152 (100.0)	00	152 (48.4)
No	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Minor Operation			
Yes	152 (100.0)	00	152 (48.4)
No	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Eye- Checkup			
Yes	152 (100.0)	00	152 (48.4)
No	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey**Note:** Figures in parentheses are percentages.

In the Table 2 the data regarding availability of reproductive health facilities are shows that the basic facilities like family planning operations, X-Ray facilities, and lab tests facilities, minor operation theaters, eye checkup, labour room, specialized as well as technical staff, indoor patient facilities, etc. are not available in the rural areas.

Table No. 3.Health Personnel Available (Technical and Non-Technical Staff)

Specialized Medical Staff	Total Number of Specialized Staff (Urban)	Urban		Response		Total number of Specialized staff (Rural)	Rural		Response		Total Respondents
		Mashobra	Shoghi	Yes	No		Thanadhar	Malendi	Yes	No	
Doctors	3	2	1	152 (100.0)	00	0	0	0	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Lady Doctors	2	1	1	152 (100.0)	00	0	0	0	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Nurses	2	1	1	152 (100.0)	00	0	0	0	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Pharmacist	2	1	1	152 (100.0)	00	0	0	0	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Lab. Technicians	2	1	1	152 (100.0)	00	0	0	0	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Health Workers	2	1	1	152 (100.0)	00	2	1	1	162 (100.0)	00	314 (100.0)
Total	13	7	6	152 (100.0)	00	2	1	1	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Non-Technical Staff											
Clerk	4	2	2	152 (100.0)	00	2	2	1	162 (100.0)	00	314 (100.0)
Peon	2	1	1	152 (100.0)	00	2	2	1	162 (100.0)	00	314 (100.0)
SafaiKaramchari	6	3	3	152 (100.0)	00	0	0	0	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Total	12	6	6	152 (100.0)	00	4	4	2	00	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage

The table 3 depicts that specialized staff and technical staff is not available in the rural health institutions.

Table No. 4.Reproductive Health Services Available

Health Facilities	Urban	Rural	Total
Dripping Facility			
Yes	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.00)
No	00	00	00
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Labour Room			
Yes	152 (100.0)	00	152 (48.4)
No	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Dressing Room			
Yes	152 (100.00)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
No	00	00	00
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages.

In the table 4 the data reveals that dripping facilities were available in both rural as well as urban areas. In rural areas labour rooms were not available. Dressing rooms were available in rural and urban areas in Shimla district of Himachal Pradesh.

Table No. 5
Satisfaction with the Available Reproductive Health Facilities

Response	Urban	Rural	Total
Very Good	148 (97.3)	00	148(47.2)
Moderately Good	4 (2.7)	00	4 (1.3)
Not Satisfied	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.5)
Total	152 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages.

Table 5 shows that rural people were not satisfied with the availability of overall reproductive health facilities in the study area.

Table No. 6.Indoor Patient Facility

Indoor Patient Facility	Response	Urban	Rural	Total
General Wards	Yes	152 (100.00)	00	152 (48.4)
	No	00	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
	Total	152 (100.00)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)
Private Wards	Yes	00	00	152 (48.4)
	No	152 (100.00)	162 (100.0)	162 (51.6)
	Total	152 (100.00)	162 (100.0)	314 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages.

Table 6 indicates that there were indoor patient facilities available in urban primary health centers but not in the rural areas. Pprivate wards were not available in rural as well as urban areas in the study area.

Table No. 7.
Problem faced by the Rural People while Availing the Health Facilities

Problems	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Non-availability of Transportation/ Ambulance	26	16.1
Blockage of Roads in Rainy and Winter seasons due to heavy and Rain and Snowfall	24	14.8
Problem faced due to Financial Crunch	10	6.2
Lack of Timely Treatment	32	19.8
All the above	70	43.2
Total	162	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages

The data in the above table depicts that rural people face different difficulties such as non-availability of transportation facilities, blockage of roads due to heavy rain and snow fall, financial crises, lack of timely treatment, etc. during availing the health services.

Results and Discussion

In rural areas reproductive health services are not up to the mark. It is evident that about 90 percent of the total population in Himachal Pradesh lives in rural areas and the literacy rate of the rural areas is very low as compare to the urban literacy. So it is important to focus on rural areas to provide them better reproductive health facilities. Mobile heath care facilities should be extended to the extreme level in the villages.It also reduces the travelling costs of the stakeholders. Medical termination of pregnancy is not available even in the urban areas. It should be provided at all levels, so that the life of the pregnant women can be saved in case of any emergency. Unavailability of family planning operations, X-Ray facilities, and lab tests facilities, minor operation theaters, eye checkup, labour room, specialized as well as technical staff, indoor patient facilities, etc. pushes the rural people towards the urban areas to avail these facilities. By providing these basic facilities at their door steps expenditure on basic medical facilities can be reduced and it also helps us to poverty reduction. Because people most of their income expend on availing medical facilities.

Conclusion

In Himachal Pradesh, there is a fairly extensive network of health infrastructure under the public sector. There has been a phenomenal growth in the health institutions and services in the state during the past decades. It is providing

preventive, curative, rehabilitative and reproductive health services to the people through a network of health institutions of varying levels. The reproductive health services and life saving devices are also easily available to the urban respondents. The people in urban areas are more satisfied with the existing health facilities available to them, whereas in the rural areas people are not satisfied. Rural people are facing many problems in availing health care services. The rural areas are still out of reach for the basic health care facilities. There is a need to focus on rural intensive policies and implement them effectively at ground.

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Vibrant Democracy Through Strategic Changes in Electoral System : An Introspection

Mamta Mokta & Shriya

TRUE DEMOCRACY can function only when elections to the office of power are held in free and fair manner. Electoral reforms helps in introducing best practices in ensuring better Democracy & implementation of adult suffrage in letter & spirit Elections are means to consolidate and entrench representative Democracy. Voters assess the working of their representative & change them according to their choice that is in real sense essence of Democracy. Performance of ruling party is done on the basis of Development made in the country. Criminalisation of Politics ,use of money & muscle power during elections & voting on the basis of caste, religion & communal factors distorts the face of Democracy. Electoral reforms are required to make Democracy representative & vibrant. An effort has been made in the Present Paper to analyse various efforts taken in India to bring electoral reforms that can meet the aspiration of people of our country.

Vibrant Democracy through strategic changes in Electoral system : An introspection

Elections are, no doubt, vital for a democratic polity but for the success of democracy these elections should be free and fair because, “free and fair elections based on adult franchise is the basis of democracy”. Electoral reforms helps in introducing best practices in ensuring better Democracy & implementation of adult suffrage in letter & spirit Elections are means to consolidate and entrench representative Democracy Voters assess the working of their representative & change them according to their choice that is in real sense essence of Democracy. Performance of ruling party is done on the basis of Development made in the country.

The Electoral reforms contain the following aspects:

1. Fair registration and recognition of the political parties and without any kind of influence
2. Transparency about the back

3. Streamlining the preparation of electoral rolls
4. Expediting the election processes
5. Rationalising electoral processes
6. ground of the candidates
7. Upholding the secrecy of voters
8. Solution of delisting of illiterate voters
9. Freeing the election processes from muscle and money power
10. Prohibiting the nexus between business, criminals and politics
11. Availing all the citizens, eligible to vote a comfortable, friendly and assured facilitation of vote casting
12. Non-partisan role of media
13. Applying the model code of conduct efficiently.

Various initiatives taken to reform Electoral process in India

- **Lowering of Voting Age:** The 61st Amendment Act to the Constitution reduced the minimum age for voting from 21 to 18 years.
- **Restriction on contesting from more than 2 constituencies:** A candidate cannot contest from more than 2 constituencies.
- **Deputation to Election Commission:** All personnel working in preparing, revising and correcting the electoral rolls for elections shall be considered to be on deputation to the EC for the period of such employment, and they shall be superintended by the EC.
- **Electronic Voting Machine (EVMs):** First introduced in 1998 during the state elections of Delhi, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, EVMs are used widely now as they are fool-proof, efficient and a better option in terms of the environment.
- **NOTA option was introduced** following Supreme Court 2013 Directives
- **Disqualification on conviction for violating the National Honours Act, 1971:** This shall lead to disqualification of the person for 6 years from contesting to the Parliament and the state legislatures.
- On poll days, employees of organisations get a paid holiday and violation of this is punishable by a fine.
- **Prohibition on sale of liquor:** No liquor or other intoxicants shall be sold or given or distributed at any shop, eating place, or any other place, whether private or public, within a polling area during the period of 48 hours ending with the hour fixed for the conclusion of poll.
- **The time limit for bye-elections:** Bye-elections to any House of Parliament or a State Legislature will now be held within six months of the occurrence of the vacancy in that House.
- **Ceiling on Election expenditure :** There is no limit on spending by Political

party but Commission has put a cap on individual candidates spending. For the Lok Sabha election it is Rs 50-70 Lacs depending upon the state & Rs 20-28 lacs for an assembly election.

Restriction on Exit Polls : The EC issued a statement before 2019 elections that exit polls results could be broadcasted only after completion of final phase of elections.

Voting through Postal ballots : Ambit of Postal ballot has been increased now there are six categories of voters who can use postal ballot these are service voters, special voters, wives of special voters, special voters subject to preventive detention, voters on election duties and notified voters.

Awareness creation January 25th is observed as National voters day

Reporting of Contribution by Political Parties

Political parties need to report any contribution in excess of Rs. 20,000 to the EC for claiming income tax benefit.

Declaring of Criminal Antecedents, Assets etc. By the candidate is required and declaring false information in affidavit is now an electoral offence punishable with imprisonment upto 6 months or fine or both .

Emerging Issues in Electoral Reforms

Electoral bonds An electoral bond is like a promissory note that can be bought by any Indian citizen or company incorporated in India from select branches of State Bank of India. The citizen or corporate can then donate the same to any eligible political party of his/her choice. The bonds are similar to bank notes that are payable to the bearer on demand and are free of interest. An individual or party will be allowed to purchase these bonds digitally or through cheque. The electoral bonds were introduced with the Finance Bill (2017). On January 29, 2018 the Narendra Modi-led NDA government notified the Electoral Bond Scheme 2018. Using electoral bonds is quite simple. The bonds will be issued in multiples of Rs 1,000, Rs 10,000, Rs 100,000 and Rs 1 crore (the range of a bond is between Rs 1,000 to Rs 1 crore). These will be available at some branches of SBI. A donor with a KYC-compliant account can purchase the bonds and can then donate them to the party or individual of their choice. Now, the receiver can encash the bonds through the party's verified account. The electoral bond will be valid only for fifteen days. The electoral bonds are available for purchase for 10 days in the beginning of every quarter. The first 10 days of January, April, July and October has been specified by the government for purchase of electoral bonds. An additional period of 30 days shall be specified by the government in the year of Lok Sabha elections.

Supreme Court Viewpoint on Electoral Bonds

On April 12, 2019 the Supreme Court asked all the political parties to submit details of donations received through electoral bonds to the ECI. It also asked the Finance Ministry to reduce window of purchasing electoral bonds from 10 days to five days. The apex court is yet to fix a date for hearing other pleas against the electoral bonds.

The Election Commission on April 10, 2019 told the Supreme Court of India that while it was not against the Electoral Bonds Scheme, it did not approve of anonymous donations made to political parties. "We are not opposed to electoral bonds...but want full disclosure and transparency. We are opposed to anonymity," Senior Advocate Rakesh Dwivedi, appearing for the poll panel told the apex court. The poll panel's submissions came during a hearing on bunch of pleas challenging the validity of electoral bonds in the apex court.

One Nation one Election

Arguments against the move :Simultaneous elections for State Assemblies & Parliament may impinge on Political autonomy of the states. No Law could be made in contravention to any of the Provisions of the constitution. Article 83(2) of the constitution deals with tenure of Lok Sabha that the tenure will be of five years earlier dissolved earlier & same provisions is repeated for the state Assemblies for the State Assemblies under Article 172. If ONOE is to be adopted then number of institutions changes are to be initiated with foremost be the amendment of Articles 83, 172, 85, 174.. A Political consensus is thus of utmost importance to switch over to ONOE, only then it could be made possible to amend constitution. Voters will automatically get biased towards the Party whose possibility is more of coming at the Centre & apprehension are there that there would not be fair voting & it will harm the Democracy. The situation will be just like one Party rule in Whole of the nation & there will be no opposition to any action. Simultaneous elections are contrary to interest of Regional Parties. It may not be possible to employ force in every state. National & Local issues can be mixed up in Simultaneous elections. The frequent elections are good for the economy as the money goes from the rich to the poor. Frequent elections brings seasonal employment to many.

While those in favour are of opinion that it will improve efficiency of Central as well as state Government will save their time, finance & energy that can be better utilised for development. On account of frequent elections most of the Government energy is channelized with subsequent negative effect on foreign Policy. Frequent elections kills efficiency. Frequent elections divert the civil staff & their orientation with consequence of disruption of Public Life. Simultaneous elections may help towards containing the problem of Voters fatigue & may

increase Voting percentage. It can minimise such opportunities for the party to polarise the society on the pretext of caste and religion. Simultaneous elections will be cost effective. Educational system is the worst casualty on account of frequent elections. Simultaneous elections will be cost effective. After going through the various initiatives to bring electoral reforms in our country where we have reached is question that needs to be analysed.

Composition of our elected representatives can throw light to some extent that what type of representatives we are electing in our country.

Table No. 1.1
Analysis of Winning MPs of 17th Lok Sabha 2019
(Criminal Record, Assets, Gender & Education)

Have declared criminal cases against themselves	43 Percent
Have declared serious criminal cases against themselves	29 percent
Are crorepatis and have declared assets worth more than 1 crore	88 percent
Women winners in Lok sabha elections	17 percent
Educational qualifications of Graduation and above	73 percent

out of 539 winners analysed in Lok sabha 2019, 233 MPs have declared criminal cases against themselves. It is an increase of 44 percent in the number of MPs with declared criminal cases since 2009.

Table No. 1.2
Trend of Crorepaties elected in Lok Sabha

Sr. No.	Lok Sabha Election Year	Total number of Winners analysed	Crorepati winners
1	2009	543	315(58 percent)
2	2014	542	443(82 percent)
3	2019	539	475(88 percent)

Table No. 1.3
MPs Elected with Criminal Background

Sr. No.	Lok Sabha Election Year	Total number of Winners analysed	Criminals elected
1	2009	543	162 (30 percent)
2	2014	542	185 (34 percent)
3	2019	539	233(44 percent)

Table No. 1.4
Women elected in Lok Sabha

Sr. No.	Lok Sabha Election Year	Total number of Winners analysed	Women elected
1	2009	543	59(11 percent)
2	2014	542	62 (11 percent)
3	2019	539	77(14 percent)

Thus we can find that still criminals & crorepatis are elected to large extent as our representatives thus points out that still there are loopholes in the system. There is increase of 44 percent in the number of MPs with declared criminal cases since 2009 although representation of women is comparatively low as compared to their population.

The Major Challenges which come in the path of Ideal Electoral System in India.

Electioneering is an expensive affair in every democratic polity which plays a more vital role in India. Money power plays in our electoral system destructive role affecting seriously the working of "Electoral Reforms in India.

Donations for elections were quite common in the past also & new dimension to this was added through Government initiative to start donations through Electoral Bond

Violence, intimidation, victimisation, booth capturing both silent and violent are mainly the products of muscle power. These are prevalent in many parts of the country like Bihar, Western Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra etc. and this cancerous disease is slowly spreading to south like in Andhra Pradesh

The Supreme Court (SC) refused to bar candidates facing criminal charges from contesting elections, leaving the matter in the hands of Parliament, political parties and politicians. "We are not in a position to add a disqualification," said Chief Justice Dipak Misra, in a judgement that essentially maintained status quo on the issue. The court, however, added that Parliament must legislate to ensure that people facing serious criminal cases do not enter the political mainstream. The court also laid guidelines to curb corruption in politics and ensure that voters are able to make informed choices. It directed candidates to provide details about all criminal cases pending against them. Political parties were asked to publish the criminal antecedents of candidates of their parties on their websites and widely circulate this information on other fora.

At present, a chargesheet does not debar a person from contesting elections and cases usually take years to be decided. As a tentative measure, on 1 November 2017, the apex court directed the centre to set up special fast-track courts to try the more than 1,581 cases pending against legislators across the country. The centre had asked for ₹ 65 lakh for setting up each of these courts, bringing the total to ₹ 7.8 crore for the 12 fast-track courts that have been set up in 11 states. A Constitution bench headed by Misra was ruling on a batch of petitions, including one by non-governmental organization Public Interest Foundation, seeking disqualification of politicians, including MPs and MLAs, from contesting elections once charges are framed against them.

Among the petitions was one by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) spokesperson and advocate Ashwini Kumar, challenging the provisions of the Representation of the People Act 1951, which bars convicted politicians from contesting elections

for six years after having served a jail term. The plea also sought a direction to the centre and the Election Commission (EC) to fix the minimum educational qualifications and an upper age limit for candidates.

The EC's initial stand in court was that it supported the decriminalization of politics through a lifetime ban on MPs and MLAs who are currently free to contest polls even after being convicted in criminal cases. The court also ruled against barring legislators from practising as advocates in courts, holding that there was nothing in the Advocates Act, 1961, preventing them from practising. One more dimension was added when viability of one Nation & one election was raised by Government, heated discussion on this issue set the tone for analysing various plus and negative points regarding the issue.

Functioning of election commissioner should be such that they should be impartial fair as well as free from Government pressure & interference. It is difficult as Election Commissioners are currently appointed by the government. There should be a collegium system to appoint election commissioners on the lines of selection of judges, chief information commissioner and chief vigilance commissioner as fingers have been raised against the Election Commission recently and that this will not happen if the appointment of election commissioners is done through a collegium system. There was a referendum in the United Kingdom on this system and that there was going to be another one.

There has been a great deal of political instability during the last decades. The result has been unstable administration and unstable policies, the hallmark of minority governments. The Westminster Model adopted by us, works mainly on the basis of a limited number of political parties. In the United Kingdom, there are only two major political parties. Contrarily in India, politicisation at ground level coupled with a highly fragmented society, has given rise to a multiplicity of political parties. Each one of these exists not on a different ideology or economic programme, but on the basis of having nursed a narrow parochial, mostly caste or religion based, identity for itself and its band of followers.

Possibility of Misuse of arbitrary powers by Speaker in Anti defection Law

There is possibility that speakers who is elected on party ticket can misuse his power while deciding disqualification of elected MLA under anti defection law. Power entrusted to speaker to act as quasi Judicial Authority when speaker continues to belong to a particular political party.

Electoral reforms though are a continuous process, but the attempts made in this direction so far are not adequate. Though some of the recent measures to check the criminalization of politics, illegitimate role of money and the menace of participation of non-serious candidates are laudable, yet for more success in these and certain other neglected areas, some more meaningful electoral reforms are required.

To stop unfair practices in elections following methods or means should be adopted. **Roadmap ahead**

Following roadmap can be considered for reforming elections in India. Dinesh Goswami recommendations can be considered seriously by Government in this direction **Dinesh Goswami Committee on electoral reforms**

- Increase in deposits from independents & the time limit for bye-elections should be fixed. A check on advertisements in newspapers and strengthening of the election commission.
- Partial state funding of election
- A series of legislative measures should be set up to eradicate booth-capturing rigging and intimidating
- The committee also called for an amendment of the anti-defection law to restrict disqualification.
- There should be a complete ban on donations by companies.
- Suggests that state assistance be in-kind only and be extended by prescribed quantity of fuel to vehicles .there should be supply of additional copies of electoral rolls
- payment of hire charges for a prescribed number of microphones
- distribution of voters' identity slips should be undertaken exclusively by electoral machinery.

Along with the above mentioned recommendations following suggestions can also be considered to reform elections in positive directions.

- ❖ Election process should reflect the situation of the day and should not be imposed on contemporary society
- ❖ Election processes should be neutral, free from any biasness for any political parties
- ❖ Criminalisation of politics should be strictly checked. A close nexus between the criminals and the politicians was not a new phenomenon of 1991 elections. However, the 1991 elections saw the number of persons with criminal background multiplying and, moreover, the relationship no longer remained a discreet affair. This openness of the relationship and the increased number of persons with alleged criminal background poses the most serious threat to a free and fair conduct of elections and thus to the very roots of the Indian democratic political system. Therefore, serious legal measures are required in this direction. Any person who has been convicted for the offences mentioned in Sections 8 and 8-A of the Representation of People Act, 1951 should be disqualified permanently from contesting the elections.
- ❖ Disqualification period should be exceptionally longer in the case of such persons against whom even charges have been framed, because it is well known by now that mafia leaders and leaders and members of

criminal gangs are rarely convicted by courts as they are apt at destroying the evidence that goes against them or manipulating the same in their favour. Thus, the disqualification period even in the minor cases should not be less than six years.

- ❖ Misuse of government machineries during elections must be checked
- ❖ Use of money and muscle power to contribute in election processes must be discouraged
- ❖ Non-serious & unethical candidates to contest in election must be discouraged
- ❖ Efforts should be made to enhance the trust in the eyes of citizens towards electoral processes
- ❖ To employ the use of technology to further the election processes and be in synch with modern days methods.
- ❖ Some candidates fight election from two seats so it is the need of the hour that make it compulsory for the candidates to pay the expenses occurred on the election of their second constituency.
- ❖ Preparation of electoral rolls by EC are to be supervised at village level and certificates from officials who prepare electoral rolls to the effect that the electoral rolls have been thoroughly revised. They do not include that persons and legally disenfranchised citizens and intentionally no name should be left in them. Accountability to be fixed for intentional exclusion of name of voters from electoral rolls.
- ❖ For having a true democracy the registration and recognition of the political parties should be fair and without any kind of influence
- ❖ The CEC should not be at the mercy to Executive and Parliament for its requirements. He should have separate and independent election department to enhance its objectivity
- ❖ Compulsory Voting : Low rate of poll percentages is a clear indication of the growing apathy and indifference among the masses (discussion on political issues is already lower than the voting percentage). There is a need for imposition of a nominal fine on those who failed to vote in an election due to apathy or negligence. In certain countries such as Belgium, Netherlands, Argentina and Switzerland attempts were made to make voting compulsory yet, on the whole, it was found that you could take the horse to the pond but you could not make him drink.
- ❖ Compulsory voting may not bring desired results for a democracy as the law could force a person to vote but it cannot compell him to vote intelligently and judiciously. Therefore, provisions need to be made for re-polling if there is a low percentage (less than 1 /4th of the registered electorate) of polling in a constituency. and impartiality.
- ❖ Clear rules and regulations be framed for the democratic functioning of

the political parties and the Election Commission may be empowered to monitor the application of these rules. The Election Commission should register only those political parties which hold their organizational elections regularly at various levels within a prescribed period. Those political parties which do not hold the organizational elections periodically, should not be issued election symbols.

- ❖ To check the evil of defection, once a candidate is elected as member of a House on the ticket of a particular political party or as an independent candidate, he must remain in the party or as an independent until the term of the House expires or he himself resigns.
- ❖ Independent Secretariat for the Election Commission should be established.
- ❖ Ban on exit polls and opinion polls should be strictly enforced.
- ❖ Ban on Government Sponsored Advertisement before elections should be there.
- ❖ Paid news in connection with elections should be identified and the news source should be punished.
- ❖ Expenditure on social media to be included in candidate expenditure
- ❖ Model code of conduct shall also be applicable to social media
- ❖ Strict enforcement of Law with respect to taxation, real estate, election funding, etc. that will check the flow of black money in the election process
- ❖ Quick and exemplary action against criminal politicians needs to be taken.
- ❖ Political corruption should be stopped by providing funds to genuine candidates through political parties whose account should be auditable. Candidate involving in corruption should be disqualified.
- ❖ Ethical media can act as watchdog for malpractices of elections. Mass Media should play a non-partisan role in election and as a safeguard of democracy.

- ❖ Parliament must pass a law dealing with this serious problem of de-listing of valid electorates from electoral rolls because illiterate electorate residing in far villages cannot watch over publication of electorate lists.
- ❖ The names of the voters may be included in the electoral rolls even at the time of casting of votes by the polling officer, when he finds a genuine case.
- ❖ There is need to unearth and confiscate black money, which is widely used for buying votes.
- ❖ Urgent need is required to make politicians as well as voters law abiding.

- ❖ Prompt action by the judiciary, if any kind of violation is detected during elections.
- ❖ Parliament should set up Independent Tribunal to decide disqualification petition within reasonable time to give teeth to anti defection law instead of leaving it to speaker

In democracy the public is most powerful entity. If the public do not vote in favour of criminals, dishonest and corrupt politicians who wish to purchase their votes by money or muscle powers, everything shall function nicely and the democracy will shine in the dark spectrum of hitherto corrupt and criminalised political system. Therefore, in the light of these observations, it is the people who should realise and work with the help of laws for the success of the system so that “India could be an oasis of democracy”

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Dimensions of Media Trial in Indian Democracy

Neelam Kumari Sharma

Abstract

THE DEMOCRATIC system of governance is the soul of India. An independent and honest media is first requirement of the democracy. A democratic government as defined by Abraham Lincoln is of the people, by the people and for the people, whereas the autocratic state is government by authority and dictatorships¹. However with the passage of time journalism has turned in to yellow journalism. The media is looking for television ratings and advertisements. This has change the role of electronic media from a free and independent press to dependent press. In Indian democracy, media is being criticized to a large extent in the present time for the manner in which journalists and media houses disregard their obligations to the nation testified in the concept of media trial. Though media has at times successfully played the role of founding stone in the Indian democracy and presenting its best for the betterment of the nation, but a lot still needs to be done. The focus of this research is to give a critical evaluation of the role of the media and its impact on the public and its legal system. Article 19 of Indian constitution provides reasonable restriction based right to freedom of speech and expression. Inspite such restrictions, media has become unbridled horse and the day will not be far away when the press will rule through fabrication by misusing its pen. The time has come when some introspection by the Indian media is required².

Keywords: Press, Indian Judiciary, Media Trial, Freedom of speech.

Introduction

The success of democracy is not only subject upon the wakefulness and participation of people but also depends upon the correct responsiveness and information reached to them. Media is regarded as fourth pillar of democracy and its effect on the people sometime changed the government also³. One of the crowning glories of the democratic system is the freedom of expression and the space that is provided to views from different sections of the society. A democratic system can run to its utmost potential when there is wide participation on the part the general mass which is not possible without people

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getting informed about various issues, reliable information resources are an important constituent of any democratic society. There was a time when the people used to have faith in the content of the media whatever they were shown but at present citizens have become more aware and they don't believe easily. Media houses these days presenting only that information which can increase their TRP and support of the government. Mass communication is medium of publicity. Publicity is regarded as the very soul of justices but over publicity with sinister interest creates interference in administration of justice⁴. The media reports the court proceedings in a manner that court is siding with one party before it or it is against the government. Such publication of proceedings amounts to transgression by media. It is seen that crime show on television is getting highest TRP, therefore the management in order to gain more revenue making these show lucrative and adding their own inputs which are not based on court record. The media associations are governed by their self imposed ethics but same are thrown to wind to generate more revenue. The latest example in this regard is selling of slots by management and thereafter same has no control over its contents. The developing Indian democracy having higher rate illiteracy facing high growth of fake news published with motivated contents.

Media has played a noteworthy role in setting up democracy throughout the world. Since the 18th century, the media has been instrumental in reaching the masses and equipping us with knowledge. The Media has become an integral part of human life in contemporary times. Sometimes it is also a reality that humans can live without food but cannot live without information. The internet has brought sea change in media as it is not only limited to news but it has become an encyclopedia of life. The smart mobiles and television have become integral part of life and everyone is carrying entertainment (whole world) in their pocket. The media has replaced the interpersonal interactions and made them social media interactions.

In this background the modern day journalism has come under the scanner for negative reasons. The journalism was regarded as profession of ethics that reflects the truth only. The journalism in pre- independence era was responsible and informative. Mahatma Gandhi started Young India in 1919 to spread information about his unique ideology of Non-violence and Truth⁵. The Journalist Mahatma Gandhi played vital role in independence of India and people believed in his thoughts. He added that journalist's peculiar function is to read the mind of country and give definite and fearless expression to that mind.

Accountability and Responsibility of Media

The big question is "whether the media is acting fearlessly giving definite

expression to country or it has become a tool of earning and being misused by corporate houses”. This has become a matter of debate and Indians are often seen saying that anchors are sold out. Contemporary media is acting as unbridled horse and has become judgmental about other organs of democracy. It is trying to impose its supremacy for the reason that it has large audience. This has also affected the independence of the judiciary and media has more often misinterpreted its judgments. The media has now started prejudging the courts and as a propaganda proclaiming its own judgment in pending cases. The media has itself become publicity oriented and for want of Television Rating Point (TRP), they create sensational content⁶. This type of journalism is not meeting the ends of justice and has lowered the image of media in the estimation of its audiences. Democracy has no mean without constructive, neutral and free media. It should be a guardian of public interest, an honest witness to events, and a tool to hold government accountable to the people. It is meant to be a bridge between people and the government by providing truthful information for the formulation and implementation of the state policies satisfying the needs of the people.

Precarious Role of Media

Media can be defined as source of communication that includes Print Media, Radio, Television and internet, whereby one can enrich his knowledge. Media has played a significant role in the growth and development of the nation and is continuing to do so. Not today only but in the olden days media had played pivotal role to bring independence as many vernaculars (local language) paper had made aware people about the cruel policies of the Britishers. Hence Media from the beginning of the civilizations is considered a vehicle of information. In 18th century print media was the prime source of information that had brought great revolution in the world, thereafter radio and television had played far-reaching role to make the citizens responsive and informative⁷. In modern times, the people are in search of news therefore internet and television media is fetching their hunger and curiosity of updating themselves. This hunger of information has created commercial space for media which is being misused by the media houses in lust of profits. Thus media has changed its dimensions from informative to television rating points or media sensation. This has given birth to media trail as a statement is trolled by misinterpreting the same or under the title “Breaking News”. The happening of the day is reported twenty four hours in such a manner as if heaven is going to fall. The news shows have become the puppets of anchors, who try to impose their commercial interest during the show. It is this attitude that has caused prejudice to the actual news and person involved in such news. This trend of modern television programs has not even spared the court proceedings and extrajudicial comments or oral arguments are published or broadcasted⁸. These comments have nothing to do with actual proceedings of the

court and publication of such proceedings in their own way more often demolishes the defense of parties to the proceedings. This is the beginning of media trial and exaggeration of facts to create interest in the news thereafter amounts to media trial.

Media Trial and its Consequences

This sensational journalism has given birth to yellow journalism, therefore fearless journalism has gone to oblivion and turned into profitable journalism. The present democratic set up of the country along with independent judiciary has many times criticized the media for its negative role. Media trial is one facet of the negative journalism and paid news whereby the media is encroaching upon judicial proceedings and trying to impress upon the system that facts disclosed on file are not correct. It not only affects proceedings but also puts the investigating agencies under scanner. This changes the opinion of people and often spread rumors or wrong facts about the cases under thoughtful propaganda. The video clips also sometimes reveal the identity of the accused or the victim hence vitiates the trial⁹. The role of media is to inform, educate and even entertain the people. In a democracy it plays fundamental role in the formation, amplification, and spreading of public opinion. The media facilitates awareness among masses but is often found responsible for molding and distorting the public opinion about the cases which are under trial. The media is often showing the video clips of rape victims or reveal their identity, which is prohibited by law. Media is discussing the under trial issues in its programmes as if it had entire evidence before it and may put words in the subconscious mind of judges.

The Supreme Court in Nipun Saxena case has held that media should not disclose the identity of the rape victims and victims under POSCO Act 2012 (Protection of Children from Sexual Offences) except in accordance with law (Nipun Saxena & ANR. Vs. Union of India & Ors., 2018) Court interpreted the provision and stated that identity does not mean the identity of the victim only but media is restrained from disclosing the identity of her parents, village, city etc¹⁰.

Defining Media Trial

Media trial means the pre-trial and in-trial reporting of the case, whether civil or criminal, which is likely to prejudice fair trial which has been laid down as the Constitutional right of every accused. Media trial is a threat to the sanctity of the judicial system and governance. Media by reporting fill details of the case, confession of the accused, presenting biased view points during the pendency of the judicial proceeding hampers the due process of law. Mentioning the scope of media trial the honorable Supreme Court of India has laid down that the trial by Media means the effect of television and newspaper coverage on a person's reputation by creating a widespread perception of guilt regardless of any verdict in a court of law¹¹. Trial is a term, which is related with the practice of justice.

Specific Instances of Media Trial

The media is considered the most powerful body in the world and everyone in this domain speaks through media. Media has been generating things for the propaganda and simply showing its concern for popularity. It is seen that media has reincarnate itself as the public courts through media trial, whereby it has started to create pressure on the lawyers even - to not take up cases of accused, thus violates the constitutional right of the accused to defend himself. Every person has a right to get himself represented by a lawyer of his choice and put his point before the court and no one has the right to debar him from doing so. In Himachal Pradesh in Yug murder case, Gudiya rape and murder case in Shimla district, custodial death of alleged accused in Gudiya case and Hoshiyar Singh forest guard case are glaring examples of media trial. The District Bar Association Shimla passed resolution that any lawyer who will represent the accused shall be expelled from the membership of the Bar Association. The High Court intervened in the case but projection of the offence in media was such that accused were treated as guilty. The media assumption of guilt clearly encroaches upon the right to legal representation, a critical component of the right to fair trial and may also intimidate lawyers into refusing to represent accused persons. Suspects and accused apart, even victims and witnesses suffer from excessive publicity and invasion of their privacy rights. The publication of court proceedings are subject to provisions of contempt of court Act 1971 but media rarely care and carry the stories by declaring their inputs from undisclosed sources. In some cases the news media has gone beyond its call of duty by reporting on sensitive matters that could jeopardize national security. This aspect was highlighted by Union Defence Minister Arun Jaitley while delivering a lecture on 'Freedom & Responsibility of Media'. The Gudiya murder case and custodial death case trials were transferred from Himachal Pradesh to Chandigarh as accused were facing threat to their life and perhaps court also skeptical about manner of media reporting.

In 2G case accused were forced to make application from restraining the media from day to day coverage as same is prejudicing their trial. The Five judge bench of Supreme Court seven years ago was forced to say that it would not lay down any guideline for media reporting but journalist should know the *Lakshman Rekha*.

The Supreme Court of India is hearing Ram Mandir- Babri Masjid case since weeks but media is playing the stories on October 11, 2019 that even if Muslims win they must donate the land to majority community by quoting Lt. General the Former Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University¹².

In this case when court appointed three mediators for amicable solution of this

controversial issue, the AAJ Tak TV Channel reported from Ayodhya Ground Zero and started interviewing the sadhus and Saint. The mediation was actual job of three mediators but TV Channel started mediation on their Channels by having panel of sadhus and imamas. Sheena Bohra case, Arushi Talwar cases are prominently covered by the media allegedly causing prejudice to the accused, witnesses and the victims¹³. In Swami Chinmaynand case, the victim girl was interviewed by the media in violation of the Supreme Court directives. The media is reporting as if it had more evidence than the police. The News 24 carried a story three weeks ago with head line that Chinmaynand case ka pura Sach is an absolute example of media trial. However this case has a positive aspect also as the media helped the victim to present her view fearlessly. Media did not stop hear only even when investigation is going on media is reporting various stories by prejudging the case that swami would certainly be convicted¹⁴. The Zee News on 2 July 2014 reported AJL/ National Herald case as if it had already created evidence by its investigative journalism. The private complaint was yet to be put to trial but Zee news has already declared Rahul Gandhi as convict.

There have been numerous cases where the media has succeeded in bringing about change. The media, through its consistent and adamant reporting, forces the public to protest and demand action. It is a powerful influencer as it speaks directly to the public and can shape opinions. The Jessica Lal murder case is a strong example. The accused, Manu Sharma, was the son of Vinod Sharma, a wealthy and influential Congress MP from Haryana. Sharma tried to use his power to manipulate the case and did succeed initially (evidence was destroyed, 32 witnesses had turned "hostile"). The Delhi High Court was forced to acquit Sharma on grounds of lack of evidence. The acquittal resulted in a huge backlash throughout the nation which was helped on by the media. Sabrina Lal, Jessica Lal's sister, in an interview with Daily News and Analysis, said, "The media proved to be an extremely powerful force that came to our aid... It was the power of the media that enabled us to get justice... Had it not been for the media, people would have never known about how a family is being denied justice.

Guidelines for court reporting and ancillary issues.

With the Media playing the role of a prosecutor and a judge at the same time it is evident that the basic norms of natural justice is seems to be compromised with resulting in hitting at the credibility of courts and their authority. On the other side true and fair publication court proceedings helps the citizen to know about their rights and remedies available to them against the wrongdoers. In order to protect the spirit of democracy a responsible and unbiased media is the need of the hour. Even the supreme court, is concerned with the issue of media trials and in the long run set up recommendations on how the media can report on going

matters in several courts. It is in the light of the above mentioned facts that the present research paper focus upon the various aspects of media trial in India.

Conclusion

Media has been considered cognizant gatekeeper, a guiding body of the functionaries of society and attempt to attend to the wrongs in the legal system, by bringing them to the knowledge of all, in the hope for correction. It is indisputable that in many dimensions the unprecedented media revolution has resulted in great gains for the general public. Even the judicial wing of the state has benefited from the ethical and fearless journalism and taken suo-moto cognizance of the matters in various cases after relying on their reports and news highlighting grave violations of human rights. Media has the responsibility to promote the spirit of democracy in India an irresponsible media can destroy the basic fabric of democracy as it helps to promote and generate public opinion. Amisleading discernment or misrepresentation of fact might result in an unhealthy public opinion. The present study provides following solutions to the research problem of the present work.

1. Spirit of the Indian constitution should be adhered by the journalists in its letter and spirit.
2. Party and ideology based reporting should be avoided.
3. PCI and guidelines of other regulating bodies are required to be strictly complied with.
4. The accountability aspect in case of media trial is required to be made more stringent and for consistent violator some kind of punitive or compensatory.
5. The vicarious liability of the owners of media houses specifically of corporate media houses is required to be given legal sanction.
6. Till and so long specific law is not legislated, the Supreme Court should lay down definitive.
7. News Stories which are not based on facts or are fully researched are being shunned by the media houses.

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Western Science, Philosophy and Developmental Epistemology: An Eco-feminist Critique

Rohit kumar

Abstract

EMERGENCE of methodology of modern western episteme, with the writings of Francis Bacon and Rene Descartes, formed the basis for the epistemology of modern tradition of knowledge, which generally followed up to the first half of twentieth century without contention. In second half of the twentieth century, the uniform conception of reality, development or generally the modern knowledge process, opposed and deconstructed by some new philosophical schools, such as post-modernism, post-structuralism, feminism, ecologism, environmentalism and eco-feminism. The developmental problems- deforestation, climate change, global warming, different health issues, extinction of different ecological species on the turn of the twentieth century led academicians to stress and search alternative thinking and understanding of development for which, the academic world indulged into, first to highlight the shortcomings and consequences of modern science and philosophy's conception of natural world and second, to throws light on the implications of this knowledge process. The school of eco-feminism questioned the modern epistemology of development and stressed that understanding development in this way posed threat to the survival of earth planet and how severely and badly it effected women, non-human others and poor worldwide. This paper focuses on how nature has been perceived and conceptualised in modern western science and mechanistic philosophy and how eco-feminists are opposing this conception and knowledge formulation by showing if one-dimensionality?

Keywords: episteme, epistemology, modern-knowledge-process, deconstruction, alternative, understanding, non-human others.

Introduction

Writings of much acclaimed and influential thinkers of 16th and 17th century, regarded responsible for the emergence of the dominant paradigms of modern science, philosophy and understating of nature. The writings they produced and the methodologies they adopted and gave to modern world, to understand nature

and natural world, established the superiority of human understanding and the inferiority of nature and non-human others. Modern knowledge was propagated as the liberator from natural maladies and to free human beings from the bondage of nature. A binary opposition created in and by modern knowledge initiators. Mentioning only the writers of early western modernity is a special case, because these writes have wider and long lasting impact on the writings and thinking of future academic generation. Here an attempt is made to know these philosophical and scientific methods of understanding physical or material world (nature and non-human others) outside human mind and how this exploitative understanding of nature proved disastrous for environment and ecological species in the form of modern concept of development. Modern ideology of development is the outcome of this understanding of nature (which is a form of the epistemology of development) which depicts nature as having many a secrets for human knowledge and material qualities for human satisfactions. This epistemology of development is so brazen that describe nature only from human perspective without considering the fact that non-human animals and plants have their living with nature, besides human themselves are part of nature.

The methodology opted for this study is based on the text written by the philosophers of modernity and those who have also written and are the critic of the problems of modern science and philosophy. This study paper has a particular context that is the early western modernity, understanding of nature in modern science and philosophy, which regarded later as mechanistic philosophy, its influence on forthcoming generations of that time and the implications this brought in consideration.

Emergence of Modern Science: Bacon as the Father of Modern Science

Bacon is commonly regarded as the founder of inductive method and the originator of the saying 'knowledge is power'. The whole basis of his philosophy was practical: to give mankind mastery over the forces of nature by means of scientific discoveries and inventions (Russell, 1961, pp.526-527). Bacon proposed to establish a new method for acquiring knowledge, promising to give humanity a 'new engine' that would simplify the art of discovery and lead men quickly to the final truths about nature (Bajaj,1988). He also advised the new heroes of natural science to brush aside all the old taboos without a qualm and to expose them as superstitious with which people had hitherto surrounded. Mother earth, for example, the taboo against driving mines into the womb of Mother Nature in order to get sought after metals. Bacon said that nature must be forced by torture to yield her secrets like a bad woman who keeps her treasurer avariciously of herself and withhold from her children (Mies and Shiva, 1993, p.44). That is why Francis Bacon, he, who called for the subordination,

suppression and even torture of nature to wrest her secrets (Ibid). Bacon successfully channeled the idea of absolute truth into a new direction. He gave a clear exposition of the new direction that the western idea of absolute truth was to take. This is what makes Bacon the prophet of the industrial society (Bajaj, 1988) in which the nature was regarded as the raw material for human consumption. Farrington 1951, assign him a place of the founder of English materialism (Ibid).

Baconian conception of human-nature dualism leads to the characterization of human outside the nature and nature as full of unknown secrets for human knowledge and development process. The method that Bacon claims to have discovered is the dream method of a positivist; a set of rules which allows the understanding in following way,

to proceed by a true scale and successive steps, without breach and interruption, from particular to the lesser axioms, thence to the intermediate (rising one above the other) and lastly to the most general (Bacon, as cited in Bajaj, 1988, p. 11).

And thus it allows one to found 'a real model of the world in the understanding such as it is found to be not such as man's reason has distorted' (ibid). The method is such that it leaves no scope for the freedom of a person's mind; it leads the mind along the correct path, 'not leaving it to itself, but directing it perpetually from the very first and attaining our end as it were by mechanical aid (Ibid). This mechanical aid provided by Bacon really established the basis of understanding without any ethical recognition of dependence upon nature which later became instrumental for the subordination of nature.

Understanding Mind-body Dualism: Descartes as the Pioneer of Modern Philosophy

According to Descartes, 'Method consists entirely in the order as a disposition of the objects towards which our mental vision must be directed if we would find out any truth. We shall comply with it exactly if we reduce involved and obscure propositions step by step to those that simpler, and starting with intuitive apprehension of all those that are absolutely simple, attempt to ascend to the knowledge of all others by precisely similar steps (Descartes, 1981, p.XV). The first step in the evolution of human-nature dualism, is the construction of the normative (the best or ideal) human identity as mind or reason, excluding or inferiorising the whole rich range of other human and non-human characteristics or constructing them as inessential (Plumwood, 1993, p.107). As Descartes put it that what distinguished humans from animals is that humans have both a mind and a body, while animals just have a body (Mukherji, 2000, p.10).

To begin the examination of mind-body dualism Descartes put that “there is a great difference between mind and body, in that body, by its nature is always divisible and that mind is entirely indivisible. For in truth, when I considering my mind, that is to say myself in so far as I am only a thinking thing, I can distinguish no parts, but conceive myself as one single and complete thing. And although the whole body, yet if a foot, or an arm, or any other part, is separated from my body, it is certain that, on that account, nothing has been taken away from my mind, nor can the faculties of wishing, feeling, perceiving etc., properly be called its parts, for it is the same mind that is occupied, whole and entire, in willing, perceiving conceiving etc. This would suffice to teach me that the mind or soul of man is entirely different from the body, if I was not already convinced of it on other ground (Descartes, 1968, p.164). Descartes further put it in following way,

And although perhaps I have a body to which I am very closely untied, nevertheless, because, on the one hand, I have clear and distinct idea of myself in so far as I am only a thinking and unextended thing, and because, on the other hand I have a distinct idea of the body in so far as it is only an extended thing but which does not think, it is certain that I, that is to say my mind, by which I am what I am, is entirely and truly distinct from my body and may exist without it (Ibid, p.156).

This mental-manual (mind-body) dualism (Plumwood, 1993, p.43), are key ones for western thought and reflect the major forms of oppression in western culture.

Issac Newton and others

The conceptual framework that defined the world as a perfect machine governed by exact mathematical laws, remained a vision, a theory of natural phenomena. It was the British born Issac Newton (1642-1727) who left us the legacy of a synthesis of mechanics and astronomy by his “Principia” and “Opticks”. Newton developed a complete mathematical formulation of the mechanistic view of nature. This was the grand synthesis of the works of Copernicus, Galileo, Bacon and Descartes, which completed the scientific revolution. Newton formulated the general laws of motion governing all objects in the solar system, from stones to planets. The significance of these laws were their universal application. They were valid throughout the solar system and seemed to confirm the Cartesian view of nature. The universe was indeed one huge mechanical system, operating according to exact mathematical laws. Newton's laws became the solid foundation of scientific thought well into the 20th century. Newton also combined Bacon's empirical inductive method with Descartes rational deductive method. In this way, Newton developed the methodology upon which natural science has been based ever since (Merchant, 1980, pp.278, 282; Capra, 1982, pp.48-50; Capra, 1997, p.20).

In England the Philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) in his “Leviathan” from 1651 developed a mechanical model of society as a solution to social disorder. It attacked both the traditional hierarchical model based on natural inequalities, as well as the communal model based on sharing of natural resources. In this view human were equal and in a continual state of competition for glory and natural resources. Because of self-interest, commons cannot be shared, but must be fought over. Those who did not compete for resources would be ridiculed by their peers. The antidote was order, peace and control through a set of accepted rules for the conduct of each citizen, analogous to the rules governing the operations of a machine. In this way, the state consisted of individual parts united by fear. The metaphor became mechanical and consisted with a market economy, which depends for its operation on money, exchange and quantitative calculations. Thus, the operations of the state were to be based on a rational system of rules derived by the application of logic (Merchant, 1980, pp. 206, 209-210, 212-213). The Newtonian belief and theory in the rational approach spread rapidly in the 18th century making the era the age of enlightenment. Newton's mechanical system served as an example also for political and economic order in English society. His “Principa”, which was published during the Restoration following the English civil war, called for order and modernization in religious and political affairs. Hence, thinkers applied the Newtonian principles to the science of human nature and human society, claiming to have discovered social physics (emphasis added). This world view took holds not surprisingly with the rise of capitalism. It needed to turn nature into resources without any moral or social constraint (Merchant, 1980, p.279; Capra, 1982, pp.55-56).

It seen relevant her who studied the nature of the individual and then tried to apply the principles of human nature to economic and political problems. The outcome was some natural human laws. The main focus was on human freedom and equality between all individuals together with the right to property. Locke created the early liberal arguments for legitimacy of private property. He assumed that the natural world was un-owned, by anyone or itself. Only mixed with human labour would the land have a value? These ideas became the basis for the value system in the 18th century and strongly influenced the development of modern economic and political thought (emphasis added). Individualism, property rights, free markets and representative governments contributed significantly to the declaration of independence and the American constitution (Ibid; Plumwood, 1993, p.111).

Understanding Nature through Modern Western Epistemology

The conception of nature in western philosophy and science was very much oppressive because from the beginning of modernity nature is seen as full of

secrets and an object of human understanding and knowledge. Descartes has been characterized as one of the principal architects of modernism which is thought to be something like a crime against humanity that was perpetuated for over hundred years. His mind-body dualism is thought to be closely linked to much of the pillage of the environment and conflict between people. Given that Descartes is viewed as the principal progenitor of what is called the dualistic mode of thinking (Mukherji, 2000, p.9). As Descartes put it,

We could be freed from innumerable maladies, both of body and mind, and even perhaps from the infirmities of age, if we had sufficient knowledge of their causes and of the remedies provided by nature (Descartes, as cited in Plumwood, 1993, pp. 109-110).

In western modernity human realm is treated as one of freedom, where as the realm of nature is fixed and deterministic, with no capacity for choice. Nature is neutral, indifferent and meaningless with no interests or significance of its own, a mere endless hurrying of particles; any significance or value it might have for humans is an arbitrary product of human consciousness. Thus mechanistically conceived nature lies open to, indeed invites the imposition of human purposes and treatment as an instrument for the achievement of human satisfactions (Ibid, pp.110-111).

It is no coincidence that this view of nature took hold most strongly with the rise of capitalism, which needed to turn nature into a market commodity and resource without significant moral or social constraint on availability. Further this understanding of nature made its fulfillment in John Locke's famous argument in second treatise justifying private property in terms of the mixing of one's own labour with natural resources in the state of nature, provided just such as license for annexation. Argument of the labour theory of Locke leads to the complete oppression of nature by humans. As Vandana Shiva points out, Locke's argument provides for those elite groups whose work counts as real 'labour' a similar license for annexation by defining as nature the work of marginalized groups especially women and the colonized. She has illustrated how the process of birth is being capture on the name of nature by assert that woman are by nature not capable of giving safe birth by themselves therefore they need help of the surgeons (Ibid).

Emergence of Developmental Epistemology

We make by act trees and flowers to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them by act greater, much more than their nature, and their fruit greater and sweeter and of differing

taste, smell, colour and figure from their nature(Merchant, 1980, p.182).

As Carolyn Merchant points out, this transformation of nature from a living, nurturing mother to inert, dead and manipulable matter was eminently suited to the exploitation imperative of growing capitalism (Shiva, 1988, pp.16-17). The modern understanding of science, philosophy and nature ultimately provided a breakthrough for modern development epistemology. Before the modern scientific revolution people lived in organic communities within their little ecological systems. They have no demand of more consumption or surplus production as after scientific revolution people have. The world we lost was organic. Thus, before 1500 the dominant worldview in Europe and other civilizations was organic. Ancient thoughts identified the earth with a nurturing mother, but the opposite image of nature as a wild and uncontrollable was prevalent. It was the image of nature being chaotic that developed the modern idea of control and power over nature. The dominant metaphor in the modern era became that of a world machine (Merchant, 1980, pp.1, 4; Capra, 1982, pp.37-38). The process from the living to the dead world was brought about by the achievements of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton. It was based on a new method of inquiry advocated by Bacon, including mathematical descriptions of nature and the analytic method of reasoning of Descartes. The period was called the scientific revolution (Merchant, 1980; Capra, 1982) which gave birth to the objectification of nature and non human others.

This mind-body (nature) and reason- nature dualism still cast its shadow across the projects of modernity. The greatest of its philosophical and scientific projects has been materialism, reductionism, especially in the form of the discrediting of the mental and intentional, and the affirmation in its place of the concept of the material sphere as delivered by dualism (Plumwood, 1993, p. 120). Through this scientific and philosophical project it can be exemplify that how the understanding of nature became the epistemology of development, which is only concerned with human materialism, consumption and surplus. The age of enlightenment and the theory of progress were given birth by this epistemology of development and which was centered on the sacredness of two categories: modern scientific knowledge and economic development (Shiva,1988). The industrial revolution converted economics from the prudent and basic needs satisfaction into a process of commodity production for profit maximization. Industrialism created a limitless appetite for resource exploitation, and modern science provided ethical and cognitive license to makes such exploitation possible, acceptable and desirable (Shiva 1988). Today, the models of material development followed by the world nation-states are the outcome of this

philosophical (mind-body dualism) and scientific (reason-nature dualism) understanding of early modern west. Now at present, science, which is recognized as the reason of state (Nandy, 1988) is and became the ideology of development. Present development episteme is based upon the oppression of nature and subordination of non-human others. Knowledge about nature can be materially assessed only when the dualism separating thought from action and belief from practice is broken. It is rooted in the very process of knowledge-creation in modern science, a process which is increasingly turning out to be more preoccupied with the material problems created by intervention through scientific beliefs, than material problems posed by nature itself (Shiva, 1988, p.32).

Modern Development Episteme and its Implications

The mechanization and materialization are the development goals for modern human civilization set by this epistemology of development. Surplus production leads to the demand of colonies outside Europe and this demand further leads or resulted into the colonization of the world outside Europe. The Western imperial thrust stimulated by modern technology and the accompanying economic expansion as well as by a psychological urge (born of a conviction of racial superiority) was, in turn, supported and spurred on by the power balance in Europe. It thus extended the competitive ethos of the growth of capital and territory at home to the exploration, acquisition and consolidation of colonial empires abroad. The result was global domination by European State-power and its economic infrastructure. Indeed, modern European imperialism represented the first major effort at unifying the entire globe under the dominion of single regional center (Kothari, 1988, p. 14).

The main consequences of colonization are the deculturation (Nandy, 1983) of the indigenous understanding of development and the establishment of the new culture of domination. The culture of domination was nonetheless the culture of materialism, affluence, industrialization and homogenization of the world under the single concept of development. Science is flourished in a culture (viz. Of the Occident) that looked upon it as an instrument of power and domination rather than as a liberator of the human spirit - which is how knowledge was looked upon by the ancient Chinese and the Indians and even the ancient Greeks - science soon became an instrument of technology, which, not content with overcoming hardships and fulfilling basic needs, went on a rampage for continuous domination, exploitation, competition and perpetual tension, both between man and man and between man and the rest of creation. In course of time it also became an instrument of monopolization so that while the fruits of technology were diffused widely within some societies, they were denied to a great many

other societies - many of which, it may be recalled, had provided the basic raw material for prosperity in these few societies (Kothari, 1988, pp. 13-14).

The assumption was that western style progress was possible for all. Concepts and categories about development and natural resource utilization that had emerged in the specific context of industrialization and capitalist growth in a center of colonial power was raised to the level of universal assumptions and applicability in the entirely different context of basic needs satisfaction for the people of the newly independent third world countries (Shiva, 1988, p.1). The uniformity of the world, dominated by a single conception of life and its meaning, with little scope for other available cultural and historical propensities and potentialities; and that such domination of a single conception has led to political and cultural domination by a single region of the world over all the others (Kothari, 1989, p.5). This uniformity of whole knowledge process, which established through colonization, resulted into the marginalization of the larger part of the world. In this uniform hierarchical world some are in the first place, who are the inventor of this conception or knowledge of development and others are subordinate, who are following the path of this development knowledge.

Now the question of how the poor in the North and those in the countries of South and peasants and women worldwide may attain this 'good life' is usually answered in terms of what, since Rostow, can be called the 'catching-up-development' path. Actually this is the myth of catching of development (Mies and Shiva, 1993, p.55) that following the same path of industrialization, technological progress and capital accumulation taken by Europe and the USA and Japan the same goal can be reached.

Conclusion

The epistemological origin of development in modern western philosophical and scientific traditions is problematic from its very inception. Understanding development in this particular way resulted into the destruction of nature and ecosystems. The binary opposition created by modern knowledge system between man and nature, human and non-human, man and woman and superior and inferior (West and East) established an unending hierarchy of subordination. The perception of modern scientific man regarding nature and his own development became dependent on the principles of modernity that are reason, rationality, individualism, in opposition to emotionality, ethicality and communitarian productive systems in accordance with nature, from which man have to win his liberation. Now human get separated from ecological knowledge to mechanistic-atomistic-anthropocentric knowledge in which nature or ecology became only provider of raw material for human development. This understanding of nature and development took roots in the knowledge systems in one part of the world and that is Europe and it uniformed worldwide by European

colonizers which accepted by colonized due to its professed and some practical underpinnings. The uniform ideology of science and technology of modern nation states is violent, oppressive and exploitative for the poor and marginalized groups, including women, of the world because it serves only the interest of world elites. We have an immediate need to recognize growing world ecological crisis and to change our developmental structures and strategies in accordance with ecology. For this we have to slow down our developmental race in competition to each others and to alter and socialize world human agency into new development understandings.

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Comparing Gandhi and Deendayal: A Study on Their Views about Individual and Society

Abha Chauhan Khimta

Abstract

WHETHER comparisons are 'odorous' or not, only Dogberry, a character from "Much Ado About Nothing" and his creator Shakespeare were likely to know. But the common experience is that comparisons at times certainly odious. Bracketing Deendayal's name with that of Gandhi is likely to strike some persons as sacrilegious. Deendayal was so humble and unassuming that he would have brushed aside any direct or indirect hint that he was anywhere near Gandhi in political or spiritual stature. The present paper attempts at a comparative study of the ideas of Deendayal and Gandhi.

Key Words: Swaraj; Intergral humanism, Swadeshi & Chiti.

Comparisons are 'odorous' or not, not only Dogberry, a character from "Much Ado About Nothing" and his creator Shakespeare were likely to know. But the common experience is that comparisons are at times certainly odious. An admirer of Deendayal Upadhyaya writing on Mahatma Gandhi, Dr Lohia and Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya, was constrained to admit:¹

"It is not with any spirit of comparison that I link the name of Deendayal with that of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the century... I am only trying to lay bare the truth that no one except these three, tried to give an ideological orientation... to Indian Political life."² It is said that Deendayal was so humble and unassuming that he would have brushed aside any direct or indirect hint that he was anywhere near Gandhi in political or spiritual stature.

Deendayal Upadhyaya and Mahatma Gandhi were similar in several issues like the joint family concept, grassroots democracy (*gram swaraj*) by decentralization of power, education in mother tongue etc. Both believed in the traditional Hindu concept of *Karma Yoga* or spiritual realization through social work and rejected post-Machiavellian trend of western thought. Gandhi and Upadhyaya were charismatic figures, though Gandhi had a larger impact because so many considered him a saintly figure.

Gandhi considered individual as a spiritual being, endowed with a divine mission to fulfill. He stood for the purity of body; mind and soul taken together.³ According to Gandhi, *swaraj* as self-rule meant inner freedom or positive freedom. It was the rule of the mind over itself and the passions- the passion of greed and aggression, in particular. The self-rule enables one to pursue *artha* and *kama* within the bounds of *dharmā*.⁴ Thus the true *swaraj* that Gandhi envisaged was a multi-class *swaraj*, no class or stratum of the society being excluded. He indeed pleaded for a multiclass approach and an all-inclusive *swaraj* composed of all classes and insisted on the self-rule of the downtrodden and backward sections of the society. He insisted that it should not be limited to the educated class and rich people.

Like Mahatma Gandhi, Deendayal Upadhyaya believed that it is true that the body must be attended to properly but it is necessary to remember that the purpose of a healthy and strong body was as the chief instrument in observing the dictum of *Dharma*. He mentioned about Dadhich Saint who immolated himself so that a powerful weapon may be made from his bones for slaying powerful demons. Thus Upadhyaya's philosophy of integral humanism envisages the enjoyment of the various categories of happiness but at the same time emphasizes restraint and sacrifice. The individual happiness must not only ever stand in the way of social progress but must be congenial and complementary to it.⁵ The central idea of the philosophy of Integral Humanism was that the family is the first training ground for an individual towards social life. Mutual affection, willingness to work and suffer for others, tolerance and all such virtues necessary for social welfare are easily imbibed in family life. To extend the family concept first to the society and then to the universe in the direction of spiritual development.⁶ While mentioning about the supremacy of the individual or society, Upadhyaya says, "Any healthy thinking takes into account the interests of both the individual and the society. People ask us whether we are individualists or socialists. Our answer would be, "We are both". According to our culture, we can neither ignore the individual nor lose the right of society's interests. We do take into account the social interests and so we are individualists. We do not consider individual supreme and so we are not individualists. But we do not also think that society should have the power to deprive an individual of all his freedom and thus exploit him like a lifeless thing, so we are not socialists either. One cannot conceive of a society without individuals and the individuals have no value without society. Bharatiya culture has set both in proper perspective and jointly considers the welfare of both."⁷

According to the philosophy of integral humanism, a society is a living organism. And since every living organism has a body, a mind, intelligence and a soul, society also has these four constituents. Upadhyaya says that economic planning is important. He says that this planning must provide suitable work for

every physically fit person and the job must be such as to give a reasonably adequate income. Only through such planning, a country's wealth can increase. Both Upadhyaya and Mahatma Gandhi insisted, not on mass production but production by the masses. National wealth must accrue out of the *Artha Purushartha* of the masses i.e. out of the initiative and the urge to work of the masses. Wealth created by the efforts of a few or by the use of modern machinery is not for the good of society. Similarly, the achievement of the *Arth Purushartha* for the society must be brought about according to the regulation and spirit of *Dharma*. According to Gandhi, working for economic equality meant abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. He tried to solve the problem of equality by the institution of trusteeship. Gandhi believed that if bread labour doctrine was accepted, there would be no distinction between the capital and labour. Thus socio-economic equality would be assured.

Mahatma Gandhi had referred to good governance. According to him, political *swaraj* in the sense of transfer of power from one set of rulers to another set did not satisfy him. He said, "I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatsoever. I have no desire to exchange 'king log for king stork'. Hence for me, the movement of *swaraj* is a movement of self-purification".⁸ Even when one's brothers were ruling oneself, one might not have *swaraj* and might have *swaraj* under foreign rule. Gandhi was opposed to all types of oppressions.

Like Gandhi, Upadhyaya also talked about good- governance. According to Upadhyaya, problems of Bharat were not merely political, social, economic or cultural but of establishing a society based on values of life which can solve these problems. The root cause of all this is political corruption. Therefore, a qualitative change in politics is required for a good government run by good people. Deendayal was the ideal of such leadership.⁹ The king is the master of the state which he does not enjoy for himself - this is the principle which is true for all times. According to him, we need leaders who do not serve their self- interest and who, rather, serve others with a sense of thankfulness.

Now democracy has been reduced to a race for power among the power-groups and politics is principled only in name and in reality it is nothing but power-oriented opportunism. Deendayal used to say that only the common man should be made the God of democracy. Speaking on the relations between political parties and the people, Deendayal had stated, "If you are democrats, you should follow the dictates of your discretion rather than accept any other authority. Political parties are constituted to function as representatives of the people. Their only base is the power of the people. It is the people who confer on them the capability to function; it is the people who create them and, through them, shape their future. Therefore, a political party is not merely a conglomeration of power-

hungry people. It is rather, a unified entity and a disciplined organization of good oriented and committed people working for a specific ideology.”¹⁰

Thus Deendayal emphasized on the role of people in a democracy. According to him, political parties should work as a unified entity for the welfare of the people. He laid down the principle that national interest is always above party interest. He stressed that just as an individual is not supposed to sacrifice the national interest for the sake of his interest, so is a party supposed not to serve its interest to the detriment of national interest. Thus the focal point of politics was the nation.

Similarly, Mahatma Gandhi's true democracy was participatory. It was the idea of participation by the whole community in the political process. It based political authority on the will of individuals who by a process of cooperation make decisions that were binding on all. Gandhi considered that citizens had a duty to decide to whom they should give their loyalty and support and under what conditions. Their self-respect and dignity required that their loyalty should not be unconditional or taken for granted. When a law was just, they had a 'sacred duty' to give it their 'willing and spontaneous obedience', if it was unjust or morally unacceptable, they had the opposite duty. To obey it was to 'participate in evil' and incur moral responsibility for its consequences.¹¹

Deendayal's thinking encompassed the fourfold objective of nationalism, democracy, social strength and *swadeshi*. He once said, "The economic policy suitable for the present situation can be described in two words, *Swadeshi* and decentralization. Today, *Swadeshi* seems to have become an out of date and retrograde concept. We accept foreign aid with a great sense of pride. We are making use of foreign help in our conceptions in the field of management, in procuring capital investment and in the field of production. Even our ideal of consumption of consumer goods is based on foreign pattern. This can never be the path of progress and development for us. It is a slavish tendency which ignores our entity and to which we are becoming slaves. To be honest, the constructive aspect of the concept of *Swadeshi* should do from the basis of our economic policy.”¹² He stressed that socialism was becoming another name of all-devouring statism. Poverty eradication programmes achieved nothing except carrying the burden of the administration. In such a situation, the freedom, the honour of the individual and democracy could be protected only through Panchayati Raj and decentralized economy.¹³

Gandhi gave special importance to *swadeshi* for the attainment of self-rule. It was wholly attainable through *swadeshi*. To quote him, “If we have no regard for our respective vernaculars, if we dislike our cloths, if our dress repels us, if our food is distasteful to us, our climate is not good enough, our people uncouth and unfit for our company, our civilization faulty and the foreign attractive, in short,

if everything native is bad and everything foreign pleasing to us, I should not know what *Swaraj* can mean for us.”¹⁴ According to Gandhi, *swadeshi* meant that a country should be self-sufficient in meeting her needs and it must use the articles made in the country itself. He argued that even the uncivilized tribes of South Africa were enjoying *swaraj*. These Negroes produced their foodstuffs and their clothing. They lived on maize and gram. They clothed themselves in the hides of animals killed by them.¹⁵

In the *Artha-Purushartha* of the society, along with economic policy one has also to consider the power of the state to defend the good and punish the guilty. According to the philosophy of integral humanism, a society is a living organism. And since every living organism has a body, a mind, intelligence and a soul, society also has these four constituents.

Upadhyaya said that economic planning is important. This planning must provide suitable work for every physically fit person and the job must be such as to give a reasonably adequate income. Only through such planning, a country's wealth can increase. Both Upadhyaya and Mahatma Gandhi insisted, not on mass production but production by the masses. Upadhyaya stressed that state is meant for the protection of the nation. *Chiti* is the Sanskrit word for society's soul equivalent to an individual soul. And *Rashtra-Dharma* consists of the rules for the expression and practice of this *chiti* (A people's ethos). The state must observe this *Rashtra-Dharma* and to enable the state to do this duty, certain power has been conferred on the state by the people. The state is expected to use these powers with discretion. But often the government becomes oblivious to its duties. In the language of the four-fold *Purusharthas*, *Artha Purushartha* is separated from *Dharm Purushartha*, and this way starts the moral degradation of the rulers.

While discussing *Moksha*, Upadhyaya said, “Liberation or Moksha is not an individual affair; it is social. Some people have a wrong notion that they can seek individual salvation even when the society is in disarray. It is only when society is liberated, uplifted and ennobled, that an individual can be at peace... He respected all Indian languages. But he could not bear the idea that English should be imposed on the country; it was foreign and not more than one per cent of the masses understand it.”¹⁶

Mahatma Gandhi followed the path of *Satyagraha* for the attainment of *swaraj* as well as it became the creed for a whole life. It meant truth-force and soul force and adherence to justice. While Upadhyaya expressed his views by saying, "The run of events during the last fifty years has been such that the moments we talk of agitation, there come to our mind, jail, satyagraha, non-payment of taxes and revenue etc. Speaking, no independent country should have any need of such agitations. But the fact is that such a need is felt here. And this shows the

government's unwillingness to honour the people's will. We must, however, bear in mind that such agitation is the last weapon we should resort to. Jana Sangh does not believe in 'satyagraha' as its creed. But only when it is forced by circumstances, does Jana Sangh resort to such means to bend the government to the popular will. We desire that meetings, resolutions and memorandum should be adequate for the expression of the popular will and government's implementation thereof. In the absence of such peaceful expression and implementation, the whole atmosphere will be in a state of great strain."¹⁷

Deendayal chose Dayananda and Tilak as the models to copy. These giants would brush aside everything else if it came in the way of their faith and their aspirations of social and national renaissance. Tilak did not compromise on national interests.¹⁸

Deendayal disclosed that it would unwise to uproot our national century-old industries in the villages. Though there are many weaknesses in these small industries. It would be essential to make them economically viable in the course of planning. Village industries should be transformed into viable units of production in the economy. Inclusive emphasize on modernized technology would discard the old one. This would ultimately result in the waste of capital blocked in old industries. "We cannot afford to allow this wastage of capital, because we are short of capital accumulation for progress" Deendayal further disclosed in his book on Indian Economic policy that, "We may produce with, the help of Westernized heavy and complicated technology, goods on a mass scale. But this process cannot sustain an eternal and revolutionary transformation in the economy. It is necessary that while the pressure of population on agriculture is reduced, we should be able to promote the rural industries which are interconnected harmoniously with agriculture. Instead of giving priority to large scale industries, we must give priority to small-size enterprises. Production units worked by a few workers, and with small machinery and small-sized instruments, would be more useful ultimately in the correct situation. We will have to consider the foundation of *Gramodyog* smaller sized enterprises, and the workers therein need our attention in the process of planning."¹⁹

In this context, Gandhian views of *Sarvodaya* and *Gramodyog* economy may be greatly relevant. All sections of the people should receive benefit more or less in the process of development. That economy is best which can achieve progress of all. Mahatma Gandhi connected this by *Sarvodaya*. Next to agriculture, Mahatma Gandhi was giving priority to village industries. He emphasized that poverty and unemployment cannot be removed by promoting the large scale industries and big industrial unit. It was necessary to promote decentralized village industries which were labour intensive. Gandhi said, "If you find a better alternative to charkha, you may burn Charkha; however, millions of villagers

should not be removed from their homes and they should not be divorced from their small piece of land. This is possible only with the help of charkha which alone helps to get gainful employment, as it brings a minimum income from the same.”²⁰

The above-mentioned views of Mahatma Gandhi could be compared with similar views on Deendayal. He, however, was not opposed to using machinery and appropriate technologies in the village industries. If the machine create unemployment or increases unemployment then the machine should be opposed. Oil engines, electric motors etc. had no place in the village industries of Mahatma Gandhi. Deendayal, however, did not oppose machinery in this domestic manner. Deendayal Upadhyaya and Mahatma Gandhi shared the views that democracy in the real sense can be attained only through proper and active participation of people. They stressed on the collaboration of different political parties for attaining that. Both believed in the adoption of *Swadeshi* and decentralization of social, economic and political powers.

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Relevance of Gandhism in Twenty First Century

Ved Prakash Sharma,

Abstract

MAHATMA GANDHI is the greatest apostle of peace the world has seen after Buddha and Christ. His notion of peace is centered on nonviolence, individualism, soul force and forgiveness. Global peace, global citizen, neo-modern trends and global issues have placed Gandhi at the backseat of the global forum. But, there exists a fundamental correlation of what Gandhi had said and what the world is doing these days to combat violence and bring peace. Gandhi's approach places him as a far-sighted, sensitive and perceptive man of peace. He gave a dynamic and flexible meaning of peace in which peace is the best, but not the only way, to achieve good. Modern peace researchers who have contributed to the idea of direct and indirect violence and particularly structural violence find Gandhi as an equally original Contributor to the thinking of peace research. His teachings and personal examples do provide several practical tools and techniques that are relevant for addressing the challenges of the contemporary society. Present paper is an attempt to see the relevance of Gandhism in 21st Century in making world free from war, fear and wants.

Introduction

Over many centuries, world civilization has witnessed countless instances of warfare, battles, and conflicts duly capable of employing the power of transmuting the human kind into forms what the emperors and rulers had never thought of. There existed peerless and rarest men among the human species who preached and practiced theories of peace that made the human race to evolve into a more enlightened genre living of what he is today on this planet. Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest apostle of peace the world has seen after Buddha and Christ. His notion of peace is centered on nonviolence, individualism, soul force and forgiveness. Global peace, global citizen, neo-modern trends and global issues have placed Gandhi at the backseat of the global forum. But, there exists a fundamental correlation of what Gandhi had said and what the world is doing these days to combat violence and bring peace.

In any society, whether religious or political, where opposition voice is silenced with bullets and imprisonment, peace cannot be permanent. Having political power is, therefore, just the first step towards peace. For Gandhi, peace contains a negative and a positive sense, the absence of configuration, elimination of wars, absence of conflicts between different classes, castes, religions, and nations is a negative sense and love, rest, mental equilibrium, harmony, co-operation, unity, happiness are the positive indices of peace. Gandhi believed that the ultimate notion of peace would signify that every human being lives in peace with himself or herself, that is, without inner tensions.

Peace, as Gandhi envisaged it, is more than the absence of conflict and violence. It implies a state of constructive social order, where individuals, groups and societies do not dominate or exploit one another and live in cooperation and mutual aid. It is a state of affairs in which men can resolve their differences by talking to each other rather than by using violence. Peace and truth cannot be separated. "The way of peace", Gandhi said, "is the way of truth". Peace in a society is conditioned by peace in and with neighboring communities. In actual practice, neither an individual nor a society lives in total harmony. Conflicting emotions and inter-personal tensions of one sort or another constantly disturb harmony. Therefore, the aspiration for peace is in a way automatically pegged at a lower level of expectation. The root of every violence or conflict is untruth. A new life-style and a new culture are required for making the world peaceful. Gandhi said that in addition to political oppression, we have economic, intellectual, religious, environmental, and gender oppression all over the world. When people talk about peace, they cannot view the indiscriminate killings and destruction of property in isolation from the poverty, illiteracy, religious intolerance, environmental threats and gender oppression faced by the people. The modern civilization that glorifies self-interest debases the moral basis of society. Restriction on human needs and inculcation of other-regarding rather than self-regarding attitudes are vital components of the larger Gandhian vision of peace. Gandhi believed that we must not consider our opponents as our enemies. He wrote that while we may attack measures and systems, we must not attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and slow to impute motives.

The Gandhian approach does not accept conflict as clash of interests. It regards them as products of mental illusions, misperceptions and prejudices. Gandhi believe that conflicts are temporary irregularities in the normal flow of life. Creative dialogue and negotiations have the potential to resolve the differences between two actors. Such a method does not demand any party to sacrifice his position or interest. Instead, the mental transformation during the conflict resolution process results into a win-win situation. For Gandhi, to practise

ahimsa, one requires the qualities of deliberate self-suffering intended to awaken and convert the soul of the enemy and a harmless mind, mouth and hand. Bringing change in the violent exploitative society through non-violent persuasive methods was never witnessed in the history. He conceived it as weapon of courageous and devoted people to the particular cause. Gandhi was the first to apply non-violence in political field on a huge scale. Gandhi derived the idea of non-violence from the principles 'Ahimsa Paramodharma' and 'VasudevaKutumbakam' which mean to earn complete freedom from ill-will, anger and hatred, and to nurture love for all. The concept of non-violence and non-resistance has a long history in Indian religious thought and had many revivals in Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Jewish and Christian contexts. He was quoted as saying that when I despair, I remember that all through history the way of truth and love has always won'. Non-violence is the means to achieve truth. Just as violence is the distinctive character of animals, non-violence is the nature of man. Violence and non-violence are two opposite terms.

Satyagraha and constructive programmes should be applied for mending social relations. Religious tolerance and understanding, reconciliation of ethnic and racial differences etc, are of fundamental importance in the quest for establishing peace. Gandhi analyzed peace and conflict as pertaining to the social order. He focused on the various methods by which society copes with the challenges of peace and conflict. Both the state as well civil society have a role in controlling and even prevention of social strife. Gandhi was aware that this level of non-violence required incredible faith and courage, which he realized not every one possessed. He, therefore, advised that everyone need not keep to nonviolence, especially if it were used as a cover for cowardice. Gandhi stated that non - violence is the rule of conduct for a society, if it is to live consistently with human dignity and make total progress towards the attainment of peace. He observed, non-violence is not a value principle alone but a science based on the reality of mankind, society and polity. He drew no distinction between interpersonal and interstate duty. Gandhi saw a spiritual unity among all men transcending their temporal differences; He opposed aggression whether or not it directly uses military force, receives legal recognition from the parties concerned or the international community.

Gandhi drew two lessons from the Bhagvad Gita: to base action on unselfishness and to be detached from worldly benefits. He did not believe that seeking Indian freedom by war-time service had been selfish or to be detached means to ignore or shun the profits of action. Gandhi's moral was to avoid asking for something. It was not a refusal to accept something good from evil. Gandhi read the scriptures and doctrines of all major world religions with great interest and finally arrived at a conclusion that they are all 'more or less' the same. The phrase 'more or less' was

a term he systematically used because he thought that no religion could grasp God in its entirety. He put great stress on prayer, non-violence and celibacy as ways of spiritual enlightenment and believed that salvation was the ultimate goal of life. Gandhi's secular theories took on a special significance in the particular context of the Indian national movement. The primacy of the moral over the political and of the spiritual over the temporal is fundamental to Gandhi's thinking. He considered absolute truth as the ultimate goal and non-violence as the best method of achieving it. Absolute truth is omnipotent and all encompassing. It is equivalent to divinity. Purity of means to achieve any end is also fundamental to the Gandhian approach. Rejecting the Machiavellian approach that end justifies means; Gandhi said that ends and means are inseparable. Good begets good and evil begets evil. In fact, 'ends' grows out of the 'means'.

Gandhi dedicated his life to the wider purpose of discovering truth, or Satya. Truth was Gandhi's favorite human value which inspired his autobiography "My Experiments with Truth". *Satya Meva Jayate* was his slogan. This is as human value which leads to non-existence to human race. Gandhi wanted every individual and society to practice truth at any cost. He emphasized that all religions, philosophies, societies have unambiguously advocated truth. According to him, truth was God and that truth must manifest itself in the thought, word and deeds. Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness. Hence, peace achieved through Untruth and deceit is not to be encouraged. Such peace cannot last long. Peace based truth is stable and also promotes internal spiritual growth in man and social progress.

Peace and justice are also integrally related. They were like two sides of the same coin. The realist approach looks at conflict as a clash of interests between two parties which can be resolved either by the victory of one side or by some compromise agreement between the two parties. Gandhi accepted that the path of truth will always be full of hardship, difficulties, sufferings, and sacrifice. To tell the truth, one must be courageous. Trading the path of truth is a continuous and unending process which has to be followed by every generation.

The way to harmony is a compilation of Gandhi's reflections on certain problems which divide mankind. Everywhere in the world, individuals and groups are divided because of fear, suspicion and hatred. It depends on local conditions whether the division expresses itself along religious, economic, political, caste or colour lines. Whatever be the form, insecurity is perhaps the major cause of individual and social dissensions. A person who is integrated and sure of himself fears none and consequently provokes no fear. Tolerance is an end in itself. In addition, to resolve conflicts, he conceived of a novel technique which he called

but not the antagonists themselves. In Satyagraha, the negative actions of the other party will have to be opposed persistently and resolutely, at the same time maintaining the feeling of amity for the opponent. Gandhi recommended satyagraha as a substitute for military action.

He said that it has a spiritual quality which is not found in ordinary warfare. He claimed: 'Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be ex-tended to every other circle.' Gandhi's secularism was based on mutual respect. Gandhi believed that all religions ultimately described only attributes of God but never his being. It was the fault of the limitation of human understanding and imagination, and not of any particular faith. Secularism for Gandhi was an absolute necessity to bring about any form of constructive and all-encompassing political movement. Gandhi preached his ideals of secularism and religious tolerance across the length and breadth of the country. All the religions such as Hinduism, Christia.

For Gandhi, the first step for peaceful and just world order is the individual. Gandhi was a humanist who put man at the center of all social and political activities. An individual is an integral part of the whole. There is an unbreakable link between an individual and the family, a family and the neighborhood, a neighborhood and the society, a society and the nation. Each level is as strong as the ties it has with the other. Hence, for the strengthening the probability of peace at the societal and national level, the beginning has to be made at the level of the individual psychology. Gandhi believed that the sources of peace and conflict lie in the minds of men.

Continuous self-introspection, self-analysis and self-purification are essential. Youth should know that social harmony is an index of peace. They should strive peacefully to make their and other people's social lives happy and undisturbed which is the aim of any society. Gandhi had stressed upon youth participation in bringing out various social reforms during his struggle for independence in the sati pratha, polygamy, child marriage, education of women, widow remarriage, untouchables, caste system, exploitation and religious misguidance. And the attributes that make youth swim through were non-violence, co-operation, justice, equality and love. Youth should co-operate with elders and children. It should be looked upon as a way of life. He underlined that co-operation is the basis for peace, love, equality and justice. Peace cannot be imposed from above but must grow from within. As both conflict and peace begin in the minds men, a non-violent peacemaker must first establish peace within himself before attempting to establish peace elsewhere. Non-violence has a religious, social, spiritual and personal significance. Force or aggression leads to a total destruction of society. Violent feelings provoke conflicts which grow in strength

and threaten the very society it was initially supposed to protect.

Attainment of peace should be the ultimate goal of any youthful human emotions and actions. Once their minds are at rest they can concentrate their energies for spreading the message of peace.

Gandhi also believed that without settling the differences within one's own society, it is not possible to work for or establish peace at the global level. Gandhi advocated joint families and village communities as the co-operation among different individuals, classes, castes and groups in the society ensures growth in all walks of human life from basic needs of food clothing and shelter to more complex requirement of the people like industries, transportation, recreation, finance etc. Peace is a relationship between people and people. Peace begins with a harmony between individuals. Gandhi lived and worked for the establishment of such relationship among individuals and groups. He has a unique contribution to peace in the modern context. Community is the center of ideals in Gandhism.

Before going for any political demands, Gandhi always sought to bring about necessary changes in community and get his ideas and methods well accepted by the community. Gandhi tried to bring about major changes in the Indian society. Gandhi says that society is a group of individuals dwelling together who symbiotically carries out various activities to bring happiness and stabilization. As it is a unique blend of diverse religions, cultures, and races its structure keeps changing with respect to time. A nation which has achieved internal harmony will not need armed forces for its security. Gandhi described the term co-operation as all individuals coming together to achieve the designed goals and all of them sharing the fruits of the achievements. Nobody is overburdened nor over regarded.

Gandhi maintained that there cannot be lasting peace unless there are equal opportunities for all. According to Gandhi, "You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and groveling, you cannot succeed in ensuring equal status for women, and the access to opportunities for all was the ultimate that would bring independence to the people of India." Gandhi believed that real peace cannot emerge unless the individuals cease to exploit one another. A peaceful community would aim at resolving conflicts by helping its neighbors alleviate their economic problems and try to remain friendly with them.

The holistic understanding of man's spiritual quest led Gandhi to adopt and preach a theory of tolerance, harmony, forgiveness and mutual respect founded on truth and maintenance of non-violence. Ultimately, the moral and spiritual forces would triumph over the material and physical forces because the Spiritual force and desire for non-violence lies in every man's heart. This spiritual force might be dormant, but it can be awakened by right stimulus and training. Mere denunciation of violence will not result into a peaceful world order. It is necessary to reform the individual for this. Gandhi preached tolerance of all religions. To him, his religion was love and tolerance, his God were his principles to which he stuck no matter how great the adversity was, and he was a fighter – one who fought with truth and non-violence. He believed violence could get you victory but it would only be modentary. Instead, he believed in conquering the enemy with love.

Gandhi was also pained by the caste-based social structure that India has followed and particularly the curse of untouchability, which to Gandhi was the greatest sin of all because it not only spelt discrimination but debased a particular section of mankind on an occupational basis. Indian society has been traditionally plagued by the evils of caste and creed based discrimination. The caste oriented stratification of the Indian society has hindered all chances of national unification from the early days of Indian society. The situation was complicated by the presence of various religious groups within the country, who were not ready to compromise any ground to reach a platform of commonality.

Gandhi said that our development models too will have to be reformed to make them people oriented rather than machine-centered. Big technology aligned with big business could create disastrous consequences for the society. Appropriate technology is the need of the hour to encourage the movement towards a non-violent society. Decentralized production that generates employment and does not marginalize and exploit men at the lowest rung of the society alone can be conducive to peace and non-violence.

Gandhian approach to community peace not only concerns human beings and society but also includes the ecology and the cosmos. According to Gandhi, political freedom is needed for every individual and the community. He wanted that man to be the centre of all in a political cycle. The entire exercise should be around him or her leading to benefit him/her no destructing him/her. As the star is believed to be the source of human life, it is good to have this companions'. If star is the 'life given' for the entire earth, the man is the 'life giver' of the entire games of politics. Such a man should be helped economically. Therefore, Gandhi advocated his politic philosophy by taking mass as a centre of all activities. According to him, theory and practice in politics should equal and should be

followed in a balancing way. Economic uplifting is the ultimate goal of any individual. For, politics should help. If one is self punishing for his own wrong things himself, the politics he does would help the human kind. If not, good political philosophy, even if it is good, will not work in practice.

Gandhi anticipated and articulated the concerns for environment. The compulsion for conflict arises not just due to urge for power, but also by the pattern of development based on disregard for nature and life forms. In his book, *Hind Swaraj*, he dismissed the western Civilization as exploitative of nature as well as of human beings, based on an over-use of earth's resources, over-production and over-consumption. Such a civilization resting on the selfish nature of the individual promotes amoral economics and amoral politics. A peaceful world will arise when man learns to live in harmony with nature and when all men and women identify themselves with all other living beings.

Gandhi fervently hoped for a world federation of free and independent state. His concept of World Government transcended in the traditional thinking, the pattern of conventional international organizations could not satisfy the conditions for bringing genuine peace. He held that peace could not be established through mere conferences. Similarly, he was not optimistic about the League of Nations and the United Nations. Since they lacked the spirit of non-violence and failed to serve as vehicle of peace in the absence of a force to enforce their decisions.

War is not a natural phenomenon but a social and a cultural one. It is not the nature of man to kill others and commit violence. Since individuals can be pacific, so the community that is composed of individuals can also be pacific. It is possible to avoid war if we eliminate the root causes of war and create the right environment through moral techniques. Gandhi had deep faith in the possibility of establishing peace through non-violent action. He wrote that not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature. It is not only the arms race that generates the violence but the mad rush also for the Western material comforts which results in constant dependence, dissatisfaction, cut throat competition, and exploitation too are responsible for untruth and violence. The modern military weapons have become so indiscriminate and their efforts so catastrophic that the very existence of mankind is threatened. Unscrupulous pursuit of material welfare without heading ethical and human values has eaten into the very vitals of national life and culture. As a result, the moral fibre of the people has been weakened.

To eliminate war and to establish world peace, Gandhi looked to statesmen and nations to use or develop certain methods and institutions. The chief of these are third party settlement, world government, disarmament and an international

police force. He argued that because the individual can be pacific, states possess an equal potential since they are equal to the sum of their citizens. As causes of war, Gandhi named western imperialism and fascism. He also cited communism as a threat to world peace. Behind these political forces he saw man's economic greed and recourse to violence as deeper sources of aggression. As remedies he called for economic justice, sovereign equality and peaceful cooperation among states as requisites for international harmony. To abolish war, we must get rid of our anger, hate, passion, pride, cupidity, fear, egotism and inordinate ambition and lust for power. He also believed that disarmament was possible only through "the matchless weapon of non-violence". He wanted that the great powers lead the rest by disarming themselves; they should give up ambitions and exploitation and revise their mode of life. Thus, according to Gandhi, disarmament cannot crystallize, unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another. Exploitation must go, that is the essential precondition for the establishment of a world free from blood-spilling.

Gandhi believed that nuclear discoveries had created a 'balance of terror' forestalling a third world war by fear of mutual destruction. He conceded that there might be a temporary revulsion to atomic war, but the world would return to violence when the feeling had passed. From Gandhi's viewpoint, states using nuclear weapons can never be 'just', and nothing of value results from an atomic war.

The modern world is characterized by diversity, escalating intolerance and strife potentially menacing every region. It is not confined to any Country, but is a global threat. In Wikipedia, it is mentioned that the current rise in acts of intolerance, violence, terrorism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, racism, marginalization and discrimination directed against national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, refugees, migrant workers, immigrants and vulnerable groups within societies, as well as acts of violence and intimidation committed against individuals exercising their freedom of opinion and expression - all of which threaten the consolidation of peace, harmony and democracy, both nationally and internationally, and are obstacles to development, the emphasis on tolerance and harmony is more essential than ever before. The question of world peace is ultimately about achieving conquest of the self. Man can appreciate and live by the principles of truth and non-violence. Gandhi's solution for a peaceful world received support from his views on economic grievances, western colonialism and his own philosophy of non-materialism. His insistence upon the equality of all states as a precondition to peace gained strength from his backing of the self-determination of most peoples.

Gandhi claimed that his life was like a laboratory of truth and non-violence.

Hence, this can be reinterpreted and applied fresh to the emerging realities of the 21st century. His teachings and personal examples do provide several practical tools and techniques that are relevant for addressing the challenges of the contemporary society. Mankind today is suffering from multidimensional crises such as terrorism, denial of human rights, economic inequality, racial discrimination, ethnic violence, religious intolerance, poverty, and environmental degradation and so on. Gandhi was convinced that peace is possible not through diplomatic activities alone but mainly through the participation of people and groups at all levels of the society. Peace from below rather than above is the cornerstone of the Gandhian thinking. Thus involvement of all the sections of the society – ordinary men and women, children, youth, civil society organizations, educational institutions etc. in the peace process are imperative.

One important condition of a peaceful world, according to Gandhi, is the raising of a Shanti Sena. Gandhi felt that it should be possible to raise it if we are sincere about its purpose. A non-violent army acts unlike armed men in times of peace and war. It brings warring communities together, carries out peace propaganda, engages in activities that bring and keep them in touch with other persons. Such an army should be ready to cope with any emergency.

The non-violent force must be small if it is to become efficient. The trained satyagrahis of the Shanti Sena would be willing to make any sacrifice, including of their own lives, for the sake of truth, peace and non-violence. The band of satyagrahis in the Shanti Sena confronts the aggressors and tells them of wrongness of their action. They are even willing to lay down their lives in the process of non-violent resistance.

Gandhian principles of truth, love, non-violence and social order based on justice and goodness are of great relevance in this context. The Indian constitution incorporated as its main commitment the chapter on Fundamental Rights which provides for guarantees against state interference with basic individual rights as well as positive commitment from the state to ensure a just social order.

Further, the constitution also incorporates a chapter on directive principles of state policy which direct or enjoin the state to pursue policies that promote a healthier natural and material environment as well as ensure a just distribution of the material resources of the society. Ever though the Fundamental Rights provisions and the Directive Principles provisions slightly differ in the degree of their enforceability, they can together be regarded as one great charter embodying the commitment to a broad conception peace in society. Peace in the world cannot be achieved without reaching the concept and techniques of

Gandhi. Therefore, it is much more important to understand his techniques and try to replace the present techniques which advocate violence all over the world. The force or violence was basis of international politics. Therefore, according to him, politics is power oriented. Power, therefore, leads to competition. Competition makes in turn violence.

Gandhi's views and vision of peace have been criticized as utopian, idealistic, inconsistent and contradictory. Critics question the ethical and practical basis of Gandhi's non-violent philosophy. According to them, even a violent act can acquire moral character under certain circumstance. The relationship between means and ends is more complex than what Gandhi recognized. Means and ends have to be understood in their wider contexts. The Gandhian approach also relies greatly upon the potential for converting ruling elites to justice and peace.

According to some scholars, Gandhi did not comprehend all the complexities of society or give an effective practical plan for community peace. However, Gandhi was a practical idealist. His contributions should, therefore, be judged on the basis of what he did rather than on the basis of what he wrote about peace. He was also not a dogmatic thinker and open to revising his ideas according to new realities and developments. His shifting stand about conflict is also something that was known to Gandhi himself. Gandhi's approach places him as a far-sighted, sensitive and perceptive man of peace. He gave a dynamic and flexible meaning of peace in which peace is the best, but not the only way, to achieve good. Modern peace researchers who have contributed to the idea of direct and indirect violence and particularly structural violence find Gandhi as an equally original Contributor to the thinking of peace research.

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Women Poverty: Causes and Remedies

Satya Devi

"(...) there was lack of food, of clothing, of housing and of every other essential requirement of human existence... the development policy objective should be to get rid of the appalling poverty of the people."

-Nehru, The Discovery of India, (1946)

Abstract

THE UNITED Nations Development Multidimensional Poverty Index 2019 reveals that there are number of people throughout the world experiencing poverty in terms of lack of finances, poor health, lack of clean water, lack of electricity, limited access of education, etc. The study is analytical in nature. Poverty directly affects the women and children more. As women constitute half of the total population, so it is important to study this very important problem. This study is an outcome of Ph. D. thesis and was conducted in Sangrah and Shillai Blocks of Sirmaur district of Himachal Pradesh. Sirmaur district is one of the backward districts in Himachal Pradesh in terms of education, poverty, health facilities, etc. The aim of this study was to analyse the reasons of the poverty among women and to suggest some remedies to minimise the poverty. Both primary as well as secondary data were used to conduct this study. The results of the study show that the study area is lacking in many aspects like quality of road network, quality of health services and low literacy especially among women.

Keywords: Women, Poverty, Causes, Remedies, Sirmaur, Himachal Pradesh

Introduction

Poverty cannot be measured by a single variable as it is a complex phenomenon. Only money value cannot measure the poverty. The United Nations Development Multidimensional Poverty Index 2019 releases its data. The data has been released across 101 countries. The data depicts that 23 percent people are multidimensionally poor. Half of these poor are below the age of 18 years. The data regarding poverty is unpleasant. Besides this data some countries have made efforts to tackle the multidimensional poverty. India has made good efforts in this regard. The report revealed that in India during 2005-06 over 640 million people were multidimensionally poor. The multidimensional poverty reduced by

about 40 percent during 2016-17 in India. Two-third of India population lives in poverty. More than 68 percent of the total Indian population spend less than \$ 2 in a day. In poverty women and children suffer most.

India is one of the largest economies in the world. Over the many years, India enjoyed the growth rates of up to 10 percent. In spite of large economy and high growth rates, only few people has benefited from this thrilling economy. Majority of the people are still away from the benefit of this impressive economic boom. Most of the people in India live in rural areas and having less job opportunities. Unemployment and low wages driving the rural people to the cities causes high pressure on cities. Most of these people live in the slums nearby the cities. In these areas they do not get quality of drinking water, electricity, hygiene, etc. this causes life threatening diseases. In such a bad environment women and children affect more.

Poverty Measurement in India

The Government of India had tried hard to measure the poverty. Some of the attempts of Government of India to measure poverty are:

1. "The Task Force on Projection of Needs and Effective Consumption Demand" constituted by Planning Commission of India in 1979 defines Poverty Line as per capita expenditure level at which average per capita per day calorie intake is 2400 calorie for rural areas and 21 calories for urban areas.
2. Tendulkar committee was formed by the Government of India in 2005. The head of this committee was Sachin D. Tendulkar. This committee was formed with the aim to suggest the method of calculation of poverty in India. In 2009 the committee suggested new method of calculating poverty. Tendulkar committee had been fixed the poverty line at Rs 27 in rural areas and Rs 33 in urban areas. According to this method of poverty calculation about 22% of the population was below poverty line.
3. On 30th May 2012, an expert committee constituted by the Planning Commission of India under the chairmanship of C. Rangarajan. He was chairperson of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council. Rangarajan committee redefined the poverty line and suggested the new poverty line in India should be Rs. 32 in rural areas and Rs. 47 in urban areas. According to this report there were about 30 percent population below poverty line.

Poverty in India

In India more than 200 million people do not have sufficient access to food. There are 61 million children among them. 7.8 million Infants were found to have a birth weight of less than 2.5 kilograms. Such data is alarming for a country

commonly referred to as the emerging market. About 12.5 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 are working as child labour. Although in India child labour under the 14 years of age is prohibited by law. According to UNICEF, about 25 percent of Indian children between 6-14 years of age do not access education. The number of girls is higher among the children excluded from school than boys. Besides these, it is believed that in order to secure survival, Indian children contribute to the livelihood of their families; they work in the field, in factories, in quarries, in private households and in prostitution also. After going through this data it time to rethink.

Women Employment in India

The Economic Survey of India, 2017-18 shows that the proportion of women who work has steadily reduced over time, from 36 percent to 24 percent in a decade, signalling a decline of 33.3 percent in Female Labour Force Participation (FLFP) in ten years. It also showed that the gender gap in Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) is more than 50 percentage points in India. This gender gap is visible in the plot for Median Earnings as well. As the Survey Report notes, women workers often constitute the most vulnerable of the workforce as they are “employed in the least secure, informal, unskilled jobs, engaged in low-productivity and low-paying work”. Among peers, India performs the worst compared to Brazil, Mexico and Indonesia, according to both indicators analysed by OECD. This is also corroborated by the estimates released by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and World Bank, as given below. They have defined FLFP as percentage of working female population in the 15 years and above demographic.

Status of Women in India in Different Aspects

There are many aspects on which the status of women can be measures. Some of the aspects are:

Population Status of Women

- According to the Census 2011, women contribute 48.5 percent to the total population of India.
- The sex ratio at national level was 943 and the for rural and urban areas it was 949 and 929 respectively. For 0-19 years of age group the sex ratio was 908 in 2011, while for the age group of 60+ years it was 1033. The sex ratio of economically active age group i. e., 15-59 years of age) was 944.
- According to the SRS 2014, the mean age of women at marriage was 22.3 years at national level, 21.8 years in rural areas and 23.2 years in urban areas.
- According to the National Sample Survey Report (July 2011 - June 2012), the number of household headed by the women is 11.5% households in rural areas and 12.4 % households in urban areas.

Health Status of Women

- According to the estimated data of the SRS 2014 the Crude Birth Rate (CBR) is 21 and General Fertility Rate (GFR) is 77.6 at national level in India.
- The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in 2014 was 2.3. It was high among illiterate women in rural as well as urban areas of the country. But it is higher among rural illiterate women as compare to the urban illiterate women.
- The SRS reported that the age-specific fertility rate was highest (174.9) in the age group of 20-24 years followed by the age group 25-29 years (143.7) and 30-34 years (76.6).
- The mortality rate among females across all ages was 6.2 and 7.1 among males.
- The Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) has declined from 301 in 2001 to 167 in 2011.
- In 2014, the Infant Mortality (IMR) of females was 40 while that of males was 37. The rate of decline in the IMR of females was faster than that of IMR among males.
- The ratio of medical attention at the time of delivery is 93.2% for urban mother and 73.2% for rural mother.
- The life expectancy for females was 69.6 years and for males it was 66.4 years during 2010-2014. It reveals that the life expectancy of females is higher than that of males.

Educational Status of Women

- According to the Census 2011, the total literacy rate of India was 72.98% among which female literacy rate was 64.63% and male literacy rate was 80.9%.
- The literacy rate among 15 + years of age was 76% among which female literacy was 59.3% and male literacy rate was 78.8%. There is gap between rural and urban literacy rate in both male and female cases. The adult literacy rate among females in rural areas was 50.6% and 76.9% in urban areas whereas the literacy rate among males in rural areas was 74.1% and for females it was 88.3% in urban areas.
- The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) at Primary level for females is 101.4 during 2014-15 and 98.9 for males. At middle level the ratio is 95.3 for males and 87.7 for females. At higher secondary level, it was 65.8 for males and 63.8 for females. There were 93 girls per 100 boys in primary class, 95 in middle class, 91 in secondary class and 90 in senior secondary class during this period.
 - The number of females per 100 males in University education in major disciplines was highest in Medicine (90.9), followed by Arts (86), science (72.7), commerce (67.3) and Engineering & technical (40.3).

Women Participation in Economy

- According to the census 2011, in India the Workforce Participation Rate of women was 25.51% and men Workforce Participation Rate was 53.26%.
- According to the National Sample Survey 2011-12, 59.3% of the rural female workers were self-employed, while in urban areas this was 42.8%. In rural areas of India 54.5% male workers, and 41.7% urban male workers were self-employed.
The share of regular wage/salaried employees was less for both females (5.6%) and males (10%) in rural areas than of urban areas (42.8% females, 43.4% males).
- The data of 5th Annual Employment–Unemployment Survey conducted by Labour Bureau of India reveals that the unemployment rate for persons aged 15+ years was 3.7 in India. The female 15+ year age unemployment rate was 5.8, while for the males 15+ year age, this ratio was 3.0.
- The 6th Economic Census (2013-14) showed that, 21.49% of the total establishments were owned by females and 18.29% of the workers employed in establishments were females.

Women Participation in Decision Making

- In the 17th Lok Sabha there are only 3 Women Cabinet Ministers and 3 Women State Ministers in India ministers.
- The total member of elected women in 17th Lok Sabha is 78 which are 14% of the house.
- At present there are only 3 women judges in Supreme Court out of 34 sitting judges. About 11% women judges are working in different High Courts of India. Women judges constitute about 28 percent of the total judges in India.
- In 2016, there were 46% women elected representatives in Panchayati Raj Institutions in India. This number is quite high as compared to the others; this is because there is a provision of 33% reservation of seats for women contestants at local level. Some of the Indian states have made this provision of reservation up to 50% for women.

Table No. 1. Poverty Statistics of India

Indicators	Percent/Number	Year
Share of Population Below the National Poverty Line	21.9%	2011
Employed population Below \$ 1.90 Purchasing Power Parity a day	21.2%	2011
Unemployed Rate	2.6%	2011
Under-5 Mortality Rate (Death Per 1000 Live Births)	39	2011

Source: Asian Development Bank Basic Statistics, 2019

Table No. 2. SDGs and India on Some Selected Indicators

Sustainable Development Goals	Indicators	Percent/ Number	Year
SDG 2: Zero Hunger	Prevalence of Undernourishment	14.8%	2015-17
	Prevalence of Stunting among Children Under 5 Years of Age	37.9%	2015
	Prevalence of Malnutrition (Wasting) among Children Under 5 Years of Age	20.8%	2015
	Prevalence of Malnutrition (Overweight) among Children Under 5 Years of Age	2.4%	2015
SDG 3: Good Health and Well Being	Maternal Mortality Ratio (Per 100,000 Live Births)	174	2015
	National Mortality Rate (Per 1000 Live Births)	24	2017
	Tuberculosis Incidence (Per 100,000 Population)	204	2017
	Mortality Rate attributed to Cardiovascular Disease, Cancer, Diabetes, or Chronic Respiratory Disease	23.3%	2016
SDG 4: Quality Education	Participation Rate in Organised Learning (1 Year before the Official entry age), Female	**	**
	Participation Rate in Organised Learning (1 Year before the Official entry age), Male	**	**
	Promotion of Teachers who have Received at Least the Minimum Organised Teacher Training, Primary	69.8%	2017
	Promotion of Teachers who have Received at Least the Minimum Organised Teacher Training, Lower Secondary	76.6%	2017
SDG 5: Gender Equality	Proportion of Seats held by Women in National Parliament	12.6%	2018
SDG 7: Affordable and Clean Energy	Proportion of Population with Access of Electricity	84.5%	2016
	Renewable Energy Share in the Total Final Energy Consumption	34.0%	2016
SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth	Total Unemployment Rate	2.6%	2018
	Proportion of Adults (15 Years of Older) with an Account of Bank or other Financial Institutions or with Mobile Money-Service Provider	79.9%	2017
	Unemployment Rate (Female)	3.6%	2018
	Unemployment Rate (Male)	2.3%	2018

Source: Asian Development Bank Basic Statistics, 2019

Note: ** denotes, Data not available

Methodology

This study is an outcome of Ph. D. thesis and was conducted in Sangrah and Shillai Blocks of Sirmaur district of Himachal Pradesh. Sirmaur district is one of the backward districts in Himachal Pradesh in terms of education, poverty, health facilities, etc. This study is relevant for the policy makers. It is important to know the causes of the poverty among women, so that the policy makers can frame the policies accordingly. The aim of this study was to analyse the reasons of the poverty among women and to suggest some remedies to minimise the poverty. Both primary as well as secondary data were used to conduct this study. Primary data was collected during the field study and was observed and analysed to find out the causes of the women poverty in the study area. Secondary data was collected from the previous publication. The results of the study show that the study area is lacking in many aspects like quality of road network, quality of health services and low literacy especially among women.

Causes of Women Poverty

There are many causes of women poverty in India as well as in the study area. On

the basis of field survey some of the important issues have been identified responsible for women poverty in the study area. Low literacy among women in the Sirmaur is the main cause of poverty. The literacy rate among women in the Sirmaur district is low than the average literacy of the State. Out of total 12 districts in Himachal Pradesh, Sirmaur is on 8th rank in terms of sex-ratio. The average sex-ratio of the state is 972 females per 1,000 males and the sex-ratio of Sirmaur district is 918 females per 1,000 males. Early age marriage of girls is still in trends in Sirmaur. Due to early age marriage the girls cannot continue their study which also causes unemployment among them. Quality of health services is negligible in the rural areas under the study area.

Women are not aware about their rights and policies and programmes. Due to lack of awareness the women cannot avail the benefits of the policies and programmes. Poor road network is there in the study area. Because of bad conditions of roads it is not easy to perform commercial activities. There is lack of exposure for women to do any business oriented activities. Women entrepreneurship and women centric small scale industries are also negligible. There were very few women owned street shops in the study area. Women participation at legislative level and parliament level is nil in Sirmaur district. Presently Sirmaur district constitutes 5 Vidhan Sabha constituencies in Himachal Pradesh, but no women legislative member is there. Presently by election are going to be held in Pachhad constituency of Sirmaur district, but both the main parties of the State BJP and Congress has not shown their confidence on women candidates. Sirmaur district is part of Shimla parliamentary constituency and here the parliament member is also male.

Remedies to Alleviate the Women Poverty

Governments and all other agencies working in the field of women betterment are just focusing on quantity instead of quality, whether it is education, health or any other facility. We are just covering numbers under any scheme. Quality of that particular scheme, policy or programme is negligible. Now it is the time to focus on quality of services. Women centric small entrepreneurs should be established at the village level so that the women can secure their livelihood lifetime. Besides this to sell their products market should be provided at their door steps. Quality of road network and 24x7 supply of electricity supply should be provided. There should also be reservation of seats for women like local self-government in legislative and parliament level, so that the women can ensure their participation in decision making at higher level. Women should be motivated to run small street shops by providing them incentives in different forms. It helps them to earn their livelihood and they can also take care of their children and other members.

Conclusion

No doubt the governments have made tremendous efforts to minimize the poverty among women. But women are still not taking full benefits of these efforts, because of several reasons. In the male dominated society it not easy to women to come forward within few efforts. Not only women but also the weaker sections of the society are still excluded from the main stream of the society. There is a need to change in the policies as well as structural change. There are many women centric policies and programmes in India. In spite of the various programmes of the government, the country has not made great strides in female employment and female centric entrepreneurship. Only policy actions cannot be fully effective without structural changes in society with regard to attitudes towards women. Need of the time is to formulate economic and social strategies that work parallel to overcome the challenge.

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Ambedkar's Perspective on Education and its Relevance in Modern India

Chunni Lal

Abstract

EDUCATION as a means of overall advancement brings people out from darkness and superstitions providing an opportunity for downtrodden and marginalized. Our constitution provides opportunity for all to get education. Education plays a paramount role in a person's mental development. It makes people sensitive and analytical towards all the social and cultural prejudices prevailed among the mass. It liberates people's mind and lead them to form a society based on scientific and progressive temperament. In this way the goals of socialism, secularism and democracy come in existence with democratic constitution. Education is regarded as one that contributes to social, political and cultural and economic transformation of a country. The progress of any nation is based on its human resources. Human capital is one of the most important assets of a country. The strength of a nation depends on its intellectual skilful citizens. A quality human capital comes from a quality education process. All the factors of human development are intrinsically based on well planned education system. For Ambedkar education was the main key to open the doors of light, vision and wisdom. In the present paper the researcher has made an attempt to highlight the Ambedkar's perspective and strategies to strengthen our society through education and its relevance in the present time.

Keywords: Ambedkar, Marginalized, Prejudice, Education, Relevance, and Transformation

Introduction:

Education has a great influence on the human society and human life. One can safely say that education develops human mind fully. It trains the human mind to think and take the right decision. In other words, man becomes a rational animal when he is educated. It is by the means of education that knowledge and information received and spread throughout the world. An uneducated person cannot read and write and hence, he is closed to all the knowledge and wisdom that he can obtain from books and other medium. The quality of human resource

of a nation is easily assessed by the number of literate population living in it. This is to say that education is necessary if a nation desires for achieving growth and development and more importantly sustain it. This may well describe the fact that rich and developed nations of the world have very high literacy rate and productive human resource. In fact, these nations have started imparting selective training and education programs to meet the new technical and business demands and needs .of the 21st century.

Indian Education System: A Historical Review

The educational philosophy is considered the branch of philosophy where the different philosophical approaches are comparatively analyzed. The aim and ambition of this philosophy is to generate expertise, responsibilities, and reputed, appreciative reasonable citizenship of the country. When it comes to the Indian context educational philosophy anticipated almost the same approach. Going back to the Vedic and post-Vedic period there were two system Astika and Nastika. Astika served as orthodox belief and Nastika was heterodox. During the medieval time of Indian history, Islamic influence was also reflected in educational system. As institution like Madrasa and Maktabas were restricted to provide education. After that when Britishers attacked and occupied India they further affected education system of the nations. During this period the Christian philosophy was introduced. It was the commencement of the modern Indian society. During this period the Britishers introduced various reforms in Indian educational system, but the Indian revolutionary primly believed that the British education system was against Indian interest. So,they wanted new education policy for the sake of country (Parmar 2014:43).

Ambedkar's Stance on Education:

Ambedkar's views on education can be understood through his writings, speeches, party manifesto and correspondence. He gave pivotal importance to education in his life. He wanted to reconstruct the structure of Indian society. His approach, therefore, towards education was more constructive and structural. He considered education as the basis of social, economic and political revolution. For Ambedkar, education alone creates a sense of new thinking and awakening among hither to the oppressed downtrodden people in India. He wanted it for all, and not restricted only to a few classes of society. As a humanist, Ambedkar supported of giving education for the development of human personality. In the view of Ambedkar, education must focus on serving human interests and achieving social change and amelioration. It ought to aim at human development for which remoulding the mind must be the major concern of education. It is only through education that one could enlighten oneself and organize social forces against cruel and oppressive elements of traditional societies in India (Waghmare 2016:12).His Educationalphilosophy focuses on development of

people and their environment. Ambedkar primly believed that education should be ensured and given without any discrimination to all the citizens of independent India. "Education is something which ought to be brought within the access and reach of every one", was the fundamental thought of B.R Ambedkar. He believed in liberal education and based on religious inspiration of non- theistic nature. Education, according to Ambedkar, was a blend of 'pragmatism' of Dewey and 'dhamma' of Buddha. He thought that education would enlighten his people and bridge the gap between the higher classes and untouchables (Nithiya 2012 :47).

Elementary Education:

"Education is something which ought to be brought within the reach of every one. The aim and objective of primary education is to see that every child that enters the portals of a primary school does leave it only at a stage when it becomes literate continuous to be literate throughout the rest of his life." Ambedkar was sure that elementary education is very vital for the vulnerable sections as it provides them necessary platform to come into public life. Ambedkar knows the importance of education in shaping the future and cautioned the under-privileged not to lose any chance, "We may forego material benefits, but we cannot forego our rights and opportunities to reap the benefits of highest education to the fullest extent." As a member, Ambedkar submitted a detailed report about the deplorable situations of the Backward Communities to the Bombay Legislative Assembly, suggesting points for the prevailing iniquitous educational System. He made a historical appeal for more grants to develop primary education for all sections during 1927 in his Legislative Council Debates in the Bombay Assembly. Primary education occupies a central place in the educational rebuilding of a developing nation. Ever since educational consciousness developed in India, a great deal of thinking has gone into developing sufficient programmes of primary education. When the constitution of India was in the making, the expert framers of this sacred document did not ignore the great national endeavor to provide for primary education to meet the needs and aspirations of the people of free India. Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State policy held out a great promise for the young children. Unfortunately a few miles are yet to be covered and travelled before the promise can be fulfilled. It is the primary education which is the first stage of the entire superstructure of educational setup in India. According to Indian Constitution, (Art. 45) elementary education refers to free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years. Primary school only eighteen reaches the fourth standard, the rest of them, that is to say, eighty-two out of every one hundred replaces into the state of illiteracy. Hesaid that the Government should spend ample amount of money so that every child who enters a primary school reaches the fourth standard(Ambedkar 1987:45).

Ambedkar always suggested the down-trodden masses to develop their condition by themselves and to make progress in all the fields of life. He was of the opinion that unless Primary Education was made imperative and strictly enforced conditions for educational progress of the backward classes would not come into existence. According to him, unless the 'Compulsory Primary Education Act' was established, and the transfer of primary education to the school boards was stopped, the education of the depressed classes would attain a great set back. He opined that the entry in the public services should be secured to the depressed classes otherwise; there would be no inducement for them to take to education. He thought that some special arrangements should be made for the education of the backward classes in the form of a few hostels and a few scholarships for higher education by the government. But he was aware of the fact that it was useless to make provision for higher education of the Depressed Classes unless steps were taken to guarantee the growth of primary education. According to him, separate schools for Backward Class Students are not advisable as this in turn would increase the gap between the Caste Hindus and the Untouchables. He considered that books should be published in simple language, circulating libraries should be provided to night schools, special bonus and prizes should be distributed by the Government to teachers who were educating the backward class students. He was aware of the fact that only primary education was not enough for the upliftment of the down trodden masses, so he promoted them to take higher education. In his Bombay Legislative Council Debates, 12 March 1927 on 'Grants for Education' he states that the government should form an agency that is directly responsible to it to make sure that the dalits is not ignored and seen to their advancement in education. He made this statement on the basis of his observation of the great disparity in the comparative advancement in education of the different classes as against the size of population (Ambedkar 1987:52).

Higher Education:

According to Ambedkar, "Higher education implies that education, which can enable people to occupy the strategically important places in state administration. Brahmins had to face lot of opposition and obstacles, but they are overcoming these and progressing ahead." He stressed upon the minds of his people, the importance of self-respect and self-elevation. He made them able to take higher education for their progress. He considered that the progress of a community always depended upon how its members advanced in education. That is why he put more stress on higher education than on elementary education. In the realm of higher education, Ambedkar supported teacher's necessary freedom to frame their own syllabi and assess the performance of their students. He was against of prescribing and following a rigidly syllabus. He founded the People's Education Society in 1945, which started a college on June 20, 1946.

The institution was founded by him with a view to promoting higher education among the lower middle classes and especially among the scheduled castes. Later on, the People's Education Society was started high-schools, night high schools, hostels, colleges and other institutions. Though, he started the People's Education Society, still he held the view that the greater responsibility for providing educational opportunities should be that of the Government (Sowbhagya 2014:178).

Ambedkar has wisely listed included Article 45 in the Directive Principles of State Policy that, “the state shall Endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.” The government of India has passed the bill of Right to Education Act 2008 and paid a great respect to the contributions of Ambedkar to mass education.(Salagare 2018:6).The policy of the Government of universalization of elementary education is stressing particularly on the marginalized groups, the weaker sections and the girl child, enhancing enrolment in secondary education as well as its commitment to spread increasing education facilities will empower and equip youth to face the future with strength and belief . There are several challenges to feed Ambedkar of vision of universal education. There is the requirement frame such policies starting from the primary stage to the higher stage that help to implement the vision of Ambedkar today (Haribhau 2014:61).

Women Education :

Ambedkar considered education as a main instrument for the liberation of women. They were not allowed to take education with lower castes. It is proven from his speeches that he had huge concern for women liberation and upliftment. Addressing the Second All-India Depressed Classes Women's Conference held on 20 July 1942 at Nagpur, he said, “I measure the progress of community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. I shall tell you a few things which I think you should bear in mind. Learn to be clean; keep free from all vices. Give education to your children. Instil ambition in them. Inculcate on their minds that they are destined to be great. Remove from them all inferiority complexes”, in this way, Ambedkar focused on education for the progress of women and our country. Ambedkar evaluates education is as necessary for females as it is for males. If you know how to read and write, there would be much progress. As one is, so your children will be shaped and moulded their lives in virtuous way, for sons should be such as would make a mark in this world. He wanted to liberate women from their suffering and financial dependency. In order to give economic rights and freedom to women, Ambedkar demanded educational rights, equality and right to property for women. To educate women, he questioned co-education for women with men. Through education, he believed, that women would think

independently which will lead to their intellectual and mental development (Arora, 2017:123).

Ambedkar on Education and Success of Indian Democracy:

For the right functioning of Democracy in India he put greater emphasis on education. Due to the western impact and his own experience in democratic countries, he recognized the urgent need of education for the country like India. He thought education as an important means for the eradication of caste system in India and for the better future of Democracy in India. He interrelated caste, democracy and education in his own way and tried to offer intellectual solution for eradication of caste system. He wished to use education as a means to end the caste system. To give education to those who want to keep up the caste system is not to empower the prospect of Democracy in India but to put our Democracy in India in greater stake. So he emphasized the education of lower castes for the better prospects of Democracy in India immensely. He said that education is a key to uproot all sorts of inequalities and to attain social democracy. (Waghmare 2016:15)

Ambedkar's Views Education and Welfare state:

As an educationist Ambedkar did not merely highlight the advantages of education in theory alone but also in practice, he set a realm of educational institutions. Ambedkar established the People's Education Society in 1945 and its aim is not merely to give education, but to give education in such a way as to promote intellectual, moral and social democracy. Although Ambedkar began educational institutions through voluntary effort and organizations, he had strong faith in the educational modernization of masses under the auspices of the State. He was fully convinced that the education is one of the best resources to bring the destitute with the main stream of national development. Ambedkar strongly desired to have community education and it should be given to the lowest strata of the society for the over-all development of country. To establish social justice in caste ridden Indian society, Ambedkar gave greater emphasis on education. In March 1947, Ambedkar made a detailed plan of constitutional provisions and submitted it to the Constituent Assembly under the title 'States and Minorities: What are their Rights and How to secure them in the Constitution of Free India'. In his concept of 'State socialism', he highlighted a main role for the State in discharging its duties in respect of education of the unlettered millions of citizens in the country. He said that it is the duty of state to provide education to all. As a chairman of Drafting Committee (1946-1949) Ambedkar mentioned and prescribed many articles in Indian constitution for the educational safeguards of disadvantaged classes of Indian society. He tried to provide free ships, scholarships and opportunity of higher education in India and abroad for Schedule Caste. He provided Fundamental Rights and also guided the

states through Directive Principles for welfare state (Waghmare 2016:17).

Relevance of Ambedkar's Perspective of Education:

Ambedkar had immensely fought to uproot birth-based operation where the basic amenities like education, housing, employment, equal opportunities are restricted for the benefits and development of the few upper classes. Equality in every aspect is reflected in the constitution and turns to be a vital element is its composition. The NCERT says, "Across the country, enormous strides towards establishing schools within the reach of every habitation have been made. Efforts to put larger number of children through schooling have proved to be great and successful. A few of children still remain to be reached- children from the socially weaker section, those belonging to the minority groups, and particularly girls, in each of these groups. The demand of the hour is to identify the extraordinary social-cultural conditions which restricted these children from accessing schools." Hence, despite of making constitution legal rights, the children and the youth of depressed classes are not capable of enjoying the equal and quality education. In the Indian society, the people who are illiterate and poor are not aware about education as well as their basic rights of the life. The people from the downtrodden classes are facing caste discrimination in society.

The education system is itself as a tool for, upliftment empowerment, and quality for the depressed section. But social perspective has not changed its image. Schedule Caste students in today's knowledge and technological laden era are still facing the rejection and decimation from the hands of teachers who give priority to so-called the upper caste students. The lower castes are still side-line from the learning process and are harshly treated. Although the government have been uplifting those students through scholarships under the various schemes most of them are devoid of awareness about these scholarships.

Sum up:

For Ambedkar, education was the main key to open the doors of success, vision and wisdom. Ambedkar had taken education as the chief tool to bring social changes and awareness greatly. He believed that education can act as an agent to bring quality and equality in the society. Ambedkar as a father of Indian constitution, has done a great deal works to awake the depressed class, to make them aware of their situation, to raise their voice and showed them education as a path for their political, economic and social upliftment. He inspired the Schedule Caste to merge with upper caste in social, economic and political aspects through the slogan of education, and social awareness. Hence, Ambedkar contributed a lot to all sections of society in the field of education by introducing and mentioning certain rights under the Article 30 and 29 in Indian constitution.

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Discrimination Against Women: A Comparative Study of Manu Smriti and Hindu Law

Prem Lal
Anjali Verma

THE AGE of *Smritis* is known for adversely affecting the women's rights in terms of their freedom, education, equality and justice. Manu enumerated through his *smriti* a large number of laws directing women's conduct from womb to tomb. In the historical perspective, the general position and attitude of women has been changing with the passage of time. Different schools interpret differently this changing position. One school is seen declaring that the women is the highest gift of God to mankind, while the other is seen asserting that the best way to reach God is to avoid women' (Altekar, 1983). Altekar finds 'the attitude of Hindu society in this matter (on position of women) is very stiff and unsympathetic (Madhvanand and Majumdar, 1953). The men have fixed much higher standards of morality about her chastity in almost all ages.

Later-vedic age onwards the privilege of *upanayana* was denied to women and their status was reduced to that of *sudras*' (Altekar, 1983). Cormark observed that 'During the period between 500 B.C to 500 A.D the status of women was on the margins and was Dark Age'. *Smritis* define her a *devi* (Goddess) as well as a *pramada* (seducer). She is sincere or truth-loving and yet she has weakness of character, lack of judgement and balance of mind. She is queen of the house but does not deserve freedom and independence even in the family affairs (Madhvanand and Majumdar, 1953) These statements may often seem contradictory to each other and at places even self-contradictory.

Manu's objective was to regulate human activities within disciplined social establishment. According to Hindu orthodox view there was an inseparable relationship between law and Dharma. Hindu law is considered to be of divine origin. It is revealed by the almighty God to our great sages, philosophers and jurist who had attained spiritual heights by their tapasya and yog (Kesri 2011). The law deemed by the Hindus is a branch of religion, an expression which represents the duty. Legal teachings contained in their code established a mixture

of religion and ethics. According to these ancient Law Givers, the end of law is to ensure that the system is present in the society for the benefit of the people and therefore they consider the law as a socially good and compulsive society. The Madras High court, had explained the term 'Hindu Law' in the following words:

'What is ordinarily understood as Hindu Law is not like the customary law of the country like the common law of England. Neither is it a statute law in a sense that some king or legislature framed the law and enforced its acceptance by people. Hindu law as is commonly understood is a set of rules contained in several Sanskrit books which the scholars consider as books of authority on the law governing the Hindus' (Agrawala, 2013). Women were not exempted from following the duties given to them but her space was limited into the four walls of house where her duties were further defined by begetting children; bringing them up—day in, day out, and depicting the wife, evidently, as the linchpin of domestic affairs. (Manusmriti, 2003) Man becomes complete with the wife, self and offspring (Ibid., IX, 45). Manu's conception of the ideal treatment of women is expressed in the following words:

यत्र नार्यस्तु पुज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः ।

यत्रैतास्तु न पुज्यन्ते सर्वास्तत्राफलाः क्रियाः ॥

Where females are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but where they are dishonoured, there all religious acts become fruitless (Haughton, 1982).

Thus, Manusmriti entered into all the spaces of Hindu society and supported patriarchy. After independence, during formulation of Indian constitution, the makers were aware of this impact. So the foremost advantage they provided to all the citizens was, the principle of (gender) equality in the Indian Constitution which has been contained in its preamble, fundamental rights, fundamental duties and directive principles. The constitution not only provided equality to women but also gave state the right to adopt positive discrimination measures in the favour of women. These measures paved a way towards liberty of women which was contradictory to Manu's view. Manu restricted the movement of women and advised not to leave them unprotected. He says women never deserved to be independent.

बाल्ये पितुर्वशे तिष्ठेत्पाणिग्राहस्य यौवने ।

पुत्राणां भर्तरि प्रेते न भजेत्स्त्री स्वतन्त्रताम् ॥

Her father protects in childhood, her husband protect in (her) youth and her son protect (her) in old age a woman is never fit for independence (Buhler, 1986).

The word's expression 'स्वतन्त्रताम्' there are different opinions among scholars. Patrick Olivelle laid down 'the term *Svatantra* (independence) specifically with legal connotations. In Narda Smriti, the term is taken to indicate a person who can undertake actions that are legally binding, such as sales and contracts'. It

further specifies that a king is independent (*svatantra*) and his subjects are non-independent (*asvatantra*); a teacher is independent, and his pupil is not; a head of a household is independent, and the women, children, and servants are not (Olivelle, 2006). On the other hand Asha Rani Tripathi observed 'the root word *Svatantrya* means 'to support' or 'to maintain'. The word *Svatantraya* also contains the meaning 'self dependence'. The dependence of women indicated by Manu does not mean that a woman should be kept in a prison house' (Tripathi, 2015). Narada Smritis, says 'पक्षद्वयावसानेतुराजाभर्तास्त्रियामतः, if nobody is there to protect woman on both sides (her father and in-laws), it is the duty of the King to take care of woman (Swain, 1996).

Medhatithi says in his *bhasya* 'women should not be left free to act as they like in regard to morality, wealth and pleasure. Whenever they desire to employ their wealth in acts of righteousness and the like, they should obtain the permission of their men, the husband or other male relatives, according to her age' (Jha, 1999). He says that women should not involve and addicted in sensual object like singing etc. So they should be controlled.

पिता भर्ता सुतैवर्षि नेच्छे द्विरहमात्मनः ।

एषां हि विरहेण स्त्री गर्ह्यो कुर्यादुभे कुले ॥

She must never want to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; for by separating herself from them, a woman brings disgrace on both families (Dutta, 1972)

Indian constitution guaranteed Right to privacy under Art 21. The right to privacy refers to the concept that one's personal information is protected from public scrutiny. U.S. Justice Louis Brandeis called it 'the right to be left alone' (Tim Sharp, 2013). But ancient Indian society hardly recognised any personal right of woman. Manu says that woman must not seek to be separated from her father, husband and keeping away herself from these people she would make both her families contaminated.

In the age of *Smriti* many restrictions were imposed on women including lowering the marriageable age of girls.

वैवाहिकोविधिः स्त्रीणासंस्कारोवैदिकस्मृतः ।

पतिसेवाहीगुरौवासोगृहार्थोऽग्निपरिक्रिया ॥

The sacrament of marriage is to a female what initiation with the thread is to a male. The service of the husband is to the wife, what his residence in the preceptor's house, as a religious student, is to the husband; the household duty is to a women, what the making of burnt offerings to a man (Shastri, 2003).

Lower age of marriage prevailed for a very long time in Indian society. Even after independence, through law only, age of marriage was fixed. Sec.5 clause (iii) of The Hindu Marriage Act 1955 prescribed that at the time of marriage the

bridegroom must have completed the age of 21 and the bride the age of 18 years. As it could not stop the abuse of child marriage so under section 3 of The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006. the child marriage was declared voidable at the option of contracting party being child. Even that male adult marrying child shall be punishable offence. (Desai, 2016) The Act also introduced monogamy and allowed divorce on certain specified grounds. It provided equal rights to Indian man and woman in respect of marriage and divorce.

Government also paid attention towards girl education. To attain the objective of universalisation of elementary education, the Government enacted the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009. The right to education has been accorded the same legal status as the right to life as provided by Article 21A of the Indian Constitution (Jha, 2010).

In *Smṛti* Age when the child marriage prevailed, existence of the sixth form of marriage i.e., *gandharva* gradually disappeared from society. So girls were married at the age before twelve and the average woman scarcely received any education. Under the circumstances, hardly we find example of any woman in society who was following high careers. In later times marriageable age of ordinary girl was reduced to eight or nine and they practically received no education. Remarriage of widow was completely prohibited by Manu smṛiti. He says

नदत्वाकस्यचित्कन्यांपुनर्दधाद्विचक्षणः ।

दत्त्वापुनः प्रयच्छन्निप्राप्नोतिपुरुषानृतम् ।।

Having married a girl to one, let not a wise man marry her again to another; by so doing a man commit sin (Buhler, 1886).

The writers of *Dhramasutras* recommended the age of girl for marriage before puberty. The girls should not stay till long time after attaining the puberty (Pandeya, 1972). *Kautiliya* has expressed the same views. Manu also contemplates on marriageable age of girl before the puberty.

त्रिंशद्वर्षोहेत्कन्यां हृष्टां द्वादशवार्षिकीम् ।

अष्टवर्षोऽष्टवर्षा वा धर्मे सीदति सत्वरः ।।

A thirty year-old man should marry a charming girl of twelve years, or an eighteen year-old, a girl of 8 years—sooner, if his fulfilling the Law would suffer (Haughton, 1982).

Medhatithi did not raise any objection on the matter of age equation. 'The injunction means that the maiden married should be much younger than the man; and not that marriage must be done only at the age stated. Nor is any stress meant to be laid upon the exact number of years mentioned; all meant is that one should

marry a girl very much younger than himself (Jha, 1999). Therefore the result of lowering age, forty or above the man had marry with the immature girl of eleven or twelve. Denied the imparting of education, brought up in the dictatorial atmosphere of the house of the mother-in-law, having no opportunities to develop their natural capacities and faculties, women became helpless, illiterate and narrow-minded.

Marriage under Hindu law remained primarily and essentially a sacrament. That was its religious aspect. Its secular aspect was of a gift of the bride to the bridegroom and from its very nature the elements of consensus which must accompany gift and its acceptance had to be present. The Hindu marriage Act, 1955 over-rules all the laws of marriage hitherto applicable to Hindus, whether by virtue of any text or rules of Hindu law or any custom or usage having the force of law in respect of all matters dealt with in it (Desai, 2016). Sec. 5 (iii) of the Act is also prescribes that the bridegroom has completed the age of twenty-one years and bride, the age of eighteen years at the time of marriage.

Manu also laid down special rules for physical qualification of bride. As stated:

नोद्वहेत्कपिलां कन्यां नाधिकाग्दीं न रोगिणीम् ।

नालोमिकां नातिलोमां न वाचाटां न पिण्डलाम् ॥

Let him not marry a girl of brown complexion, or one with a limb in less or excess or one who is a pronounced invalid, or a hairy one or one devoid of hairs on her body or a garrulous one or one whose eye-balls are brown or yellow (Buhler, 1882).

Medhatithi opines that the prohibition in the present verse pertains to her body. The hairs of girl either tawny or golden colour is called *Kapila* (Jha, 1999). He says that redness is bad if who is suffering from many diseases, or is overtaken by some incurable disease. However Patrick Olivelle has given different opinion about marriageable girl without or with too much bodily hair Husband's service is considered to be the wife's supreme duty (Olivelle). Altekar rightly observed 'A wife, who discharged all these duties, was the true *pativrata*. Sanskrit literature is full of passages in her praise (Altker, 1983). Manu emphasis also on the chastity of women even after the marriage.

मृते भर्तरि साध्वी स्त्री ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता ।

स्वर्गे गच्छत्यपुत्रापि यथा ते ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥

After the demise of her lord, a virtuous wife, by taking to the life asceticism, may go to heaven, even though not blessed with a child like the Brahmacharins (Dutta, 1972).

Law prior to the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 in terms of marital duties, the wife was bound to live with her husband and to submit herself to his authority. Sec 9

deals with Restitution of conjugal rights states that when either the husband or the wife has, without reasonable excuse, withdrawn from the society of the other the aggrieved party may apply, by petition to the district court, for conjugal rights (Desai, 2016). Thus, Hindu law provided various provisions in respect of legal rights to women.

Chastity remained for a very long time one of the major qualities of a Hindu woman. Most of the *Smritikars* while defining the concept of a good woman explained, 'though she be sonless, will go to heaven when she steadfastly adheres to the celibate life after her husband's death'. Manu observes in the following verse, the punishments for disobeying the husband concerned, (if women violates her duty).

व्यभिचारातु भर्तुः स्त्री लोके प्राप्नोति निन्द्यताम् ।

शृगालोनि प्राप्नोति पापरोगैश्च पीडयते ॥

A married woman who violates the duties which she owe to her lord brings infamy on herself in this life, and in the next shall enter the womb of a jackal or be afflicted with elephantiasis, and other diseases, which punish crimes (Haughton, 1982)

Thus, there were several restrictions imposed on women, after the death of her husband. She had been ordered to be deprived of all the pleasures of life.

काम तु क्षपयेहेहं पुष्पमूलफलैः शुभैः ।

न तु नामापि गृहीया त्पत्यौ प्रेते परस्य तु ॥

After the demise of her lord let her control her passion by living on auspicious flowers, bulbs and fruit and never dream of taking the name of another man. In the case of property women were placed wealthless (Dutta, 1972).

भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रया एवाधनाः समृताः ।

यते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥

A wife, a son and a slave never acquire any property for themselves; whatever they earn go to him to whom they belong (Ibid).

Hindu Law took every care to minimise the discrimination against Hindu widows. Today the widow of a male Hindu inherits simultaneously with a son, daughter and other heirs specified in class I of the schedule (S.9). She takes her share absolutely and not as widow's estate (S.14). Unchastity of a widow is not a ground for disqualifying her from succeeding to the estate of her husband (Desai, 2016).

The discrimination against women were discernible in civil and criminal law. Narda and Yajnavalkya also mentioned that women is unfit to be in a court of law.

बालवृद्धातुराणां च साक्ष्येषु वदतांमृषा ।

जानीयादस्थिरां वाचमुत्सिक्तमनसा तथा ॥

The faltering speech is the indicator of an old man, infant or sick folk deposing anything false; under these circumstances their real mind should be inferred from gesture and demeanour (Dutta, 1972)

When we talk about women's rights to property, women are found to be marginalized. She does not inherit the property either of her husband or of her father. There was no equal treatment in the case of paternal property. In *Yajnavalkya Smriti*, transactions with women are held to be invalid.

स्वेभ्योऽशेभ्यस्तु कन्याभ्यः प्रदयुर्धर्तरः पृथक् ।

स्वात्स्वादंशाच्चतुर्भाग पतिताः स्युरदित्सवः ।।

But to the maiden (sisters), the brothers shall severally give portions out of their shares, each out of his share one fourth part; those who refuse to give it, will become outcasts (Ibid).

This discrimination was corrected by Hindu law through section 14. Property of a Hindu female was declared to be her absolute property, whether acquired before or after the commencement of this Act. In this sub- section, 'property includes both movable and immovable property acquired by a female Hindu by inheritance or devise, or at a partition, or in lieu of maintenance, or by gift from any person, whether a relative or not before at or after her marriage or by her skill or exertion (Desai, 2016). But until Hindu Succession Act 1956 the property rights to the son and daughter were different. Son had a full right over the father's property and daughter could enjoy this right until they got married. The other issue was related to coparcenary. The member of Hindu undivided property is called coparcener who attains the right in the property by birth. Discriminatory Section 23 and Section 4(2) were omitted by the Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act.2005. On and from the commencement of the Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act No. 39 of 2005, 'the daughter of a coparcener shall, — (a) by birth become a coparcener in her own right the same manner as the son. (b) Have the same rights in the coparcenary property as she would have had if she had been a son. In plain words according to this Act every daughter, whether married or unmarried, is considered a member of her father's undivided property (HSA,2005). The amendment grants daughters same rights, duties, liabilities that were earlier limited to sons. However, in February 2, 2018 Supreme Court has given landmark judgement on the Act, 2005. This decision is significant since the 2005 amendment to the Hindu Succession Act did not provide for retrospective operation of the law. In the case of *Prakash vs. Phulwati*(2016) the Supreme Court held the amendment to be retrospective as regards daughters who are living as on the date of amendment. But 'the recent decision has made it general rule that a daughter, (living or dead) on the date of amendment will be entitled to share in father's property, thus her children can also claim this right' (Thoms, 2018). This is of course one of landmark Act with

Supreme Court judgement.

Therefore when we evaluate the status of women, we get to see many changes from Smriti age and after implementation of Hindu Law. The indictments laid down in the Manusmrti were based on the social, economic religious, political condition of women. In fact Manu expressed both the sympathetic and unsympathetic views towards women. Some of the views are quite contradictory and sentimental in nature. Manu gave the limited independence to women, but he emphasised on the proper measures for maintenance and protection of the women. But his structural framework was perhaps more according to the need and circumstances of the society where frequent invasions, economic dependence and rigidity towards fair sex prevailed. This attitude became a standard norm for the patriarchal set-up of the society and continued for a very long time. Even looking at the crime against female today, one finds genesis of it in notions set by Manu as standard for an ideal society.

N.V Banerjee comments, 'In fact, his (Manu's) entire attitude towards womanhood has proved a hindrance to the progress of the Hindu society. And it may not be an exaggeration to say that Manu's view of the *brahmana* as the highest and the most excellent class on the one hand and his view on women as inferior to men on the other, perhaps, are ultimately responsible for the failure of the Hindus to occupy an exalted position in the modern world which they were, perhaps, capable of occupying' (Banerjee, 1980). Further R.M. Das remarks that, 'we may very favourably compare this statement with that of Freud who says 'psycho analytic research has incontrovertibly shown that the incestuous choice is rather the first and most customary choice' (Das, 1962). After independence, the formation and implementation of the Indian Constitution started with the vision of equality to all citizens. So far there have been almost forty laws are enacted and implemented in favour of women in social, political, religious and economic fields. Hence, it would not be wrong to say that we are now moving towards equality and justice, Continuous efforts are being made to bring women to the mainstream of the society, who has been suffering from patriarchal structure for centuries.

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Empowering Women in India with the Help of Various Legislations

Ruchi Sapahiya

“A woman is the builder and moulders of a nation's destiny. Though delicate and soft as a lily, she has a heart, far stronger and bolder than of man ... She is the supreme inspiration for man's onward march, an embodiment of love, pity and compassion, she is no doubt, her commanding personality; nevertheless, is given by solemn”

-Rabindranath Tagore

OUR WOMEN have a very great part to play in the progress of our country, as the mental and physical contact of women with life is much more lasting and comprehensive than that of men. She is no less than the mother earth. It is very apt to say that *'the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. In the apron strings of woman is hidden the revolutionary energy which can establish paradise on this earth.'*

The status of women in India has been subject to many great challenges since time immemorial which has kept on fluctuating, sometimes getting better and sometimes worsening. Their history has been very eventful. In most of the human societies existing in any part of the world, social discrimination between men and women has always existed and in many of them women has been placed at an inferior position and has always been subjugated by men and the society. In recent times equality of status has been talked about and some relief has been assigned to women, but it is often legal than existential i.e. what is preached is not practiced. They are the target of varied types of violence and discriminatory practices done by men all over the world and India is no different to this trend.

India is a complex country and home to various traditions, customs, rituals, festivals etc. Indians worship female goddesses and the irony is that the crime rate is highest against them. They have always been treated unequally and their dignity has always been compromised. Women have generally been looked

down upon with disdainful contempt. They are asked to confine themselves to the four walls of the house and not allowed to explore the world and work to best of their capabilities and to define and refine their talent. The orthodox male-oriented society in India has still not been able to adjust itself to the fresh wave of women's liberation, to adjust to the idea that they can play and contribute equally to the family, society and nation. But today the time and tides are changing and women are trying to cast off their age-old shackles. Women are marching forward to scale the ladders of social advance in every field with proud dignity and honour.

Earlier when civilization began women used to command respect. In early Vedic period they enjoyed equal status with men. Stress on educating them was given by their families which included even studying of Vedas. There was no standard or force as to their marriageable age and to whom they should be married to. They could exercise their wish, will and liking as to when and to whom they wanted to get married. *Swayamvar* and *Gandharva* marriages were very popular then. But slowly the evil spread its wings in the Indian society and the concepts like puradah system, sati system, devdasi system, child marriage, denial of education to women, ban on widow re-marriage, dowry system etc raised its head/ hood.

But again after so much of sufferings and struggles today the situation is slowly but gradually changing for the good of a woman and of the society as a whole. Women in India now participate fully in areas such as education, sports, politics, media, art and culture, service sectors, science and technology, etc. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, served as Prime Minister of India for an aggregate period of fifteen years and is the world's longest serving woman Prime Minister ever. Today the India's Finance ministry is being led by a woman. Foreign ministry was led by late Sushma Swaraj. We have many women chief ministers of various Indian states. Women have held high offices in India including that of the president (Pratibha Patil), prime minister, speaker (Mira Kumar) of the Lok Sabha and leader of the opposition (Sushma Swaraj), ambassadors, cabinet ministers, legislators, governors, scientists, engineers, doctors, women –generals, women public officers, judges and magistrates, president of the United Nations General Assembly. Today women are representing and winning medals and bringing glory to the nation in various sports events including those which were earlier considered to be and were dominated by men only like wrestling, badminton, kabaddi, archery, cricket, gymnastics, race etc.

Feminist activism in India gained momentum in the late 1970s. One of the first national-level issues that brought women's groups together was the *Mathura rape case*. The acquittal of policemen accused of raping a young girl Mathura in a police station led to country-wide protests in 1979-1980. The protests were

widely covered by the national media which forced the Government to amend the Indian Evidence Act, the Criminal Procedure Code, and the Indian Penal Code; and for the creation of a new offence, “*custodial rape*”. Female activists also united over issues such as female infanticide, gender bias, women's health, women's safety, and women's literacy. Self-help groups and NGOs have played crucial role in the advancement of women's rights in India.

The Government of India declared 2001 as the Year of “*Women Empowerment*”. The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women got passed in 2001.

Today the government has announced that in every ration card the head of the family shown would be the eldest female of the house.

Today women have joined defense forces as well. They are commissioned in various corps as permanent members like men unlike the earlier position where they were given short commission in selected corps only. They are flying planes and jets, going to space (Ms. Kalpana Chawala). They are doing today what nobody could have imagined.

The female literacy rate in India is still less than the male literacy rate but is increasing gradually even though fewer girls than boys get enrolled in school out of which many girls drop out due to various factors like shortage of money, family and societal pressure etc. Governments have introduced many social welfare legislations and schemes at national, state and local level like mid-day meal, scholarship, reservation policy, free education etc. to increase their numbers in getting education so that they can have a bright future. Recently it was reported that in admission to higher education programmes, girls are taking a lead i.e. their number is higher than the boys enrolled to such programmes.

In most Indian families, women do not own any property in their own names, and do not get a share of parental property. Due to weak enforcement of laws protecting them, women continue to have little access to land and property. In India, women's property rights vary depending on religion, caste, community, tribe, etc. practices and are subject to a complex mix of law and custom, but in principle the move has been towards granting women equal legal rights, especially since the passing of The Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005. The government to increase her share in the property has reduced the registration fee or taxes to be paid to own a property. The Hindu personal laws of 1956 (applying to Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, and Jains) gave women rights to inheritances. However, sons had an independent share in the ancestral property, while the daughters' shares were based on the share received by their father. Hence, a father could effectively disinherit a daughter by renouncing his share of

the ancestral property, but a son would continue to have a share in his own right. Additionally, married daughters, even those facing domestic abuse and harassment, had no residential rights in the ancestral home. But now after an amendment of the Hindu laws, women now have the same status as men and are entitled to inherit the property equally as her brother. The BJP party which is now in the central government came to power with the promise that Uniform Civil Code will be applied which is given and is part of constitution of India.

Today crime against women such as rape, sexual harassment, molestation, acid throwing, dowry killings, honour killings, trafficking, prostitution, domestic violence, female infanticide and sex-selective abortion etc. are being reported as women are coming forward to raise their voice as they are getting family support in naming and shaming the real culprit and are assured of not to feel ashamed of themselves just because she is a woman and a victim of a crime.

United Nations

The *United Nations* is also working in the direction of women empowerment and is striving to achieve following:

1. Generating women's sense of self-worth.
2. Women's right to have and to determine their choices.
3. Women's right to have access to equal opportunities and all kinds of resources.
4. Women's right to have the power to regulate and control their own lives, within and outside the home and
5. Women's ability to contribute in creating a more just social and economic order.

Thus, women empowerment is nothing but recognition of women's basic human rights and creating an environment where they are treated as equal to men.

Constitution of India and Women Empowerment

The Preamble, the Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy and other constitutional provisions provide several general and special safeguards to secure women's human rights.

India's Constitution makers and our founding fathers were determined to provide equal rights to both women and men. Various articles in the Constitution safeguard women's rights by putting them at par with men socially, politically and economically.

Preamble

The Preamble to the Constitution of India assures justice, social, economic and political; equality of status and opportunity and dignity to the individual. Thus it

treats both men and women equal.

Fundamental Rights

The policy of women empowerment is well entrenched in the Fundamental Rights enshrined in our Constitution. These rights being fundamental rights are justiciable in court i.e. if anyone violates them then the victim can approach the court for its enforcement even against the government.

Directive Principles of State Policy

Directive principles of State Policy also contains important provisions regarding women empowerment and it is the duty of the government to apply these principles while making laws or formulating any policy. These are non justiciable i.e. one cannot approach the court for its enforcement if someone violates the same. But these are essential for governance nonetheless.

Fundamental Duties

Eleven Fundamental duties are enshrined in Part IV-A of the Constitution and are positive duties for the people of India to follow. It also contains a duty related to women's rights.

Other Constitutional Provisions

Article 243 D(3) “provides that not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat to be reserved for women and such seats to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.”

Article 243 D (4) “provides that not less than one- third of the total number of offices of Chairpersons in the Panchayats at each level is to be reserved for women.”

Article 243 T (3) “provides that not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality to be reserved for women and such seats to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.”

Article 243 T (4) “provides for Reservation of offices of Chairpersons in Municipalities for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the legislature of a State may by law provide.”

73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments gave an important political right to women which was a landmark in the direction of women empowerment in India. Women were now given 33.33 percent reservation in seats at different levels of elections in local governance i.e. at Panchayat, Block and Municipality

elections.

Also, earlier when the Constitution was framed right to vote to women was not given to women and the same came to existence after bringing a constitutional amendment.

Specific Laws Made for Women Protection and Empowerment in India

The Parliament of India in order to fulfill Constitutional obligation of women empowerment brought following legislations:

Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 brought following legislations:

1. Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Order for maintenance of wives, children and parents under section 125, Procedure to be followed under section 125, Alteration in allowance under section 125, Enforcement of the order of maintenance)
2. Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987
3. Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987.
4. Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1976
5. Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1983
6. Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939
7. Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961.
8. Employees State Insurance Act, 1948
9. Equal Remuneration Act, 1976.
10. Factories (Amendment) Act, 1948
11. Guardians & Wards Act, 1890
12. Hindu Adoptions & Maintenance Act, 1956
13. Hindu Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1928
14. Hindu Marriage Act, 1955
15. Hindu Minority & Guardianship Act, 1956
16. Hindu Succession Act, 1956
17. Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956.
18. Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986
19. Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Adultery, Assault or criminal force to a woman with intent to outrage her modesty, Buying minor for purpose of prostitution, Causing death of quick unborn child by act amounting to culpable homicide, Causing miscarriage or miscarriage without the woman's consent, Cohabitation caused by a man deceitfully inducing a belief of lawful marriage, Concealment of birth by secret disposal of dead body, Death caused by act done with intent to cause miscarriage, Dowry death, Enticing, detaining or taking away with criminal intent a married woman, Fraudulent marriage ceremony without lawful marriage, Husband or relative of a husband of a woman subjecting her to cruelty, Importation of girl from foreign country, Intercourse by man with his wife during

separation, Intercourse by a member of management or staff of a hospital with any woman in that hospital, Intercourse by public servant with a woman in his custody, Intercourse by superintendent of jail, remand home, etc, Kidnapping, abducting or inducing woman to compel her marriage, Marriage ceremony fraudulently gone through without lawful marriage, Marrying again during lifetime of spouse, Preventing a child from being born alive or causing its death after birth, Procreation of minor girl, Rape, Selling minor for purpose of prostitution, Word, gesture or act intended to insult the modesty of a woman.

20. Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 (Amended in 1995)
21. Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971
22. Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986
23. National Commission for Women Act, 1990
24. Parsi Marriage & Divorce Act, 1936
25. Plantation Labour Act, 1951
26. Pre-Conception & Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994.
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28. Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006
29. Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006.
30. Prohibition of Sexual Harassment of Women at Work Place (Prevention and Protection) Act, 2013.
31. Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005
32. Special Marriages Act, 1954

Above mentioned and several other laws not only provide specific legal rights to women but also gives them a sense of security and empowerment.

International Commitments

India is a part and signatory to various International Conventions and Treaties which are committed to secure equal rights of women out of which many have been ratified by India.

One of the most important among them is the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), ratified by India in 1993.

Other important International instruments for women empowerment are: The Mexico Plan of Action (1975), the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985), the Beijing Declaration as well as the Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome Document adopted by the UNGA Session on Gender Equality and Development & Peace for the 21st century, titled “Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action”. All these

have been whole-heartedly endorsed by India for appropriate follow up.

These various national and International commitments, laws and policies notwithstanding women's situation on the ground, have still not improved satisfactorily. Varied problems related to women are still subsisting; female infanticide is growing, dowry is still prevalent, domestic violence against women is practised; sexual harassment at workplace and other heinous sex crimes against women are on the rise.

Though, economic and social condition of women has improved in a significant way but the change is especially visible only in metro cities or in urban areas; the situation is not much improved in semi-urban areas and villages. This disparity is due to lack of education and lack of job opportunities and negative mind set of the society which does not approve girls' education even in the 21st century.

Government Policies and Schemes for Women Empowerment

Whatever improvement and empowerment women have received is especially due to their own efforts and struggle, though governmental schemes are also there to help them in their endeavour.

In the year 2001, the Government of India launched a *National Policy for Empowerment of Women*.

The Ministry of Women and Child Development is the nodal agency for all matters pertaining to welfare, development and empowerment of women. It has evolved schemes and programmes for their benefit. These schemes are spread across a very wide spectrum such as women's need for shelter, security, safety, legal aid, justice, information, maternal health, food, nutrition etc., as well as their need for economic sustenance through skill development, education and access to credit and marketing.

Various schemes of the Ministry are like Pradhan Mantri Kaushaliya Scheme, Swashakti, Swayamsidha, STEP, SukanyaYojna, UjjawalaYojna and Swawlamban enable economic empowerment. Working Women Hostels and Creches provide support services. Swadhar and Short Stay Homes provide protection and rehabilitation to women in difficult circumstances. The Ministry also supports autonomous bodies like National Commission, Central Social Welfare Board and Rashtriya Mahila Kosh which work for the welfare and development of women. Economic sustenance of women through skill development, education and access to credit and marketing is also one of the areas where the Ministry has special focus.

Conclusion

Mere legislations cannot emancipate the lot of women. It needs a radical change in our mental make-up and our social structure. We need to foster a social emancipating spirit in our everyday life. The conservative male-chauvinistic attitude needs to be changed and needs to give way to liberalism.

To eliminate these ill practices and discrimination against women various constitutional and legal rights are there but in reality a lot needs to be done. Several self-help groups and NGOs have come forward and are working in this direction. Women themselves are also breaking the societal barriers and achieving great heights in all dimensions: political, social and economic. Our society as a whole has to work hard and promote and accept women as being equal to men and curb crimes or abuses against women. The society's age-old deep-rooted mind set needs to be changed through social conditioning and sensitization programmes.

Therefore, the concept of women empowerment not only focuses on giving women strength and skills to rise above from their miserable situation but at the same time it also stresses on the need to educate men regarding women issues and inculcating a sense of respect and duty towards women as equal.

All said and done, it can be said with a sense of pride and confidence that the future of women in India is quite bright and that our posterity will be safe in their hands. *Napolean* was right when he declared that by educating the women, we educate and uplift the whole nation. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru also stated once that “*You can tell the condition of a nation by looking at the status of its women.*”

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Violation of Human Rights in Jails of Himachal Pradesh

Rajinder Kumar

THE EPISODE has once again brought to the forefront the long standing issue of pathetic conditions prevailing in the Indian jail and routine violation of human rights in these institutions, mostly at the hand of the authorities.

Conditions in the Indian Jails:

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- 1. Overcrowded:** Indian jails are badly overcrowded by a ratio of 23:1. It means that 23 inmates are forced to depend on the facilities meant to support inmate. The living conditions are inhuman.
- 2. Unlawful discrimination:** A number of studies have shown that while high-profile inmates manage to get bigger space and better facilities "for a price"; others find it difficult to even stretch their legs during night in their stinking, cramped cells. Similarly, many inmates have costly phones that they use to contact their associates in and outside the jail.
- 3. Unhygienic living conditions:** Toilets are not cleaned for days, and living in such close proximity to so many people has led to prisoners getting skin diseases and other contact diseases. TB is highly common among the inmates of Indian jails.
- 4. Poor food:** The food served in the Indian jails is usually so bad that they constitute the most frequent cause of prison rioting.
- 5. Torture:** In 2005, the International Red Cross reported the use of electrocution, beatings and sexual humiliation of detainees in the jail. Modes of torture that police routinely resorts to include the international model of water boarding to the indigenous *satyashodhak pasta* or "truth-seeking belt". No police officer has been convicted as a result of custodial deaths due to torture.
- 6. Forced labour:** Inmates are frequently made to work in the jail and also at the residences of jail personnel.
- 7. Sexual abuse:** Female under-trials and convicts are frequently exploited sexually by jail authorities and influential people, as reported by PUCL in 2009.

8. **Unlawful killings:** Brutal methods are routinely employed by the jail authorities on the inmates including firing. On October 27, 1993, the police had opened fire on Kashmiri inmates in the jail, killing five prisoners and injuring 28 others after they objected to the search of a political detainee's mother, who had come to meet her son.
9. **Rampant suicides:** According to official figures, at least 200 *prisoners have committed suicide in the Indian jails* in the last 10 years. This raises questions over security measures in place in the Indian prisons.
10. **Dreaded criminals running extortion and drug rackets:** Jailed gangsters also collect money as 'upkeep charge' from newcomers without any criminal background or those who belong to relatively less notorious gangs.

The issues involved

Most of the inmates are just under-trials, spending long years in the jail due to judicial delays.

Jails are the incarceration and correction facilities mandated the law of the land. They cannot be places where basic human rights can routinely be violated and human dignity is crushed with impunity.

Torture, discrimination, killings etc. are all grave criminal acts and cannot be permitted in any law abiding society. Such criminal acts within a law mandated place pose serious challenge to the rule of law.

In the words of the justice (late) JS Verma, "The police must be made to realise that they are prosecutors, not persecutors. The brutality they display comes from the fact that they perform their functions as persecutors." The philosophy of punishment had shifted from the retributive to the reformative and Indian jails have to align their priorities accordingly. The basic thing to remember here is that the dignity of an individual is a matter of concern for society as a whole prisoner in Himachal Pradesh are so much overcrowded that the current situation poses a security threat, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) has said.

Not only this, the plight of inmates is also noted to be too bad. Many of them were found to be suffering from communicable diseases like tuberculosis and there was a huge shortfall of sleeping berths and security mechanism.

According to IANS, against the capacity of 1,732 prisoners in 12 jails in the state, there were 2,076, 2,137 and 1,962 prisoners as on April 1, in 2014, 2015 and 2016, respectively, said a CAG report on social, general and economic sectors for year ended March 31, 2016.

The state Prisons Department did not take any action for increasing the capacity of the jails. Over-crowding in jails could cause unhygienic conditions besides raise issues of security.

The CAG found the department had not offered education and rehabilitation opportunities to the bulk of the prison population with only 69 out of 1,116 prisoners in the test-checked jails obtaining an educational qualification.

Only 50 prisoners out of 786 released being imparted skill development training in different trades during 2013-16.

In the absence of medical check-up facilities, 456 new prisoners out of 809 in test-checked jails found to be suffering from various diseases were lodged with other prisoners in the barracks.

There are 12 jails in the state under the administrative control of the Director General of Prisons. These are two central jails at Kanda near Shimla and Nahan; two district jails at Chamba and Dharamsala; and eight sub-jails at Bilaspur (including open air jail), Hamirpur, Kaithu, Kullu, Mandi, Nurpur, Solan and Una.

It said only six per cent prisoners out of 1,116 in the test-checked jails had obtained educational qualification while lodged in jail during 2013-16.

The auditor also pointed out a severe lapse in security mechanism.

None of the test-checked jails had facilities of screening, metal detection, explosive detection and mobile phone jamming to prevent entry of prohibited articles into the prisons.

Out of 21 CCTV cameras installed in Bilaspur, Dharamsala, Kanda and Mandi jails in 2009 in the test-checked jails, 10 were not working since May 2012. The open-air model jail in Himachal Pradesh's Bilaspur town is unique in the way it treats its inmates. Dozens of its convicts leave their cells in the morning and go out to work in the town-as masons, labourers, salesman, accountants and similar.

No police personnel accompany them, and they are free to work until sunset. Surprisingly, there has been only one instance in the last 50 years when an inmate did not return to the prison in the evening. He was later caught. Several ex-inmates of Bilaspur Model Jail say that this jail changed the meaning of life for them. The atmosphere here inspired them to become a good, law-abiding citizens.

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Memory, Homeland and Binary Identity in Bharati Mukherjee's *Desirable Daughters*

Daisy Verma

Abstract

THE TWENTIETH century is a century of globalization and scientific advancement. It allures people to migrate to other countries for better life and new perspectives. The migration however brings forth problems for immigrants like nostalgia, feeling of dislocation, uprootedness, language barrier and cross-cultural differences. The immigrant experience is formed of multiple components like collectiveness, multiple journeys, still points and border crossings. These experiences are shaped by varied economic positions, personal skills and political relationships between country of their origin and country of their adoption. The paper explores various concerns of Bharati Mukherjee in *Desirable Daughters* with reference to immigrants' sufferings and dislocation and its resultant pain and anguish.

Today the problem of migration is different from the earlier times. In the contemporary times people are willingly leaving their home to fulfill their ambitions and avail better opportunities abroad. Earlier it was not necessarily a voluntary migration but was more or less transportation of third world people as labourers to work as slaves. There have been times when western countries have 'imported' coloured people to take on those jobs which they themselves consider inferior or find such jobs too risky to undertake. Rushdie, talking about the conditions of indentured labourers says that they are invited by western countries to participate in country's economic life. That is why people often migrate with a part of their own culture in which as long as they live, they feel secure and safe. Therefore, their adjustment in a different social, economic and political milieu is not as difficult as it was for early emigrants. The early immigrants felt dislocated and alienated and suffered more from the feeling of nostalgia and longing because of their adherence to homeland's culture, religion and language. Earlier, it is a whole tribe or representative part of it that migrated to a remote land. Their migration was only external as their inner world belonged only to native home. The migration of different races and communities creates racial, cultural and

linguistic confusion. Migration in modern times is entirely a different phenomenon.

In the Twentieth century, there is a continuous surge of migration to other countries. The reason behind migration may be difficult circumstances at native home, fascination for materialistic pleasure, more career opportunities and luxurious lifestyle abroad. Sometimes the land of hope to which they migrate turns out to be a living hell of racial discrimination to them. Rushdie observes, “A gulf in reality has been created. White and black perceptions of everyday life have moved so far apart as to be incompatible. We stand on opposite sides of the abyss while the ground crumbles beneath our feet” (13). The immigrants are divided between two cultures henceforth suffer from lack of belongingness neither to host nor to native land. This living 'in between' situation is miserable and marginalizing for them. There is longing for home and roots. Such predicament exists because of fragmentary and partial memories of the homelands. They face cultural dilemma when their cultural practices are made fun resulting in confusion, nostalgia and homesickness which often leads to reluctance and resistance to the discourse of power in various forms. According to Dubey, “the immigrant experience is complicated as a sensitive immigrant finds himself or herself perpetually at a transit station fraught with memories of the original home which are struggling with the realities of the new world” (22). The immigrant experience is formed of multiple components like collectiveness, multiple journeys, still points and border crossings and is shaped by varied economic positions, personal skills and political relationships between country of their origin and country of their adoption. Edward Said says, “The migrant's double vision may be the legacy of specific and irreversible history. In this sense, the diasporic literature forms/ narratives tend to create self-reflexive tendencies, indicating a representations of the 'repressed' other or people at the margins” (61). Most diasporic writing develops of this 'double-voiced discourse' which simply means merging of different voices. Many writers' works are mostly based in the past, a space in which they are presently living. Someone's past is not an act of nostalgia alone but of memorization too. It is “a process of fabulation in which a past time or place is not so much recovered or even discovered, but brought into being invented, made and unmade” (Singh 11-12).

The process of maintaining a balance between two cultures is full of dilemmas and uncertainties. Many critics suggest that the theme of 'transculturalism' refers to hybridity. Transculturalism is an empowering term and it suggests “experiencing or dwelling in more than culture, borrowing from different culture, without privileging one culture over another or implying a hierarchy of cultures” (Coller, *Literature* 61). Culture is a natural phenomenon as it states one's origin and ethnicity. Culture is must for identity as one's cultural and

traditional values defines one's personality. Cultural values are integral part of one's life. Eliot in his critical treatise "Notes Towards the Definitions of Culture" defines, "Culture as a way of life, as one which affects and is affected, in turn, by our activities" (2). He believes that culture is actually a complete way of life which is lived commonly and variously by whole people. N.A. Nikam in his attempt to define culture quotes a translated verse from *Kathopanishad*: "In the quest of the imperishable (the good) that one chooses is his". According to him, "culture is a quest for good but it is not good if the quest is not free choice" (2). The quest and choice are two ingredients of culture and the tradition is formed by attainment of centuries of history or a tradition may be defined as a 'passage' in which there is both persistence and the renewal.

Bharati Mukherjee's *Desirable Daughters*, is a diasporic saga in which both protagonists Tara and her sister Padma choose their own journeys towards a new culture. Tara and Padma moves to America with dream of gaining a new identity which they hopes will help them to break away from their previous identity. With their migration to United States, both the sisters comes into contact with a new culture so they not only have to deal with their position as diasporic people in an alien country, but also have to cope with different configurations of gender roles that they experience in India and the United States. They feel displaced from native land but the feeling of displacement is more obvious in case of Padma. Immigrants who come to America nurture some dreams. There are two American dreams; one is collective and other one is individual. The collective dream is initially the enduring hope that the nation would progress according to the 'truths ends and purposes' set forth in the declaration of independence and the constitution. The individual dream is more personal as it is the right to dream with realistic hope of gaining what one seeks is the supreme heritage, transmitted from generation to generation of every citizen"(11). They both are not interested in replacing the way gender roles are interpreted in their native country as such roles are not mandatory for American women. Despite their adaptation to America, sometimes they feel alienated and feel the wrench of separation when they are away from the nest of their birth and they undergo excruciating pain and anguish.

Hybridity is a powerful concept in diaspora as it challenges and questions the status quo and power relations of the social order. Factors like gender, class, caste, ethnicity and social conditions differentiates each character's diasporic movement and influence from their disruptive attitudes. Such factors place these characters in privileged and unprivileged positions both in India and America. The notion of home is an important topic to examine diasporic people's position in a new place and it also deal with migration and Diaspora. For the characters in the novel, home stands for safety and comfort in the same way that it implies

confinement and limitation. Far away from home, both Tara and Padma express a desire for home and this desire convince them to make America their home. Their displacement starts the very day when they leave their native home to settle in a foreign country. Moving away from home, they carry memories of home with them.

Mukherjee shows through her characters that one has to go through change to seek acceptance in a new culture. Migrants move to foreign countries with memories of native home but the pining and lamentation for home only remain as memories as everything changes with time. For a migrant, language barrier, exile and a new environment reminds one of memories of the home and makes them nostalgic. Sometimes her characters seem to be afraid of interacting and try to create such atmosphere which gives them the feeling of home and cultural values that they have left behind thus create an ivory tower in a new locale. Through her characters, she shows the dilemma of first generation immigrants who are trying to adapt to a remote place but seems confused to see their children becoming more and more Americanized. Tara's son Rabi finds it difficult to see India as his home. Her characters are judged on the basis of nationality, language and cultural values. Her writing style and ethical principles makes her evolving personality as an Indian immigrant writer in America. Her stories are always fascinating as it gives panoramic view of immigrants' experiences.

Her development as a writer can be seen in the themes that she has chosen to address as well as the characters she has chosen to focus on. Moving back to one's roots means that becoming aware of one's native identity and status in a new culture. Nostalgia runs strong in then novel. Tara and her sisters get nostalgic when they are not recognized in their adopted land. Quest for identity is the main concern of her story, "Her female characters are trying to make an individual identity apart from their male partners" (156). Her writing may be put in the form of immigrant writing but the ideas that generate through her characters become the voice of women who have been degraded for centuries. Her female protagonists are basically a mixture of feminine incarnations of goddesses and represent different aspects of feminism like independent nature and freedom to express themselves and the equality with men. The basic themes in all her works are clinging to the past and rigidly holding it and not letting it go.

The writer herself never feels comfortable with her native identity and through her character Tara that it is not mandatory to keep holding one's native identity when one is away from home. When one is aware of one's preferences, the decision to move to a new place become easier. Is it not selfish on the part of the immigrants to dream of making more money so that they can help their relatives back home? The economic growth which they achieved in America benefits

them back home. When an immigrant is doing well in his new home so it is not a loss for Americans? Why not make a choice and not live in a dilemma? A similar situation arises when villagers move to a bigger cosmopolitan city to earn and avail a better life.

Cultural heritage and value system are an integral part of one's identity. One may change one's identity but values and customs remains an important part of one's life. Mukherjee through novel shows the image of those immigrants who tries to acquire an American identity by struggling heroically to establish themselves in new cultural landscape. In a new place, they try to find a niche and give themselves a second chance to build their lives. She saw in immigration an opportunity to redefine herself as an immigrant writer and not as an alienated immigrant writer on the margins. She sees immigration as an opportunity to give voice to her belief. She writes about her own experience during her migration to America and the experience of the new generations of people who have chasing the American dream through the voice of her characters. In the portrayal of immigrant experience of her characters, she touches the deepest cord of the readers and makes them recognize the struggles and heartaches being replayed and relived by the immigrants. She portrays Tara's character as a person who is fascinated towards America but in the end, she finds solace only in her native values. Americans do not consider her its own. She describes the dilemma of immigrants who remains divided between their binary identity.

Bharati Mukherjee's representation of the journey of an immigrant from India to America is a symbol of her journey from traditional space of native home to the arena of freedom of self-assertion. She does not negate the idea of assimilation into American culture and is comfortable in leaving traditional Indian roles and values. While many immigrant writers write with a sense of loss and erosion of one's own culture, Mukherjee does not forget to view migration as an opportunity for growth and prosperity. She refuses to accept Calcutta as her 'home'. The alien culture which she has successfully accepted remains constantly in clash with her native culture. Lahiri focuses on cultural transactions and the result of such encounters. Lahiri shows that how in alien land obstacles and compromises are inevitable. The novel carves out confident immigrants who manage to integrate the best of both the worlds. Her characters are perfect examples of people who have succeeded in creating their world on a soil which is not their own.

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A Struggle for Identity in Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*

Jitender Keshav

Abstract

THIS ESSAY explores the concept of women identity in African-American society with Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* as the main text for exploration. In proposed essay subaltern theory is applied to analyze the representation of women and their African identity in African-American novelists work. Maya Angelou is one of the prominent writers of fiction in contemporary African American literature. Although the impact of white racism on black communities is undeniable, she addresses the question of the position of women within black communities and how their relationships with both men and women shape their lives. In her autobiographical work, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, she highlights the difficulties which black migrated communities face in American societies.

You may write me down in history
With your bitter twisted lies
You may trod me in the very dirt,
But still like dirt I'll rise ... (Angelou 1)

Keywords: Subaltern, African-American, Caged Bird, Migrated Communities, Women identity.

The issue of empowerment of black women is there in the discourse of feministic studies. Black feminist thought focuses on the liberation of black women from the oppressors of race, class, gender and sexual exploitation. The problems of education, economic, social and political rights of the women are the main concerns of black feminists, and this streak of empowerment and selfhood is the major concern of Maya Angelou too. In this work she addresses the issues of girlhood and womanhood, how she achieved the goal of empowerment by facing various odds in her day to day life. Her achievement of self-empowerment in such a discriminatory society manifests that black woman has to rely and depend on herself for herself dignity. The dominant white culture disrupts the development of healthy African American empowered woman.

Toni Morrison also discusses and highlights the issues of race, gender and sexuality. In the modern feminist movement, white women are accused of focusing on oppression in terms of gender only, and ignoring the issues of racism and sexism. Unlike white women, black women suffer from multiple oppressions by being black and woman at the same time. In resistance to this marginalization, the theory of black feminism comes to the forefront. Marginalization, racism and sexism are taken into account by Maya Angelou in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*; it explains in depth the sufferings of black young girls in their childhood. The separation from her parents, the racial discrimination in her younger age in African American society, and sexual harassment by her stepfather in her mother's house prove traumatic for her psychological development. In African American societies black women faced such discrimination at numerous levels from their childhood to adulthood.

The struggle in black woman life culminates in the inequality between the blacks and the whites, as opposed to inequality between men and women that was the main concern of the white feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Angelou pictures the harsh conditions of black women, without separating them from the oppressed situation of the whole community. The governing authorities of Stamps in her text also suffer from race or gender based complexes. They are bound to obey the orders of white masters. Who always favor white people against blacks whenever a situation arises? Her Momma, Mrs. Johnson, has a good reputation among the community of black people in Stamps. The Local Sheriff warns Momma for upcoming dangers from white trash to black people in Stamps:

The used to be Sheriff sat rakishly astraddle his horse. His nonchalance was meant to convey his authority and power over even dumb animals. How much more capable he would be with Negroes. It went without saying. His twang jogged in the brittle air. From the side of the store, Bailey and I heard him tell Momma, 'Annie tells Wilie be better lay low tonight. A crazy nigger messed with a white lady today. Some of the boys'll be coming over her later. (Angelou 19)

These are the incidents of racial superiority, whenever there is an incident of conflict between the whites and black niggers; on various occasions white people warned her to remain safe in her house. It is only because of good financial condition of her momma that some whites remain loyal for them.

Collins in *Black Feminist Thought* (1991) defines racism as a system of unequal power and privilege where people are divided into groups on the basis of racial classification variations, scientific racism and everyday racism. In the United States, racial segregation constitutes a fundamental principle of how racism is

organized. Angelou speaks as a black woman in a world that still undervalues the voice of black women. Black feminists propose that the black woman or black woman writer must negotiate from multiple social locations in American culture and literature, not only from those of gender and class found in all feminist approaches but also from that of race and sex. As a result, black women writers have always out of necessity, had a man, ever outside of the dominant white literary system. *I know Why the Caged Bird Sings* is a story of African Americans struggle to survive in a racial society of America, where sexual abuse against black woman is prevalent as in Toni Morrison's *Sula*:

Morrison in the first pages of her novel 'Sula' describes the relationship between the white community of Meadallion and the black people in the bottom as one of 'economic inequality.' (917)

During the 1920s, the black soldiers returning from the Great War find that in spite of their sacrifice, they are still subject to social persecution; their return home in 1919 is marked by the highest number of lynchings in the United States. In a society that segregates its health care facilities, many of which do not allow blacks to step inside their doors, it is surprising that even those individuals whose skin is white but have ethnic backgrounds other than Anglo-Saxons are treated better than the Bottom's black residents.

The history of blacks in America evidences that the process of socialization had profound effects on the personality of black women too. Being black and female was lower than that of any other social group; the black women in America were victimized not only by any racist group but also by those who believed in patriarchy. She is more vulnerable to social attacks because of the place she holds in the society. Glorinda Wade-Gayles describes:

American is an oppressive system that divides people into groups on the basis of their race, sex and class, creating society in which a few have capital and therefore, are able to influence the lives of many. (Angelou 3-4)

In such a social set up, the only person who suffers most, the only person who is pathetically caught in the tripartite crossfire of racism, sexism and classicism was the black women. She is the victim of "Multiple Jeopardy," this jeopardy is evident in the work of Maya Angelou. In her autobiography she explains sexism prevalent in her family. In early days of her childhood Bailey gets more freedom in her choice than Angelou. His choice is always taken into consideration, on the other side Angelou has to wear only those clothes which her momma allows her to wear. Bailey is allowed to play with other children of the village, but for Angelou there are limits prescribed. She is informed by her grandmother to remain away from young adults of the village; Bailey remains busy with his

friends till late night but she has specific timings.

The condition of black women deteriorated when they came into contact with rich landlords of Stamps. They were sexually harassed by their landlords; some of them were treated as slaves, and in the name of slavery they were exploited. Annie, her grandmother, has seen all such incidents in her village, she warns Angelou not to become too familiar with village adults; for, her gender and her race, are being targeted by the whites. Assuredly, the rape of the black women had massive negative impact, not only on the psyches of black women but also on the collective psyche of the black community. Black slaves feel demoralized and unimportant for white masters sexually assault black women. Even Angelou's grandmother Annie has faced exploitation and suppression during her life time:

Momma had married three times; Mr. Johnson, my grandfather, who left her around the turn of the century with two small sons to raise; Mr. Henderson of whom I knew nothing at all; then finally Mr. Murphy. (50)

Her three husbands leave her on her own, no one takes care of her children, and she is being used as a commodity by each individual, sexually and financially: she raises her children with great struggle single handedly. The alienation from her life partners and from her own children totally transforms the world of grandmother. Angelou is the byproduct of this alienation from her parents, and the social environment creates more isolation for her in her grandmother's house.

African American women develop their own consciousness, about what it is to be a black and female in the racist white America, and the result of their consciousness refers to reality in terms of socio-sexual existence of women. From the very beginning of their childhood Angelou and Bailey are trained by Momma to use the paths that she and her generation had lived. Racial prejudices were so strong that no one is allowed to speak harshly about white folks even in their absence, sobriquet 'They' was used whenever they discuss them in their homes. Black people in Stamps were totally dominated by powhitetrash; their living styles, their clothing and their social behavior depends upon the parameters fixed by white people. The white people spend lavishly but black people are not allowed to do so:

People in Stamps used to say that the whites in our town were so prejudiced that a Negro couldn't buy vanilla ice cream.(53)

Feministic wave belongs to white women in American society; Black women have also participated in the movements of feminism but the gain is only and solely for white women. The double standards regarding the rights of black women have been adopted by the white masters. The implementation depends upon the prowhitetrash who have obsessed attitude towards such black creatures, so the western or European wave of feminism never ever challenges

these types of disparities of black females in the context of women empowerment.

There is some unwritten law that men will always allow to fight in the forefront of social movements and revolution, but it is men who harvest the fruits of victory, while women are relegated once more to their traditional position in patriarchal society. (Shiva 177)

Racism, as a distinct phenomenon of the American socio-political scene, is clearly rooted in the period of history wherein the first Africans were brought by force to America as cheap labour on slave ships under inhuman conditions and were treated almost as aliens. A systematic brutal method of subjugation is employed to break and reshape the psychology and culture of these people into a more placid and docile form. The socio-cultural norms and values are framed in such a manner that children are acquainted to such subjugation from the beginning of their childhood; their upbringing is such that their psychology remains suppressed.

Mrs. Johnson in this work is an evidence of the pre-slavery women's participation in traditional social system. She is the only woman in Stamps with a merchandise shop in white dominated locality. Her grandmother is the inspiration for Angelou to fight against racial and sexist attitudes of white people, and against black marginalized community in African American society of Stamps, and later in St. Louis. Dehumanization of the black women in these societies is a tragic event in racist America, being black implies a whole series of connotations: of being unattractive, both physically and culturally, undesirable and illiterate; on the other hand white is seen as a positive sign, a symbol of beauty, intelligence, attractive, polite in sexual behavior and even desirable in all spheres of life. Black is considered ugly and unlucky in the African American societies:

Nineteenth century black male leaders like James Forlen, Charles Remond, Martin Delaney, and Fredrick Douglass supported the efforts of women to gain political rights but they did not support social equality between the sexes. (hooks 91)

Maya Angelou has survived such circumstances with great endurance of power and will to conquer all the obstacles in her struggle of life. The traumatic rape by her mother's boyfriend at the age of eight forces her to remain silent for more than four months that creates an environment for her to learn literature and listen to music for long hours which transforms her to be a strong woman. This sexual act of her stepfather proves the sexist attitude of society along with racism. The image of being 'Other' in their own social system creates an environment for black women to have their individual identity and Maya Angelou has created this identity by publishing her memoir.

Many great philosophers, scientists and politicians have contributed to the ideology of racism and sexism. The celebrated German philosopher Hegel wrote, around 1830, about the blacks. As we have said before, the Negro represents natural man in all his savagery and unruliness; if one wants to understand him correctly, one has to abstract from him all human respect and morality. In this character there is nothing that reminds one of the human. This is perfectly corroborated by the extensive reports of the missionaries. Therefore the Negroes get the total contempt of human beings. For Hegel, the Negro lives outside the history and is incapable of development. (Angelou 178)

The Arabian traveler, Ibn Battuta, who in 1352-53 travelled through Africa, described the natives in the following words: "The Negroes have some admirable qualities, they are hardly found to be unjust, because they abhor injustice more than any other people. Whosoever is found guilty of any small injustice finds no pardon with their Sultan. In their land there is perfect security. Neither travelers nor inhabitants have to be afraid of thieves and of violent men" (1779). As far back as 1352, Ibn Battuta counted the blacks among fellow human beings; whose high moral qualities he admired and respected five centuries later, the great modern German philosopher Hegel regarded them "as part and parcel of degraded, savage, nature. This is the core of modern racism, which developed, with the rise of capitalism and science" (178-179).

From all these different features we can conclude that the main characteristics of the Negro are his savagery and unbridleness. The character is not capable of development and education. As we see them today, so they have always been. The only connection the Negroes have ever had with Europeans and which they have today is that of slavery. (Shiva 178-179)

Such contradictory interpretations of third world people had created obsessed environment for black people in other countries of the world. They were mistreated by white people in their societies; racial prejudices were so hard to be contradicted by Negroes in the African American society, and Maya Angelou is the one who struggled for this identity of hers which is violated by western scholars and by policy makers of the western world of Euro-Americans. This western misinterpretation of black people, especially of black women, becomes a threat in other countries, they are being considered sexually violent and easy to approach for sexual activities. Due to this misinterpretation of African American societies, Angelou and other black women become victims of sexual assault and they are gang raped by their plantation owners.

A detailed study of Maya Angelou's autobiography unfolds the long history of racism in African American society. Racial prejudices are intermingled in the

social environment of Stamps, she and her brother are not allowed to speak and have any sort of eye contact with white children or with white people. Being black she has had to endure all the horrors of slavery, in a racist society as a student, poet, worker, employee, artist, dancer, singer and most important as a woman.

After rape by her mother's boyfriend, she becomes more and more concerned about her existence as a black, she has been the object of continual exploitation, occupying the lowest place in her family and society, she has seen her physical image defamed and has been the subject of white master's uncontrollable lust subjected to all the ideals of arbitrary nature of western social structures. Racism and sexism have provided a base for African American women to fight for their rights at various levels. They have challenged the idea of feminism in their society which is basically constructed by white women as per their needs and interests; they have adopted discriminatory parameters for the rights of black women. Black women have fought for equal rights for women with white women but at the end of this movement they were only rewarded with discrimination in the name of racism in their society or with sexism in their own family system.

These derogatory remarks remain in fashion after the laws and rules were framed to curtail racial prejudices and hatred among the citizens of U.S.A. She has faced all such situations in her adulthood with brave heart. African American women developed their consciousness, the awareness about what it is to be black and female in the racist white America and the result of their consciousness refers to reality in terms of women socio-sexual existence. It is the quest for identity that is predominant in almost all black literature. With the emergence of the feminist movement in the 1970s the major shift has been from race to gender.

In her autobiographical works Maya Angelou is addressing the pain of slavery. She has had to overcome the historically entrenched oppression and cruelty inflicted on Africans. It is this dark past that her ancestors had to endure. (Sangeetha 6-8)

Maya Angelou through her work exhibits that one needs to have courage to stand up and not let other people break one's spirit based on their judgments and criticism. She is a writer of the time of Martin Luther King Jr. when African Americans could not drink from the same water fountain as the whites, they could not attend the same schools as the whites, and they could not go to the same stores, restaurants, churches, public gatherings or even sit in the sections earmarked for the whites.

The dilemma of the African American woman is based on racial and sexist oppression that constantly marginalizes her. These experiences of day to day life are after abandonment from her father. This separation from her parents equally

traumatizes her and this double oppression is also there in African American writer Toni Morrison's *Bluest Eye*. African American women have tragically fallen under the destructive snare of sexism and racism and consequently suffer marginality and alienation; *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* addresses three important issues: Sexism, racism and alienation; this triangle exposes African American women dilemma. Maya Angelou criticizes both the oppressing forces in her (Black) culture and white racism; however the whites take advantage of history to justify their own right to rule on the basis of inferiority of one race and superiority of the other.

Women both white and black equally suffer patriarchal oppression. Nevertheless, Black women in particular suffer an additional oppression which can be termed as racial and sexual oppression too. This way the dilemma of the Black women is mainly based on racial and sexiest oppression that constantly marginalizes her and keeps her in a pitiful state of nothingness. (Mahdi 45)

Sexism is the first side of the triangle of hatred that contributes to the effacement of black womanhood in the works of all black women writers. The oppression that these women face in African American society is mostly due to cultural stereotypes that force them to follow the set rules for living ordained by their male partners or by the male head of the family. This cultural construct of male dominance takes the form of sexism in African American society which Maya Angelou witnesses.

One of the persistent and perennial challenges faced by African Americans is that of cultural oppression. Although the effects of oppression on African Americans have received enormous attention, much of the focus has been on political and economic oppression that African Americans confront.

Cultural oppression has produced three risk factors, (a) Cultural estrangement (b) Attention of Black collectivism and (c) Spiritual alienation, that diminish African American ability to advance and prosper in the limited states. Separately and collectively, these factors place African Americans at high risk of experiencing continued obstacles toward group affirmation and empowerment. (Jerome 801)

Maya Angelou belongs to the group of writers who have tried to trace the development of black women's image from its pathetic state of darkness to its present stage of self-definition and struggle to discover their self identity, and freedom from their stereotypical roles. It is the quest for identity that is predominant in her works. The sexist and racist attitude of black male and white American people is faced by Maya Angelou during her adulthood, in her professional life and even in her domestic life. These shackles of dominance and

oppression are challenged by her in the form of her autobiographical series in which the victimization of African American women is described in minute details. The theme of women improvement within African society or in American society remains the major concern. The role of race and gender in the subjugation of women in African American society is highlighted by various women organizations and Maya Angelou has actively participated in all such spheres of activities.

Since Ibsen's Nora in *A Doll's House* has slammed the door behind her and worked out in the street the spark started to enlarge and become a huge fire, asking for women's liberation, justice and equality. Hundreds of voices have volunteered for the rights of white women, and a very few number of voices have done the same for black women. This may be due to political and societal compromises. One may be tempted to ask if the American Declaration of Independence has dropped the condemnation of Negroes slavery from its pages, do we expect any printed pages to effect drastic changes in black women's fate. (Mahdi 45)

Racism and Sexism as a distinct phenomenon, is the byproduct of American socio- political scene; it is clearly rooted in the period of history wherein the first Africans were brought to America as cheap labour by force during colonialism. Systematic cruel methods were adopted to subjugate the psychology and culture of these people into a more docile form. Maya Angelou has been a pioneer especially for black women, directing, acting, screen writing and even writing music. She lives a life of social activist and never makes any distinction between living the life of a committed artist and one of a social activist. In such environment of racial prejudices she plays an important role to change the lives of her people. The true conditions of African American people and their sufferings are described eloquently. In an interview with Audrey T. McCluskey, she states:

What I have tried to do in all of my work over the past 30 years is to tell the truth and tell it eloquently. I've been careful about the facts but the facts take a secondary role to the truth because the facts can obscure the truth. (McCluskey 3)

Being an actor, dancer, writer, social activist and civil rights activist, she never betrayed her black identity; her main concern always remains the suffering of black women in African American society. She visited number of foreign countries but she never forgot her identity of southern woman, a southern black woman, a southern black lady with a true spirit to do something for the sake of her people. She reveals multiple dynamic relations between the arbitrary rules of household, home and family and the larger political economy which explains

how white people perceive her in relation to themselves.

There was no 'nobler in the mind' for Negroes because the world didn't think we had minds, and they let us know it. Outrageous fortune? (Angelou 196)

In her school days she faces all such discriminatory remarks from her white classmates. She experiences overt discrimination and racism inflicted by white students and teachers. At professional level, discrimination remains part and parcel of white social structure in Stamps. She recalls mistreatment from a professional dentist when she suffers from toothache.

Annie, you know I don't treat Nigra, colored people, Annie, everybody has a policy. In this world you have to have a policy. Now my policy is I don't treat colored people. (Angelou 202)

These words of dentist Lincoln, when Maya and her Momma had approached him for her treatment, traumatized her in her early childhood. This racial rigidity is deeply rooted in African American society, all this force her to grow into a strong woman. It played key role in the development of African American people to come into their own being; and they have adopted various methods to tackle such challenges.

Consuming African American literature one can construct its own identity in such racial society. By reading and checking out of the library, black literary classics became concerned with what and how W.E.B. Dubois, Frederick Douglas, Maya Angelou, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Carter E. Woodson, Cornell West and others saw themselves as black people and how that self knowledge informed their work and purpose for living. This method plays a part to inspire black people to prepare themselves mentally and spiritually for facing such situations of discrimination in African American Society. (Gadsden 266)

Like a “liberated Woman” she devotes her life to work hard for herself and for her family especially for her son Guy. Both Angelou and Guy, her son, are displaced from their immediate families several times during their youth. They are placed in the care of relatives or family friends and are moved from one neighborhood to another neighborhood and from state to state. Maya Angelou does face such displacement with her brother Bailey in her early childhood. At the age of three, Angelou and her four year old brother Bailey are sent to the care of their grandmother in Stamps, Arkansas and it ends with the birth of her son at the age of seventeen. Such displacements in her life from childhood to adulthood and then her experience of this displacement as mother have been crucial for her.

The concept of liberated woman is evident in all her works, liberated in the sense that she never remains dependent upon her family, her husband or any other relative. Her love to work and live a dignified life inspires her to do something different for the Black community. Black people are a working class and this sense of hard work in harsh situations always inspires Maya Angelou to do something worthy for her own people.

I suppose too my family directly and my people indirectly have given me the kind of strength that enables me to go anywhere I can't think where I would be afraid, apprehensive about going in the world, on the planet. (*Black Scholar* 50)

Black African American community and the sufferings of working slaves inspire Maya to face the harsh realities of life without bothering too much about her class and gender. This journey of Maya Angelou from the racially oppressive town of Stamps, Arkansas, to St. Louis, to Los Angeles, solely depends upon her experiences in African American societies where she becomes habitual to work and be ready to face harsh realities of the world.

Caged Bird relives Angelou's journey, sharing again her humiliation after being raped in St. Louis; her frustration over there as a Creole cook in San Francisco; her conflicting emotions about her son Guy, all these experiences are there in her autobiography of being a Caged Bird. (Lupton 810)

I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings is an interior journey that unearths certain forgotten memories crucial to the understanding of the conditions of Black African American women who suffered racially and sexually both from White and Black counterparts of theirs. Her traumatic rape from her step father lands her to a voluntary silence that lasted not for a short time but for "almost five years" (145). She demonstrates how the harsh struggles of life which might have defeated a less courageous person, have in fact provided an opportunity to her to bloom into an obviously talented bold personality. Her upbringing in Stamps, Arkansas, show the cruelty and racism which is a common factor of life in the south, and how Black people live under the constant threat of death.

The uneasy fear of white cloaked Klu Klux Klan riding over the hill to burn the Small Store that her Mamma runs the threat of death to the men, when her 'beloved' Bailey is witness to the recovery from the river of the body of an unknown Black man, bound and castrated; a 'normal' incident as far as the police were concerned. (Pollard 115)

'Cages' are things that restrict people from succeeding in life and being everything they want to be. Angelou's cages include being black, female and

poor, being triply marginalized on the basis of race, gender and class. *Caged Bird* traces Angelou's journey from being a helpless victim 'Marguerite Johnson' to her evolution into a young, confident, black mother who not only resists racial and sexual discrimination but is also able to triumph over such evils.

The love and affection of her family and relatives at different points in her life made Angelou grow from being a scared, insecure girl, who wanted to be blond and have blue eyes to be loved, into a brave and confident young woman, capable even of getting a job as a conductor on the streetcars of San Francisco. Angelou graduates from high school at the age of sixteen and shortly afterwards gives birth to her son, Guy. Her mother takes her pregnancy very easily: "There was no overt or subtle condemnation. She was Vivian Baxter Jackson, hoping for the best, prepared for the worst, and unsurprised by anything in between" (287). Thus, with the positive support of her mother and family Angelou overcomes one of the greatest hardships of life, being pregnant and develops even more confident as a mother.

Angelou states that the American Negro female adult is usually a formidable character. She adds this is, "an inevitable outcome of the struggle won by survivors and deserves respect if not enthusiastic acceptance" (272). She acknowledges that being a Black female she experienced "the tripartite crossfire of masculine prejudice, white illogical hate and Black lack of power" (272). Facing all the hardships and colour-prejudices in life she comes out victorious becoming what she wants to be with her positive spirit, courage, dignity and endurance. In the dedication of her life writing *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, she dedicates this book to her son Guy Johnson and "all the strong black birds of promise who defy the odds and gods and sing their songs." Thus, this book is for all the strong black females who fight for their rights facing all difficulties and are able to set themselves free from the 'cages' made by society. Her life is a source of inspiration and immense strength for women across the globe of any race or colour.

Conclusion

The chosen text in this essay *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* shows that it is possible to prevail over obstacles and become a successful and confident adult, regardless of all the problems thrown at a person while growing up. By using the tenets of subaltern studies in this essay it illustrates how an innocent and naïve girl growing up in the midst of the Great Depression overcomes many obstacles in life and becomes an influential and powerful woman. It portrays the life of a young girl as she learns what it is to be black under a solid racist regime that dictates white western society as the norm. She is a strong and persistent individual who breaks so many racial boundaries and overcomes so much

adversity through the course of her life.. Without a doubt, Joanne M. Braxton is right in calling Maya Angelou “America's most visible Black female autobiographer.”

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Spiritual Transformation in the life of Jagan in R.K. Narayan's *The Vendor of the Sweets*

Rattan

Abstract

THIS RESEARCH proposal seeks to find the spiritual growth of the protagonist named Jagan from his ordinary life. The novelist R.K. Narayan has portrayed the theme of spirituality in a very sensible and realistic way in his Novel *The Vendor of the Sweets*. He has deeply portrayed the life of the protagonist named Jagan in his novel in the light of spirituality, including his daily life and profession for his realization. The novel has elucidated the theme of Indian spirituality under the light of Indian religion and spirituality. The present research proposal will provide a detailed analysis of multilayered stages of transforming the protagonist into the transformed and the spiritual human being from the ordinary human being. The mundane problems and conflicts of world lead to the protagonist into the spiritual transformed stage. It traces out the beginning of the spiritual growth in the character of Jagan and his complete phase of spiritual growth from his mundane and ordinary life. Spirituality is the way of procuring peace and enlightenment in the life of human being. The present paper will strictly reveal the various factors that lead the human beings to spirituality in order to find the peace and realization.

Key words: Existence, struggle, realization, spirituality, transformation.

R. K. Narayan (10 October 1906 – 13 May 2001), full name Rasipuram Krishnaswami Iyer Narayanaswami, is an Indian writer known for his works set in the fictional South Indian town of **Malgudi**. He was a leading author of early Indian English Literature along with two other literary giants Mulk Raj Anand and Raja Rao. Narayan's greatest achievement was making India accessible to the outside world through his literature. Uma Parameswaran speaks about R.K. Narayan, “He is a phenomenon because in his work whole is very much greater than the sum of the parts” (Parameswaran 43). R.K. Narayan is one of the most acclaimed and leading novelists in Indo-Anglo fiction of the first generation. He is a towering and giant literary figure R.K. Narayan. This present work belongs the third phase of his creative work. He is the novelist of the individual man. His

fiction describes the ordinary man's search for selfhood and struggle that he has to encounter on his way to self realization. A **Padam Bhushan** and **Sahitya Akademi** award holder and a winner of the prize for the **Best Asian writer**, Narayan has been regarded as 'Hindu fabulist,' a writer of 'spiritual fantasies,' and the author of 'epics of commonplace.' Narayan presents ordinary characters who attain self-awareness through their struggle with ethical dilemmas like Raju in *The Guide* and Jagan in *The Vendor of Sweets*. He has written numerous great English novels and many fictional and non-fictional works in his life.

The vendor of Sweets is a spiritual novel by R.K. Narayan published in 1967. The protagonist of this novel is Jagan who is a vendor of sweets in the story. The novel opens with the Hindu spiritual statement, "Conquer taste, and you will have conquered the self," said Jagan to his listener, who asked, "Why conquer the self?" Jagan said, "I do not know, but all our sages advise us so" (Narayan 8). This is the Indian philosophy which advises human being to quit earthly desires in order to make one's life peaceful and complete. According to *Oxford Advanced learners' Dictionary*, "Spirituality is the quality of being concerned with religion and human being" (1487). The protagonist named Jagan of novel is very much concerned about his religion and his fellow human beings in the story. He follows the spiritual life as he starts his day with worshipping the frame of Goddess Lakshmi and he places a garland of jasmine on it. He also offers an incense stick to the photo of Goddess. As it is pointed out, "Religion is the manifestation of the divinity already in man" (*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* 358). He does not eat salt on his meals as Jagan speaks, "One must eat only natural salt" (Narayan 8). As the novel depicts, "Throw away the leather" (Narayan 10). His cousin remarks on Jagan on his spiritual journey of life from an ordinary man to a spiritual human being, "You have simplified your life so completely, and made yourself absolutely self-dependent. You have perfected the art of living on nothing" (Narayan 10). He eats wheat bread with honey not rice. Jagan is a widower and owner of a sweet shop. He is an affectionate father who loves his son Mali a lot. Jagan is proud of his son's well-built up personality. As in the story he praises his son, "There are others, but he stands out from among them. Wonder what has God has store for him, must give him more time" (Narayan 17). But Jagan religious spirituality in the beginning of his life was incomplete and hollow one. As there is a quote on the religion and its completeness "Science without religion is lame. Religion without science is blind" (Quoted in R.K. Murthi's *Albert Einstein A Short Biography*). This proves that there is a co-relationship of religious realization in the world and in the lives of human beings too. And it has a universal value in human beings.

The novel *The Vendor of Sweets* is a spiritual novel. It focuses on the two different aspects of its protagonist Jagan as an ordinary man and spiritual being

in a great detail. In a great deal, the novel tells the steps of spiritual transformation in its protagonist. In the beginning of story Jagan is pointed out an ordinary man, who is fully involved into the worldly affairs. In his routine and daily activities, he reads the *Gita* for his transformation and enlightenment. The spiritual and mundane things coexist in him. His behaviour and work prove into his balanced life. Jagan's comprehension of Hindu philosophy and wisdom is very practical and impressive one. He connects the self with the control of the five senses. His routine of life marks the spiritual journey of his life in a very impressive way. He gets up early in the morning and cleans his teeth with the herbal plant. His reliance on religion is a spiritual growth in him. He reads the *Gita* and prays daily for betterment of life. He realizes the realization of the truth about him and about the nature of existence when he faces many obstacles of life. He can retire from his profession and worldly life because he has curiosity for his attaining spirituality. Jagan remains an ordinary man for a long because of his earthly desires and materialistic approach of life. He is in the grip of earthly desire as he wants to see his son successful one in materialistic sense. His wife hated Jagan for his rude and conservative attitude while she was alive. He did not allow her wife to consume the medicine while she was suffering from headache. He recommended her to use the herbal medicine. His way of thinking tortured his wife internally. In her anger she said, "Oh, this headache is not half as unbearable as you talk. You would sooner see me dead, I suppose" (Narayan 21). It is evident that Jagan is not a good and practical man. He believes only in his ideas and styles to live and not allows his members of family to live their own lives. As he gave a bitter remark to his wife on her suffering from a headache, "Your headache has made you crazy. You may do what you like. Only don't suffer" (Narayan 21). Jagan feels puzzled when his son Mali informs him that he does not want to study. Jagan is a coward father who cannot control and guide his son. As the protagonist wants to try to convince his son to go college but he can't communicate properly with his son due to his son's angry attitude and careless manner. In the sad voice he expresses his concern as:

So early in the morning, and the boy showing such a temper!
All right, get on with your eating. We will talk of these things later.
Swallow your food and run off to your class.

(Narayan 24)

These lines prove that Jagan is not a rude and courageous father rather he is kind and coward father. As a vendor he does not believe in his servant for cooking. He is a skeptical character in the novel as the conversation between Jagan and Mali displays the generation gap between the father and son in the novel clearly:

Father why don't believe in evening any cook?
Why not?
Do we engage a servant to do the breathing for us?
The boy asks, Don't you engage cooks in your sweetmeat shop?

Oh, that's different things. (Narayan)

Jagan as a father is quite obsessed with the care of his son. His worldly attitude leads him towards the conflicts and suffering. He feels much worried about his son after Mali leaving his college. The attitude and activities of his son make Jagan nervous all time. He has his cousin to share his problems at his life. As it is said, "Suffering serves to deepen us. Suffering comes to help us and causes us to know who we truly are .suffering creaks us open" (Sharma 14).The novel traces out the simple existence of its protagonist in the novel as he excessively gets involved in the all worldly affairs. As he loves too much his son Mali and tries to give his son all care. The novel points out that there is not a good relationship between father and son. They are not the good talking terms with each other. Though the father is very careful about his son and his life, yet there is a conflict between them. As Mali asks a question to Jagan in a rude manner, "Why do you bother when you keep saying one need not eat?" He put on his shirt, picked up his bicycle, and was off (Narayan 25). As Mali returns home at night and does not talk to his father, which increases the suffering of Jagan in many ways. This unforeseen behaviour of his son makes him both confused and sad. He also feels hurt after such behaviour of his son, but he loves his son affectionately. In a very subtle manner Jagan watches the room of his son, noticing the light on. His cousin makes him calm and cool by saying that Mali is going to do something best in his life. The words of his cousin soothe Jagan. Suffering at the hands of his son leads Jagan towards his spiritual growth. As Robin Sharma quotes on spirituality, "Suffering has been a vehicle for deep spiritual growth. Those who have endured great suffering are generally the ones who evolve into great beings" (Sharma 3).Spiritual transformation appears to the protagonist due to his suffering and understanding of real world gradually.

As an ordinary man Jagan reacts to all the actions of his son in an ignorant manner. When he knows that his son wants to be a writer he asks a few questions to his cousin about his son, "Why does he want to be a writer?" "Where does he want to work?" "After all the trouble I have taken to build up a reputation and a status."His cousin pacifies him that Mali is going to do a good work as a writer. This news brings a new current of happiness and hope to Jagan and he feels happy, visualizing the bright future of his son in foolish manner. Here, the novel points out Jagan as an ignorant man, who starts to believe that Mali can be a second Bharati, Tagore or Shakespeare under his materialistic attitude. The idea of becoming of a writer by son makes him very curious and he starts behaving in a childish manner. Many questions strike to his fragile mind such as: "What does he want to write?" "What is there to prevent him eating as much as he likes and at all hours of the day?" (Narayan 31).He unnecessarily takes pride in his son's idea of becoming a writer due to his earthly discovery. As a simple and careful father he wants to ask his son, "Are your friends also writers?" And he says, "I thought

you were fond of writers.” In a very rude manner the boy answers, “They are all ordinary fellows who are good for nothing.” And he adds a bitter remark to his father, “You don't believe in me” (Narayan 36- 37). This is a conflict between father and son in the story which is intensified by Mali's behaviour towards his father.

As a protagonist of the novel, Jagan tells his story of great work and regret in his own word:

I had to leave the college when Gandhi ordered us to non-cooperate. I spent to the best of my student years in prison”. He had ceased to attend the college, and had begun to take examinations as a private candidate, long before the call of Gandhi. Further, he says, “But what excuse can these boys have for refusing to study?
(Narayan 27)

It shows that Jagan had a difficult past. He was a freedom fighter for country. He is a spiritual person who is worried about the future of the young generation. The protagonist has a deep concern for all human beings. As Nelson Mandela says, “Banning not only confines one physically, it imprisons one's spirit. It induces a kind of psychological claustrophobia that makes one yearn for not only freedom of movement but spiritual escape” (Mandela 166). Jagan's struggle, sacrifice and conflict with his son make a niche for his self-identity and spiritual growth realistically in the novel.

The protagonist as an ordinary man makes a very dull statement against the poor and pathetic boy as, “Poor boy must have been starving” (Narayan 31). His existence is limited to the two parts of the world. As a father he feels excited to share the fleeting news of becoming his as writer. He praises his among other people. He praises his Mali in a very enthusiastically as, “He is going to earn twenty-five thousand rupees out of it. He is going to finish it before September, wonderful boy! I knew that my son was such a genius” (Narayan 40). Another example of his ordinary behaviour is found when he feels happy by the flattery of his friends. Jagan becomes furious at the notion of his son going to America and he feels outrageous. His mind swings frequently until he finds spirituality in his life. His mind is obsessed with the idea of his son moving to America. He gives both sorts of reactions of happiness and anger on the decisions of his going to the USA alternatively. After leading a banal and materialistic life Jagan changes his way of thinking and living with his new identity and realization in the story. In the later his life, Jagan is depicted as a spiritual and enlightened man. The symptom of spirituality is found in his character right from the beginning of the story. As he reads the *Gita* daily. His lifestyle and routine activities were the

indicators of his out spirituality in the novel in the beginning life of Jagan. But the real and inner realization takes place in him in the later part of life. There is a description of realization by Swami Turiyananda as:

Be yourself, and be strong. Realization is only process for the strong, the pure, and the upright. Remember you are the Atman. That gives the greatest strength and courage. Be brave; break through the bondage of maya. Be like the lion; don't tremble at anything. Every soul is potentially divine. Realize your own divinity, and then you will realize that all souls are divine. Remove the cloud of ignorance and the Atman will reveal itself in your heart. When you realize that, then you are a man. (*The Art of Meditation* 29)

As a vendor of sweets Jagan follows the ethics of commerce. He says, "Even when one wants to make profits, one should retain some sense of service. I have not raised the price here in spite of the sugar crisis" (Narayan 72). Further he says, "I see no connection. If others want to eat sweets, they must have the purest ones, that is all. I am thinking of particularly of children and poor" (Narayan 94-95). As a philanthropic man he wants to serve the people by offering them the purest sweets at the most reasonable prices. This marks that Jagan is a moral man and follows the right path for living his life and running his profession. Jagan is a kind-hearted man, who loves all people around of him. He loves equally Grace, the girl friend his son's Mali from America. This is a great humanistic virtue of Jagan as human being. He loves his works and duty as he says, "Perform thy charity with question" (Narayan 86). This is the concept of Gita which inculcates people to do their duties selflessly. The senses of service, duty, charity and love in Jagan convert him into a spiritual transformed human being from ordinary one. He is conscious man because he knows the bad consequences of greedy and materialistic attitude. In his conscious voice he says:

Money is an evil. We should all be happier without it. It is enough an activity goes on self supported; no need to earn money. Captain! No, no tell the boy that at the counter to give them each a packet and send them away. They may not have the money.

(Narayan 95-96)

Here, one can easily notice that the spiritual transformation has been stirred in Jagan. He starts realizing the world in the most realistic and spiritual way. As a spiritual human being, he loves to talk to people and believes in human cooperation. The real art of living blesses the protagonist at this stage in his life with the genuine understanding of life. According to Robin Sharma, "You are greater than you have ever dreamed of being" (Sharma1). The protagonist has

developed a theory of sane living. In the process of realization, Jagan he saw, “He had dreamt of a five –faced Gayatri, to be seen else, the deity of Radiance” (Narayan 115). This is a symbol of divine spirituality into the character of protagonist in the novel.

As Swami Vivekananda says in his lecture delivered in London in 27th October 1896, “Religion comes when that actual realization in our soul begins. That will be the dawn of religion; and alone we shall be moral” (*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* 172). Jagan as a spiritual person describes the Goddess of radiance as Mukta-vidruma-hema:

It only means the Goddess whose countenance has the radiance of mukta, that is pearl, and hema, that is gold, and then the blue of the sapphire or the sky, and then the redness of the coral.... She is the light that illuminates the Sun himself, she combines in her all colours and every kind of radiance, symbolized by five heads of different colours. She possesses ten hands, each holding a different object: a conch, which is the origin of sound, discus, which gives the universe its motion, a goad to suppress evils, a rope that causes bonds, lotus flowers for beauty and symmetry, and a kapalam, a begging bowl made of a bleached human skull. She combines in her divinity everything we and feel, from the bare, dry bone to all beauty in creation....

(Narayan 122-123)

This description of Goddess elucidates that Jagan is in the right process of realization and spiritual transformation. Now all his senses work to attain the higher state of mind and body in the novel. Another example of the protagonist's self -identity and realization is found when he realizes, “At sixty, one is reborn and enters a new Janma. That was the reason why people celebrated their sixtieth birthdays. (Narayan 181). He hands over his keys and business to his cousin and tells him that he will always be available for help and guidance. He is a worldly man who accepts the punishment of life for his purification. He is a widower. He does not remarry due to his strong spiritual sense. As a man he feels that, “A dose of prison is not a bad thing. It may be what he needs now. A little prison life won't harm anyone” (Narayan 191). He suffers from many things at the same But he does not lose his patience and courage to walk on the path of realization. It is a force of situations that discovers his spiritual strength in him. He remains calm. He is prepared to sacrifice all for the betterment of his son. He is a kind and graceful father who accepts Grace as his daughter-in- law. In term of realization, Deepak Chopra said, “You are the Light of the world” (Chopra 21). At the height of spirituality Jagan makes a statement that elucidates his deep sense of spirituality in him as:

I am going to watch a Goddess come out of a stone. If I don't like this place, I will go away somewhere else. I am a free man. I have never felt more determined in my life. I am happy to have met you. The world doesn't collapse even when a great figure is assassinated or dies of heart failure.

(Narayan 190)

Here, at this stage, one can point out that Jagan is fully spiritual grown man, who is determined and aware of the world. He has decided to renounce the worldly desires and to follow the path of spirituality to reach at the highest level of spirituality in man. In view of S.P. Ranchan and G.R. Kataria:

Transformation ordinarily means change of form. In psychological terminology, however, transformation is taken to mean a deep change in the existing personality structure. In Jungian analytical psychology, transformation describes a massive shift from the ego to the self, ego being the centre of personal consciousness, which has a certain measure of continuity and consistency, while self denotes a center of the whole of consciousness in which the conscious and the unconscious are integrated in a dynamic way. Transformation thus understood is a vital happening, a geological upheaval wherein the limited ego personality structure gives way to a deeper, wider, and a more transpersonal personality dynamic.

(Ranchan 5-15)

The new consciousness and transformation in Jagan mark of his spiritual growth in the story from his ordinary life. He goes through many experiences in his life to obtain the highest spiritual growth. At last, he has been a spiritual transformed soul in the novel due his realization .He thinks of the welfare of Grace as a spiritual human being. He abandons all his worldly desires and needs. He leaves his house and his business to his son. He has all the spiritual virtues for his new birth in the form of complete spiritual transformation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one would like to say that R.K.Narayan with extreme meticulousness and erudition, tries to assimilate the domestic and spiritual studies together in the narrative of the novel. From the beginning to the end, the novel is circumscribed by the vivid description of its protagonist as an ordinary man having many earthly desires and a spiritual being having spiritual realization in his life. The novel reflects the spiritual dimension of Narayan's love for Indian spirituality and realization in man in a practical way. The culmination of spiritual gain of Jagan is attained with his spiritual rebirth and withdrawing

himself from the worldly affairs. The protagonist attains his spiritual growth after passing through many stages of sufferings in his life. At final section of his life, he gets the core value of spirituality in his life The theme of transformation follows a round path in the novel. Spiritual transformation takes place in Jagan's life after facing many difficulties with endurance, patience and peace. One can say that Jagan becomes a spiritual figure in the story due to his senses of sacrifice and human service. As the protagonist gets back the life force after his spiritual communion, the author R.K.Narayan also regains his creative potential in depicting Indian spiritual discourses in his literary works.

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Exploring antimicrobial potential of *Ageratina adenophora* plant extract against pathogenic isolates

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Abstract

PLANTS, especially medicinal herbs have been used by mankind in a variety of ways since time immemorial. Medicinal plants used as raw materials for extraction of active ingredients which are used in the synthesis of different drugs. Bioactive compounds present in medicinal plants have been used for the treatment of many ailments, and have been the backbone of traditional and modern medicinal system. Antibiotic resistance has become one of the major problem, as the multi-drug resistant organisms (MDROs) are continuously posing a threat to health care system, it is necessary to discover new classes of safe and effective antimicrobial therapeutics. The need for new and effective antimicrobials has resulted in a shift from synthetic to herbal remedies. In the present study, the antimicrobial potential of *Ageratina adenophora* leaves was evaluated against various pathogens. Extracts of leaves were prepared in five different solvents viz. petroleum ether, chloroform, acetone, methanol and water using cold percolation method. Well diffusion method was used to visualize the clearing zone while using positive (antibiotic) and negative controls (DMSO). The acetone extract of *Ageratina adenophorum* leaves exhibited appreciable antimicrobial activity against both Gram positive and Gram negative bacteria. Maximum zone of inhibition was observed against *B. cereus* (15.2 ± 0.1 mm) whereas for *E. coli* it was 14.3 ± 0.15 mm. Phytochemical analysis of acetone extract of *A. adenophora* leaves revealed the presence of alkaloids, tannins, flavonoids, saponins, steroids, carbohydrates etc. The antimicrobial potential of acetone extract of leaves of *Ageratina adenophora* can be explored after examine R&D efforts.

Key words: *Ageratina adenophora*, Antimicrobial, Phytochemical

Introduction

Medicinal plants, one of the wonder gifts of nature to human beings and used for the treatment of many ailments, have been the backbone of traditional and modern medicine systems with endless therapeutics properties (El-Shemy *et al.*, 2007). With the knowledge of medicinal plants based on different medicinal systems such as Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha, about 2500 plant species have been utilized successfully. According to WHO, over 80% of the world's population still relies on traditional medicines to meet their primary healthcare needs (Vashist and Jindal, 2012). However, the traditional and ethno-pharmacological knowledge of medicinal plants is disappearing with passage of time even in developing countries (Rani *et al.*, 2013). The rapid loss of such valuable knowledge can be utilized by proper documentation as well as by better understanding of its botanico-historical roots (Leonti *et al.*, 2003).

In the present scenario, the term “Alternative Medicine” i.e. using plants for medicinal purpose has become very common. Plants have been a source of wide array of secondary metabolites with potential pharmacological properties like anti-mutagenic, anti-oxidative, anti-carcinogenic, antimicrobials etc. (Davidson, 2000; Devi *et al.*, 2018). Medicinal plants are also used as raw materials for synthesis of different drugs such as laxatives, blood thinners, antibiotics and anti-malaria medications. Since excessive use of synthetic antibiotics has resulted in multidrug resistant organisms (MDROs) hence efforts are required to discover new classes of safe and effective antimicrobial therapeutics. The need for new and effective antimicrobials has resulted in shift from synthetic to herbal remedies which is considered safe with no or minimal side effects.

Ageratina adenophora important medicinal plant belong to the family Asteraceae, commonly known as snake root, crofton weed is used in traditional medicines due to the wide spectrum of pharmacological activities associated with the biologically active chemical compounds. *A. adenophora* has also been reported to show antimicrobial (Negi and Semwal, 2011), antifungal, antioxidant (Pandey, 2014), anti-inflammatory (Chakravarty *et al.*, 2011) and anti-cancerous properties (Tiwary *et al.*, 2015). The present study investigates the antimicrobial potential of different extracts of *A. adenophorum* against different pathogens.

Materials and Methods

Test Organisms

The certified clinical pathogens i.e. *Escherichia coli*, *Salmonella typhi*, *Staphylococcus aureus*, *Shigella spp.*, *Pseudomonas aeruginosa*, *Listeria spp.*

and *Bacillus cereus* procured from Deptt.of microbiology, Indira Gandhi Medical College (IGMC) Shimla, were sub-cultured on nutrient agar.

Plant material collection

Plant material i.e. leaves of *Ageratina adenophora* were collected in bulk from the Kangra District of Himachal Pradesh. Plant samples were collected in sampling bags, labelled properly with marker and were further processed in laboratory.

Preparation of Plant Extracts

Leaves of *Ageratina adenophora* were properly washed firstly with tap water, then with distilled water and kept for drying between the layers of blotting paper under shade at room temperature for 14-15 days. The dried plant materials were ground to powdered form using pestle and mortar and stored in air tight container until further use.

Solvent extraction

Cold percolation method was used for solvent extraction of plant materials. The extraction of powdered plant material was carried out using different solvents viz. petroleum ether, chloroform, acetone, methanol and aqueous on the basis of increasing polarity as per the method detailed by Rosenthaler, (1930).



Fig.1: Dried leaf powder of *Ageratina adenophora*

Stock solution

The stock solution of different plant extracts were prepared in such a way that the final concentration comes to be 100 mg/ml by using 10% dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO) a universal solvent as it dissolves both polar and non polar compounds. The extracts were properly mixed and stored at 4 °C in refrigerator for further use.

Antimicrobial activity

The effect of different plant extracts on various clinical isolates was observed by agar well diffusion method. Agar well diffusion method was used to assess the antimicrobial activity of various plant extracts. The antimicrobial compound present in the plant extract diffuse out into the medium and interact in a plate freshly seeded with the test organism. The resulting zones of inhibition appearing as uniform circular zones around the wells after incubation at 37 °C for 24 hrs and 28 °C for 48-72 hrs were recorded (Mishra and Padhey, 2013). The diameter of zone of inhibition measured is a mark of the extent of antimicrobial potential of that particular extract in each case in triplicates.

Phytochemical Analysis

Preliminary qualitative phytochemical screening of the acetone extract was done by using standard methods described by Sofowara (1993) and Trease & Evan(1989). Phytochemical screening of the plant extracts gives an idea regarding the nature of chemical constituents present in the crude drug such as alkaloids, glycosides, terpenoids, steroids, flavonoids, reducing sugars, triterpenes, phenolic compounds and tannins etc.

Carbohydrates - The extract was treated with few drops of Benedict Reagent (alkaline solution containing cupric citrate complex) and boiled in water bath. Formation of reddish brown precipitates indicated the presence of reducing sugar.

Tannins - About 0.5 g of the dried powdered sample was boiled in 20 ml of water in a test tube and then filtered. A few drops of 0.1% ferric chloride was added and observed for brownish green or a blue-black coloration.

Alkaloids- Alkaloids give reddish brown precipitate with Wagner's reagent which was prepared by mixing 1.27 g iodine with 2 g potassium iodide and final volume made to 100 ml with distilled water.

Sterols- 2 ml of concentrated sulfuric acid was added to the plant extract in a test tube. A yellow ring formed at the junction, which turned red after one minute confirmed the presence of sterols.

Flavonoids - Addition of few drops of sodium hydroxide solution to the plant extract and the formation of an intense yellow color which turns to colorless on addition of few drops of dilute acetic acid indicated the presence of flavonoids.

Phenols - Resultant black precipitate on the addition of lead acetate to 2 ml of the plant extract indicated the presence of phenolic compounds.

Saponins- 1gm of the powdered samples were boiled in 10ml of distilled water in a water bath and filtered. 5 ml of the filtrate was mixed with 2.5 ml of distilled water and shaken vigorously for a stable persistent froth.

Results

Petroleum ether

Petroleum ether extract of *Ageratina adenophora* didn't show activity against any of the pathogenic strains even at higher concentration.

Chloroform extract

Inhibitory effect of chloroform extract of *Ageratina adenophora* was checked on various pathogenic microbes. The chloroform extract was also found to be effective only against *P. aeruginosa* (6.40 ± 0.26 mm at 40 μ l) followed by *S. aureus* (6.03 ± 0.152 mm at 40 μ l), that too had with very less impact in comparison to the positive control. Other microorganisms were found to be resistant against chloroform extract.

Acetone extract

Acetone extract of *A. adenophora* leaves emerged the best among all and exhibited a good antimicrobial activity against all the tested pathogenic isolates used in the present investigation. It was found highly effective against *B. cereus* (15.2 ± 0.1 mm at 40 μ l), followed by *E. coli* (14.3 ± 0.15 mm at 40 μ l conc.) and was least effective in case of *P. aeruginosa* (7.1 ± 0.1 mm, 40 μ l conc.). The fungal isolates were found totally resistant towards acetone extract.

Methanol extract

The efforts to explore antimicrobial potential of methanolic extract of *Ageratina adenophora* revealed that it was effective only against *B. cereus* that too only at higher concentration (14.5 ± 0.35 mm at 40 μ l) followed by *E. coli* (9.1 ± 0.15 mm at 40 μ l). The fungal isolates were found totally resistant towards methanolic extract.

Aqueous extract

Inhibitory effect of aqueous extract of *Ageratina adenophora* when checked on various pathogenic microbes revealed that only *B. cereus* was sensitive towards aqueous extract of *Ageratina adenophora*. The observed zones of inhibition were 10.26 ± 0.25 mm, 11.1 ± 0.1 mm, 12.16 ± 0.15 mm, 15.3 ± 0.26 mm in case of 10 μ l, 20 μ l, 30 μ l and 40 μ l concentrations of the extract, respectively (Fig.). Remaining microorganisms were not affected/inhibited by aqueous extract of *Ageratina adenophora*.

Phytochemical analysis

Table 1 shows the summarized phytochemical screening of chemical constituents of *Ageratina adenophora* leaf extracts under study on qualitative basis. As the table shows, the acetone extracts indicate the presence of tannins, phenols, flavonoids, carbohydrates, alkaloids and saponins.

Table 1 : Phytochemical analysis of *Ageratina adenophora* (leaves)

Compound	<i>Ageratina adenophora</i> leaf extract in acetone
Carbohydrates	+
Tannins	+
Sterols	+
Saponins	+
Alkaloids	+
Flavonoids	+
Phenols	+

Discussion

Plants as a source of life saving drugs have been used for medical treatment since time immemorial. Man has traditionally used plants to cure diseases and this practical knowledge of the [medicinal plants](#) has been extended to several parts of the world. This important natural wealth has a significant role in providing primary healthcare services to the citizens especially to rural people globally. This property of medicinal plants is due to the presence of several phytoconstituents like alkaloids, flavonoids, tannins, essential oils and other aromatic compounds which adversely affect the growth of disease causing agents (Thakur *et al.*, 2018). Antimicrobial agents interfering with the growth and metabolism of microbes can be antibacterial, antifungal, antiviral and antiprotozoa depending upon their efficacy against specific group of organisms. A given antimicrobial can be bactericidal in one situation, yet bacteriostatic in another, depending on the concentration of the drugs and the growth stage of the microorganism (Nester *et al.*, 2004).

Keeping in view the tremendous potential of traditional medicines, the present study was intended to explore the antimicrobial activity of important medicinal plants i.e. *Ageratina adenophora* (leaves) which are available in abundance at no cost and if put to some use can help to reduce the ill effects of these weeds on the agriculture and environment. The acetone extract of *Ageratina adenophora* was found highly effective against *B. cereus* (15.2 ± 0.1 mm at 40 μ l) followed by *E. coli* (14.3 ± 0.15 mm) and least effective against *S. aureus* (8.2 ± 0.25 mm at 40 μ l) and *Listeria spp.* (8.06 ± 0.15 mm at 40 μ l). The chloroform extract of *Ageratina adenophora* showed antimicrobial

activity against *P. aeruginosa* (6.40 ± 0.26 mm at $40 \mu\text{l}$) followed by *S. aureus* (6.03 ± 0.15 mm at $40 \mu\text{l}$). The studies carried out by Kumar *et al.*, (2014) have reported maximum efficacy of chloroform extracts of *Ageratina adenophora* leaf against *K. pneumonia* (10 mm) and *S. aureus* (9 mm). Methanol extract showed 7 mm inhibition zone against *K. pneumonia* and 8 mm inhibition zone against *S. aureus*. **Conclusion** The present work demonstrates the antimicrobial potential of *Ageratina adenophora* leaves extract by using various solvents. This study concluded that leaf extract of *Ageratina adenophora* was found to be maximum antibacterial activity against all the clinical isolates. Acetone extract showed maximum zone of inhibition in case of *B. cereus* (15.32 ± 0.1 mm). Phytochemical analysis of acetone extract of *Ageratina adenophora* leaves revealed the presence of alkaloids, flavonoids, phenolics, tannins, soluble starch and saponins. The encouraging result obtained in the present investigation regarding antimicrobial potential of this plant extracts against pathogenic bacteria is an indication of broad spectrum of activity of the plant, which can be used in drug development for curing various microbial infections.

Acknowledgement

I am highly grateful to the Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change (MoEF&CC), New Delhi, India under the project National Mission on Himalayan studies (NMHS) for financial assistance.

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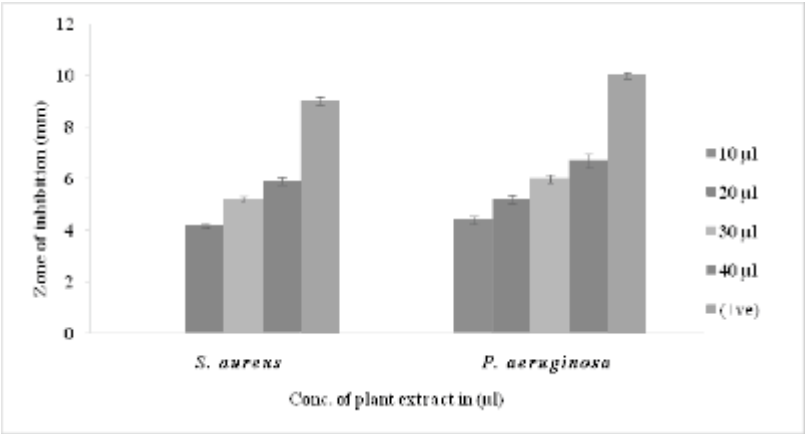


Fig.1: Effect of chloroform extract on *Ageratina adenophora* leaves

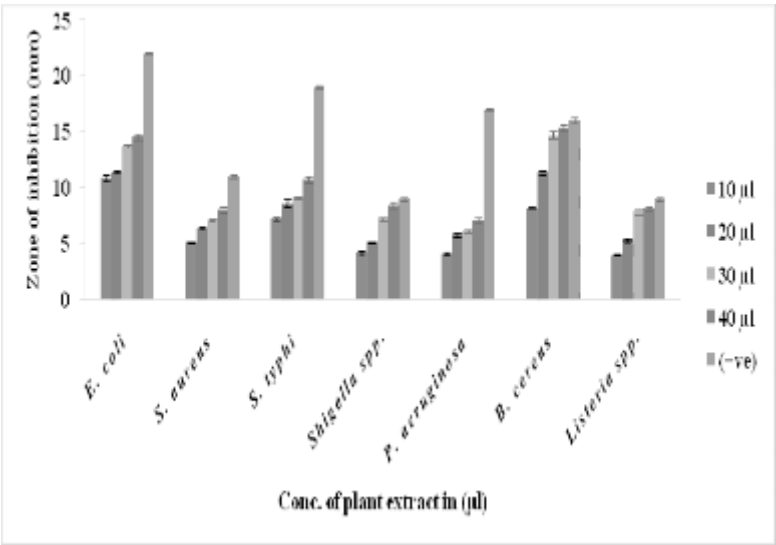


Fig. 2: Effect of acetone extract on *Ageratina adenophora* leaves

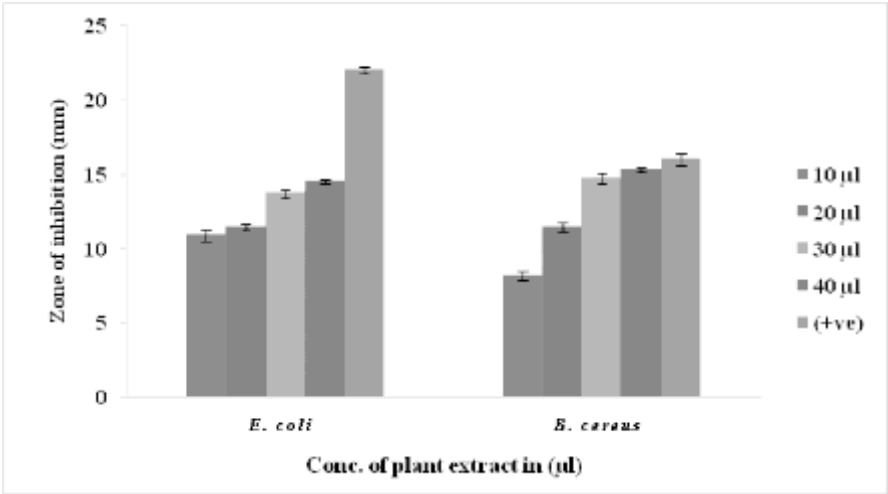


Fig. 3: Effect of methanol extract on *Ageratina adenophora* leaves

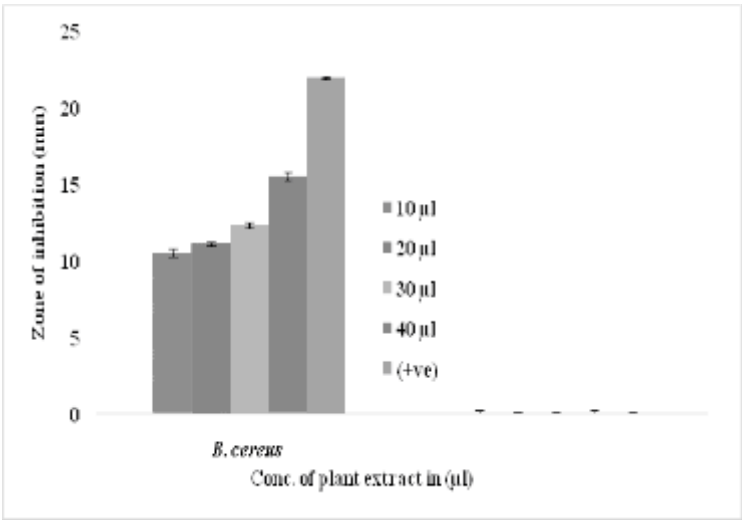


Fig. 4: Effect of aqueous extract on *Ageratina adenophora* leaves

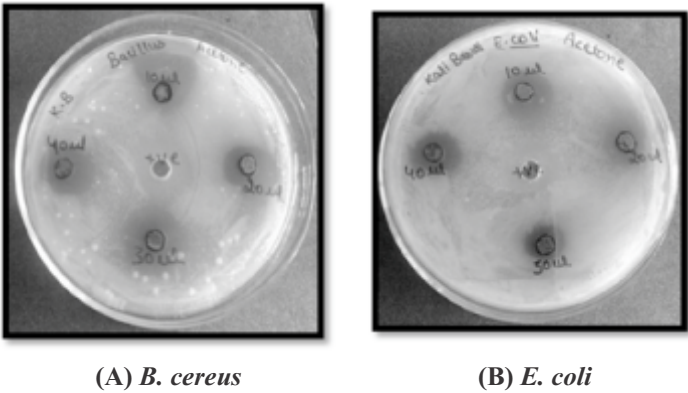


Fig. 5: Effect of acetone extract on *Ageratina adenophora* leaves

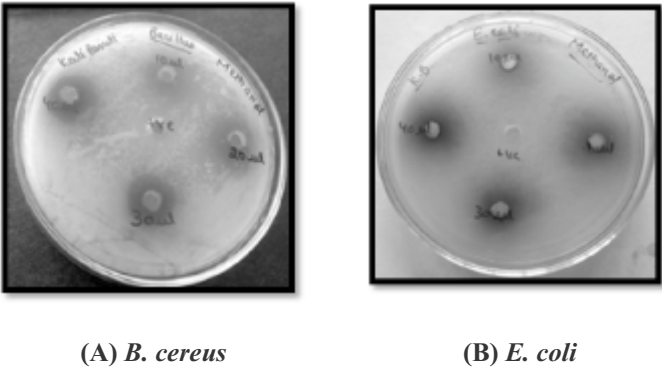


Fig. 6: Effect of methanolic extract on *Ageratina adenophora* leaves

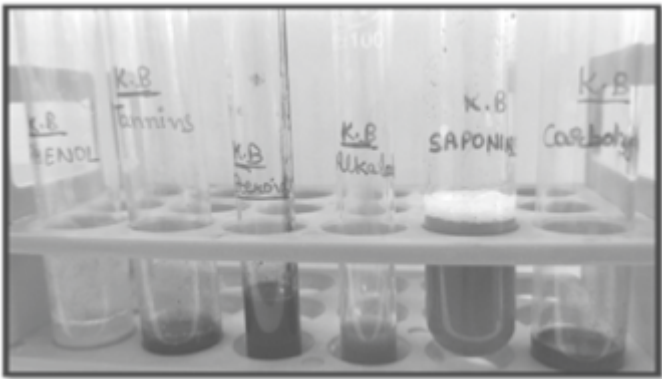


Fig. 7: Phytochemical analysis of *Ageratina adenophora* acetone extract (leaves)

In-vitro Pharmacological Activities of Flower Extracts of *Woodfordia fruticosa* (L.) Kurz

Preeti Kaundal, Jagriti Rana and Anand Sagar

PLANTS are used as medicines since ancient time as they have enormous therapeutic value. Free radicals or highly reactive oxygen species induce oxidative damage to human body and plants are rich in natural antioxidants which terminate the attack of reactive species and reduce the risk of diseases. *W. fruticosa* have many ethno-botanical roles and mention in Indian traditional medicine system so the present study is aimed at evaluating the antibacterial and antioxidant activities of its flower extracts. Agar well diffusion method was used for screening of extracts for antibacterial and the plant extracts showed potent antibacterial activity at 100% conc. against tested bacteria. Best MIC values were obtained for *S. typhi* and *P. aeruginosa* followed by *Yersinia* sp. and *E. coli* respectively. Flower extracts of *W. fruticosa* also showed potent free radical scavenging activity.

Keywords : *W. fruticosa*, Antibacterial, Antioxidant, Free radical.

Introduction

For centuries, man has effectively used various components of plants or their extracts for the treatment of many diseases. A plant is said to be medicinal if it produces active compounds which are therapeutically effective (Jamshidi-Kia *et al.* 2018). Because of the adverse effects of available antibiotics and the constant development of bacterial resistance there is a need for the search new antimicrobial agents (Fair and Tor, 2014). *Woodfordia fruticosa* (L.) Kurz. belonging to family Lythraceae is a straggling leafy shrub, commonly known as Fire Flame Bush while locally known as Dhai, Dhavi, Dhaun and is distributed abundantly throughout India. *Woodfordia fruticosa* flowers has many ethno-botanical roles as a traditional medicine, such as curing bowel disorders, dysentery, diarrhea, ulcers, and other infectious diseases, in addition to treating rheumatism (Shome *et al.*, 1981).

According to the Traditional system of medicine, the flowers of *Woodfordia fruticosa* are pungent, acrid, cooling, toxic, alexiteric, use as astringent tonic in disorders of mucous membranes, uterine sedative and anthelmintic and is useful in thirst, dysentery, leprosy, erysipelas, blood disease, leucorrhoea,

menorrhagia and toothache (Kirtikar and Basu, 1992). In view of above mentioned uses of this plant following research was conducted to study its antibacterial and antioxidant activity.

Methods

Plant material

The plant sample was collected from District Kangra, Himachal Pradesh based on its ethnobotanical uses.

Extraction

The plant sample was shade dried at room temperature and powdered material was then weighed (50 g), soaked in different solvents (Methanol, Acetone and Water) for 72 hrs and filtered using Whatman No. 40 filter paper. The filtrate obtained was concentrated under reduced pressure in a rotatory evaporator to obtain the crude extract.

Test Microorganism

The test bacteria used for the screening antimicrobial activity were *Escherichia coli*, *Pseudomonas aeruginosa*, *Salmonella typhi*, *Yersinia* sp., *Klebsiella* sp. and *Bacillus cereus*. All the bacteria were obtained from Department of Microbiology, HPU Shimla. Bacterial cultures were maintained on nutrient medium and subcultured every 15 days.

Screening of plant extracts for antibacterial activity

The antibacterial assay was done by using agar well diffusion method (Hemashenpagam and Selvaraj, 2010). Five agar wells of 9.5 mm diameter were prepared with the help of sterilized stainless steel cork borer in each petriplate containing nutrient agar medium. The wells in each plate were loaded with 25%, 50%, 75% and 100% concentration of prepared extracts and one well is filled with control sample. The plates were incubated at $37 \pm 2^{\circ}\text{C}$ for 24 hours in incubation chamber and the zone of growth inhibition was calculated by measuring the diameter of the inhibition zone around the well (in mm) including the well diameter.

Minimum inhibitory concentration (MIC) was determined using Resazurin Based 96 well Microtiter Dilution Assay (RMDA).

Free radical scavenging activity

The free radical scavenging activity of plant extracts will be measured by 1, 1-diphenyl-2-picryl-hydrazyl (DPPH) by using the method given by Blois (1958). 0.1 mM solution of DPPH in methanol was prepared and 1 ml of this solution was added to 3 ml of various concentrations of plant extract and reference compound. After 30 min, absorbance was measured at 517 nm. All the tests were

performed in triplicate and the graph was plotted with mean value. The percentage of inhibition was calculated by comparing the absorbance values of reference compound (control) and samples.

$$\% \text{ of inhibition} = [(A \text{ blank}/A \text{ sample})/A \text{ blank}] \times 100$$

Where 'A blank' is the absorbance of the control reaction (containing all reagents except the test sample) and 'A sample' is the absorbance of the extracts/standard.

RESULTS

The antimicrobial activity of aqueous, methanol and acetone extracts of *Woodfordia fruticosa* was investigated using agar well diffusion method against selected human pathogens. In the present study, plant extracts were tested at various concentrations (25, 50, 75 and 100%) there was significant inhibition of all the pathogens at 100% conc. The results are presented in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3, it is evident from the tables that all the extracts were effective in inhibiting the growth of human pathogenic bacteria. Maximum zone of inhibition was observed against *S. typhi* 22.33±0.57 in acetone extracts, 24.33±0.57 in methanol extracts and 18.66±0.57 in aqueous extracts followed by *Y. sp* (18.66±2.08), *P. aeruginosa* (16.33±0.57), *K. sp* (15.03±0.57) *E. coli* (16.00±0.33) and *B. cereus* (12.33±0.57). Methanol extracts showed best results for all the selected bacteria. The MIC value of 1.5mg/ml was obtained with methanol extracts against *S. typhi* and *P. aeruginosa* each followed by *Y. pestis* (3.12mg/ml) and *E. coli* (6.25mg/ml), respectively.

Conc. in %	Inhibition Zone In Diameter (in mm)					
	<i>E.coli</i>	<i>P. aeruginosa</i>	<i>S. typhi</i>	<i>K. sp</i>	<i>Y. sp</i>	<i>B. cereus</i>
Control	---	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00
25	-	10.66±0.33	15.00±0.00	-	10.33±0.57	-
50	11.66±0.57	11.33±0.57	18.33±0.57	-	11.66±0.57	-
75	13.33±0.57	12.33±0.57	21.66±0.33	12.00±0.57	12.66±0.57	11.33±0.57
100	15.33±0.57	14.00±0.57	22.33±0.57	12.03±0.57	14.00±0.57	12.66±0.57

Table 1: Antibacterial screening of Acetone extract of *W. fruticosa* flowers against human pathogenic bacteria.

Conc. in %	Inhibition Zone In Diameter (in mm)					
	<i>E.coli</i>	<i>P. aeruginosa</i>	<i>S. typhi</i>	<i>K. sp</i>	<i>Y. sp</i>	<i>B. cereus</i>
Control	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00
25	13.33±0.57	10.33±0.57	18.33±0.57	-	10.66±0.57	-
50	13.66±0.57	11.33±0.33	21.66±2.08	12.00±0.57	13.00±0.57	-
75	15.33±0.57	15.33±0.57	23.00±2.08	13.33±0.57	15.00±0.00	10.66±0.57
100	16.00±0.33	16.33±0.57	24.33±0.57	15.03±0.57	18.66±2.08	12.33±0.57

Table 2: Antibacterial screening of methanol extract of *W. fruticosa* flowers against human pathogenic bacteria.

Conc. in %	Inhibition Zone In Diameter (in mm)					
	<i>E.coli</i>	<i>P. aeruginosa</i>	<i>S. typhi</i>	<i>K. sp</i>	<i>Y. sp</i>	<i>B. cereus</i>
Control	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00	00.00±00.00
25	-	-	13.33±0.57	-	10.66±0.57	-
50	11.33±0.33	10.33±0.57	15.00±0.00	-	11.33±0.57	-
75	12.66±0.57	11.33±0.33	16.33±0.33	11.66±0.57	12.33±0.33	10.66±0.33
100	15.00±0.33	13.33±0.57	18.66±0.57	12.66±0.57	14.00±0.57	11.66±0.33

Table 3: Antibacterial screening of aqueous extract of *W. fruticosa* flowers against human pathogenic bacteria.

Free radicals including superoxide radicals, hydroxy radicals, peroxy radicals, and single oxygen are mainly responsible for many disease conditions in human beings. Herbal drugs are gaining importance in treating such diseases as they contain free radical scavengers (Aqil et al., 2006). Extract of *W. fruticosa* weretested for their free radical scavenging ability by using DPPH assay and it was observed that the methanol plant extract showed good potency for scavenging free radicals. Flower extract of *W. fruticosa* showed highest (79.72%) DPPH scavenging activity at a concentration of 100 µg/mL and ascorbic acid was taken as standard in this experiment.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study confirm that *W. fruticosa* possess significant antibacterial and antioxidant activity at different concentrations used. It can be concluded that this plant might be supportive in the prevention of several bacterial diseases as well as helpful in preventing or slowing the progress of various oxidative stress-related diseases. Further, this study directs future research in separating the bioactive compounds responsible for this activity.

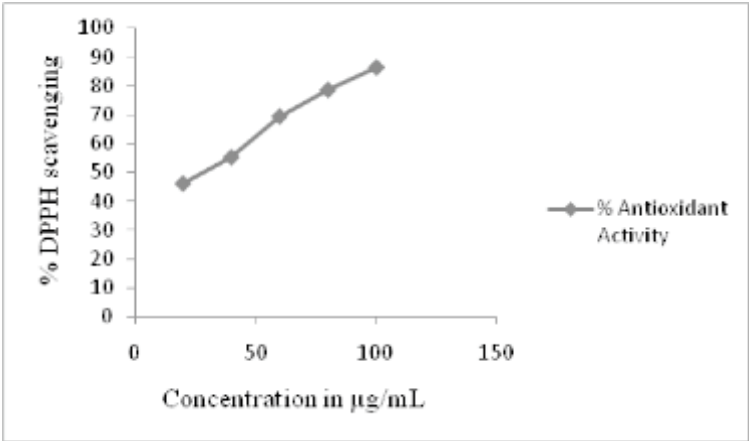


Fig. 1: Free radical scavenging activity of ascorbic acid (control).

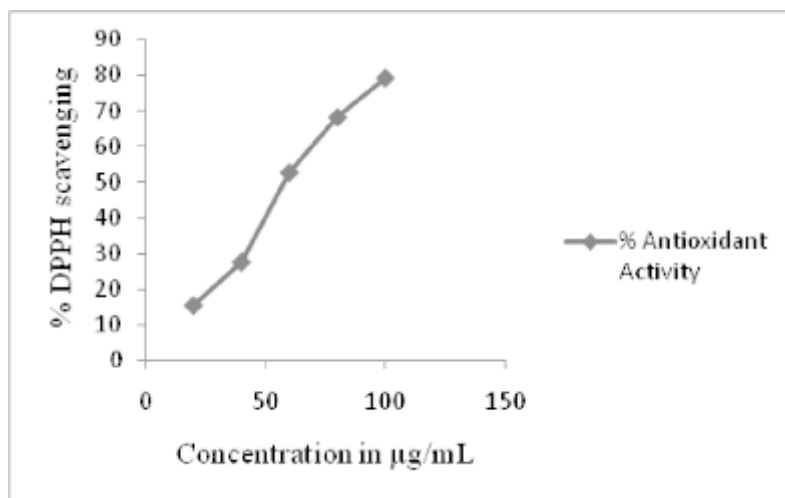


Fig. 2: Free radical scavenging activity of the methanol extract of *W. fruticosa* flowers.

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Cyanobacterial (BGA)Reclamation of Salt Affected soils

Soniya Devi*, Nisha Rani and Anand Sagar

VAST AREA of world lies in the category of wastelands. Salinit / sodicity is the key land degradation issues and threatening agriculture expansion and productivity. 1.5 billion hectare of land in world, 6.9 million hectare in India are salt affected. In Himachal Pradesh 34 % of land is soil affected. The excessive salt accumulation adversely affects physical, chemical as well as microbiological properties of soil. Salt mining produce salinity and sodicity in lands of agriculture importance. Saline soils are soil with electrical conductivity (EC) exceeding 4 dS/m and with having different structural profile and osmotic and toxic ion effects. The synthetic chemicals are used for restoration of such lands but they have disadvantages like leaching, water pollution, reducing soil fertility etc. Hence the farmers are being discouraged to use them. The microorganisms like cyanobacteria (BGA) can be used to improve the quality and fertility of soil. BGA have nitrogen fixing ability and also secrete various chemical compounds such as vitamins, proteins, hormones etc. which help in restoration of such salt affected soils. Thus in the present investigation cyanobacteria have been isolated from Drang Salt Mine, Distt. Mandi Himachal Pradesh and will be used for bioreclamation of salt affected soils.

KEYWORDS : *Wastelands, Salinity, Cyanobacteria, Bioreclamation.*

INTRODUCTION

Vast area of world lies in the category of wastelands. Salinity/Sodicity is key land degradation issues and increasingly threatening agricultural expansion and productivity worldwide (Wong *et al.*, 2009). It accounts for about 1.5 billion

hectare of land, all over the world and 6.9 million hectare of salt affected areas lie in India. In Himachal Pradesh, out of total waste land, 34% accounts for salinity/ alkalinity. The excessive salt accumulation adversely affects physical, chemical as well as microbiological properties of soil. Salt mining produce salinity and sodicity in lands of agriculture importance. Saline soils are often poor in nitrogen, carbon and phosphorus. They have an electrical conductivity exceeding 4 dS/m, lack a well distinguished structural profile and have serious osmotic and toxic ion effects thus impeding crop growth as well as yield. The synthetic chemicals in restoration of such marginal lands had been increasingly used in the past decades but, accompanied with some of the disadvantages including, leaching and pollution of water bodies, destroying microorganisms and friendly insects, making crops more susceptible to attack from diseases, reducing the soil fertility and hence, farmers were being discouraged to use them. The improvement in quality and fertility of soil can be achieved by using microorganism like cyanobacteria (Blue-Green Algae) as a biofertilizer. Besides N_2 fixation they secrete mucilage, which binds soil particles together, prevent soil erosion and stabilize desert soil (Rogers and Burns., 1994). They also produce bioactive compounds like Vitamin, Proteins, Hormones, Enzyme, Lipo-polysaccharides etc. which helps in plant growth. Thus, in the present investigation indigenous strains of Cyanobacteria were isolated from Drang Salt Mine, Distt. Mandi Himachal Pradesh that will be further used in reclamation studies of salt affected soils.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

- Soil samples were collected from Drang Salt Mine, Drang ,Tehsil Padhar, Distt. Mandi, Himachal Pradesh.
- Geographical location of the area is 31°13" to 32°04"N, 76°37" to 77°23" E located at an altitude of 754 meters asl.
- Started about in 1960, the Salt mine is run by Hindustan Salts Limited, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
- Soil samples were collected from different depths after removing the top soil i.e. 10 cm, 15 cm, 20 cm below the surface.
- The samples were collected and transferred to laboratory in a good quality, air tight and clean plastic bags for analysis. The soil was cleaned, air dried, crushed, homogenized and sieved, and then stored in air tight bags for analysis.
- **Isolation and identification:** Cyanobacterial strains were isolated from fresh soils using serial dilution (10^{-2}) following standard culturing and purification techniques (Kaushik, 1987) in N-free BG-11 medium.
- Cultures were incubated at 28 $^{\circ}$ C under continuous illumination of 3000

Lux using cool white fluorescent lamps.

- Examined microscopically for various structural features for identification (Desikachary, 1959).
- Unialgal cultures obtained were maintained at 25°C for further studies.

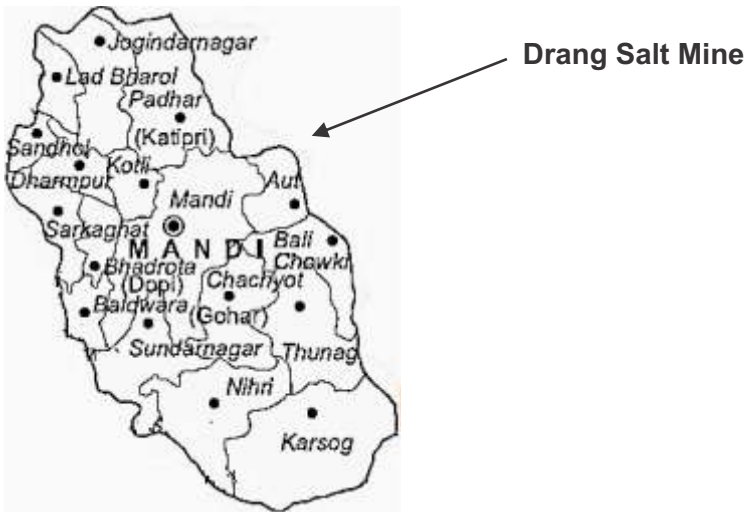


Fig. showing collection site

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Vegetation

Following angiospermic and gymnospermic plants have been noticed to grow in the study area:

Pinus roxburghii, *Lantana camara*, *Euphorbia*, *Murraya*, *Ziziphus*, *Dalbergia sisoo*, *Adathoda*, *Phoenix acculis*, *Carrisa spinarum*, *Bidens pilosa*, *Bombax ceiba*, *Ficus*, *Falconaria* etc.

Cyanobacterial isolates: In the present study eight species were isolated which belongs to order Nostocales of class Cyanophyceae and division Cyanophyta. The 8 isolates belongs to 2 different genera i.e. *Nostoc* (6 species), *Cylindrospermum* (2sp.).

Manchanda, 2016 has isolated species of *Nostoc* and *Cylindrospermum* from salt affected soil of Rohtak, Haryana, India and studied their bioameliorative effects. Cynobacterial biofertilizers not only improve the nitrogen, carbon and other nutrients but also helps in chelation of harmful sodium ions from the soil solution (Nisha *et al.*, 2017). In earlier studies authors have isolated two species of *Nostoc* viz. *N. ellipsosporum* and *N. punctiforme* from salt affected soils of Hisar, Haryana and found very effective biofertilizer in such marginal lands.



(a)



(b)



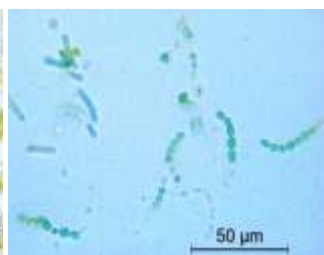
(c)



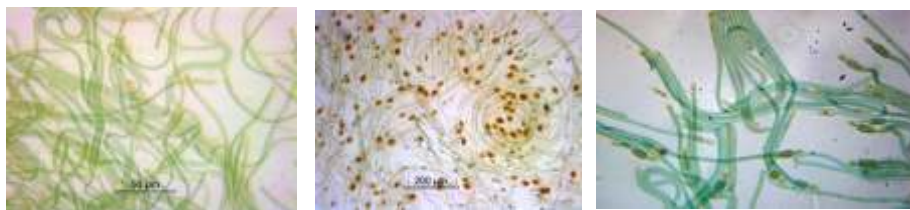
(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

(h)

(i)

Fig. (a) is showing cultures growing under lab conditions, Fig. (b) to (f) *Nostoc* genera and Fig. (g) to (i) *Cylindrospermum*

CONCLUSION

With growing demand for safe and healthy food, long term sustainability and concern on environmental pollution associated with indiscriminate use of chemicals in the agriculture, organic-farming using bio-fertilizer has emerged as an important priority area. Application of organic manures particularly bio-fertilizers is the only option to improve the soil organic carbon for sustenance of soil quality and future agricultural productivity. Cyanobacteria, due to their inherent tolerance or adaptation to stresses prevailing in area proved to be very effective in reclamation of salt- affected soil. Exploitation of such halotolerant indigenous Cyanobacterial strains with high degree of stress tolerance / adaptation, as biofertilizers would significantly help in adding organic matter, encourage growth of other microbial communities, nutrient cycles, reduce soil erosion by improving soil aggregation and structural stability, facilitates increased crop yield. Therefore, in the present study indigenous cyanobacterial species were isolated to be used as biofertilizer in reclamation of such marginal land.

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भ्रष्टाचार : विकास की राह में बाधक

भावना शर्मा

सवाल ये है कि आखिर क्यों भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ अन्ना हजारे के आन्दोलन में लाखों की तादाद में आम आदमी सड़क पर उतर आये...? जवाब बेहद सीधा और स्पष्ट है कि वो भ्रष्टाचार से त्रस्त हैं। ये भ्रष्टाचार रिश्वत की शक्ल में हो सकता है। उपहारों का हो सकता है, या फिर किसी और रूप में हो सकता है। कुछ सरकारी कार्यालयों में बिना घूस दिये कोई काम होता ही नहीं है। तकनीकी भाषा में, इसे सुविधा शुल्क कहा जाता है। चाहे गरीब हो या मध्यम वर्ग, जो अलग-अलग क्षेत्रों से आते हैं लेकिन उनकी पीड़ा एक ही है। हालांकि पैसे पहले भी दिये जाते रहे हैं पर इधर चार-पाँच सालों में अब सब कुछ फिक्स हो गया है। कोई मोल-तोल नहीं। अगर नक्शा पास कराना है तो इतने पैसे अगर रजिस्ट्री करानी है तो इतने पैसे ...।

विकास कुमार की आपबीती। ये पेशे से बिल्डर हैं। पिछले 8 सालों से कन्स्ट्रक्शन बिजनेस कर रहे हैं। “मैं नक्शा लेकर विकास प्राधिकरण के दफ्तर पहुँचा। तो नक्शा पास करने के लिए सुविधा शुल्क की माँग की गयी। सुविधा शुल्क तत्काल मुहैया करवाया गया। निर्माण का काम शुरू हुआ। पहली मंजिल की छत पड़नी थी। उस दिन प्राधिकरण के लोग दल बल समेत आ धमके। सारे मजदूरों से उन्होंने काम बंद करने को कहा। भला मजदूर क्या कर सकते थे? काम बंद कर सब नीचे आ गये। इस तरह की घटनायें एक बार नहीं बार-बार होती हैं। उनका सीधा-सा कहना है कि एक मंजिल की छत का पैसा मिलने के बाद जब तक दूसरी का पैसा नहीं मिलेगा तब तक वो नहीं डलेगी। कई बार तो ऐसा भी हुआ कि कंक्रीट से भरे जो ट्रक खड़े थे उन्हें वापस कर दिया गया क्योंकि प्राधिकारी के जिस अधिकारी को पैसा पहुँचाना था। उसने दाम बढ़ा दिये थे। जब बिल्डिंग पूरी बन गयी, तब उसकी कम्पाउंडिंग की गयी। नियमानुसार उसकी एक निश्चित फीस होती है। अधिकारी जो कम्पाउंडिंग करते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि प्रति एकड़ 40 लाख लेंगे। अगर प्रोजेक्ट 3 एकड़ का है तो 1 करोड़, 20 लाख लेकर जायेंगे। तभी उसकी कम्पाउंडिंग होगी अन्यथा नहीं। विकास कुमार ने कहा कि नियमानुसार ही बिल्डिंग बनी है तो अधिकारियों ने कहा – फाइल पास नहीं होगी। जब समझौता करने की कोशिश की तो अधिकारियों ने कहा कि उन पर भी ऊपर से इतना प्रेशर है कि कुछ नहीं किया जा सकता। इस व्यवसाय में ऊपर से नीचे तक इतने पेंच हैं कि कोई भी बिना पैसा दिये देहले भर पर काम नहीं करता।

जहाँ तक पैसे की बंदरबांट का सवाल है ये एक ऐसी श्रृंखला है जिसमें ऊपर से नीचे तक सबसे हिस्से हैं। कहा तो ये भी जाता है कि पैसा नेताओं तक भी जाता है। अधिकारियों को भी मालूम है कि बिल्डर पैसा नहीं देगा तो ये जायेगा तो कहाँ, इसलिए सब कुछ खुलेआम जारी है।²

भ्रष्टाचार के केंसर से लड़ने का समय

संयुक्त राष्ट्र के महासचिव बान की मूनकी अपील है कि सभी देशों को भ्रष्टाचार जैसे केंसर से लड़ने के लिए आगे आना चाहिए। भारत और मध्यपूर्व के देशों में चल रहे भ्रष्टाचार विरोधी आन्दोलनों का जिक्र करते हुए बान की मून ने कहा कि भ्रष्टाचार से सामाजिक असमानता फैलती है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भ्रष्टाचार विरोधी दिवस पर बान की मून ने कहा कि गरीब और कमजोरों को दबाया तो जा सकता है, लेकिन खामोश नहीं किया जा सकता। खाड़ी और दूसरे देशों में आम लोगों ने भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ आवाज उठायी और अपनी सरकारों को प्रजातन्त्र के खिलाफ इस मर्ज से लड़ने को कहा है। भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ पिछले कुछ महीनों में हुए आन्दोलनों से अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिदृश्य में जो बदलाव आये हैं, उनके बारे में कुछ वर्षों पहले सोचना भी संभव नहीं था।

3

संयुक्त राष्ट्र की अपराध और मादक पदार्थ भाखा का मानना है कि कोई भी देश भ्रष्टाचार से सुरक्षित नहीं है। मिलेनियम विकास लक्ष्यों को भ्रष्टाचार से हो रहे नुकसान का पता लगाने के लिए अपराध और मादक पदार्थ भाखा और संयुक्त राष्ट्र विकास कार्यक्रम ने संयुक्त रूप से एक अभियान भी शुरू किया है। बान की मून के अनुसार भ्रष्टाचार रूपी केंसर के खिलाफ लड़ना सभी का दायित्व है। जब विकास के लिए बेहद जरूरी आर्थिक मदद को भ्रष्ट अधिकारी और संस्थाएँ चोरी कर लेते हैं। तब आम लोग चिकित्सा, शिक्षा और जरूरी सेवाओं से वंचित रह जाते हैं। मून ने सभी देशों से आग्रह किया है कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र के भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ समझौते पर वो हस्ताक्षर करें। यह समझौता भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ लड़ने के लिए एक ताकत व हथियार सिद्ध होगा। उन्होंने व्यवसायिक प्रतिष्ठानों से भी आग्रह किया है कि वे अपने काम करने के तरीकों को संयुक्त राष्ट्र के भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ समझौते के अनुरूप बनाये। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भ्रष्टाचार विरोधी दिवस को हमें कसम खानी चाहिए कि हम भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ लड़ेंगे और नैतिकता का माहौल बनायेंगे।⁴

भ्रष्टाचार से लोकतंत्र को खतरा

संयुक्त राष्ट्र का कहना है कि दुनियाभर में बढ़ती विशमता और भ्रष्टाचार के कारण अनेक देशों में लोकतंत्र को खतरा पैदा हो गया है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र की एक रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि पिछले 20 वर्षों में 81 देशों में लोकतंत्र आया है लेकिन उनमें से केवल 47 में ही पूरी तरह लोकतंत्र है और सत्ता का संतुलन है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र की 12वीं सलाना मानव विकास रिपोर्ट में 173 देशों में जीवन की गुणवत्ता, प्रति व्यक्ति आय और औसत जीवन दर के आधार पर बाँटा गया है। इस आधार पर नार्वे पहले स्थान पर है। इसके बाद स्वीडन, कनाडा, बेल्जियम, आस्ट्रेलिया और फिर अमेरिका का नम्बर है। इस रिपोर्ट में अन्तिम स्थान पर अफ्रीकी देशों को दर्शाया गया है। सीएरा लीओन अन्त में है और अन्तिम सभी 24 स्थानों पर अफ्रीकी देश हैं।

इस रिपोर्ट का कहना है कि 4 में से एक अफ्रीकी देश में राजनीति में सेना का हस्तक्षेप होता है। रिपोर्ट के प्रमुख साकीको फुकुदा-पार का कहना है कि दुनियाभर में लोगों में यह भावना बढ़ती जा रही है कि लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था आम आदमी की नौकरियों, शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य उपलब्ध करवाने में असफल रही है।⁵ जबकि लोकतांत्रिक देशों के बीच युद्ध की संभावना कम रहती है। लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली से समाज में स्थायित्व आता है। इसमें चीन और पाकिस्तान के इस तर्क को खारिज कर दिया गया है कि लोकतंत्र की तरफ धीमी गति से बढ़ने से व्यवस्था बनी रहती है।

भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ संयुक्त राष्ट्र संधि

संयुक्त राष्ट्र की भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ संधि पर भारत सहित 118 देशों ने हस्ताक्षर किये हैं। इस बारे में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर सहयोग की अपील की गयी है। दुनिया को भ्रष्टाचार मुक्त बनाने के उद्देश्य से इस संधि में अवैध तरीके से अर्जित धन सम्पत्ति जिस देश की हो, उसे वापस उसी देश को करने का प्रावधान भी है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र में भारत के राजदूत निरुपम सेन ने 9 दिसम्बर, 2011 को संयुक्त राष्ट्र के मुख्यालय में इस संधि पर हस्ताक्षर किये। इस संधि पर हस्ताक्षर करने वाले देशों में अमरिका, रूस, चीन, पाकिस्तान, नेपाल, श्रीलंका, मालदीव, ब्रिटेन, जर्मन, जापान और फ्रांस शामिल हैं।

इसके तहत विभिन्न देश भ्रष्टाचार को खत्म करने के लिए अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर सहयोग और कानूनी जाँच में मदद करेंगे। इन देशों की जिम्मेदारी होगी कि एक दूसरे की जरूरत के अनुसार सबूतों को एक देश से दूसरे देश भेजेंगे और दोशियों का प्रत्यर्पण करेंगे। भारत में केन्द्रीय जाँच ब्यूरो के पूर्व अध्यक्ष जोगेन्द्र सिंह ने कहा कि ऐसी संधियाँ उन मामलों में की जाती हैं जहाँ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर पैसे का लेन-देन होता है। लेकिन फिर भी इस संधि का स्वागत करते हुए जोगेन्द्र सिंह ने कहा कि कम से कम अब भारत के संदर्भ में यह पता लगाया जा सकेगा कि यदि किसी भारतीय ने अवैध पैसे का लेन-देन किया है तो वह कौन है?⁶

मँहगाई से बड़ा भ्रष्टाचार

भारत में मँहगाई की तुलना में 10 गुना अधिक लोग भ्रष्टाचार को देश की सबसे बड़ी समस्या कहते हैं। एक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार 8.96 प्रतिशत लोग मँहगाई को बड़ी समस्या मानते हैं जबकि 82.71 प्रतिशत लोग भ्रष्टाचार को बड़ा मुद्दा मानते हैं। 71.10 प्रतिशत लोग मानते हैं कि संसद में टीम अन्ना का जन लोकपाल बिल पारित किया जाना चाहिए।

इस सर्वेक्षण में 7 विशयों पर सवाल पूछे गये थे। यह सर्वेक्षण हिन्दी, तमिल, तेलगू, कन्नड़, मलयालम, मराठी और गुजराती भाषा में करवाया गया था और इसमें 25 हजार लोगों ने हिस्सा लिया। जिस दौरान यह सर्वेक्षण हुआ था। उस समय अन्ना हजारे का आन्दोलन चल रहा था। हालाँकि अन्ना हजारे अपने आन्दोलन को आजादी की दूसरी लड़ाई कहते हैं लेकिन सिर्फ 24.48 प्रतिशत लोगों ने कहा कि वे इसकी तुलना आजादी की लड़ाई से करते हैं। 45.57 प्रतिशत लोगों ने अन्ना के आन्दोलन की तुलना सत्याग्रह से की है। देश की बड़ी समस्याओं के बारे में भ्रष्टाचार और मँहगाई के बाद बेरोजगारी 3.95 प्रतिशत, अशिक्षा 2.85 प्रतिशत और आतंकवाद 1.09 प्रतिशत को बड़ी समस्या मानते हैं। कुल 42.17 प्रतिशत लोगों ने माना है कि जन लोकपाल बिल के पारित होने से देश में 80 प्रतिशत भ्रष्टाचार कम हो सकता है और 37.58 प्रतिशत लोगों ने माना कि भ्रष्टाचार 60 प्रतिशत तक कम हो सकता है। इस सर्वेक्षण में आधे से ज्यादा लोगों को अन्ना के आन्दोलन पर सरकार के रवैये से आपातकाल की यादें ताजा हो गयीं।

भ्रष्टाचार की पराकाष्ठा

सोमालिया को दुनिया का सबसे भ्रष्ट देश बताया गया है। यह देश संघर्ष और हिंसा ग्रस्त बर्मा, अफगानिस्तान और ईराक से भी ज्यादा भ्रष्ट है।⁷ भ्रष्टाचार पर नजर रखने वाली बर्लिन की एक संस्था ट्रांसपेयरेंसी इन्टरनेशनल ने जो करप्शन परसेप्शन इन्डेक्स (सीपीआई) यानि भ्रष्टाचार

मापने का सूचकांक जारी किया है, उसमें डेनमार्क, न्यूजीलैण्ड और सिंगापुर को सबसे कम भ्रष्ट देशों में गिना गया है। सीपीआई दुनिया में 178 देशों की सरकारी और सरकारी संस्थाओं में व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार के स्तर को जाँचता परखता है, और फिर अंक देता है। सबसे भ्रष्ट देश के लिए शून्य और सबसे स्वच्छ देश के लिए 10 अंक दिये जाते हैं। सोमालिया को 2010 के इन्डेक्स में 1.1 स्कोर मिला जबकि स्वीडन को 9.2 स्कोर मिला।

भ्रष्टाचार से अरबों डॉलर का नुकसान

इराक में पुनर्निर्माण की देखरेख कर रहे एक अमरीकी अधिकारी ने एक मेमो में लिखा है कि इराक में सरकार के भीतर जो भ्रष्टाचार है, उससे देश को अरबों डॉलर का नुकसान उठाना पड़ रहा है। स्टूअर्ट बावेन नाम के इस सैनिक अधिकारी ने मेमो में लिखा कि इराक में भ्रष्टाचार और कुप्रबन्धन की वजह से एक और विद्रोह की स्थिति ने जन्म ले लिया है। इराकी सरकार के भीतर जो भ्रष्टाचार है वह 4 अरब डॉलर प्रतिवर्ष तक पहुँच गया है जो राष्ट्रीय आय का 10 प्रतिशत से अधिक है। स्टूअर्ट बावेन के अनुसार इसमें से बड़ी राशि विद्रोही गतिविधियों में भी खर्च हो रही है। कई सरकारी कर्मचारियों में पैसे की देखरेख करने की कुशलता भी नहीं है जो पैसा बाहर जाता है वह केवल अपराधियों को ही समृद्ध नहीं बनाता बल्कि उससे विद्रोहियों को उनकी गतिविधियों के लिए धन मुहैया कराया जाता है। यानि वह अमरीकी सैनिकों की मौत का एक कारण भी बन जाता है।⁸

स्टूअर्ट बावेन ने यह भी लिखा है कि इराकी सरकारी कर्मचारियों में अकुशलता भी पुनर्निर्माण के कार्यों में बाधा डाल रही है। भ्रष्टाचार इस हद तक है कि बावेन के लेखा कार्यालय ने अमरीकी न्याय मंत्रालय को 25 अधिकारिक मामलों की जानकारी दी थी। 14 हजार अमरीकी आधुनिक हथियार गायब हो गये हैं जिन्हें इराकी सरकार के उपयोग के लिए मंगाया गया था। आशंका है कि इनमें से काफी हथियार विद्रोही गुटों के पास पहुँच गये हैं।

कर्ज और विद्रोह झेल रहे देशों में भ्रष्टाचार

विद्रोह झेल रहे अरब देश और कर्ज में डूबे यूरोपीय देश अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय संस्था ट्रांसपेरेन्सी इन्टरनेशनल के वार्षिक सर्वेक्षण में भ्रष्टाचार से ग्रस्त पाये गये हैं। ट्रांसपेरेन्सी इन्टरनेशनल हर साल 183 देशों का भ्रष्टाचार सूचकांक जारी करता है। 2011 में जारी रिपोर्ट में विभिन्न देशों में भ्रष्टाचार का सूचकांक इस प्रकार रहा है।

कौन देश किस स्थान पर

न्यूजीलैण्ड	—	1
डेनमार्क	—	2
फिनलैण्ड	—	3
स्वीडन	—	4
सिंगापुर	—	5
ब्रिटेन	—	16
अमरीका	—	24
चीन	—	75
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ट्रांसपेरेन्सी इन्टरनेशनल ने 2011 में पाया कि जिन देशों में लोग सरकार के खिलाफ सड़कों पर उतरे हैं जैसे मिश्र, अलजीरिया, लीबिया और सीरिया। ये भ्रष्टाचार सूचकांक में भी निचले स्थानों पर हैं। इस रिपोर्ट के अनुसार कर्ज संकट का सामना कर रहे यूरोजोन के देश भ्रष्टाचार सूचकांक में काफी नीचे हैं।

भ्रष्टाचार सूचकांक पर भारत, ब्रिटेन और अमरीका से तो पीछे था ही लेकिन वह श्रीलंका से भी पीछे 95वें स्थान पर है। अतः इस रिपोर्ट के अनुसार भारत में भ्रष्टाचार जबरदस्त रूप से फैला हुआ है। बांग्लादेश भारत से पीछे 120वें स्थान पर है जबकि पाकिस्तान 134वें, रूस 143वें और नेपाल 154वें स्थान पर है।⁹ 2011 में मध्यपूर्व के देशों में बहुत उथल-पुथल रही है। सरकारों के खिलाफ लोग सड़कों पर उतरे हैं। ट्रांसपेरेन्सी इन्टरनेशनल के अनुसार ये उथल-पुथल भ्रष्टाचार सूचकांक में दिखाई देती हैं। यानि भ्रष्टाचार भी सड़कों पर हो रहे विद्रोह का एक कारण रहा है।

स्टीव इवेन्स के अनुसार ट्रांसपेरेन्सी इन्टरनेशनल अपने वार्षिक आंकलन में यह देखती है कि लोग सरकारों और नौकरशाही को भ्रष्टाचार से निपटने में कितना कुशल मानते हैं। इस वर्ष मिश्र, अलजीरिया, लीबिया, सीरिया भ्रष्टाचार सूचकांक में काफी नीचे हैं। यानि लोग मानते हैं कि वहाँ भ्रष्टाचार बहुत फैला हुआ है। यही हाल कर्ज में डूब यूरोपीय संघ के देशों का है।

इस रिपोर्ट के अनुसार भ्रष्ट सरकार सदैव असुरक्षित सरकार है। जहाँ लीबिया 168वें स्थान पर है। इराक 175वें स्थान पर है। अफगानिस्तान और बर्मा 180वें स्थान पर हैं। वहीं सबसे नीचे सोमालिया है। जहाँ-जहाँ सरकारें और सरकारी प्रतिष्ठान रिश्वतखोरी और कर की चोरी को रोकने में असफल रहते हैं। वहाँ कर्ज का संकट पैदा होने का डर रहता है। ट्रांसपेरेन्सी इन्टरनेशनल के सूचकांक के अनुसार न्यूजीलैण्ड में सबसे कम भ्रष्टाचार है और वह पहले स्थान पर है।

यूरोप में मजबूत अर्थव्यवस्थाओं वाले डेनमार्क, फिनलैण्ड और स्वीडन बहुत कम भ्रष्ट देश हैं। उनके बाद एशिया प्रशांत क्षेत्र का सिंगापुर आता है। ब्रिटेन 16वें, अमरीका 24वें, चीन 75वें, श्रीलंका 86वें और भारत 95वें स्थान पर है।¹⁰

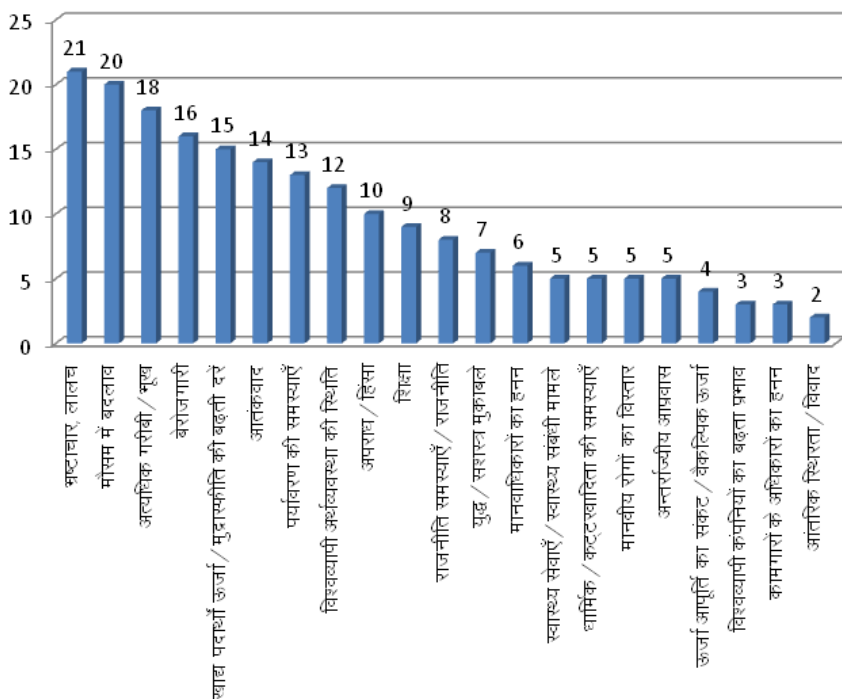
भारत में भ्रष्टाचार, पाक में आतंकवाद की चर्चा

दुनिया की कई वैश्विक समस्याओं में भ्रष्टाचार एक बड़ा मुद्दा है और भारत में 66 प्रतिशत लोगों

का मानना है कि भ्रष्टाचार एक गंभीर वैश्विक समस्या है। दुनिया भर में औसतन 68 प्रतिशत लोग भी भ्रष्टाचार को बड़ी और गंभीर वैश्विक समस्या मानते हैं।¹¹

ग्लोब स्केन के एक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार दुनियाभर में सबसे ज्यादा बात जिस मुद्दे पर होती है वह भ्रष्टाचार है। सर्वेक्षण में हर 5 में 1 से अधिक व्यक्ति का कहना था कि उन्होंने पिछले एक महीने में अपने परिवार और दोस्तों के साथ भ्रष्टाचार के बारे में चर्चा की है। वैश्विक स्तर पर 21 प्रतिशत लोग मानते हैं कि भ्रष्टाचार पर सबसे अधिक बात होती है। जबकि 20 प्रतिशत लोग मानते हैं कि जलवायु परिवर्तन पर ज्यादा बात होती है। गरीबी पर बात करने वाले 18 प्रतिशत लोग हैं। जबकि बेरोजगारी पर 16 प्रतिशत और भोजन की बढ़ती कीमतों पर बात करने वाले 15 प्रतिशत लोग हैं।

सर्वाधिक चर्चित वैश्विक मुद्दे : 26 देशों का औसत 2010



हिस्सा लेने वाले देश : कनाडा, अमरीका, फ्रांस, जर्मनी, इटली, रूस, स्पेन, ब्रिटेन, तुर्की, मिस्र, चाना, कनिन्या, नाइजरिया, आस्ट्रेलिया, चीन, भारत, इण्डोनेशिया, जापान, पाकिस्तान, फिलीपीन्स, मेक्सिको, ब्राजील, यिली, कोलम्बिया, इक्वाडोर और पेरू। स्रोत : ग्लोबल न्यूज़ रल

तरक्की में सबसे बड़ी रूकावट है भ्रष्टाचार

प्रधानमंत्री मनमोहन सिंह के अनुसार भ्रष्टाचार देश की तरक्की में बहुत बड़ी रूकावट है लेकिन इसे किसी एक बड़े कदम से नहीं मिटाया जा सकता है।¹²

भारतीय प्रधानमंत्री के मुताबिक “दुनिया ये मानती है कि भारत में एक बहुत बड़ी आर्थिक ताकत के रूप में उभरने की काबिलियत है। लेकिन हमारी प्रगति के रास्ते में भ्रष्टाचार एक बहुत बड़ी रूकावट है।”¹³ पिछले दिनों में भ्रष्टाचार के कई मामले सामने आए हैं जिनमें कुछ मामलों में केन्द्र सरकार के लोगों पर आरोप है जबकि कुछ अन्य मामलों में विभिन्न राज्य सरकार के लोगों पर भी आरोप है जबकि कुछ अन्य मामलों में विभिन्न राज्य सरकार के लोगों पर भी आरोप लगे हैं। अतः ये जरूरी है कि हम भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ लड़ाई जारी रखें। मनमोहन सिंह ने कहा, “ये जरूरी है कि जब इन मसलों पर विचार करें तो ऐसा माहौल पैदा न हो कि देश की प्रगति पर ही सवाल उठने लगे।

स्वतंत्रता दिवस की 64वीं सालगिरह पर लालकिले से प्रधानमंत्री ने रिश्वतखोरी के कई तरीकों के बारे में बात करते हुए कहा कि हममें यह आत्मविश्वास होना चाहिए कि हम इन्हें सुलझा लेंगे। हालांकि किसी एक बड़े कदम से ही भ्रष्टाचार को नहीं मिटाया जा सकता है बल्कि इसके लिए हमें कई मोर्चों पर एक साथ काम करना होगा।” अपनी बात की व्याख्या में प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा कि न्यायपालिका को मजबूत करना होगा ताकि लोगों को जल्द न्याय मिल सके और लोगों को गलत काम करने से पहले सोचना पड़े। भारत सरकार एक स्वतंत्र लोकपाल का गठन करना चाहती है लेकिन इसका फैसला संसद ही कर सकती है कि इस मामले में कैसा कानून बनाया जाना चाहिए? जो सहमत नहीं हैं उन्हें अपनी बात अलग-अलग माध्यम से संसद के सामने रखना चाहिए लेकिन “हमें अनशन और भूख हड़ताल का रास्ता अख्तियार नहीं करना चाहिए।” न्यायपालिका को लोकपाल के दायरे में नहीं लाया जाएगा।

देश के नाम अपने संदेश में राष्ट्रपति प्रतिभा पाटिल ने कहा कि भ्रष्टाचार से लड़ने के लिए कोई एक उपाय नहीं है। “भ्रष्टाचार हमारे देश के राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक जीवन के लिए कैंसर के समान है, “लेकिन साथ ही उन्होंने आगाह किया कि “इससे लड़ने के लिए कोई एक रामबाण नहीं है, बल्कि एक ऐसी व्यवस्था कायम की जानी चाहिए जिसमें हर स्तर पर पारदर्शिता और जवाबदेही हो, और जिसे सख्ती से लागू किया जाए।”¹⁴

देश की पहली महिला राष्ट्रपति ने कहा कि इस समस्या का निपटारा इस तरह किया जाना चाहिए “जो व्यावहारिक हो और जिसे लागू होने के बाद लंबे समय तक कायम रखा जा सके। जाने-अनजाने में कोई ऐसी कोशिश नहीं की जानी चाहिए जिससे संस्थाओं की साख और अधिकार का क्षरण हो। विश्लेषण के अनुसार प्रतिभा पाटिल और फिर लाल किले से मनमोहन सिंह का भाषण उन लोगों के लिए एक सलाह है जो संसदीय व्यवस्था और प्रक्रिया पर ही प्रश्न चिन्ह लगा रहे हैं।

प्रधानमंत्री और उच्च न्यायपालिका को लोकपाल के दायरे में लाने की अपनी मांग पर दबाव बनाने के लिए अन्ना हजारे 17 अगस्त, 2011 से अनिश्चितकालीन हड़ताल पर बैठ गये थे।

राष्ट्रपति ने ये भी कहा था कि हालांकि जनहित के मामलों पर देश भर में बहस की जा सकती है लेकिन वो निर्वाचित प्रतिनिधियों के कानून बनाने की प्रक्रिया से मदद के इरादे से ही की जानी चाहिए। यानि कानून बनाने का अंतिम अधिकार संसद को ही है। लाल किले से प्रधानमंत्री ने भी यही बात दोहराई थी।

स्विस् बैंक वाला खेल खत्म ?

स्विटजरलैंड की अदालत ने पाकिस्तान की पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री बेनजीर भुट्टो और उनके प्रति राष्ट्रपति आसिफ अली जरदारी को भ्रष्टाचार का दोषी पाया। इस ऐतिहासिक निर्णय के बाद उम्मीद थी कि क्या बहुत से विकासशील देशों के काले धन को स्विटजरलैंड के बैंकों में रखने का सिलसिला अब रुक जाएगा? स्विस् अदालत ने पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री बेनजीर भुट्टो और उनके पति को छह महीने की सजा सुनाई थी और पचास हजार डॉलर का जुर्माना भी लगाया था। यह सजा काली कमाई को सफेद करने के आरोपों पर पाँच साल चली जाँच के बाद सुनाई गई थी। कानून विशेषज्ञों के अनुसार यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण फैसला है। दुनिया में ये प्रचलित हो गया है कि अनुचित तरह से अर्जित धन को स्विटजरलैंड के बैंकों में रखा जा सकता है। भारत में बहुचर्चित बोफोर्स कांड में भी ये स्थापित हो गया था कि 'कमीशन का पैसा स्विटजरलैंड के बैंकों में रखा गया था और ये भी पता चल गया था कि ये किस नाम पर रखा गया था।'¹⁵ पाकिस्तान, भारत, अफ्रीका और लातिनी अमरीका के बहुत से लोग इस तरह के एकत्र किए धन को इन बैंकों में रखते हैं।

कानून विशेषज्ञ राजीव धवन के अनुसार, "स्विटजरलैंड ऐसी छवि नहीं चाहता है कि कहा जाए कि उसके देश के बैंकों में भ्रष्ट लोगों का पैसा रखा जाता है। इसलिए स्विटजरलैंड ने अपने कानूनों में फेरबदल किया है और इसीलिए ये न्यायिक आदेश आया है।"

यह मामला आखिर क्या है

पाकिस्तान के पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री बेनजीर भुट्टो और उनके पति आसिफ अली जरदारी को स्विटजरलैंड की अदालत ने जिस भ्रष्टाचार संबंधित मामले में दोषी पाया है। आखिर वह है क्या? मामला है स्विटजरलैंड की कम्पनी एसजीएस को ठेका देने का। बेनजीर भुट्टो के 1993-96 के कार्यकाल के दौरान एसजीएस कंपनी को ठेका दिया गया कि वह पाकिस्तान में आ रही आयात या वहाँ से हो रही निर्यात का निरक्षण करे और उन वस्तुओं की कीमत का अनुमान बताए ताकि उन पर शुल्क लगाया जा सके। इस पूरे मामले में यह आरोप लगे कि भुट्टो और जरदारी को स्विटजरलैंड के एक नागरिक से 'कमीशन' मिला। प्रधानमंत्री बेनजीर भुट्टो के प्रतिनिधि ने न्यायालय के फैसले पर कहा था कि "ये तर्कसंगत नहीं है क्योंकि मुझे (बेनजीर भुट्टो को) इस मामले में कोई नोटिस नहीं दिया गया ... कभी संपर्क नहीं किया गया।" ये मामला पहले लाहौर हाई कोर्ट में चला था जिसने 1999 में बेनजीर भुट्टो और जरदारी को दोषी ठहराया था।

लेकिन जब उस मामले में पाकिस्तान के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में अपील की गई तो कोर्ट ने हाई कोर्ट के आदेश को पक्षपातपूर्ण बताते हुए खारिज कर दिया था। फिर ये मामला 'अकाउंटैबिलिटी ब्यूरो' से संबंधित कोर्ट में वापस भेजा गया लेकिन ब्रिटेन में निर्वासन में रह रही बेनजीर भुट्टो को 'भगोड़ा' घोषित कर दिया गया और अनुपस्थिति में सजा सुनाई गई। बाद में पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री बेनजीर के प्रति आसिफ अली जरदारी 1996 में जेल में रहे। उनके खिलाफ भ्रष्टाचार समेत कई आपराधिक मामलों के आरोप थे।

अन्ना और आन्दोलन

भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ और जनलोकपाल के लिए अन्ना का आन्दोलन सफल रहा या विफल इसकी असल विवेचना तो आने वाले दिनों में होगी लेकिन आन्दोलन से कुछ बातें उभर कर जरूर सामने आईं। कुछ अच्छी। कुछ बुरी, और कुछ अटपटीं। आपातकाल के बाद पहली बार भ्रष्टाचार के मुद्दे

पर इतनी बड़ी संख्या में लोग सड़कों पर उतरे थे और एक मुद्दे पर एकजुट हुए थे। इससे बड़ी बात और क्या हो सकती है। लोगों की संख्या और भीड़ के प्रकार पर जो भी बहस हो लेकिन देश भर में भ्रष्टाचार को लेकर एक असंतोश था और वो बाहर निकला। आन्दोलन कमोबेश शांतिपूर्ण रहा। संभवतः पहली बार जनता के दबाव में सरकार ने संसद में कानून न सही प्रस्ताव तो पारित किया ही है। कानून राज्यसभा में अटक गया है। पत्थर तबीयत से उछाला गया है देखना है आसमान में छेद होता है या नहीं।

कहा जा रहा है कि इस आन्दोलन में मीडिया के अलावा ट्विटर, फेसबुक और सोशल मीडिया का भी बड़ा हाथ रहा था। सोशल मीडिया के जरिए आन्दोलन को समझने की कोशिश की। बहस भी हुई। जिसमें दो बातें साफ हुईं। एक आप या तो आन्दोलन के समर्थन में रह सकते हैं या आन्दोलन के विरोध में... बीच में कुछ भी नहीं, जबकि काले और सफेद यानि विरोध और समर्थन के बीच कहीं सच छुपा होता है जिसकी तलाश होती रहनी चाहिए। अन्ना के समर्थकों को प्रधानमंत्री के घर पर धरना देते हुए एक और अद्भुत अहसास हुआ। धरने के लिए जाते लोगों को पुलिस विनम्रता से कह रही थी रास्ता बंद है आप थाने में होकर पिछले गेट से निकल जाओ।" दिल्ली पुलिस का इतना संयमित पहले कभी नहीं देखा गया था। कुछ बातें अटपटी भी लगीं मसलन नेताओं और फिर उसके बाद अन्ना के मंच से अटपटी बयानबाजियाँ।

नेताओं से और कोई उम्मीद थी भी नहीं। भारद यादव के शब्दों में उनका काम ही पगड़ी उछालना है लेकिन अन्ना या उनके मंच पर आने वालों से भड़काऊ भाषण या अनाप भानाप न बोले जाते तो आन्दोलन की गरिमा और बेहतरीन होती। चाहे ओम पुरी हों, किरन बेदी हों या केजरीवाल हों... कहते हैं जीभ पर कंट्रोल आदमी को दूर तक ले जाता है कृफिर अरिंदम चौधरी को मंच पर बुलाना भी अटपटा ही था क्योंकि उन पर फर्जीवाड़े के आरोप हैं। हालांकि बड़े-बड़े आन्दोलनों में ऐसी छोटी-छोटी बातें हो जाती हैं। लेकिन...ये बात भी ध्यान में रहनी चाहिए कि इन्हीं छोटी-छोटी बातों से ही कोई आन्दोलन बड़ा बनता है।

भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ व्यापक रणनीति

भारत के प्रधानमंत्री मनमोहन सिंह ने भ्रष्टाचार से सख्ती से निपटने के लिए 'व्यापक रणनीति' बनाने एवं नियम कानूनों में बड़े परिवर्तनों के संकेत दिए हैं। "इसमें सभी विवेकाधीन नियंत्रणों और नियामक प्रणालियों को हटाना और टैक्स प्रणाली में सुधार शामिल हैं। पब्लिक सर्विसेस बिल (लोक सेवा विधेयक) लाया गया। जिसमें लोक सेवाओं के लिए आचार संहिता भी है।" सीबीआई के भ्रष्टाचार निरोधक ब्यूरो के एक सम्मेलन में प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा कि अभी भी बहुत से मामलों में बहुत नियंत्रण है जिसे खत्म करने और पारदर्शिता लाने की जरूरत है। हमें भ्रष्टाचार की सूचना देने वाले लोगों (व्हिसिल ब्लोवर्स) को सुरक्षा देनी होगी लोकसेवाओं को प्रोफेशनल, राजनीतिक रूप से निरपेक्ष और जवाबदेह बनाना होगा। एक 'ईमानदार गलती' और 'जानबूझकर की जाने वाले गलत काम' के बीच फर्क तो करना ही होगा।¹⁸

जिंताओं की भ्रष्टाचार पर चेतावनी

चीन के राष्ट्रपति हू जिंताओ ने चीन में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की कांग्रेस में भाग ले रहे प्रतिनिधियों को चेताया कि आर्थिक प्रगति के बावजूद चीन कई तरह की सामाजिक और पर्यावरण संबंधी समस्याओं से जूझ रहा है।

चीन के बीजिंग भाहर में कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी की पंचवर्षीय कांग्रेस यानि पार्टी का अधिवेशन 15 अक्टूबर, 2007 को हुआ था, जिसमें 2000 से ज्यादा प्रतिनिधियों ने भाग लिया था। इस मौके पर हू जिंताओ ने कहा कि सरकार कुछ क्षेत्रों में नाकाम रही है जिसमें भ्रष्टाचार से लड़ने में विफलता प्रमुख है। पार्टी का 'अस्तित्व' इस बात पर निर्भर करता है कि भ्रष्टाचार में लिप्त कर्मचारियों को कितनी 'दृढ़ता से सजा' दी जाती है। हर पाँच साल बाद होने वाली कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी कांग्रेस चीन में सबसे प्रमुख राजनीतिक घटना होती है। सात दिन तक चलने वाले इस अधिवेशन में अगले पाँच साल का राजनीतिक एजेंडा पारित होता है।

हू जिंताओ का कहना था, "पार्टी का जनाधार और उसका अस्तित्व ही दृढ़ता से भ्रष्ट लोगों को सजा देने और भ्रष्टाचार को रोक पाने पर निर्भर है। हू ने माना कि चीन में अमीर और गरीब के बीच की खाई बढ़ रही है और पार्टी को यह सुनिश्चित करना होगा कि चीन की संपदा ज्यादा समान रूप से लोगों के बीच बँटे।"¹⁹

सूचना का अधिकार संसद में पेश

सरकारी कामकाज में पारदर्शिता और जवाबदेही को तय करने के उद्देश्य से केन्द्र सरकार ने 10 मई, 2005 के दिन लोकसभा में सूचना का अधिकार विधेयक पेश किया था। विधेयक को सदन में प्रस्तुत करते हुए तत्काल कार्मिक एवं संसदीय मामलों के राज्य मंत्री सुरेश पचौरी ने सदन में कहा था कि विधेयक से लोगों को सरकारी कामकाज के बारे में जानकारी मिल सकेगी तथा सरकार और लोगों के बीच की खाई को पाटा जा सकेगा। सूचना का अधिकार विधेयक 2004 के प्रभावी होने के बाद तमाम सरकारी विभागों से सूचनाएँ हासिल कर सकेंगे। सभी विभागों में रक्षा व सुरक्षा से संबंधित विभागों को भी भागिल किया गया है। विधेयक के अनुसार इन विभागों से केवल मानवाधिकारों या भ्रष्टाचार से संबंधित सूचनाएँ ही माँगी जा सकेंगी।

इस विधेयक को केन्द्रीय केबिनेट में 4 मई, 2005 को मंजूरी दी थी। दिल्ली, राजस्थान, मध्यप्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र, गोवा, तमिलनाडू और आन्ध्रप्रदेश सहित देश के करीब 10 राज्यों में यह कानून लागू था। इससे पहले दिसम्बर, 2002 में भी तत्कालीन केन्द्र सरकार ने सूचना स्वातन्त्र विधेयक को सदन में मंजूरी तो दी थी लेकिन वो लागू नहीं किया जा सका था। विशेषज्ञ मानते हैं कि पिछला विधेयक तमाम कमियों से भरा हुआ था और उसके लागू होने पर भी लोगों को इस अधिकार का लाभ नहीं मिलने वाला था। इन्हीं खामियों के चलते केन्द्रीय सरकार की राष्ट्रीय सलाहकार परिषद की ओर से इसके मसौदे में बदलाव का सुझाव दिया गया और पिछले विधेयक में जरूरी बदलाव करके यह नया प्रारूप बनाया गया।

भारत दुनिया का 61वां देश है जहाँ सूचना माँगने की व्यवस्था की गयी है। इससे पहले स्वीडन में वर्ष 1766 में सूचना स्वातंत्र विधेयक लागू हुआ था। इसके 200 वर्षों बाद यानि 1966 में यह कानून अमरीका में लागू हुआ और वो दुनिया का दूसरा ऐसा देश बना जहाँ लोग सरकारी कामकाज पर निगरानी रख सकते थे। पिछले 5 दशकों में दुनिया भर में मानवाधिकारों को लेकर चले अभियानों और भ्रष्टाचार की जटिलताओं से निपटने के लिए हुए प्रयासों के चलते सभी देशों में यह कानून लागू हो सका है। हालांकि भारत में इस अभियान के संगठित रूप से भुरु होने का इतिहास कोई दो दशक पुराना है। पर कानून को लागू करने और उसके पूरी तरह से क्रियान्वयन में तमाम चुनौतियाँ भी हैं। इसकी वजह लोगों में साक्षरता और जागरूकता की कमी है।

भारत में सूचना का अधिकार मिला

भारत में 12 अक्टूबर, 2005 से सूचना का अधिकार कानून लागू हो गया। इसके बाद लोगों को सरकार के ज्यादातर विभागों से सूचना हासिल करने का अधिकार मिल गया है। देश के 10 राज्यों में पहले से ही यह कानून लागू है। लेकिन राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर इसे पहली बार 12 अक्टूबर 2005 से लागू किया गया। इस कानून से सरकारी कामकाज में पारदर्शिता और भ्रष्टाचार कम होने की उम्मीद की जा रही है। हालांकि 2002 में भी इस कानून को लागू करने की कोशिश की गयी थी। लेकिन लागू नहीं किया जा सका था।

अधिकार — इस कानून के तहत कोई भी व्यक्ति या संस्था किसी भी सरकारी संस्था से कोई भी सूचना प्राप्त करने के लिए आवेदन कर सकता है। रक्षा जैसे कुछ संवेदनशील मामलों को छोड़कर भोश सभी मामलों में एक निश्चित राशि जमा करके यह सूचनाएँ हासिल की जा सकती हैं। गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले लोगों के लिए सूचना बिना भुल्क उपलब्ध करवायी जाती है। सूचना देने के लिए आवेदन स्वीकार न करने और 30 दिनों के भीतर सूचना उपलब्ध न करवाने की स्थिति में 250 रुपये प्रतिदिन और अधिकतम 25 हजार रुपये तक का जुर्माना का इसमें प्रावधान है। इस कानून के तहत हर राज्य में एक सूचना आयोग बनाया गया और एक सूचना आयुक्त की नियुक्ति की गयी। इस आयोग में अधिकतम 10 सदस्य होते हैं। सूचना न मिलने की स्थिति में इस आयोग के समक्ष अपील की जा सकती है।

भ्रष्टाचार को सार्वजनिक करना ही मकसद

भारत के पहले केन्द्रीय सूचना आयुक्त वजाहत हबीबुल्लाह का कहना है कि सूचना का अधिकार कानून लागू करने का मकसद ही भ्रष्टाचार और घोटालों को सार्वजनिक करना है। हर वो विभाग या हर वो व्यक्ति जिस पर सरकारी पैसा या जनता के टैक्स का पैसा खर्च होता है, इस कानून के दायरे में आता है। उन्होंने कहा कि रक्षा विभाग की कुछ जानकारीयों तो सार्वजनिक नहीं की जा सकेंगी लेकिन रक्षा सौदों से जुड़ी जानकारीयों इस कानून के तहत माँगी जा सकेंगी।

सूचना के अधिकार के कानून के बारे में हबीबुल्लाह ने कहा कि कानून में पहले ही इसका प्रावधान था लेकिन सरकार के कामकाज में पारदर्शिता और जवाबदेही बढ़ाने के लिए सूचना का अधिकार कानून बनाया गया। जिस विभाग के बारे में सूचना लेनी हो, आवेदन उसी विभाग के सूचना अधिकारी को देना होता है। आवेदन के साथ जिस दिन निश्चित फीस जमा कर दी जाती है। उसके 30 दिनों के भीतर सूचना उपलब्ध हो जानी चाहिए। उसके बाद यदि सूचना नहीं मिलती है तो राज्यों में नियुक्त किये गये सूचना आयुक्तों से शिकायत की जा सकती है। वैसे तो विश्वास किया जाना चाहिए कि सरकारी विभागों से जो भी जानकारी मिलेगी वह सही होगी और यदि किसी को भाक हो कि जानकारी सही नहीं है तो भी वह सूचना आयोग के पास शिकायत दर्ज कर सकते हैं। किसी परीक्षा की उत्तर पुस्तिकाएँ आदि इस कानून के तहत हासिल नहीं की जा सकती, किन्तु अब उन्हें देखा जा सकेगा। नियुक्ति और तबादले आदि सूचना के अधिकार के तहत आते हैं। क्या मंत्रियों के भ्रष्टाचार उनके घोटालों, कोड़ियों के मोल जमीन बाँटने, पेट्रोल पम्प व गैस एजेन्सी बाँटने आदि की जानकारी इस कानून के तहत मिल सकेगी। इस कानून का मकसद ही यह जानकारी देना है कि किसी ने पेट्रोल पम्प और जमीने किस-किस को और क्यों बाँटी?

कानून के बारे में देश की सम्प्रभुता, सामरिक रणनीति और दूसरे देशों से रिश्तों के बारे में कोई

जानकारी तो इस कानून के सहारे प्राप्त नहीं की जा सकती है। लेकिन सेना के प्रशासनिक मामलों की जानकारी इससे जरूर मिल सकती है। यदि किसी रक्षा सौदे की प्रक्रिया पूरी हो चुकी हो तो सूचना के अधिकार के तहत इसकी जानकारी माँगी जा सकती है। सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के सभी उद्यम इस कानून के दायरे में आते हैं। जल्दी ही आने वाले समय में देश की हर पंचायत में कम्प्यूटर लग जायेंगे और तब सूचना का अधिकार गाँव-गाँव तक पहुँच जायेगा।

सवाल पूछने के लिए सांसदों ने घूस ली

टीवी चैनल आज तक और कोबरा कोस्ट ने मिलकर 12 दिसम्बर 2005 को एक वीडियो टेप का प्रसारण किया था। इसमें विभिन्न अनेक राजनीतिक दलों के सांसदों को संसद में प्रश्न पूछने के लिए घूस लेते दिखाया गया था।²⁰ इसे ऑपरेशन दुर्योधन कहा गया।

इन 11 सांसदों में 6 भारतीय जनता पार्टी के, 3 बहुजन समाज पार्टी के और 1-1 सांसद कांग्रेस और राष्ट्रीय जनता दल के थे। हालाँकि आज तक ने कहा था कि अभी भी ज्यादातर सांसद जनहित में ही सवाल पूछते हैं और कोई 900 टेलीफोन कॉल्स के बाद कुछ सांसद पैसे लेकर संसद में सवाल उठाने के लिए तैयार हुए।²¹ तत्कालीन लोकसभा अध्यक्ष सोमनाथ चटर्जी ने उन सभी सांसदों को लोकसभा कार्यवाही में भाग नहीं लेने के निर्देश दिये थे जिन्हें कैमरे में कैद कर चैनल पर दिखाया गया था।

बाद में भाजपा के तत्कालीन अध्यक्ष लालकृष्ण आडवाणी ने भी सभी 6 सांसदों को निलम्बित कर दिया था। कांग्रेस एवं राजद ने अपने एक-एक सांसद पर आवश्यक कार्यवाही करने की बात कही थी। टेलीविजन चैनल के कार्यक्रम में संसद के दोनों ही सदनों के सदस्यों को घूस लेते हुए दिखाया गया था। इन सांसदों को 10 हजार से लेकर 1 लाख 10 हजार तक अलग-अलग राशि दी गयी थी। अधिकांश सांसदों को एक से अधिक बार रुपये लेते हुए कैमरे में कैद किया गया था। इन सांसदों ने कहा था कि वे सत्र शुरू होने से पहले ही सवाल भेज देंगे, लेकिन तारांकित प्रश्न होगा या नहीं, यह तो लॉटरी से तय होता है।²² चैनल में एक सांसद तो मंत्रालय से विभिन्न काम करवा देने का आश्वासन देते हुए भी दिखाये गये थे।

जिन सांसदों को घूस लेते हुए कैमरे में कैद किया गया था।²³ उनमें 6 सांसद भाजपा के थे। इनमें से 5 सांसद लोकसभा के थे। महाराष्ट्र के इरनडोल से एम.के. अन्ना पाटिल, जलगाँव से वाई.जी. महाजन, छत्तीसगढ़ के राजनांदगांव से प्रदीप गाँधी, मध्यप्रदेश के सीधी से चंद्रप्रताप सिंह और हिमाचल प्रदेश के हमीरपुर से सांसद सुरेश कुमार चंदेल थे। राज्यसभा से उड़ीसा के सांसद क्षत्रपाल सिंह लोढा थे। मध्यप्रदेश के ग्वालियर के सांसद रामसेवक सिंह, झारखण्ड के पलामू से राष्ट्रीय जनता दल के मनोज कुमार और उत्तरप्रदेश के मिर्जापुर से बहुजन समाज पार्टी के सांसद नरेन्द्र कुमार कुशवाह, राबर्ट्सगंज के लालचंद और बिल्लौर के सांसद राजा रामपाल थे। तत्कालीन लोकसभा अध्यक्ष सोमनाथ चटर्जी ने मामला सुलझ जाने तक लोकसभा की कार्यवाही में भाग नहीं लेने का निर्देश दिया था।

किन-किन पर भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप

भारत में उन नेताओं की लम्बी लिस्ट है जिन पर भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप लगे हैं और पिछले दिनों उन्हें इसका परिणाम भी भुगतना पड़ा है। मुख्यमंत्री से लेकर केन्द्रीय मंत्री तक और सांसद से लेकर ग्राम प्रधान तक कई लोग इस समय जेल में भी हैं।

शुरूआत सबसे चर्चित घोटाले 2 जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन की करें तो पाते हैं कि इस घोटाले में अब तक 2 दर्जन से ज्यादा लोग जेल में बंद हैं। इनमें सबसे मुख्य नाम है – पूर्व केन्द्रीय दूर संचार मंत्री ए. राजा और डीएमके सांसद कनीमोडी का। हालांकि बाद में कनीमोडी को जमानत मिल गयी।

आजाद भारत के इतिहास में पहली बार ऐसा हुआ है कि एक मौजूदा केन्द्रीय मंत्री भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप में जेल गया। ए. राजा पिछले 12 महीनों से दिल्ली की तिहाड़ जेल में बंद हैं। उनकी पार्टी की सहयोगी और सांसद कनीमोडी भी इस मामले में कुछ महीनों जेल में रहीं। इस घोटाले में दूर संचार मंत्रालय और रिलायन्स कम्पनी के कई अधिकारी भी जेल में हैं। सीधे तौर पर इस मामले में तो नहीं लेकिन दूर संचार मंत्री रहते हुए एक विशेष कम्पनी पर दबाव डालने और एक विशेष कम्पनी को फायदा पहुँचाने के आरोप में तत्कालीन केन्द्रीय कपड़ा मंत्री दयानिधि मारन को इस्तीफा देना पड़ा था।

स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन घोटाले के अलावा दूसरा बड़ा घोटाला 2010 में दिल्ली में राष्ट्रमण्डल खेलों के आयोजन में हुआ था। इस मामले में भी कई लोग फिलहाल जेल में बंद हैं और मामला अदालत में है। इस मामले में जेल जाने वालों में सबसे प्रमुख नाम इसकी आयोजन समिति के तत्कालीन अध्यक्ष और कांग्रेसी सांसद सुरेश कलमाडी का है। वे पिछले कई महीनों से जेल में हैं। राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हुए इन दो बड़े घोटालों के अलावा एक और मामला – केश फॉर वोट मामला। इस मामले में आरोप है कि 2008 में यूपीए सरकार से वामदलों के समर्थन वापसी की घोषणा के बाद तत्कालीन सरकारी अल्पमत में आ गयी थी और राष्ट्रपति ने सरकार से संसद में अपना बहुमत सिद्ध करने के लिए कहा था। जुलाई 2008 में विश्वास मत के दौरान भाजपा के तीन सांसदों ने संसद में नोटों की गड़िडियाँ उछाल कर यह कहा था कि उन्हें यह पैसा कांग्रेस ने अपने पक्ष में वोट डालने के लिए दिये हैं। अदालत के सख्त रवैये के बाद दिल्ली पुलिस ने तीन साल बाद कार्यवाही की। इस मामले में दो सांसद और सुधीन्द्र कुलकर्णी को जेल हुई थी।

इन सब के अलावा इस मामले में जेल जाने वालों में सबसे प्रमुख नाम है – समाजवादी पार्टी के पूर्व महासचिव अमरसिंह का। अमरसिंह पर आरोप था कि इस पूरे मामले के पीछे उन्हीं का हाथ है। बाद में उन्हें जेल हुई किन्तु स्वास्थ्य कारणों से उन्हें जमानत मिल गयी। राष्ट्रीय स्तर से हटकर राज्य स्तर पर जायें तो यहाँ भी भ्रष्टाचार के मामले में जेल जाने वाले या अपने मद से इस्तीफा देने के लिए मजबूर होने वालों की लम्बी सूची है। कर्नाटक में अवैध खनन और जमीन का आवंटन इसके उदाहरण हैं। अवैध खनन के मामले में लोकायुक्त की रिपोर्ट आने के बाद बी.एस. येदियुरप्पा को मुख्यमंत्री पद से इस्तीफा देना पड़ा। उनके मंत्री मंडल के सहयोगी रेड्डी बन्धुओं को इस्तीफा देना पड़ा था। रेड्डी बन्धु – जनार्दन रेड्डी और श्रीनिवास रेड्डी तो इस मामले में अभी तक जेल में हैं। येदियुरप्पा को जेल हुई लेकिन खनन घोटाले में नहीं बल्कि जमीन आवंटन के दूसरे घोटाले में उन्हें गिरफ्तार किया गया और बाद में उन्हें जमानत मिल गयी। इसी तरह उत्तराखण्ड में भाजपा के तत्कालीन मुख्यमंत्री रमेश पोखरियाल निशंख पर भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप लगने के बाद उन्हें इस्तीफा देना पड़ा था। तमिलनाडू की मुख्य जयललिता 1996 में भ्रष्टाचार के एक मुकदमे के सिलसिले में सुप्रीम कोर्ट के आदेश पर राज्य से बाहर बंगलौर की एक अदालत में पेश होना पड़ता है।

अन्ना को अधिकांश दलों का समर्थन

लोकसभा में अन्ना हजारे के तीन मुद्दों का प्रमुख विपक्षी दल भारतीय जनता पार्टी और सत्तारूढ़ गठबंधन का नेतृत्व कर रही कांग्रेस ने समर्थन किया था। जनता दल युनाइटेड के नेता भारद

यादव, तृणमूल कांग्रेस के सुधीर बन्दोपाध्याय, राष्ट्रीय लोकदल के जयंत चौधरी और अकाली दल की हरसिमरथ कौर ने भी इसका समर्थन किया था। बहुजन समाज पार्टी के नेता सतीश चन्द्र मिश्र ने राज्यसभा में अन्ना के तीन मुद्दों में से सिटीजन चार्टर का तो समर्थन किया लेकिन राज्यों के छोटे अधिकारियों और लोकायुक्तों की नियुक्ति को लोकपाल के दायरे में लाये जाने पर अपनी पार्टी की असहमति जाहिर की थी। राष्ट्रीय जनता दल के लालू प्रसाद यादव ने इन तीनों मुद्दों पर अपनी राय देने से ही मना कर दिया था। सीपीआई के गुरुदास दास गुप्ता ने कॉर्पोरेट और मीडिया को भी लोकपाल के दायरे में लाने की बात कही थी। सीपीएम के सीताराम येचूरी ने राज्यसभा में कहा था कि अन्ना के तीन मुद्दों पर संवैधानिक प्रक्रिया के तहत ही कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए।

निष्कर्ष

अधिकतर यह होता है कि भ्रष्टाचार को बदलने की बात करने वाले लोग व्यवस्था के बाहर के ही लोग होते हैं। क्योंकि व्यवस्था के भीतर जो लोग हैं, वे तो भ्रष्टाचार के लाभान्शों के अधिकारी हैं। यह भी जरूरी नहीं कि इस तंत्र के बाहर खड़े लोग अपने धक्कों से इस यथास्थिति को बदल ही दें। क्योंकि यह भारत का चरित्र है कि हमला करने वालों को ही हम अपने तंत्र के छिद्रों में सोख लेते हैं और उन्हें हज़म कर जाते हैं। जो जागता है, उसे तुरन्त एक रेवड़ी मिल जाती है और वह चुप हो जाता है। क्या इस तंत्र के पास इतनी रेवड़ियाँ हैं कि वे सवा अरब लोगों के जागने के बाद भी उन्हें संतुष्ट कर सकें? क्या वह तभी ध्वस्त होगा जब रेवड़ियाँ नहीं बचेंगी? लेकिन जो भी हो यह स्पष्ट है कि इस व्यवस्था में क्रान्ति करने वाले जो लोग हो सकते हैं उन्हें यह भी मालूम नहीं है कि वे गरीब हैं और उनकी गरीबी हटाई जा सकती है। उन्हें यह मालूम नहीं है कि उनके झोपड़ों में आज अगर ढिबरी है तो कल उन्हें एक लालटेन की आशा करने का अधिकार है जो हवा से बुझ न जाये। जब हम कहते हैं कि वे क्रान्ति करेंगे तब हमारा मतलब भायद यह होता है कि अगर हम उनकी जगह होते तो क्रान्ति कर देते। लेकिन हम उनकी जगह नहीं हैं। गरीबी हटायी जाये — यह नारा गरीबों का नहीं है। यह हमारा नारा है, जो इस देश की भयावह दरिद्रता को देखते हुए हमने आत्मिक शान्ति के लिए अपना लिया है। वे हमें सुकून और सम्पन्नता देता है और हमारी गरीबी को कायम रखता है।

हमारे शासक वर्ग का अपराध यह है कि उसने यथास्थिति को भ्रष्ट कर रखा है जिसके कारण न गधा रेंक सकता है, न भोर दहाड़ मार सकता है और समाज का कोई भी वर्ग अपने ऐतिहासिक स्वधर्म के अनुकूल आचरण नहीं कर सकता। चुनावों में, दफ़्तरों में, कारखानों में, दुकानों में, राजनीति में, खेत-खलिहानों में बेईमानी और भ्रष्टाचार को जीने की अनिवार्य शर्त बना दिया है। भ्रष्टाचार गलत क्यों है? अगर दरिद्रों को दरिद्र ही रहना है तो इस बात से क्या फर्क पड़ता है कि इस दरिद्रता के लिए जो लोग जिम्मेदार हैं उनका तंत्र ईमानदार है या भ्रष्ट है। इसी तर्क के कारण भारतीय कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी भ्रष्टाचार को नहीं, बल्कि तंत्र को महत्वपूर्ण मानती है। लेकिन भ्रष्टाचार गलत है क्योंकि गरीबों को भी उससे फर्क पड़ता है। हम क्रान्ति न कर सकें तो न करें, लेकिन हमें ऐसा तंत्र तो कायम रखना चाहिए जिसमें वंचितों और दरिद्रों के प्रवेश की भी संभावना हो, जब वे जागे, जब उनमें सामर्थ्य विकसित हो, तब-तब वे अन्दर आ सकें। उनकी गरीबी हम दूर नहीं कर सकते, लेकिन हम उन्हें अवसर की आजादी तो दे ही सकते हैं ताकि मौका आने पर वे अपनी गरीबी स्वयं ही दूर कर सकें। भ्रष्टाचार गलत इसलिए है कि वह वर्तमान तंत्र के खुले हुए द्वारों को बंद करता है और इस संभावना को ही समाप्त करता है कि गरीब लोगों को इस तंत्र के लाभान्श कभी

मिलेंगे? भ्रष्ट चुनाव में वंचितों के नये स्वर कैसे व्यक्त होंगे? राजनीति में, व्यापार में, नौकरियों में नई हवाओं का प्रवेश कैसे होगा? कभी-कभी ऐसा लगता है, भारत जो 600 साल तक गुलाम रहा, जहाँ मुसलमान शासकों और अंग्रेजों ने राज किया, वहाँ अब नये खलनायक आ गये हैं – नेता, पार्टियों, विधानसभाएँ और पूँजीपति। भारत गरीब क्यों है? क्योंकि नेताओं ने हमें धोखा दिया है। रिश्वतखोरी क्यों है? क्योंकि पार्टी प्रजातंत्र ने सबको भ्रष्ट कर रखा है। समाजवाद हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबी मिटाने का उपाय नहीं है, बल्कि गरीबी भुलाने का उपाय है। जैसे मध्ययुगीन भक्तिवाद गुलामी को हटाने का उपाय नहीं था, वह गुलामी को भुलाने का उपाय था। इस प्रकार हमने समाजवाद का भारतीयकरण कर दिया।

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निर्मला पुतुल की कविताओं में पर्यावरणीय चेतना

नरेश कुमार

निर्मला पुतुल झारखंड की कवयित्री हैं। इनका जन्म 6 मार्च, सन् 1972 को गांव दुधानी कुरवा, जिला दुमका के एक संताल परगना झारखंड में हुआ। इनकी माताजी का नाम कान्दनी हॉसदा तथा पिताजी का नाम सिरील मुर्मू है। इन्होंने स्नातक तक शिक्षा अर्जित की है। लेखन, सामाजिक कार्य और पत्रकारिता में इनकी विशेष रुचि रही है। वे एक अच्छी कहानीकार भी रही हैं, परन्तु इन्हें सबसे अधिक पहचान अपनी कविताओं के कारण मिली है। इनके अब तक तीन कविता संग्रह अपने घर की तलाश में (2004), नगाड़े की तरह बजते शब्द (2005) तथा बेघर सपने (2014) प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। अपनी कविताओं के माध्यम से इन्होंने सन्ताली समाज को चित्रित किया है।

सन्ताली समाज से निर्मला पुतुल का गहरा लगाव रहा है। यह समाज एक आदिवासी समाज है, जो निरन्तर संघर्षशील और मुख्यधारा से कटा रहा है। यह समाज जहां एक ओर अपनी सादगी, भोलेपन, ईमानदारी, प्रकृति से जुड़ाव व परिश्रम करने की क्षमताओं से जुड़ा है, वहीं दूसरी ओर गरीबी, भूखमरी, अशिक्षा, शोषण और दमनकारी नीतियों जैसे तत्व भी इसमें मौजूद रहे हैं, जिसके कारण यह समाज आज भी अपने घर की तलाश कर रहा है। लेखिका आदिवासी समाज का प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं। लेखिका ने अपनी कविताओं के माध्यम से आदिवासी लोगों से जुड़े अनेक महत्वपूर्ण पहलुओं पर विस्तार से चर्चा की है। इन्हीं महत्वपूर्ण पहलुओं के अन्तर्गत लेखिका की कविताओं में पर्यावरणीय बोध यथार्थ रूप में चित्रित हुआ है।

आदिवासी लोग प्रकृति प्रेमी होते हैं। प्रकृति ही इनका घर और संसार होता है। प्रकृति के साथ ही ये लोग नाचते गाते हैं, उसी के साथ अपना जीवन यापन करते हैं। 'आदिवासी स्त्रियां' नामक कविता में इनके प्रकृति प्रेम को स्पष्ट रूप से देखा जा सकता है :-

“जूड़े से खोंसकर पलाश के फूल
जब नाचती कतारबद्ध मांदल की थाप पर
आ जाता तब असमय बसंत
वे करती प्रेम जंगलों से, नदियों से, पहाड़ों से
मिट्टी से, गीतों से फसलों से।”

आदिवासी लोग नदियों, नालों और पहाड़ों से इतना प्रेम करते हैं कि उनके नष्ट होने पर उन्हें बहुत दुःख होता है। पहाड़ों के टूटने पर जैसे इन लोगों का दिल भी टूटने लगता है। लेखिका के शब्दों में

“पहाड़ सी देह
पहाड़ सी छाती
पहाड़ सा रंग

X X X X

टूटता है जब कहीं कोई पहाड़
तब दहल उठती है
उसकी पहाड़ सी छाती।''²

अपने आसपास के पर्यावरण और प्रकृति के प्रति आदिवासी लोग विशेष रूप से सजग रहते हैं। अपने चारों ओर फैली प्राकृतिक सम्पदा को सुरक्षित रखने के लिए ये विशेष रूप से प्रयत्नशील रहते हैं। 'आओ मिलकर बचायें' नामक कविता में आदिवासी लोगों की पर्यावरण के प्रति चिन्ता को देखा जा सकता है :-

“अपनी बस्तियों को
नंगी होने से बचायें
शहरों की आबो-हवा से बचायें उसे

X X X X

बच्चों के लिए मैदान
पशुओं के लिए हरी-हरी घास
बूढ़ों के लिए पहाड़ों की शांति

X X X X

आओ, मिलकर बचायें
कि इस दौर में भी बचाने को
बहुत कुछ बचा है, अब भी
हमारे पास।''³

आदिवासी लोग प्रकृति के दुःख को अपना दुःख समझते हैं। उनका मानना है कि लोग अपने लाभ के लिए प्रकृति और पर्यावरण को नुकसान पहुंचा रहे हैं और उन्हें प्रकृति से लगाव नहीं रहा। लेखिका ऐसे लोगों से प्रश्न पूछती है :-

“क्या तुमने कभी सुना है
सपनों में चमकती कुल्हाड़ियों के भय से
पेड़ों की चीत्कार?
कुल्हाड़ियों के वार सहते
किसी पेड़ी की हिलती टहनियों में
दिखाई पड़े हैं तुम्हें
बचाव के लिए पुकारते हजारों-हजारों हाथ?
क्या होती है तुम्हारे
भीतर धमस
कटकर गिरता है जब कोई पेड़ पृथ्वी पर?''⁴

आज लोग अपने लाभ और स्वार्थ के लिए पेड़ों और पहाड़ों को काटकर नंगा कर रहे हैं। ऐसे लोगों से लेखिका अपनी बस्ती के लोगों को सचेत कर रही है। उनका मानना है कि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि एक दिन सब कुछ समाप्त हो जाये। लेखिका के शब्दों में :-

“देखो! अपनी बस्ती के सीमान्त पर
जहां धराशायी हो रहे हैं पेड़

रोज नंगी होती बस्तियां
 एक रोज मांगेगी तुमसे
 तुम्हारी खामोशी का जवाब
 सोचो!’⁵

आदिवासी लोग प्रकृति को अपना सच्चा साथी मानते हैं। वह सुख—दुःख में प्रकृति से बतियाते हैं और पहाड़ों पर बैठकर प्रकृति के गीत गाते हैं। लेखिका के शब्दों में :—

“वह पहाड़ी भाषा में बोलता पहाड़ से
 बतियाता है अपना सुख—दुःख
 गाता है पहाड़ पर बैठ पहाड़ों के गीत
 पहाड़ी लिपि में, पहाड़ पर लिखता है
 ‘प’ से पहाड़।”⁶

आदिवासी स्त्रियां अपना ज्यादातर समय प्रकृति के सानिध्य में बिताती हैं। वे पेड़—पौधों के महत्व को भली भांति पहचानती हैं। इसलिए वे विवाह भी ऐसे व्यक्ति से ही करना चाहती हैं जिसने पेड़—पौधे लगाये हों। ‘उतनी दूर मत ब्याहना बाबा’ नामक कविता के माध्यम से लेखिका ने इस तथ्य की पुष्टि की है जिसमें एक बेटी अपने पिता से कहती है :—

“और उसके हाथ में मत देना मेरा हाथ
 जिसके हाथों ने कभी कोई
 पेड़ नहीं लगाए
 फसलें नहीं उगाई जिन हाथों ने।”⁷

लोग गंगा में निरन्तर प्रदूषण और गंदगी फैला रहे हैं। लेखिका इस समस्या को लेकर निरन्तर चिंतित है। उनका मानना है कि इतने सितम झेलने के बाद भी गंगा मैया चुपचाप सब कुछ सहन करती रही परन्तु मनुष्य को आज तक अपनी गलती का एहसास तक न हुआ। लेखिका के शब्दों में :—

“कैसे—कैसे सितम झेली तुम
 कभी पापों को धोया
 तो पचाया कभी शहर की गंदगी
 रही चुपचाप सब कुछ सहती
 खामोश सदा रही बहती
 सुख—दुःख में साथ उसके
 जिनकी नादानियों ने किया
 मैला तुम्हारा आंचल।”⁸

प्रकृति है तो जीवन है। यदि प्रकृति ही नहीं रही तो धीरे—धीरे मनुष्य का अस्तित्व भी समाप्त हो जाएगा। लेखिका चाहती है सब कुछ बचा रहे, तभी तो वे सभी से मिलकर बचाना चाहती है, इस धरा को वायु को, जल को, मिट्टी की खुशबू को, फसलों को, खुले आंगनों को, प्रकृति के गीतों को। वह अन्त में सब कुछ बचाने का प्रयास करती हुई कहती है :—

“बचायें डूबने से
 जंगल की ताजा हवा
 नदियों की निर्मलता

पहाड़ों का मौन
 गीतों की धुन, मिट्टी का सौंधापन
 फसलों की लहलहाहट
 नाचने के लिए खुला आंगन
 गाने के लिए गीत
 हंसने के लिए थोड़ी-सी खिलखिलाहट
 रोने के लिए मुट्ठी भर एकांत।⁹

इस प्रकार स्पष्ट रूप से देखा जा सकता है कि निर्मला पुतुल ने अपनी कविताओं के माध्यम से पर्यावरण के प्रति विशेष रूप से चिन्ता प्रकट की है। आदिवासी लोगों का जीवन विभिन्न सुख-सुविधाओं के अभाव में सदैव संघर्षशील रहा है, बावजूद इसके ये लोग निरन्तर अपने आसपास की प्रकृति और सम्पदा को संरक्षित करने के लिए प्रयत्नशील रहे हैं। पेड़-पौधे, नदियां, नाले, तालाब, झरने, पहाड़ सभी में आदिवासी लोगों की जान बसती हैं। यदि प्रकृति को कोई नुकसान होता है तो ये लोग द्रवित हो उठते हैं। लेखिका स्वयंम् इस समाज और संस्कृति की वाहक रही है। जिन्होंने अपनी कविताओं के माध्यम से समाज में पर्यावरणीय चेतना को जगाने का प्रयास किया है।

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फणीश्वर नाथ रेणु के उपन्यास 'मैला आंचल' में राजनीतिक यथार्थ

प्रकाश चन्द

स्वातंत्र्योत्तर कालीन हिन्दी साहित्य में युगान्तर उपस्थित करने वाले साहित्य फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु का जन्म 4 मार्च 1921 ई० को बिहार प्रान्त के पूर्णिया जिले के औराही हिंगना नामक ग्राम के मध्यवित किसान परिवार में हुआ। इनके पिता का नाम शिलानाथ—मण्डल और माता का नाम श्रीमती पानो देवी था। इनके पिता अपने इलाके के सुखी और समृद्ध किसान थे। उन्होंने अपने पुत्र की प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा के लिए घर पर ही एक शिक्षक रखा जिसका नाम कुसुमलाल था। यही कारण था कि रेणु को अपने घर से ही अध्ययन का वातावरण मिला।

प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा के उपरान्त रेणु को अररिया स्कूल में विद्याध्ययन के लिए भेजा गया। उसके पश्चात् सिमरबनी और फारविसगज में रेणु ने शिक्षा प्राप्त की। अग्रिम पढ़ाई के लिए उन्हें बनारस भेजा गया। वहां के वातावरण के विषय में सुरेन्द्र चौधरी ने तत्कालीन अध्ययन और अन्य गतिविधियों पर विचार करते हुए कहा, “समाजवादी वामपंथी आन्दोलन का प्रभाव भी रेणु पर यहीं से प्रारम्भ हुआ। बनारस से लौटकर उन्होंने भागलपुर टी० एन० जे० कॉलेज में दाखिला लिया। इसी क्रम में उनका सम्बन्ध नेपाल के कोयराला परिवार के साथ घनिष्ठ हुआ। नेपाल के मुक्ति आन्दोलन में उनकी भूमिका को लेकर संदेह नहीं किया जा सकता।”¹ इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि रेणु पर अध्ययन कालमें ही कई समाज सुधारकों, संगठनों तथा क्रान्तिकारी दलों का प्रभाव पड़ा।

रेणु का बचपन मध्यवित सुख सुविधाओं में ही व्यतीत हुआ। उनकी माता साधे सादे स्वभाव की आदर्श गृहणी थी। रेणु को अपनी दादी का स्नेह भी प्राप्त हुआ। पिता के कठोर व्यवहार और मां और दादी के नम्र स्वभाव का इनके जीवन पर सम्मिलित प्रभाव पड़ा। इनका हृदय मां—दादी और कोयराला परिवार के परिजनों का स्नेह पाकर कोमलता को पा गया, जिससे रेणु एक श्रेष्ठ रचनाकार के रूप में प्रसिद्धि पा गये। इनके पिता की मृत्यु 1951 ई० के प्रारम्भ में हुई और माता का देहवसान 1970 ई० में हुआ। 1951 ई० में रेणु के अनुज श्री महेन्द्र नाथ मण्डल का भी स्वर्गवास हुआ, जिससे इनके पारिवारिक जीवन में दुःखमय स्थिति पैदा हुई। दुबे के अनुसार, “रेणु प्रथम विवाह 1939 ई० में सुलेख देवी के साथ पुरानी रस्म के अनुरूप सम्पन्न हुआ। सुलेख देवी बलवा नामक ग्राम निवासी श्री काशीनाथ मण्डल की कन्या थी। ग्रामीण परम्परा के अनुसार सुलेख देवी भी अशिक्षित थी।”² रेणु का दूसरा विवाह पदमा देवी तथा तीसरा विवाह लतिका से हुआ। इस तरह कहा जा सकता है कि रेणु का गृहस्थ जीवन सुखमय व्यतीत हुआ।

रेणु प्रथम रचनाकार थे, जिन्होंने हिन्दी साहित्य में शुद्ध औचलिकता का बिगुल बजाया। औचलिक उपन्यास को इस विद्या का सूत्रपात यद्यपि रेणु से पूर्व ही हो चुका था, किन्तु एक धारा के रूप में

प्रतिष्ठित करने का श्रेय रेणु को ही प्राप्त है। इनके कथा साहित्य में जो सजीवता जीवंतता और प्राणवता है वह अन्य कथाकारों की रचनाओं में नहीं। इनकी कृतियाँ गांव और गांव के जीवन धारा को जिस सुक्ष्म संवेदनशीलता, गहरी सृजनात्मकता और जिस अप्रत्याशित रूप से मुहावरे के रूप में चरितार्थ करती है वह न केवल हिन्दी में नया है, बल्कि हिन्दी में अद्वितीय भी है। रेणु कथा साहित्य मानव गाथा की करुणा मयी व्यथा कथा है जिसमें किसी व्यक्ति का या कुछ व्यक्तियों अथवा परिवार की कोई कहानी नहीं है, अपितु इसमें एक पूरे अंचल की कहानी है। रेणु के उपन्यास और कहानियों का विवरण इस प्रकार से है उपन्यास— मैला आंचल, परतीकथा, दीर्घतपा, जुलूस, पल्टू, बाबू रोड़, कितने चौराहे। कहानियों में ठुमरी, आदिम रात्रि की महक, अग्नि खोर संग्रह, एक श्रावणी दोपहरी की धूप।

‘मैला आंचल’ इस उपन्यास में मेरीगंज का पिछड़ा, उदास, धूल भरा मैला आंचल अपनी हर अच्छाई—बुराई, आशा—अकांक्षा, सुख—दुख, रोग व्याधि हंसी—खुशी, तीज—त्योहार, आदि के साथ अपनी समग्रता में उभर कर सामने मूर्त हो उठा है। युगांतरकारी कृतित्व का सर्वोच्च शिखर परती परिकथा में स्वाधीन भारत की आकांक्षाओं, कल्पनाओं और परिवर्तित स्थितियों के जिंदा दस्तावेजों के रूप प्रस्तुत हुई। उसमें स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति ज़मींदारी उन्मूलन और भूमि के पुनर्विभाजन की पृष्ठभूमि पर परानपुर के ग्राम जीवन की कथा का सुन्दर चित्रण किया गया है।

यथार्थ से तात्पर्य वस्तुओं के यथातथ्य से चित्रण से बल्कि सत्यानुभूति से प्रेरित चित्रण से है। यथार्थ का स्वरूप वह है जो नित्य प्रति जीवन में घटित होता रहता है, जिसकी ठोस एवं ऐतिहासिक प्रक्रिया में वर्तमान के निरूपण के साथ—साथ वास्तविक स्थितियों सन्दर्भों, परिप्रेक्ष्यों का भी आंकन होता है। त्रिलोक चन्द तुलसी के अनुसार, “परिवेश की जो विशेषताएं हमें अधिक स्थायी रोचक अथवा व्यवहारिक दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण जान पड़ती हैं, उन्हीं को हम यथार्थ कहते हैं।”³

राजनीति मानव जीवन के राजनीतिक एवं इससे संबंधित पक्षों का व्यवहारिक अध्ययन है। राजनीति वास्तव में सामाजिक प्रक्रिया का एक पक्ष है। राजनीति राज्य की औपचारिक संस्थाओं का सैद्धान्तिक संस्थात्मक अध्ययन नहीं है, अपितु यह सामाजिक प्रक्रिया के उस प्रत्येक पक्ष और उस तथ्य का अध्ययन है जो राजनीतिक प्रक्रिया से किसी भी रूप में सम्बन्ध है। राजनीति एक विस्तृत विषय है। यह विषय गद्यात्मक है, जिसकी प्रकृति में परिवर्तित परिस्थितियों के अनुसार परिवर्तन होते रहते हैं।

मैला आंचल उपन्यास में रेणु ने मेरीगंज ग्रामांचल के लोगों पर राजनीति के अनुकूल और प्रतिकूल प्रभाव का यथार्थ चित्रण किया है। राजनीतिक कुचक्रों, शङ्क्यंत्रों, व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थों के साथ—साथ राजनीतिक चेतना, जागरूकता और संघर्षपूर्ण स्थिति का भी चित्रण किया है। इस उपन्यास में लेखक ने दलीय राजनीति चुनाव नीति के दुष्प्रणाम, राजनीतिक शोषण और भ्रष्टाचार सत्ता का अमानवीय चरित्र, राजनीतिक अवसरवादिता, राजनीतिक जन—जीवन प्रभाव आदि का वर्णन किया गया है।

दलीय राजनीति —राजनीति में दलीय प्रणाली की परम्परा अधिक पुरानी है। दलबन्दी राजनीति का एक महत्वपूर्ण भाग है। दलीय भावना से अनुशासित और प्रेरित नेताओं की पक्षधरता ग्रामीण समाज का एक वास्तविक पहलू है। मैला आंचल उपन्यास के मेरीगंज गांव में इस दलगत राजनीति का

परिचय बालदेव, बावनदास और कालीचरण के माध्यम से होता है। गांव में हर पार्टी अपना प्रभुत्व जमाना चाहती है। बड़े-बड़े वादे करती है, जनता को आश्वासन देकर झुलाये रखती है और इसी कारण किसी भी कार्य का क्रियान्वयन सही ढंग से नहीं हो पाता। एक जन संघ के काली टोपी वाले संयोजक भी अपनी धुन में व्यस्त है और वे यवनों का विरोध तथा शुद्ध हिन्दुओं का समर्थन एवं हिन्दु-संस्कृति का प्रचार करते हैं दूसरी ओर उनकी बौद्धिक क्लास को सोशलिस्ट वासुदेव ' बुद्ध क्लास ' नाम देता है। कांग्रेस के तिरंगे झण्डे को खिचड़ी का नाम देता है। एक-दूसरे की पार्टी की निंदा कर जहां ये अपना प्रभुत्व जमाते हैं, वहीं ग्रामीण जनता का इन पर से विश्वास उठ जाता है क्योंकि सभी उनको झूठा आसवासन देते हैं, पूरा कोई नहीं करता। दलगत राजनीति के कारण ही आम जनता ही हित साधना कम, परन्तु स्वार्थ सिद्धि अधिक होती है।

कांग्रेस पार्टी की दलीय राजनीति का परिचय बालदेव के माध्यम से होता है। दलीय प्रतिबद्धता के कारण वह जीवन पर्यन्त कांग्रेस के प्रचार में समर्पित भाव से जुड़ा रहता है। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की दलीय राजनीति का परिचय कालीचरण के माध्यम से होता है। इस पार्टी के प्रति एक निष्ठा के कारण ही कालीचरण बासुदेव को समझाते हुए कहता है, " यह पार्टी असल पार्टी है। गरम पार्टी है। किरान्तीदल का नाम नहीं सुना था ? बम फोड़ दिया फटाक मस्ताना भगत सिंह यह गाना नहीं सुने हो ? वहीं पार्टी है। इसमें कोई लीडर नहीं। सभी साथी हैं सभी लीडर हैं। सुना नहीं हिंसाबाद तो बुरजुआ लोग बोलता है, पुंजीवाद है। इस किताब में सब कुछ लिखा है। बुरजुआ बेटी, बुरजुआ पुंजीवाद, पुंजीपति जालिम जमींदार कमाने वाला खाएगा, इसके चलते जो कुछ हो। अब बालदेव जी की लीडरी नहीं चलेगी हर समय हिंसाबात कुछ करो तो बस अनसन।" इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि प्रत्येक पार्टी के नेता जनता पर अपनी वर्चस्व स्थापित करना चाहते हैं।

चुनाव नीति के दुष्परिणाम—चुनाव का अर्थ व्यक्ति का चयन करना। प्रजातंत्रात्मक शासन व्यवस्था में सरकार जनता द्वारा चुनाव प्रक्रिया के अनुरूप निर्वाचित प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा परिचालित होती है। इस शासन व्यवस्था में सिद्धान्त सरकार भावित जनता के हाथों में रहती है, लेकिन व्यवहार में चुनिंदा लोग उस सत्ता का प्रयोग करते हैं। चुनाव प्रक्रिया के दौरान भी वे लोग आम जनता को गुमराह करते हैं, जिसके लिए वे किसी भी तरह के हथकंडे अपनाने से नहीं हिचकिचाते। चुनाव सम्बन्धी इन्हीं गतिविधियों का यथार्थ अंकन व्यापक फलक पर रेणु ने मैला आंचल उपन्यास में किया है। इस उपन्यास में मेरीगंज ग्रामांचल के विभिन्न जाति एवं वर्ग के लोग किस तरह राजनीतिक गतिविधियों में हस्तक्षेप करते हैं। बावनदास के कथन से यह स्थिति स्पष्ट हो जाती है। बावनदास कहता है, "सब चौपट हो गया यह बेमारी ऊपर से आयी है। यह पटनिया रोग है अब तो धूमधाम से फैलेगा। भूमिहार राजपूत, कैथ, जादव, हरिजन सब लड़ रहे हैं अगले चुनाव में निगुना चुने जायेंगे। किसका आदमी चुना जाये इसी की लड़ाई है। यदि राजपूत पार्टी के लोग ज्यादा आये तो सबसे बड़ा मन्त्री भी राजपूत होगा। सब एम0 एल0 ए0 होना चाहते हैं। देश का काम, गरीबों का काम जो भी करते हैं एक लोभ से करते हैं।" इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि विभिन्न राजनीतिक दल चुनाव के दौरान प्रलोभन देते हैं, किन्तु चुनाव का परिणाम विपरीत होता है।

पंचायत स्तर के चुनाव में गुटबन्दी के कारण साधारण जनता पिसती है। लेखक ने मेरीगंज की ग्राम पंचायत का यथार्थ चित्रण करते हुए लिखा, "मठ पर गांव भर के मुखिया लोगों की पंचायत बैठी है। बालदेव जी को आज फिर भाखन देने का मौका मिला। लेकिन गांव की पंचायत क्या है ? पुरैनिया

कचहरी के रामू मोदी की दुकान है। सभी अपनी बात पहले कहना चाहते हैं। सब एक साथ बोलना चाहते हैं। बातें बढ़ती जाती हैं और असल सवाल बातों के बवण्डर में दबा जा रहा है।¹⁶ इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि यह सब चुनाव नीति के दुष्परिणाम का ही प्रभाव होता है, जिससे अयोग्य उम्मीदवार चुनकर आते हैं। वे लोग सुविधा भोगी और गुटप्रिय होते हैं, जो निजी स्वार्थों से अभिभूत होकर ग्रामवासियों को गुमराह करते हैं।

राजनीतिक शोषण और भ्रष्टाचार—आधुनिक युग की राजनीति जीवन मूल्य से कटने के कारण ही जनता से दूर हो गई है। इसलिए सामाजिक और नैतिक मूल्य विघटित हो रहे हैं। राजनीति को स्वार्थ लिप्सा का एक साधन मात्र मान लिया है। मैला आंचल उपन्यास में रेणु ने मेरीगंज गांव में व्याप्त राजनीतिक शोषण और भ्रष्टाचारका यथार्थ चित्रण किया है। बावनदास इसी भ्रष्टाचार की पुष्टि करता कहता है, “समाज के भ्रष्ट व्यक्ति जो ब्लैक में थे वे ही आज उच्च पदों पर आसीन हैं। यह राजनीति की विडम्बना नहीं तो और क्या है? चानमल मारवाड़ी का बेटा सागरमल आज नरपत नगर थाना कांग्रेस का सभापति है। दलारचन्द कापरा जुआ कम्पनी वाला जो एक बार नेपाली लड़कियों को भगाकर लाते समय जोगबनी में पकड़ा गया था, कटहा थाना का सैक्रेटरी है।”¹⁷ इससे सिद्ध होता है कि वह उच्च पद पर आसीन होने बावजूद भी राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार को अंजाम देता है। विभिन्न पार्टियों के लोग किस तरह से अपनी स्वार्थ सिद्धि के लिए आम जनता को गुमराह करते हैं और प्रत्यक्ष एवं परोक्ष रूप से उनका भोशण करते हैं। यह स्थिति बालदेव के कथन के माध्यम से अग्रिम पंक्तियों से स्पष्ट हो जाती है। बालदेव कहता है, “बात यह हुई कि बाबू कालीचरण के पेट में रहता है कुछ और कहता है कुछ और। हम इससे पहले ही पूछ लिए थे कि तुम्हारी पार्टी की ओर से क्या हुकुम हुआ है सुराज उत्सव के बारे में। तो बोला कि सुराज क्या सिरिफ कांग्रेसी को मिला है। अभी देखिए, सुभलाभ करके जब हम लोग जुलूस निकाला तो बाहरी आदमी को मंगा करके हम लोगों के उत्सव को भंग कर रहा है। यह कैसी बात! अरे भाई हिंगना—औराही का सोसलिस्ट है तो हिंगना—औराही में जाकर अपने गांव का लारा लगावे। यहां काबलियती छोटने की क्या जरूरत थी? अपना मुंह है, बस लगा लिया लार, यह आजादी झूठी है।”¹⁸ इससे सिद्ध होता है कि एक पार्टी का हस्तक्षेप किस तरह दूसरी पार्टी के स्वार्थ सिद्धि और राजनीतिक शोषण का प्रत्यक्ष एवं यथार्थ रूप उस समय देखने को मिलता है, जब तहसीलदार विश्वनाथ प्रसाद संथालों के साथ हुए युद्ध और खूनी केस में दरोगा को पांच हजार रुपये भेंट करके खिला—पिला कर सारे गांव को साफ बचा लेते हैं।

सत्ता का अमानवीय चरित्र—सत्ता वर्ग साधन सम्पन्न और प्रभुत्व का प्रयोग सदैव आम जनता को अपने अधीनस्थ बनाये रखने के लिए करता रहा है। आम जनता सत्ता वर्ग की करता और अमानवीय अत्याचारों को विवशतापूर्वक सहन करती रही है। रेणु ने मैला आंचल उपन्यास में सत्ता वर्ग के रूप में नेताओं के अमानवीय चरित्र को यथार्थ रूप में चित्रित किया है। राजनेता किस तरह अवैध करते हैं और मानवीयता को तिलांजली देते हुए निर्दयता का व्यवहार करते हैं। इस उपन्यास का पात्र कांग्रेस नेता रामबुझावन सिंह इस तरह के कार्य—व्यवहार को अंजाम देता है। वह कपड़े चीनी और सीमेंट से लदी हुई पचास गाड़ियां ब्लैक करता है। अपने मार्ग में बाधक बनने वाले बावनदास को गाड़ियों के नीचे कुचलवा देता है, “आखिरी गाड़ी जब गुजर गई तो हवलदार और रामबुझावन सिंह मिलकर बावनदास की चित्थी—चित्थी लाश, लहू के किचड़ में लथ—पथ लाश को उठाकर चलते हैं। नागर नदी के उसपार पाकिस्तान में फेंकना होगा। इधर नहीं हरगिस नहीं।”¹⁹ स्पष्ट है कि असहाय

बावनदास की निर्दयतापूर्ण ढंग से ये सत्ताधारी नेता धन के लोभ में हत्या करते हैं। सत्ताधारी नेताओं के रूप में बासुदेव और सुन्दर लाल भी अपनी पार्टी के समस्त आदर्शों और सिद्धान्तों का गला घोटकर चोरी-डकैती को जीवन का पर्याय बना लेते हैं। इसी तरह सिंह के कथन से सत्ता के अमानवीय चरित्र का रूप उजागर होता है, "गैर संथालों में कोई गिरिफ नहीं हुआ। लेकिन यह मत समझो कि मुफ्त में यह काम हुआ है। दरोगा साहब कहने लगे कि खेलावन जी की हालत खराब हो गई। वह तो तहसीदार भाई थे, तो पांच हजार पर बात टुट गई। नहीं तो अभी बड़े घर की हवा खाते रहते खेलावन जी। दरोगा भी तो राजपुत ही है। आदमी के मन का कुछ ठिकाना नहीं, कब क्या करें। मुफ्त में सबकी गर्दन नहीं छुटी है। पांच हजार।"¹⁰ इससे सिद्ध होता है कि सत्ताधारी वर्ग किस तरह अपनी शक्ति का दुरुपयोग करके जब साधारण के साथ अन्याय और अत्याचार करते हैं।

राजनीतिक अवसरवादिता—व्यवहारिक रूप में अपने व्यक्तिगत लाभ हानि को दृष्टि में रखकर दुसरे मनुष्य को हानि पहुंचाकर भी प्रत्येक अवसर से लाभ उठाने की मनोवृत्ति अवसरवादिता कहलाती है। यहीं अवसरवादिता राजनीति में अमानुशिक अवसरवाद स्वार्थ लिप्सा और भ्रष्टाचार को जन्म देती है। मैला आंचल उपन्यास में रेणु ने मेरीगंज ग्रामांचल में व्याप्त राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार अवसरवादिता यथार्थ चित्रण किया है। मेरीगंज गांव के लोग इस तथ्य से भलिभांति परिचित हैं कि जो पार्टी सत्ता में है वह कुछ भी करने में समर्थ हैं। मेरीगंज के विभिन्न पार्टियों के नेता अवसर पा कर साधारण जनता का शोषण करते हैं। ये नेता परस्पर लड़ाई झगड़ा करवाकर लोगों को कचहरियों के दरवाजों पर ला खड़ा करते हैं और अपना व्यक्तिगत चन्दा वसूलते हैं। इसी विसंगिति को इस उपन्यास के पात्र हरगौरी के कथन से स्पष्ट होता है। राजनीतिक स्वार्थों के कारण ग्रामीण जनता को अवसरवादी नेता किस तरह से गुमराह करते हैं, बदलते परिवेश के अनुरूप यह व्यवहारिक रूप से मेरीगंज में देखने को मिलता है।

राजनीति का जन जीवन पर प्रभाव—समाज के परिवेश में जो अनुकूल-प्रतिकूल घटनाएं घटित होती हैं, उसका प्रभाव व्यक्ति पर भी होता है। उसी प्रकार राजनीति में उतार चढ़ाव आते हैं वह जन जीवन को प्रभावित करते हैं। रेणु ने मैला आंचल उपन्यास में राजनीति के जन जीवन पर पड़े प्रभाव का यथार्थ चित्रण किया है। विभिन्न राजनीतिक दल कैसे अपना प्रचार-प्रसार करते हैं और उसके फलस्वरूप लोगों में किस तरह की राजनीतिक चेतना का विकास होता है, इसका प्रभावशाली चित्रण लेखक ने किया है। मेरीगंज ग्रामांचल के किसान मजदूरों एवं निम्न जातियों में राजनीति के कारण नवीन चेतना का उदय होता है। इस उपन्यास का पात्र समाजवादी नेता कालीचरण राजनीतिक चेतना के कारण युगों से शोषित और पीड़ित किसान मजदूरों अधिकारों के प्रति सचेत करता है। वह गांव में इनकलाब का स्वर फूंकता है, "मैं लोगों के दिलों में आग लगाना चाहता हूँ। सोये हुए को जगाना चाहता हूँ। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी आपकी पार्टी है, गरीबों की मजदूरों की पार्टी है। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी चाहती है कि आप अपने हकों को पहचानें। आप भी आदमी हैं। आपको आदमी के सभी हक मिलने चाहिए मैं आप लोगों को मीठी-मीठी बातों में भुलाना नहीं चाहता। वह कॉंग्रेस का काम है। मैं आग लगाना चाहता हूँ।"¹¹ इससे आम जनता में नवीन आशा एवं जागृति का संचार होता है।

निष्कर्ष रूप में कह सकते हैं कि रेणु ने मैला आंचल उपन्यास में जिस समकालीन राजनीतिक परिवेश को यथार्थ रूप चित्रित किया है। उसमें राजनीति के स्वार्थ पूर्ण अन्याय शोषण अवसरवाद

पूर्ण और जन विरोधी रूप उजागर होता है। राजनीति में दलीय प्रतिबद्धता का होना अनुचित नहीं होता किन्तु विभिन्न दलों का मूल लक्ष्य मानव हित एवं समाज कल्याण होना चाहिए। विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों भले ही भिन्न-भिन्न नीतियां एवं सिद्धांत हो परन्तु जनता को गुमराह करने वाली अन्यायपूर्ण नीतियां नहीं होनी चाहिए। राजनीतिज्ञों का लक्ष्य जन नेता होने नाते शोषण और भ्रष्टाचार नहीं बल्कि जनता की सेवा एवं विकास होना चाहिए। राजनेताओं का व्यवहार आम जनता के प्रति अमानवीय एवं निर्दयतापूर्ण न होकर सद्भावना पूर्ण एवं सहयोग्य होना चाहिए। राजनेताओं का आचार-व्यवहार और कार्य की पद्धति अवसरवादी न होकर सदैव मानवहित एवं समाज कल्याण से परिपूर्ण होनी चाहिए।

संदर्भ—

- 1 सुरेन्द्र चौधरी, फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु पृ0 78
- 2 हरिशंकर दुबे, फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व पृ0 54
- 3 त्रिलोक चन्द तुलसी, परिवेश, मन और साहित्य, पृ0 20
- 4 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल, पृ0 90
- 5 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल पृ0 310
- 6 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल पृ0 28
- 7 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल पृ0 128
- 8 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल पृ0 226
- 9 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल पृ0 253
- 10 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल पृ0 197
- 11 फणीश्वरनाथ रेणु, मैला आंचल पृ0 148

हिन्दी साहित्य में बाल विमर्ष

शोभा रानी

साहित्य आध्यात्मिक एवं माननीय मूल्यों का दर्शन है। साहित्य में लेखकों के विचारों से मानवीय मूल्यों का आभास होता है क्योंकि ये मूल्यों की निरपेक्ष तथा शाश्वत प्रकृति में विश्वास करते हैं। साहित्य जीवन मूल्यों के सम्प्रेषण में उत्प्रेरक का कार्य करते हैं।

बाल साहित्य बालकों के लिए एक हरी भरी सुंदर वाटिका होती है। जिस तरह एक ही वाटिका में सुंदर आकर्षक पुष्प शोभायमान रहते हैं उसी तरह बाल साहित्य की विभिन्न विधाओं को, विभिन्न विषयों से समृद्ध सरलतम रूप में संवारा जाता है। बाल साहित्य नैतिक मूल्य, ज्ञान और मनोरंजन की अविरल धारा है। ये तीनों तत्व बाल, साहित्य में प्रवाहित होते रहते हैं जिनसे वह निखरता है इस साहित्य की अधिकांश विधाओं जैसे— कहानी, कविता, नाटक, उपन्यास, चित्रकला, जीवनी आदि में एक साथ नैतिक मूल्य, भाव आदि को सुंदर तथा सजीव प्रतीत होने वाले चित्रों के माध्यम से भी प्रस्तुत किया जाता है। बालकों को ज्ञान प्रदान करने वाला, कल्पनाओं का विचरण कराने वाला कोमल भावनाओं एवं नैतिक मूल्यों से परिपूर्ण मनोरंजन कराने वाला तथा बच्चों की भाषा के अनुरूप लिखे गये साहित्य को ही बाल साहित्य की संज्ञा से अभिहित किया जा सकता है अर्थात् बाल साहित्य विविध विशेषताओं से पूर्ण है इसे एक निश्चित परिधि में नहीं बांधा जा सकता। बाल साहित्य एक दीपक होता है जिसकी रोशनी में बाल साहित्यकार बालकों को सब कुछ देने का प्रयास करता है जो आज के बालक के लिए परम आवश्यक है जिसे समझकर बालक योग्य संस्कारवान बन सके और भारतीय संस्कृति की रक्षा भी हो सके। “बाल साहित्य के माध्यम से बच्चों को नैतिक शिक्षा प्राप्त हो यही नैतिक मूल्य तथा धर्म ही मानव को पशु से अलग करते हैं। जहां पशुओं में कुछ सोचने, विचारने समझने की क्षमता नहीं होती, वहीं मनुष्य कार्य करने से पूर्व उसके नैतिक अनैतिक, गुण अवगुण एवं उचित अनुचित पर एक बार विचार करने का प्रयास करते हैं।”¹

साहित्य समाज की निर्मिति भी है और उसका निर्माता भी है। हिन्दी बाल साहित्य की एक समृद्ध परम्परा है। पंचतन्त्र, हितोपदेश, जातक कथा एवं अन्यान्य संस्कृत कथा साहित्य की गौरवशाली धरोहर इसे मिली है। बाल साहित्य का सीधा सम्बन्ध बच्चों से है। ये न केवल बच्चों को आदर्श नागरिक बनाने में सहायता करता है बल्कि उनमें अच्छे संस्कारों का संचार करके उनके भविष्य को संवारता है। वह साहित्य जो बच्चों के मन और मनोभाव को परखकर उनकी भाषा और उनके स्तर पर लिखा गया हो वही सही अर्थों में बाल साहित्य है।

हिन्दी में बाल साहित्य की परम्परा अत्यन्त प्राचीन है। सन् 1882 में स्वयं भारतेन्दु द्वारा बाल पत्रिका के प्रकाशन का उल्लेख मिलता है। हिन्दी में बाल साहित्य का इतिहास उतना ही पुराना है जितना की स्वयं हिन्दी साहित्य के इतिहास का है। हिन्दी बाल साहित्य को स्वतन्त्रता पूर्व बाल साहित्य

और स्वातन्त्र्योत्तर बाल साहित्य दो भागों में बांटा गया है। स्वातन्त्र्योत्तर बाल साहित्य को आधुनिक परिवेश और बाल मनोविज्ञान को ध्यान में रख कर लिखा जा रहा है।

मैथिलीशरण गुप्त ने यशोधरा काव्य में बहुत ही स्वाभाविक वर्णन किया है। बालक अपनी मां, दादा—दादी, नाना—नानी से कहानी सुनाने का आग्रह करते हैं। यशोधरा में राहुल अपनी मां से कहता है :

मां कह एक कहानी, अच्छा कह लेटी की लेटी,
तू मेरी नानी की बेटा, राजा था या रानी
मां एक कहानी²

कहानियां सुनाते समय वे कभी परियों के देश ले जाती थी तो कभी नैतिक बातें भी सिखाती। इसके साथ ही साहस, त्याग, बलिदान, परोपकार, परिश्रम आदि का ज्ञान भी हमें उनसे मिलता था। बाल साहित्य का उद्देश्य केवल पाठकों का मनोरंजन करना नहीं होता बल्कि उन्हें आज के जीवन की सच्चाइयों से परिचित करना होता है। कहानियों के माध्यम से ही बच्चों को शिक्षा प्रदान कर सकते हैं। सदैव कहा जाता है 'बच्चे मन के सच्चे' ऐसे सच्चे संस्कार साहित्य के माध्यम से ही बालकों में उत्पन्न किया जा सकता है। इस बाल मन को समझाने की चेष्टा हिन्दी के बाल कथाकारों में भी दिखाई दी है। मुंशी प्रेमचन्द की ईदगाह, राजू बन्धु की 'अनोखा उपहार', आलमशाह खान की 'मन के हार', शकुंतला वर्मा की 'हार की जीत', जयप्रकाश भारती की अंतरिक्ष के नगर और उषा की 'मन की बात' शीर्षक कहानियां प्रसिद्ध हैं। 'बच्चे राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति होती है। किसी भी राष्ट्र का भविष्य उस देश के बच्चों की देखभाल, भरण पोषण उचित शिक्षा—दीक्षा, सही मार्ग दर्शन पर निर्भर करता है। अंग्रेजी की एक कहावत है कि 'चाइल्ड इज द फाँदर ऑफ़ मैन' अर्थात् बच्चा मनुष्य का जनक है। इसका सीधा अर्थ है जिस प्रकार एक छोटे से बीज में सम्पूर्ण वृक्ष छिपा रहता है उसकी प्रकार बालक में मनुष्य की समस्त सम्भावनाएँ विद्यमान रहती हैं। उचित मात्रा में खुद, पानी, हवा तथा प्रकाश मिलने से बीज पल्लवित होकर पौधा बनता है और कालांतर में विशाल वृक्ष के रूप में पुष्पित और फलित होकर छाया और फल प्रदान करता है। ठीक उसी प्रकार बालक की शिक्षा—दीक्षा, देखभाल, समुचित खान—पान से उसके व्यक्तित्व का सम्पूर्ण विकास होता है।³ बाल साहित्य ने सदैव ही बच्चों का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है क्योंकि साहित्य की शब्दावली आसान और बच्चों के मानसिक स्तर की होती है जिसे बच्चे आसानी से समझ सकें। कविताओं का सदैव ही हिन्दी साहित्य में प्रमुख स्थान रहा है और बाल साहित्य में हिन्दी साहित्यकारों ने अत्यन्त रोचक कविताओं का सृजन किया है जिनमें भारतेन्दु हरिश्चन्द्र से लेकर निराला, दिनकर, सुभद्रा कुमारी चौहान, महादेवी वर्मा का नाम प्रमुख है। यद्यपि इनकी कविताओं के विषय भिन्न रहे हों लेकिन इनका मुख्य उद्देश्य मनोरंजन एवं शिक्षा प्रदान करता ही रहा है।

इब्न बतूता, पहन के जूता
निकल पड़ी तूफान में
थोड़ा हवा नाक में घुस गई
घुस गई थोड़ी कान में⁴

इस प्रकार की कविताएं कल्पनाशीलता का उत्कृष्ट नमूना है। हिन्दी साहित्यकारों ने बाल साहित्य के अन्तर्गत जितनी भी कविताओं का सृजन किया है उनमें एक संदेश के साथ आस—पास के वातावरण का भी सजीव चित्रण देखने को मिलता है। जैसे सोहन लाल द्विवेदी द्वारा बच्चों के लिए प्राथमिक स्तर की कविता की पंक्तियां हैं।

उणे लाल अब आंखे खोलो
 पानी लाई हूँ मुंह धो लो
 बीती रात कम दल फूले
 उनके ऊपर भौंहे झूले
 नम की न्यारी लाली छाई
 धरती पौ फटी छति पाई
 ऐसे सुन्दर समय मत खोओ
 मेरे प्यारे अब मत सोओ
 सोहन लाल द्विवेदी
 उठो लाल अब आँखें खोलो⁵

इस प्रकार उपरोक्त कविता के माध्यम से कवि ने न केवल सुबह शीघ्र उठने का संदेश दिया है बल्कि प्रकृति की अनुपम छटा का चित्रण भी किया है। बच्चों में अपने बड़ों से कहानियां सुनने का प्रचलन बहुत प्राचीन है। कहानियां सुनने से बच्चों में धैर्य जैसे गुणों का विकास होता है। कहानियां नैतिक शिक्षा एवं नवीन ज्ञान प्रदान करने पर सबसे सरलतम अच्छा माध्यम है इसी को आधार मानते हुए कहानीकारों ने नई-नई कहानियों का सृजन किया है। इसी सन्दर्भ में डॉ. जयपाल तरंग ने कहा है— “बाल कहानी की यह समृद्ध परम्परा सौ साल से अधिक का सफर तय कर चुकी है। इस दौरान जहां विषय के स्तर पर कहानियों में विविधता का विकास हुआ है वहीं शिल्प के स्तर पर भी बात करें तो सबसे पहले भाषा की बात आती है। कहा जाता है कि सबसे अच्छी भाषा है वह जो पात्रों के अनुसार व्यवहार करती है।”⁶ बाल कथा में ऐसी बहुत सी कहानियां और उपन्यास हैं जो बाल मनोविज्ञान को समझने में सहायता करती हैं जैसे मुंशी प्रेम चन्द की ईदगाह, विश्वम्बर नाथ ‘कौशिक’ की कहानी ‘ताई’, मनु भण्डारी का उपन्यास ‘आपका बंटी’ ऐसे उदाहरण हैं जो बाल मनोविज्ञान का सजीव चित्र पाठक के समक्ष प्रस्तुत करते हैं।

वर्तमान युग विज्ञान और तकनीक का युग है। टी.वी. इंटरनेट, मोबाइल, कार्टून चैनलों की चकाचौंध में आज बालक अपनी परम्पराओं, नैतिक मूल्यों तथा आदर्श चरित्रों से दूर होता जा रहा है। वह हर प्रकार के ‘गैजेट्स’ के बारे में तो जानता है लेकिन सामाजिक सम्बन्धों के महत्त्व तथा परिवार जनों के साथ किस प्रकार का व्यवहार करना है, उनसे दूर होता जा रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में बाल मन को सही समझ, नैतिक मूल्यों की स्थापना हेतु बाल साहित्य अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा सकता है। तकनीकी युग ने वर्तमान समय में किस प्रकार बच्चों को प्रभावित किया है उसका उदाहरण द्रष्टव्य है :

कल के बच्चे की दुनिया थी
 खेल खिलौनों का संसार
 टॉफी बिस्कुट, मेले ठेले
 या नभ का पंदा सुकुमार
 किन्तु आज का नन्हा मुन्ना
 कम्प्यूटर से रखे लगाव
 वेबसाइट, सी.डी. इंटरनेट, सब
 भा रहा उसको खूब
 इनके सम्मोहन से बंधकर

उसको कभी न होती ऊब⁷

हिन्दी बाल साहित्य ने पूर्व के कुछ दशकों में सफलता के नये स्रोत बनाये हैं। मीडिया के विकास और मनोरंजन के इस बढ़ते हुए दौर में भी बाल साहित्य के प्रति रुचि बढ़ी है। बाल साहित्य का सृजन नवीन दृष्टि, वर्तमान परिदृश्य और तकनीक को ध्यान में रखते हुए लिखा जा रहा है। वर्तमान समय में ऐसे साहित्य की आवश्यकता है जो बच्चों में स्वप्रेरणा, आत्म निर्भरता और राष्ट्रीय भावना को जागृत कर सके। बाल साहित्य बालकों की मनोभावना के सच्चे सेवक होते हैं जो विभिन्न आयामों के माध्यम से बालकों को अपनी सेवा प्रदान करने का कार्य करते हैं। बालकों के भविष्य निर्माण में बाल साहित्य की महती भूमिका है क्योंकि बालक साहित्य के आधार पर प्राप्त मूल्य और ज्ञान से बालक अवश्य ही प्रभावित होते हैं।

निष्कर्षतः कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दी बाल साहित्य में राष्ट्र, समाज, संस्कृति, प्रकृति, पर्यावरण के साथ-साथ तकनीक एवं ज्ञान के प्रति जागरूक रह कर भारत को विश्व में एक अनोखे राष्ट्र के रूप में पहचान बनाने में अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई है।

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आधुनिक भारतीय राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को स्थापित करने में पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का योगदान

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 अवश्य 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 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 सपष्ट 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 भासकों 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 विदेशियों 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 निष्पन्न हो सकती है।"

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।”

उनकी इच्छा थी कि अपने गौरवशाली इतिहास को न भूलाकर सांस्कृतिक इतिहास के अनुभवों से सीख लेकर देश का नवनिर्माण भुरु किया जाए। परंतु ‘निराला’ की इन पंक्तियों के माध्यम से कही गई भावनाओं को यूरोपीय ज्ञानधारा के पोषक 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 मुस्लिम लीग का द्विसंस्कृतिवाद, कांग्रेस का प्रच्छन्न द्विसंस्कृतिवाद तथा साम्यवादियों का बहुसंस्कृतिवाद नहीं चल सकता। आज तक एक संस्कृतिवाद को सांप्रदायवाद कहकर टुकराया 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 पोषकमात्र ही मानते हैं, संस्कृति का निर्णायक नहीं। हिंदीवादी सब लोग इसी वर्ग के हैं।³

भारतीय जीवन को धर्मप्रधान 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 सुषमा 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 सुषमा स्वराज द्वारा तीन आयामों को प्रमुखता से उठाया गया। सबसे पहला आयाम जो उन्होंने व्यक्त किया, 'संतोष एवं अहिंसा' एवं दूसरा 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्' 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 शास्त्र 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 'वैश्वीयकरण' एक नया आयाम आया। कुछ लोगों को लगने लगा कि जो भारत का वसुधैव कटुम्बकम् था, उसका एक पर्यावाची पश्चिम में वैश्वीयकरण 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। वैश्वीयकरण 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, वैश्वीयकरण और वसुधैव कटुम्बकम् के बीच में और इसीलिए बाजार में द्वेष होता है और परिवार में प्रेम और इसी वसुधैव कटुम्बकम् 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 भाक्तिशाली 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 'सर्व 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 जबाव 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 बहनों 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 खेप 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 भारीर की सृष्टि नहीं होती किंतु शरीर के अनेक अंग होते हैं। इसलिए प्रत्येक अवयव अपने स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व के लिए नहीं अपितु भारीर 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 छांटा जाए। 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 भाक्तिशाली 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 घोश के विचारों का अध्ययन करेंगे तो मालूम पड़ता है कि पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के भारतीय चिंतन पर श्री अरविंद घोश के विचारों का बहुत प्रभाव था। भारतीय संस्कृति में दीर्घकालीन निरंतरता है। श्री अरविंद लिखते हैं, "यूरोप भाताब्दियों 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 घोश 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 भाक्ति 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 पोशक माना है। हमारे साहित्य में भी यही राष्ट्रीय भावना पाई जाती है। भगवान राम का वह कथन कि 'जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी' राष्ट्रीयता का पोशण कर रहा है। महाभारत में पांडवों ने देश की तीन-तीन बार यात्रा की, उसमें संपूर्ण देश का वर्णन है। भांति 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 भूलोक 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 जाग्रत् 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 भुरुआती दौर में कांग्रेस ही मजबूत राजनीतिक दल के रूप में देश में कार्य कर रही थी। राजनीति में वोट वटोरने को लक्ष्य मानकर अधिकांश राजनीतिक दल अपने घोशणा 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।"⁷

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 भारीरिक भोशण 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 भाक्ति 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 निष्कलंक 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

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मैथिलीशरण गुप्त जी की कविताओं में निहित स्वदेश प्रेम

कुमारी पूनम चौहान

मैथिलीशरण गुप्त जी के काव्य में राष्ट्रीयता के स्वर पर्याप्त प्रखर हैं। वे भारत की मिली जुली संस्कृति में विश्वास रखते थे। उनके ऊपर भारतीय राजनीतिक पृष्ठभूमि का व्यापक प्रभाव पड़ा। मातृभूमि बन्दना, अतीत कालीन राजा प्रजा कर्तव्य शासन की सुख समृद्धि, वर्तमान दुर्दशा, राष्ट्रीय नेताओं का स्तवन, राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन की गूंज, बलिदान आदि राजनीतिक पक्षों का चित्रण गुप्त जी ने राजनीतिक पृष्ठभूमि के धरातल पर किया है क्योंकि राजनीति एवं राष्ट्रीयता का परस्पर सम्बन्ध है। राजनीति के मूल में राष्ट्रीयता की भावना निहित है। राष्ट्र के प्रति चित्रण, विश्वास और प्रेम की भावना का नाम ही राष्ट्रीयता है। किसी राष्ट्र की राजनीतिक चेतना यद्यपि मूर्त रूप से उसके शासन प्रबन्ध के रूप में ही दृष्टिगोचर होती है। राजनीतिक पक्ष में राष्ट्रीय चेतना के स्वरूप का क्षेत्र काफी विस्तृत है। इसकी स्पष्ट झांकी हमें उनके काव्य में चित्रित राजनीतिक चेतना का अध्ययन करने पर दृष्टिगोचर होती है।

गुप्त जी ने अपने काव्य में मातृभूमि की वन्दना स्थान-स्थान पर की है 'भारत भारती' के 'मंगलाचरण' में वे मातृभूमि की आरती उतारते हुए कहते हैं कि

“मानस भवन में आर्यजन जिसकी उतारें आरती—

भगवान। भारतवर्ष में गूंजे हमारी आरती।

हो भद्रभावोद्भविनी वह भारती है भगवते।

सीतापते। सीता पते। गीतापते। गीतामते”¹

वे भारत माता को साक्षात् ब्रह्मणी, लक्ष्मी तथा माता अम्बा के रूप में देखते हैं। मातृभूमि की महिमा का गुणगान करते हुए कवि मातृभूमि के लिए स्वर्ग का भी त्याग करने को उत्सुक रहते हैं। इसलिए तो वे 'नहुष' काव्य में नहुष के मुख से स्वर्ग का राज्य प्राप्त करके भी मातृभूमि की प्रशंसा करवाते हैं।

‘मेरी भूमि तो वह पुण्यतिथि वह भारती

सौ नक्षत्र लोक करे, आके आप आरती

नित्य नये अंकुर असंख्य वहाँ फूटते

फूल झड़ते हैं, फल पकते हैं टूटते”²

गुप्त जी मातृभूमि प्रेम के पुजारी हैं। उनका काव्य मातृभूमि वन्दना, उसके वैभव, प्राकृतिक छटा के चित्रण से ओत प्रोत है। सर्वत्र काव्य में माता की विजय की कामना की गई है। ‘जननी जन्मभूमि स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी’ के सिद्धान्त को मानकर ये निरन्तर मातृभूमि की अराधना करते रहे।

15 अगस्त 1947 ई को भारत माता की स्वतन्त्रता दिवस था। पराधीनता की शृंखला में जकड़ी भारत माता जब उन बेडियों को तोड़कर स्वच्छन्द विहार करती है और राष्ट्रीय ध्वज जब भारत के आंगन फहराता है तो कवि का मातृभूमि प्रेम ध्वज वन्दना के रूप में प्रकट होता है—

“भारत का झण्डा फहरै

घेर मुक्ति —पट का क्षोशी पर, छाया करके छहरै”³

इस तरह गुप्त जी ने राष्ट्र गौरव के प्रतीक राष्ट्रीय ध्वज का आरोहण गीत गाकर मातृभूमि वन्दना की है और भारत की स्वतन्त्रता का स्वागत गीत गाया है। उन्होंने वर्तमान सन्दर्भ में तत्कालीन दिग्भ्रमित भारतीय समाज को पराधीनता के अन्धकूप से बाहर निकालने के लिए प्राचीन राजाओं का गायन किया है ताकि प्राचीन राष्ट्र निर्माताओं से शिक्षा ग्रहण करके हम भी अपने देश के उद्धार में लग जाएं। उनके काव्य में राष्ट्र निर्माताओं का प्रशस्ति गायन पग-पग पर दृष्टिगोचर होता है। प्राचीनकाल के राष्ट्र निर्माता राम, कृष्ण, चन्द्रगुप्त, चाणक्य, अशोक आदि मध्यकाल के महाराणा प्रताप, पृथ्वीराज चौहान, गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह, शिवाजी आदि के जीवन चरित्रों का उल्लेख करके भारतीय समाज के समक्ष उनके आदर्शों को प्रस्तुत किया है। ‘साकेत’ में भगवान राम के जीवन आदर्शों को प्रस्तुत करते हुए कहते हैं—

राम तुम मानव हो? ईश्वर नहीं हो क्या?

विश्व में रमे हुए नहीं सभी कहीं को क्या?

तब मैं निरीश्वर हूँ, ईश्वर क्षमा करे,

तुम न रमो मन तुममें रमा करे।⁴

गुप्त जी लोकमंगल के कवि हैं। मानवतावाद ही उनके काव्य का मुख्य आधार है। इसलिए वे लोकतन्त्र के पक्षधर रहे हैं, व्यक्ति तथा उसकी स्वतन्त्रता को ही वे वास्तविक लोकतन्त्र मानते हैं। उन्होंने अपने काव्य में लोकतन्त्र के प्रति ही अपनी आस्था व्यक्त की है।

“वह शासन है स्वयं कलंक

जिसमें जन हो दिन दिन रंक

भूखों मरें, न पावे वस्त्र

हो जावे निर्बल —निःशस्त्र”⁵

अतः वे ऐसे तन्त्र की मांग करते हैं जिसमें प्रजा सुरक्षित रहे। ब्रिटिश शासकों का कवि विरोध करता है क्योंकि उसने भारतवर्ष पर राजतन्त्र थोप रखा था। गुप्त जी ब्रिटिश सम्राज्य को ‘दोगली नीति’ के पक्षधर करार देते हुए कहते हैं कि ब्रिटिश सम्राज्य ने भारतवर्ष में तो निरकुंश राजतन्त्र तथा ब्रिटेन में लोकतन्त्र स्थापित कर रखा है जो उसकी दोगली नीति का परिचायक है।

“घोर राजतन्त्र आज जर्मनी का यन्त्र

और प्रजातन्त्र है अमेरिका का मुख्य तन्त्र

धन्य है ब्रिटेन, जो चला रहा दोनों को

चलता वहां है प्रजातन्त्र यहां राजतन्त्र”⁶

इस तरह वे लोकतन्त्र के पक्षधर हैं। इसके साथ-साथ वे वास्तविक लोकतन्त्र उसे मानते हैं जिसमें प्रजा अपने राजा का चुनाव अपने आप करती है। ‘साकेत’ में जब अयोध्यावासी भगवान राम का चुनाव करते हैं तो राम इन्कार कर देते हैं तो प्रजा भगवान राम को लोकमत का आदर करने के लिए कहती है—

“राजा हमने राम तुम्हीं को है चुना
करो न तुम यों हाय लोकमत अनसुना”

जब कभी भी किसी राष्ट्र की अस्मिता, राष्ट्रियता, स्वतन्त्रता खतरे में दिखाई दी। तब उस राष्ट्र में उस राष्ट्र की अस्मिता, राष्ट्रियता बनाये रखने के लिए कई महान विभूतियों ने आगे बढ़कर जन समुदाय का नेतृत्व किया भारत इस सम्बन्ध में अन्य देशों की अपेक्षा अधिक भाग्यशाली रहा। जहां पर हर क्षेत्र में विभिन्न महान आत्माओं की गाथा प्रकाशमान होकर जन समुदाय को सही मार्ग की ओर उन्मुख करने में सफल रही है। उन्होंने देश प्रेम के सम्मुख समस्त जीवन को न्योछावर कर दिया। गुप्त जी ने अपने काव्य में राष्ट्रीय वीरों की प्रशस्ति, उनकी जेलयात्राओं, प्राणोत्सर्ग, बलिदान तथा उनके सहयोगों को अंकित किया है। लोकमान्य गंगाधर तिलक के चरित्र को भीष्म के समान दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञ घोषित करते हुए कवि कहते हैं कि

“यदि जन्म लेते थे महात्मा भीष्मतुल्य भी यहां
तो जन्मते हैं कुछ दृढव्रत लोकमान्य अभी यहां”⁸

राजा राम मोहन राय, स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती, श्रीराम, कृष्ण एवं रामतीर्थ के समाज सुधारक कार्य तथा स्वाधीनता संग्राम के लिए किये गये संघर्षों की प्रशंसा करते हुए कवि इन नेताओं को भारत की अमूल्य निधि घोषित करते हैं।

“श्री राममोहनराय, स्वामीदयानन्द सरस्वती
उत्पन्न करती हैं अभी यह मेदिनी ऐसे व्रती,
श्री राम कृष्णोपम महात्मा, राम तीर्थोपम यती
ऐसे जनों से आप भी यह भूमि बनती वसुमती”⁹

महात्मा गांधी की प्रशस्ति में कवि ने अनेक कविताओं की संजर्ना की है राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलनों में महात्मा गांधी का सहयोग सर्वोपरि है। गुप्त जी गांधी जी के आदर्शों से प्रभावित होने के कारण उनके भक्त भी हैं। गांधी जी एक ऐसे राष्ट्रीय नेता थे जिनको उनके विरोधियों से भी सहानुभूति प्राप्त थी।

“संत महात्मा हो तुम जग के बापू हो हम दीनों के
दलितों के अभीष्ट नर दाता आश्रय हो गति हीनों के
आर्य अज्ञात शत्रु की उस परम्परा के स्वतः प्रमाण
सदय बन्धु तुम विरोधियों के निर्दय सुजन अधीनों के”¹⁰

विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि गुप्त जी को भारतीय राष्ट्रीय वीरों से स्नेह तथा उनके प्रति अगाध श्रद्धा है। उनके काव्य में तत्कालीन राष्ट्रीय नेताओं की प्रशस्ति उनकी राष्ट्रीय चेतना को सुदृढ़ करती हुई प्रतीत होती है।

भाषा विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति का माध्यम है। अतः भाषा किसी देश तथा राष्ट्र का प्रतीक भी है। भाषा के माध्यम से ही उस देश के निवासी अपनी भावनाएं, विचार एक दूसरे पर व्यक्त कर सकते हैं। अपने देश की भाषा उन्नति करने से ही हम अपने देश का विकास कर सकते हैं। इसलिए भारतेन्दु हरिश्चन्द्र ने ‘निज भाषा’ को ही उन्नति का मूल माना है।

“निज भाषा उन्नति अहै सब उन्नति को मूल
बिन निज भाषा ज्ञान रे मिटै न हिय की भूल”¹¹

भाषा की एकता से राष्ट्रीयता को प्रोत्साहन मिलता है तथा देश का विकास होता है।

हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी का मत है— “भाषा हमारी संस्कृति का प्रतीक है उसको मूल समस्या मानना चाहिये।”¹⁸ महावीर प्रसाद द्विवेदी ने भी इसी बात पर बल दिया है कि “अपनी भाषा का साहित्य ही जाति और स्वदेश की उन्नति का साधक है।”¹⁹ गांधी जी तथा अन्य बहुत से साहित्यकार तथा नेताओं ने हिन्दी भाषा के प्रयोग पर बल दिया। गुप्त जी भी उनके विचारों के पक्षधर रहे हैं। उन्होंने अपने काव्य में हिन्दी भाषा को समृद्ध बनाने पर बल दिया है। कवि नागरी और हिन्दी कविता में ‘हिन्दी भाषा’ का समर्थन व्यक्त करते हुए लिखते हैं

“ज्यों—ज्यों एक भाषा वृद्धि पाती जायेगी
 त्यों—त्यों अलौकिक एकता सबमें समाती जायेगी
 कट जाएगी जड़ भिन्नता की विज्ञता बढ़ जायेगी
 श्री भारती जन जाति उन्नति शिखर पर चढ़ जायेगी”¹²

एक ही भाषा पर बल देते हुए गुप्त जी कहते हैं कि एक भाषा होने पर हम एक दूसरे के विचारों को समझ सकते हैं

“पर एक ऐसी मुख्य भाषा होनी चाहिये यहां
 सब देशवासी जन जिसे समझे समान जहां तहां”¹³

पराधीनता के युग में सर्वमान्य भारतीय भाषा का अभाव उन्हें खलता था। गुप्त जी राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए एक सर्वमान्य राष्ट्र भाषा के पक्षधर थे इसलिए उन्होंने लिखा

है राष्ट्रभाषा भी अभी तक देश में कोई नहीं
 हम निज विचार बना सकें जिससे परस्पर सभी
 इस योग्य हिन्दी है तदपि अब तक निज पद पा सकी
 भाषा बिना भावेक्ता अब तक न इसमें आ सकी¹⁴

मैथिलीशरण गुप्त के काव्य ने राष्ट्रीय चेतना के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि इनके काव्य में राष्ट्र का अतीत और वर्तमान अभिव्यक्ति पा सका है और साथ ही भविष्य के प्रति एक नई आस्था एवं प्रेरणा के संकेत भी इनके काव्य में विद्यमान हैं। वे राष्ट्रीय पुनः उत्थान और पुर्नजागरण के महत्वपूर्ण कार्यों में लगे रहे और अपनी यथाशक्ति कार्य को आगे बढ़ाया। गुप्त जी अतीत के अमर गायक हैं और वर्तमान को साथ लेकर चलते हैं। गुप्त जी मानवतावादी गान्धीवादी एवं वैष्णव विचारधारा से जुड़े राष्ट्रकवि हैं।

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