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Built Heritage and Corporate Social Responsibility: A Means for Social Management

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Abstract

Built heritage are the artistic and architectural creations of our predecessors that have been passed on by successive generations to be cherished and nourished by the present and future generations. Built heritage comprise of prehistoric and historical material remains in the form of antiquities and architecture which we popularly call archaeological remains. Because of their historical, architectural, artistic, scientific and identity values, it is imperative to sustain our heritage for posterity. Corporate houses have a major role to play for the sustainable management of built heritage. The present paper explores the role of corporate houses play for the conservation, preservation, restoration and presentation of built heritage and how it acts as a catalyst for social management at large. Built heritage of an area is an inalienable part of that society or community. Therefore heritage management is directly associated with the social management. The paper will also try to find out the modalities the corporate houses follow to be involved in the process of heritage management and inter alia social management. The paper will also discuss the larger issue of the perception of the society towards their built heritage. An effort would be made to suggest measures for the greater cohesion between the society and built heritage through corporate houses for the sustainable management of the built heritage. The methodology of the study will be the review of the secondary sources and the data from the field followed by the critical analysis of the data to draw conclusions and make constructive suggestions.

Key Words: Built Heritage, Corporate Social Responsibility, Social Management, Local Community

Built heritage are the artistic and architectural creations of our predecessors that have been passed on by successive generations to be cherished and nourished by the present and future generations. Built heritage comprise of prehistoric and historical material remains in the form of antiquities and architecture which we popularly call archaeological remains. As per Article 1 of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972), cultural heritage (built heritage is an integral part of it) comprises of monuments, group of buildings and sites. Because of their historical, architectural, artistic, scientific and identity values, it is imperative to sustain our built heritage for posterity. Built heritage are an inalienable part of that society or community

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where they are relocated. The real stakeholder of the built heritage is the local community or society. Therefore heritage management is directly associated with the social management. Corporate houses have a major role to play for the sustainable management of built heritage, especially with regard to their conservation, preservation, restoration, presentation and in the process, overall social management.

What is corporate and what is their social responsibility? According to online Macmillan Dictionary, corporate means 'relating to large companies or to a particular large company'. The large companies are called corporations. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), on the other hand, is defined as 'treating the stakeholders of the firm ethically or in a responsible manner' (Hopkins, 2003, p. 10). The World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) has defined CSR as 'business commitment to contribute to sustainable economic development, working with their employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve their quality of life' (<http://www.wbcsd.ch>). The most inclusive and comprehensive definition is 'the process of communicating the social and environmental effects of organizations' economic actions to particular interest groups within society and to society at large. As such it involves extending the accountability of organizations (particularly companies), beyond the traditional role of providing a financial account to the owners of capital, in particular, shareholders. Such an extension is predicated upon the assumption that companies do have wider responsibilities than simply to make money for their shareholders'. (Gray, Owen, and Maunders, 1987, p. ix)

While discussing CSR in general and CSR in India in particular, one basic question comes to the mind, i.e. Is CSR a compulsion or a choice? There are different norms in different countries with regard to the application of CSR. While China, Indonesia, South Africa, France and Denmark make it mandatory; in US, it comes under the soft law. In India, CSR was made mandatory in the Company Act 2013. Section 135 of the Companies Act, 2013 (<https://www.mca.gov.in/Ministry/pdf/CompaniesAct2013.pdf>) has introduced mandatory CSR which are applicable to companies which satisfy the following:

- (i) Net worth of Rs. 500 crore or more or
- (ii) Turnover of Rs. 1000 crore or more or
- (iii) Profit of Rs. 5 crore or more

Obviously, these parameters are an indicator that those companies who come under these parameters can financially contribute for the betterment of the society.

As per the provisions of schedule VII of the Indian Companies Act, some 11 activities may be specifically considered by the companies as a part of their Corporate Social Responsibility Policies. The activity listed in the 5th category speaks about heritage i.e. 'Protection of national art and culture, heritage, promoting or tance and works of including rest oration of buil dings and sites of historic alimp or tance and works art setting up public libraries; promotion and development of traditional arts and craftsmanship;(ebook.mca.gov.in):

Now, the question is how these corporates serve the society through CSR towards built heritage? Built heritage in India are either centrally protected i.e. by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) or protected by the state (by the state departments of Archaeology) or by other civic agencies. But, in most of the cases big corporates have adopted centrally protected monuments and that too many of them being the World Heritage Sites.

Much before the 2013 Companies Act, we have an excellent example of CSR and social management through built heritage. In 1999, Coca Cola India set up a plant in Kaladera (40 kms from Jaipur) Rajasthan where water scarcity is there. As part of their CSR, Coca Cola India took up a project on implementing traditional water systems, so as to recharge groundwater aquifers in Rajasthan, involving local communities. This initiative also included restoration of Sarai Bawari and Kale Hanuman ki Bawari - historical step wells (over 400-year-old), thus providing water to the people of the community (Chaklader & Gautam, 2013, p.100). After the restoration of these step wells, on the one hand, the local residents enjoy a number of benefits with the increased water reserve and greater supply for their daily and other agricultural activities (Basu, 2017, p.101). This is one of the best examples showing unique corporate-community engagement model in restoring our heritage for social management through CSR.

After the Narendra Modi government came to power in 2014, rules of engagements with corporates as part of their CSR vis a vis heritage changed. For adoption of the monuments by the corporates, Ministry of Tourism, in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Archaeological Survey of India, has initiated a scheme 'Adopt a Heritage: Apni Dharohar, Apni Pehchaan' on 27 September 2017, on the occasion of World Tourism

Day (<https://tourism.gov.in>). The Vision Statement of ‘Adopt A Heritage’ 2017 makes it clear, what roles the corporates are going to play with regard to our heritage. It says, ‘Ministry of Tourism in close collaboration with Ministry of Culture and Archeological Survey of India (ASI) envisages developing the heritage sites, monuments and any other tourist sites by making them tourist-friendly to enhance the tourism potential and their cultural importance, in a planned and phased manner (<https://www.adoptaheritage.in> p. 2 of the Project). In this statement, the role of the corporates is not mentioned. However, in the 4th point of the Project, under the caption of ‘Approach’, the role of the corporates is pronounced clearly when it says, ‘The project entails to handover heritage sites and monuments for adoption to the private and public sector companies and individuals (who would be known as “Monument Mitras”) for providing basic amenities and complete operation and maintenance (O&M) initially for the 5 years subject to review at any time (<https://www.adoptaheritage.in> page 3 of the Project).

The social management of the corporates, now called as ‘Monument Mitras’, is explicitly spelled out in the Objectives of the Project. The Objectives are:

- To develop basic tourism infrastructure in and around heritage monuments and any other tourist sites.
- Inclusive tourist experience for heritage site / monument or tourist site.
- Promote cultural and heritage value of the country to generate livelihoods of local communities of respective heritage site / monument/ tourist site.
- Enhance the tourist attractiveness in a sustainable manner by developing world class infrastructure at heritage site / monument or tourist site.
- Create employment through active involvement of local communities.
- Harness tourism potential for its multiplier effects in employment generation and economic development.
- Develop sustainable tourism infrastructure and ensuring proper Operations and Maintenance therein.

(<https://www.adoptaheritage.in> page 3 of the Project).

An analysis of the above objectives clearly reveals the priority given by the government for social management through an inclusive and participatory approach in which the local community surrounding the heritage gets maximum direct and indirect benefit out of it. As the objectives clearly underline the development of tourist infrastructure in and around the heritage sites, obviously, it will primarily benefit the local community. Some objectives

speakeabout the direct benefit of the local community by generating their livelihoods and also creating employment opportunities through active involvement of local communities. Hence, infrastructure development, employment generation and generation of livelihood are the three potential contributions of the CSR for social management and community development through built heritage sites.

There are some changes brought about in the Vision Statement of 'Adopt A Heritage' 2020 ([https://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/2020, p. 4](https://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/2020,p.4)) with the inclusion of corporates (Private/ Public sector companies) along with State/ UT Governments and the / Trusts/ NGOs/ Individuals, etc in it (in the 2017 document, it was not there in the vision document but in the 4th point). But, so far as social management through community involvement in built heritage is concerned, the 2020 Project document has devoted only one objective directly associating the local community with the enhancement of livelihood and employment generation.

The modality of involvement of the corporates is through MoUs signed amongst the stakeholders (Ministry of Tourism, Govt. of India, Nodal Departments for a site/state and the Company/Trust who would adopt the monument). Corporates as 'Monument Mitras' will finance the activities as delineated in the MoU for the development of the heritage site. Development of heritage sites means 'providing and maintaining basic amenities, including drinking water, ease of access for the differently abled and senior citizens, standardized signage, cleanliness, public conveniences and illumination along with advanced amenities such as surveillance systems, night viewing facilities and tourism facilitation centres' (<https://www.thehindu.com>).

As per the MoU, the corporates are allowed for some 'semi-commercial activities' which means any activity ancillary to operation of the site including Sound & Light Show, Basic Souvenir Shop, Snack Counter, Cultural Events etc. necessary to sustain Operations & Maintenance (O&M) and developmental activities at the adopted site under the MoU. The reference to developmental activities at the adopted site under the MoU indicates that it speaks of about the development of the site and its surroundings involving the local communities.

The following figures at Table 1 lists the latest corporate adoption of major Natural and Built Heritage Sites/Buildingsin India under 'Adopt A Heritage' scheme:

Table 1. Corporate Adoption of Natural & Built Heritage Sites/ Buildings

Sl. No	Name of the Natural & Built Heritage Sites/Buildings	Name of the Corporates Adopted
1	Jantar Mantar, Delhi	ApeejaySurrendra Park Hotels Ltd
2	Bara Lao ka Gumbad, Delhi	Bird Heritage Foundation
3	Multilingual Audio Guide Application for Tourist Sites	Resbird Technologies Pvt. Ltd.
4	Rani-ki-Vav, Patan, Gujarat	Akshar Travels Pvt. Ltd.
5	Sun Temple, Modhera, Gujarat	Akshar Travels Pvt. Ltd.
6	Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park, Gujarat	Akshar Travels Pvt. Ltd.
7	Buddhist Caves, Junagadh, Gujarat	Akshar Travels Pvt. Ltd.
8	Tomb of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana, Delhi	Interglobe Foundation
9	Bekal Fort, Kerala	Drishti Lifesaving Pvt. Ltd.
10	Multi-Lingual Audio Guide for 9 Tourist Sites	Resbird Technologies Pvt. Ltd.
11	Mount Stok Kangri Trek Route in Ladakh, Jammu & Kashmir	Adventure Tour Operators Association of India (ATOAI)
12	Gangotri Temple Area & Trail to Gaumukh, Uttarakhand	Adventure Tour Operators Association of India (ATOAI)
13	Red Fort, Delhi	Dalmia Bharat Limited
14	Gandikota Fort, Andhra Pradesh	Dalmia Bharat Limited
15	QutbMinar, Delhi	Yatra Online Pvt. Ltd.
16	Ajanta Caves, Maharashtra	Yatra Online Pvt. Ltd.
18	Leh Palace, Jammu & Kashmir	Yatra Online Pvt. Ltd.
19	Hazara Rama Temple, Hampi, Karnataka	Yatra Online Pvt. Ltd.
20	Suraj Kund, Haryana	Bliss Inns Private Ltd (V-Resorts)
21	Gol Gumbad, Delhi	Resbird Technologies Pvt. Ltd.

Source:<https://www.adoptaheritage.in/mou.html>

The above facts and analysis shows that social management is an integral part of the CSR involving the built heritage where the local community gets the best benefits out of it through development of their infrastructure and generation of employment and livelihood. The corporate brand value is also enhanced by such philanthropic activities involving ‘the construction, landscaping, illumination, upgradation, refurbishments, operation and maintenance of activities related to provision, development and maintenance of tourist amenities’ (<https://tourism.gov.in>) and other permissible(as per

MoU) related activities. This public-private partnership through CSR 'Adopt A Heritage' is not only a boon for the better management of the heritage sites but also a panacea for the local community.

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Mobility, Diaspora and Transnationalism: A Conceptual Understanding

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Abstract

In this era of globalisation, we have been witnessing the massive migration of people, technological advancement facilitating interactions among people, modern and fast transportation modes, which has enabled people moving from one place to another place with much ease and fast, and more prominently, it has challenged the established notions of purity, stability and authenticity. The free and fast movement of people and goods and commodities has redefined the human relationship, nature and structure of societies and cultures, and the strong and strict sense of the border of nation-states has dissipated. So, the paper makes an attempt to conceptualise 'Mobility', 'Diaspora' and 'Transnationalism' so as to understand the complex social processes, migration of people and human relationship in this era of globalisation and transnationalism.

Key Words: *Mobility, Cultural Mobility, Diaspora, Transnationalism, Culture, Cultural Geography, Globalisation*

Introduction

“Mobility studies . . . are essentially about what medieval theologians called contingencia, the sense that the world as we know it is not necessary: the point is not only that the world will pass away, but also that it could all have been otherwise”. Greenblatt (2010: 16)

Mobility is as old as the human civilization itself. Not only the human beings move but also the plants and animals experience mobility. Even the static elements move. Bunge points out, “Notice that any explanation of a location involves the notion of movement. Even such static features as mountains and sea coast are explained by movements over long geologic periods. In many ways patterns and movements are interrelated as are the chicken and egg with one causing the other. Does the location of the river valley cause the movement of the river or is it the other way? Obviously, one operates on the other” (Bunge 1966: xvi). To further the idea of mobility we may refer to Tim Cresswell and Peter Merriman, who state that mobility is practiced, and practice is often conflated with mobility. To move is to do

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something. Moving involves making a choice within, or despite, the constraints of society and geography (Cresswell and Merriman 2011: 3). Indeed, mobility brings a change not only in the place from where the movement takes place but also the place to which the movement is made. When human beings move from one place to another place, they carry along with them, their physical as well as socio-cultural and psycho-social belongings. In the new place they implant those carried belongings, and in the process some of their carried heritage changes as well as they take different forms with the influence of the new world. However, they also succeed in retaining some of their heritage intact. In this transnational world, human mobility has taken different forms. Even the mobility of goods, services and interactions are happening in different ways. The recent developments like, global warming, terrorism, human trafficking etc. have changed the nature of human relationship as well as the nature and structure of geography. The geographical areas which used to be fertile once have become unproductive, and infertile lands have been able to produce. Mobility in this globalised and transnational world has taken a very complex form. So, the paper attempts to study various dimensions of the concepts, 'Mobility', 'Diaspora' and 'Transnationalism' so as to understand and analyse the complex socio-cultural processes of the present-day globalised world.

Conceptual Understanding of 'Mobility'

Crowe observes that "... movement implies three essentials – origin, destination, and an effective will to move. Movement does not take place in a vacuum, it is effected upon the surface of the earth and it is very largely through movement that Mankind becomes conscious of its geography" (Crowe 1938: 14). In the movement of human beings and things the change occurs in the demography and culture of the points of destination and points of movement. Crowe rightly points out that mobility does not happen in a void. It involves human beings, and most prominently human beings must have the will to move, then only mobility can happen. And mobility involves the place of origin and place of destination. Both the place of origin and place of destination encounter change due to the movement of the human beings. Bunge (1966) equates the movement of people to the movement of electricity or the flows of fluids. Like the electricity moves from one place to another place, or the fluid flows from one place to another place, people move from one place to another place. In the past the movement of people was not so fast due to the non-availability of modern

modes of transportation. But now due to the availability of various modes of modern and fast transportation, people can move from one place to another place with the speed of electricity.

Greenblatt puts forth that mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense, “The physical, infrastructural, and institutional conditions of movement – the available routes; the maps; the vehicles; the relative speed; the controls and costs; the limits on what can be transported; the authorisations required; the inns, relay stations and transfer points; the travel facilitators – are all serious objects of analysis” (Greenblatt 2010: 250). In order to understand the mobility in a better and more comprehensive way, we need to study and analyse all the processes and objects involved in the process of movements. Let us take the example of the transportation of Indian indentured labourers by the Britishers to their different plantation estates in the Caribbean, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa etc. All the objects and processes involved in this process including the depot, agreement, ship, food, plantation barracks etc. provide us better groundings in understanding mobility. In the ship voyage Indian indentured labourers had to forego their religion, caste etc. and they had to share food, water and space with people from different religions and castes. In the lack of any real relationship, they developed among them a kind of new relationship which went by the name of *jahaji bhai* (ship brotherhood) or *jahajibehen* (ship sisterhood). The people who had boarded the same ship developed this brotherhood or sisterhood, which went beyond their caste or religious or regional affiliations. So, all the objects, processes and practices involved in the movement involves mobility. So, the literal sense of the movement of people and objects provides nuances for understanding the symbolic significance of the literal.

Greenblatt (2010: 7) speaks about two powerful traditional models for understanding cultural mobility. The first is the account that historians and ideologues developed for describing the *translatio imperii*, the “translation” of power and authority from the Persians to the Greeks, from Greece to Rome, and then from imperial Rome to a succession of ambitious regimes in nascent nation states. The second is the account that theologians developed for describing the ways that Christianity “fulfilled” the Hebrew Scriptures and hence transformed the Torah into the “Old Testament”.

Greenblatt focuses on two important early perceptions about cultural mobility. First, the sheer brute fact of conquest does not necessarily set a culture, whether that of the victor or of the vanquished, in motion. And

second, though material goods may at moments have powerful symbolic importance, at other moments those goods may carry very little cultural charge, and cultural mobility may lie elsewhere (Greenblatt 2010: 10).

Greenblatt (2010) cites the example of the Roman Empire, which in the last days of its fall was not able to defend itself and its material resources, the symbols, regalia, literary trappings and other symbols appropriating power for the Roman Empire like, the gods, treasure, grain reserves, arms, slaves etc. were carried out of Rome with its fall. Though Rome was plundered of its rich and immense treasures of material prosperity, but the conquerors could not destroy its cultural authority. The conquerors plundered and took away the amass of material wealth of Rome, but it was impossible to wipe out the strong cultural edifice of Rome. By the time Rome became weak and was prone to be conquered it had already built its cultural institutions which were so strong to be pierced. Rome was to be found in the legal system, taxation system, literatures etc. of Europe and other parts of the world. Gradually, Rome was visible in different structures and institutions of Europe and the world.

In the course of the mobility certain socio-cultural practices are adapted in a different and altered manner and context. Commenting on the mobility in the context of the Roman Empire Greenblatt writes that the Roman custom of forcing captive leaders to march in chains in the midst of the cheering crowd was revived by Renaissance princes and adapted to grand funerary processions (Greenblatt 2010). Here, mobility happens in a very strange and absolutely changed manner. Whereas the Roman customary practice of parading the defeated leader celebrated the Roman victory and glory, the adapted practice by the Renaissance princes was to bid adieu to the dead or the loved ones.

Greenblatt argues that it is impossible to understand mobility without understanding the sensation of rootedness. Mobility is often perceived as a threat – a force by which traditions, rituals, expressions, beliefs are decentered, thinned out, decontextualized, lost. In apprehension of this perceived threat, communities, groups and individuals ward themselves from the outside world, and they resort to violence to protect their own tradition and culture which they value more than their life (Greenblatt 2010: 252). In the Caribbean countries in the initial years Indians were living a very protected and enclaved life without any outside contact. Also, during the period of indentureship Indians were forced to live a very secluded life, and

their movement in the plantation estate was regulated by the strict laws of the plantation. The planters were very apprehensive about a kind of groupism and rebellion in the plantation estate if labours freely interacted among themselves, so they had restricted the lives of the indentured labours to the boundary of the plantation estates. Even after the end of indentureship Indians were living a secluded life with fear from the people of African origin and other ethnicities. Indians were fearful that if they mix with people from other religions and races their religion and culture will be polluted. So, out of fear from the other ethnic communities Indians formed a boundary around themselves to protect their culture which they considered more precious than their life.

Gareth Hoskins and Jo Frances Maddern in their study of the regulation and commemoration of mobility at Angel Island, San Francisco and Ellis Island, New York argue that "... the spaces themselves play an important role in the construction of various types of mobilities practiced and experienced. ... As spaces of commemoration, Ellis Island and Angel Island codify that history of mobility as full of promise, as something to celebrate, something that unites and establishes a national identity. In the process, new mobilities arise in the consumption of these sites; mobilities used by managers, interpretive designers, and politicians in ways that make their messages more persuasive" (Hoskins and Maddern 2011: 162). So, space is highly important in the construction of mobility. Space is the site where mobility is lived, experienced and negotiated. For the immigrants and diaspora groups space is highly important. It is the space of the host country that determines the socio-cultural, economic and political prosperity of the immigrants and the diaspora. If the space of hostland is welcoming, then the diaspora and the immigrant groups can have very positive sense of mobility, but if the host society and country is not welcoming and hostile, then the mobility takes a very disenchanting form. Though, Hoskins and Maddern argue that mobility is full of promises, sometimes mobility can also be a very difficult and challenging one. If we look into the experience of Indian diaspora in Fiji, we find out how difficult mobility has been for the Indian diaspora there. The horrible British colonial experience of transportation, terrible ship journey, inhuman treatments in the plantation estates, and after independence political turmoil targeting Indian community in Fiji etc. make the experience of mobility not a very promising one.

Elizabeth Lee and Geraldine Pratt (2011) through their study and

narration of migrant workers especially two women migrant workers namely Faviana (from Mexico working in USA) and Liberty (from Philippines working in Hong Kong and Canada) bring out into fore the difficult lives led by the migrant workers. Mostly belonging to the poorer families these migrant workers take the very difficult decision of migrating to a foreign country for a better living condition and to support their families back home. They have to stay alone without their families, and their children have also to be kept in the custody of other relatives. Their life stories speak a different kind of narrative of mobility. Hartman (1997) claims that by defamiliarising the familiar, and tracing the immobilities in mobilities, we hope to illuminate the violence of the mundane, rather than exploit the shocking spectacle.

Mobility Studies in the Academic Discourse

The phenomena of mobility in the academic debates became prominent in the last part of the twentieth century. The massive movement of people, commodities, culture, ideas and so on in the last part of the twentieth century has greatly transformed the nature and structure of the whole world. It has necessitated to study mobility in a more comprehensive, detailed and focussed manner. André Seabra Real Sampaio da Nóvoa states, the first conceptualizations of mobility as proper theoretical tools of analysis only surfaced with the rise of the “new mobilities paradigm”, a term coined by Sheller and Urry (2006)(da Nóvoa 2014: 13).

As Sassatelli argues, “a new spatially conscious sociology stresses mobility and flux over permanence, where notions of borders and structures are substituted by networks and flows. Space and identities are conceptualized as non-essentialist (relational), non-univocal (multiple) and non-fixed (mobile)”(Sassatelli 2010: 71). In this globalised and highly connected world, the notion of a very strongly guarded border has weakened, and now we are experiencing more flows of people, ideas and culture which are connected through different forms of networks.

Mobility has become a more focused area of research and debate with the rise in migration and transnational study. Sheller and Urry (2006) argue that social science has largely been static and ‘a-mobile’ where stability is taken as the norm, as fundamental, and mobility a typically dysfunctional force threatening the authenticity of place and rootedness (Quoted in Hoskins and Maddern 2011). Now the global movement of people, culture and ideas, and new researches on precolonial, colonial and postcolonial histories and societies have challenged the notion of rootedness and stabil-

ity of cultures and societies. These issues have moved beyond the disciplinary boundary of different disciplines. Cresswell argues: “The way forward is signposted by theories of practice which serve to destabilize notions of place and space”(Cresswell 2003: 20).

Commenting on the case studies in the volume, “Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto”, Greenblatt (2010) writes that microhistories of “displaced” things and persons represent cultural connections between unexpected times and places. So, the cultural artefacts are not confined to the boundaries of the nation-states only. They move beyond the boundaries and influence people and culture there. So, we need to make a more conscious and comprehensive academic approach in studying the mobility.

The issue of mobility has been focused in the discipline of culture studies, anthropology, sociology, geography and population studies, history, literature, diaspora studies, migration studies etc. Sheller and Urry(2006: 214) argue, it is not a field marked by strict disciplinary frontiers but rather a plastic area of studies that revolves around a key theoretical concept – mobility. It is a post-disciplinary field of research (Quoted in da NÓvoa 2014: 13).

‘Mobility’, ‘Diaspora’ and ‘Transnationalism’

Trans-nationalism has been defined as a “social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress geographic, political and cultural boundaries” (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992: 9). Transnationalism moves beyond the strict boundaries or the geographical territories of the nations, societies and cultures, and creates relations and interactions in the transnational space. Jackson et al (2004: 3) claim that the term transnational spaces “encompasses all of those engaged in transnational cultures, whether as producers or consumers. It includes not just the material geographies of labour migration or the trading in transnational goods and services but also the symbolic and imaginary geographies through which we attempt to make sense of our increasingly transnational world”. One of the interesting dimensions of transnationalism is its imaginary aspects. How we imagine the geographical territories and cultures of people also determines transnationalism.

Levitt argues that “impact of trans-national migration differs from, but must be understood within the context of, the heightened globalisation in which it is embedded. Changes prompted by migration and globalisation

mutually reinforce one another” (Levitt 2001: 14). Levitt is right in pointing out that the pace, nature and pattern of migration in this era has been greatly influenced by globalisation. Globalisation has changed the structure and nature of migration as well as migration has contributed to the globalisation. So, migration and globalisation are interrelated to each other.

In mobility studies, the focus is always on the movement of people, cultures, things etc. Gareth Hoskins and Jo Frances Maddern (2011: 152) in their study of the regulation and commemoration of mobility at Angel Island, San Francisco and Ellis Island, New York quote Gillis (2004: 33) who notes how island can represent both separation and continuity, isolation and connection: “The idea of the island brings with it at once the notion of solitude and of a founding population . . . islands inhabited by human beings are never enclosures only: they are crossroads, markets for exchange, and while sail remained the mode of transport they were essential and frequent stopping off points for re-provisioning”.

Alison Blunt (2007: 689) argues that the cultural geographies of diaspora encompass the material and imaginative connections between people and a ‘territorial identity’, often over transnational space and via transnational networks. Transnationalism has greatly impacted on diaspora. The territorial identity formation of diaspora has greatly been challenged and influenced by transnationalism. Territorialisation, deterritorialization and reterritorialization are now shaped by transnationalism. Katharyne Mitchell explains, “Cultural geographies of transnationality examine the embodied movements and practices of migrants and/or the flows of commodities and capital, and analyse these flows with respect to national borders and the cultural constructions of nation, citizen and social life”(Mitchell 2003: 84). Now, with the facilitation of transnational networks there is an easy movement of people, culture, commodities etc., which are shaping the structure and stricture of mobility, transnationalism, diaspora, immigrant groups etc.

Alison Blunt (2007: 688) speaking about transnational citizenship claims that transnational citizenship spans legal, regulatory and political geographies alongside social relations and cultural meanings, values and practices. Alison Blunt has brought about an interesting dimension of citizenship in this age of transnationalism. Citizenship is not only a political and legal concept but also it carries social and cultural dimensions. Now, it is being discussed in the multicultural societies how to integrate the social, cultural and transnational dimensions in the citizenship of people.

Carl Dahlman explains that “diaspora is often predicated on transnational social relations. However, transnationalism is not a sufficient condition for diasporas, which additionally imply a common sense of territorial identity among its members, nor are all transnational relations diasporic” (Dahlman 2004: 486).

Conclusion

We can agree with Greenblatt (2010) that it is indeed a fantasy to imagine that in the past there was the existence of a very well knitted and consistent ethnic community unaffected by any kind of outward influence. It has been an established notion that in the past there was the stability of cultures deeply rooted in the soil and blood of the people who were sharing them. Culture was being seen as stationary before they got disrupted with the blatant process of history. From this perspective, some cultures were/are celebrated for their profoundness and legitimacy, and others are ridiculed for their illegitimacy, inconsistency, hollowness, disruptions and ruptures.

Goethe in 1826 wrote that “Perhaps people will soon be persuaded ... that there is no patriotic art and no patriotic science. Both belong, like everything good, to the whole world and can be promoted only through general, free interaction among all who live at the same time” (Quoted in Greenblatt 2010: 4). Greenblatt points out that these words of Goethe lie at the heart of what Goethe called Weltliteratur, world literature, which he conceived of as a ceaseless process of exchange across the borders of nations and cultures (Quoted in Greenblatt 2010: 4). It is only through the free interaction among the people and cultures existence in the contemporary period will create a more humane world. This interaction among the cultures and people will certainly challenge the national and ethnic exclusivity.

The cultural routes are at work everywhere and every time, and these cultural routes facilitate mobility among cultures and people. Goethe hoped that “enhanced cultural mobility would foster a new cosmopolitanism, an unregulated free trade in expression and feeling, an epoch of global respect ...” (Quoted in Greenblatt: 6). The realization of mobility will certainly foster tolerance among people and cultures. And it will also lead to a more cosmopolitan feeling and belonging.

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Engaging Diaspora through Foreign Policy: A Study of Indian Health Diplomacy in Mauritius during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

In the Contemporary world order, Indian Diaspora emerges as an important element of India's foreign policy. These Diasporic communities are playing a major role in the policy formulation and implementation process of host and home countries. They are the key drivers of the development efforts strengthening bilateral relations among the country of origin and destination. Present date health is the most discussed issue in global politics because of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Now securing the standard of health and protecting life has one of the primary concerns of nations. India's engagement in global health diplomacy is not only for the economic benefits but also to create a global political engagement through goodwill gesture. Recent steps of Indian Government have been Diaspora centric and health diplomacy of India during the current pandemic was largely focused on the countries having large presence of Indian communities. India has a strong Diaspora in Mauritius and those constitutes nearly 70% of the total population of the country. This paper mainly focuses on the socio-economic conditions, political status, and cultural practices of Indian Diaspora in Mauritius. It examines Diaspora as a factor in India- Mauritius relations with special attention on COVID-19 Pandemic and emphasize on India's health diplomacy to formulate strategies for enhancing ties of India with her Global Diaspora.

Key Words- Health Diplomacy, Covid-19, Diaspora, Foreign policy and Political engagement, Policymakers

Delineation of the Theme

Hitherto, Diaspora has emerged as an important determinant of foreign policy, especially of India. Diasporas are frequently used as Indian's identity builder and image protector abroad. They are emerged as powerful entities of foreign policy strategy and an agent or catalyst of development of the mother country besides their active role in the host countries. The Diasporas have been widely used as an important device in cultural and public

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diplomacy. Now Indian policymakers give importance to the Diasporic group that are living in different parts of the world. There is a sizable number of Indian Diaspora living inland of Mauritius. In the report of the ministry of external affairs reveals that approximately 8,94,500 (10,500NRI and 8,84,000PIO) ethnic Indians staying in this country (Government of India, 2018). They are the largest ethnic group with a strength of 70% of the total population. This Diaspora creates a bridge between India and Mauritius. History has shown that both countries enjoy very good relations not only culturally but also in the dimensions of politics, economy, and global affairs. Even since independence of Mauritius in 1968 its foreign policy remains India centric. Similarly, this country has been in the high priority agenda of Indian foreign policy calculations. The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has brought serious economic implications for Mauritius and many people got infected by this disease. Through health diplomacy, India helped Indo-Mauritian people to fight with chaotic situation by providing medicines, medical equipment's and even opening hospitals especially designated to treat this disease.

The island of Mauritius was first discovered by the Portuguese in 1510. After that Dutch and French arrived at this land. Still, the French language and culture were noticed among these Mauritian people. Few Indian's arrived in this land during the French period. After establishment of British supremacy in the Mauritius, Indians were brought here as indentured labours under the *girmitya system* to undertake activities of sugar plantation. The system was officially started with the arrival of Atlas ship from India with 36 indentured labourers on board on 2 November 1834. It is estimated that about 4,20,000 Indians were transported under this system till 1920 (Government of India, 2001). Most of these *girmityas* were Bihari, Telugu, and Tamil. Many people also migrated as free passage mostly from Gujarat and Punjab. Subsequently, few *girmitya* moved to other professions like armed forces, police forces, and security personnel; also, some of them got engaged in trades, businesses, and mercantile activities (Bhatia, 2016). Indian Diaspora in Mauritius enjoys political dominance and holds a major stake in the economy. These Indians still maintain their culture and celebrate their religious practices. This provides strong base for cordial relations between India and Mauritius. This is reflected in strong ties of both countries in political, economic, cultural, and strategic domains. Both countries enjoy unique relationship with common stand in multilateral forums, strong economic linkages, and frequent visits of dignitaries from either of the side. Mauritius

hold distinction of single largest source of foreign direct investment in India since decades. Due to providence of Indian cultural values in Mauritius it is also referred as- little India in African continent. There are many socio-religious organizations of Diaspora groups truly engaged in protection and promotion of Indianness among people of Mauritius. To mark the arrival of indentured labourers in the country, every year Mauritius celebrates- 2 November as Aapravasi Divas (Kasenally, 2011). The Aapravasi Ghat where first voyage of Indians arrived is still preserved as museum which is recognized as world heritage site by UNESCO. Thus, this paper analyzes how Diaspora has been a factor in Indian foreign policy with the specific reference to Indian health diplomacy in the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.

Health Diplomacy in Indian Foreign Policy

In simple meaning, foreign policy means the external behavior of a nation towards the other nation. In another way we can say that it is the spokesperson of the national interests. In the post-independence period, Non Alignment Movement (NAM) was the guiding principle of Indian foreign policy until the end of the cold war. However, since 1990's LPG came into force and India liberalized their policy in all sectors and moved closer to the capitalist model. In the post cold war era Indian Diaspora occupied a central position in the Indian foreign policy and successive governments have tried to enhance engagement of overseas Indians in the development process of motherland. Similarly, Indian assistance to foreign countries in terms of grants, aids and soft loans has been substantially increased to the nations having significant population of ethnic Indians. Due to the Covid-19 outbreak when all nations are trying to survive its own; guided by the classical wisdom of *Vasudaiv Kutumbkam* (Universal Brotherhood) India has extended helping hands to different nations in all possible manner to mitigate impacts of this global crisis. In this need of the hours, India approached to multilateral agencies- SAARC, G-20, NAM etc. and provided essential medicines, expert teams, and HCQ tablets for several developing countries (Pant and Maan, 2020). Along with that India is trying to make a serious attempt in enhancing nontraditional security issues and address health challenges (Chattu, 2017). Addressing health challenges faced by these countries are the crucial part of Indian health diplomacy. Diplomacy is defined as the art of negotiations. Now health became the most discussed issue in global politics. India's health diplomacy towards their neighbours not only for mutual benefit also it can provide a platform for soft power. India contextualizing its health diplomacy during this COVID-19 period emerged as a prominent nation-

state in the global spear. Addressing a webinar at MIT World Peace University, Indian Foreign Secretary Harsh Vardhan Shringla rightly “Health diplomacy is a subset of this larger machinery of multilateral diplomacy, the relationship between health and foreign policy the cutting edge of global health diplomacy” (The Print, 2020). Considering the global health security and Millennium Development Goals our foreign policymakers are paying more attention to health aspects (Kickbusch, 2009). Thus, in current stage health diplomacy occupies central stage in Indian Foreign Policy and we can truly say that health diplomacy is one of the strategies of India to create a favorable image in Global spear.

Evolution of Diaspora Centric Indian Foreign Policy

Diasporic communities have always acted as a point of link between the motherland and the host country. In a true sense, they are the bridge builders in terms of philanthropy, knowledge transfer, and investment in innovation, education skills, entrepreneurship, and assistance for other developmental projects. In twenty-first century, the world is so interconnected that no nation can survive by its own, they are bound to depend on others for their fulfillment of requirements. Indian policymakers have increasingly recognized inherent potentials of Diaspora to enrich our bilateral and multilateral relations which has led to emergence of India’s Diaspora diplomacy. Approximately 31 million Indian Diasporic population is spread in almost every corner of the world. Until the end of the cold war India pursued a policy of ‘active disengagement’ with its diaspora. However, Diaspora became an important source of investment and remittances since early 1990s. Unprecedented success of ‘Resurgent India Bonds’ and ‘India Millennium Fund’ in 1998 to tackle the economic problems emerged as a consequence of economic sanctions imposed by various countries in the aftermath of nuclear tests conducted by India. Subsequently, Indian Diaspora has been an important source of India for remittances. According to reports of the World Bank India has retained highest ranking in the world in terms of recipient of remittances since over a decade. Major share of remittances is sent by NRI’s, especially from oil rich West Asian countries. These remittances are used in the socio-economic development of the country including education, poverty reduction, construction, and all-round development of the rural areas (Gupta and Chaudhary, 2012). India constituted High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora which submitted its detailed report in 2001. As per recommendations of the report India began celebration of Pravasi Bhartiya Divas and launched Know India Programme

(KIP). India also introduced Overseas Indian Citizenship Scheme to facilitate engagement of people of Indian origin (PIO) in the affairs of India. (Challagalla, 2018).

Profile of Indian Diaspora in Mauritius

India can extremely proud of its Diaspora because these Diaspora are getting achievements in various fields like political, economic, cultural, and scientific. They can promote the name of India in abroad. Like that many Indians are living in Mauritius and they have played important role in the political and cultural sectors. Now they became played an active role in the economic sector. When Mauritius became independent, it can be mainly inhabitant by Indian indentured laborers. Indian Diaspora in Mauritius is heterogeneous in terms of social, class, caste, religion, and language among the population. Mainly Indo- Mauritians come from this island as sugar plantation workers. After the abolition of indenturship, they can work as clerks, priests, merchants, and belonging from the higher castes society (Claveyrolas, 2015). Those are belonging to Hindu society can celebrate some festivals like Holi, Diwali, Maha Shivaratri, Eid, Ganesh Chaturthi and so on. The Indian community on this island is active in promoting Indian culture and Indian festivals. Still they practicing their food habit and rituals . They can speak their native language to interact with their family and friends. Also they worshipping God like Shiva, Krishna, Vishnu (Tiwari, 2020). The Indo- Mauritian population follow the Indian culture as well as celebrates the other communities life style. Indians living in Mauritius celebrates their culture and rituals along with respect all the culture celebrates in this land. Some of the Indo- Mauritians are follow Indian marriage style . Usually Indian culture is the dominant culture in Mauritius. Daily rituals of Hinduism were played a major role in Mauritian public life. Indians are set up many Hindu temples and gurudwaras in this island. ‘Ganga Talao’ was famous among Indians living in Mauritius. Hindu sub-community living in Mauritius assembles so many ‘socio-cultural associations’ some of them are Rajput Mahasabah, The organization of the Rajput caste or Vaish Mukti Sangh, etc. (Tiwari, 2020).

Apart from that Indians in Mauritius played a vital role in the political process. In the Mauritian parliament, many Indians hold important elected posts. There are 36% are reserved by Indian origin. In the changing relations of India and Mauritius, there are many higher posts and political power has been driven by Indian descendants. After many decades of distance, Mauritius relations with India witnessed a revival of cultural, political, and

economic links. In the political term, we can say that it emerges as a Hindu hegemony. Caste system was played a major role in the Mauritian politics. In economic terms Indians are not only take active part but there contribution not less than others. Basically Mauritius economy was based on the tourism sector. Socio-economic conditions of Indians in Mauritius are really good. Majority of Indians are enjoys all the facilities of a higher class society (Trnka, 2008). Apart from the political and cultural in health sector also Indian's are very conscious community in comparison to other Diasporic communities.

Role of Indian Diaspora in Indo-Mauritius Relations

Mauritius was known as Little India of the Southwest Indian Ocean because of a huge number of presences of Indian Diaspora. Mauritius shares a very cordial relation with India since her independence. The presence of Indian's in Mauritius transforming the Indo-Mauritius bilateral relations. Mauritius also benefits in several sectors for the ancestral Diaspora like India. Both these countries treat the Diaspora as asset. In the British period, Indians came here as indentured labourers and subsequently occupied central stage in the different walk of life. In the post-colonial period, Hinduism is the most followed religion in Mauritius (Chand, 2015). Ganga Talao is a famous sacred Hindu place in Mauritius which can show the greatness of Indian culture followed by the Indian Diaspora. Apart from that Indians are celebrated all the festivals and special occasions to maintain their cultural identity. There are several Mauritians are culturally Indian. Diplomatic relations between India and Mauritius were established in 1948. From the 1820s Indian workers started coming to Mauritius to work on sugar plantations. From 1834 when slavery was abolished by the British Parliament, many Indian workers began to be brought to Mauritius as indentured laborers. In 1834 Nov 2 marks the day when the ship 'Atlas' land in Mauritius carrying the first batch of Indians indentured laborers (Sinha, 2017). The day is now mainly observed in Mauritius as Aapravasi Day. When Mauritius gained independence from UK in 1968 the new form government under the leadership of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the first Prime Minister first give centrality to India to countries' foreign policy. That can remain constant. Now in terms of economy, India is Mauritius's largest trading partner and the biggest exporter of goods and services. Mauritius holds so many Indian commercial activities in the South Western Indian Ocean. Now it became the hub for film cities, tourism which can attract foreigners towards their beauty. For the support of India Mauritius represents a new investment in Africa for African economic outreach, also contributes

to creating a regional center for technological innovation (Srebrnik, 1999). There are many companies are registered in Mauritius which was the largest source of FDI in India. Mauritius is one of the largest beneficiary countries of the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program. In India, around 100 ICCR scholarships are extended annually to Mauritian students for higher education. Approximately 200 Mauritian students enroll themselves in Indian universities every year on a self-financing basis. India holds the fourth rank in terms of Mauritian students studying in overseas educational institutions. There are a sizeable number of Indians hold OCI and PIO card in Mauritius. In October 2004 Mauritius government increase tourism inflow in India introduced a visa-free regime for Indian tourists. There is a not required visa for Indian tourists visiting Mauritius for 60 days. Mauritian's visiting India through the E- Tourists Visas. This is an example taken from the AWEC (African Women Entrepreneurship Cooperative) Nandini Tanya Lallmon; she is a lawyer also a social activist from Mauritius. Her great grandfather was emigrated from India to Mauritius and stay here. Now Tanya is part of an Indian Diaspora in Mauritius (AWEC, 2019). That is keen to be building a link between both countries. She was selected by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to represent Mauritius in the 53rd Know India Programme (KIP). After Modi became the Prime Minister the relationship between India and Mauritius are shaping in a new form. Now Delhi point Indian Diaspora as a tool of our foreign policy and diplomatically use it for the improvement of India and Mauritius relations. To look into the present situation during the COVID-19 pandemic India helps Mauritius in every possible manner, behind the liberal motive of Indian policymakers to create strong ties with Indian Diaspora and resetting the relationship with Mauritius in the present days.

Indian Health Diplomacy in Mauritius during COVID-19 Pandemic

India and Mauritius enjoy a time-tested relationship with effectively no areas of disagreements. This has led to successful completion of many projects in Mauritius. During the recent visit of Mauritius Indian Prime Minister Shri Modi met to his counterpart Shri Anerood Jugnauth and strengthen India's unique relations by signing several memoranda of understandings (MOU's) including an agreement to facilitate sea and air transport. To bolstering bilateral ties India recently built Supreme Court in the island nation. In this last year Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Mauritian Prime Minister Pravind Jugnauth jointly inaugurated a hospital in Mauritius built by India. This hospital is currently being extensively used in

the Corona virus situation. There are many other ongoing and earlier partnerships in health sector including Ayush and traditional medicine fields. Both these countries participated in online meeting Non-Aligned Movement group contact on COVID-19. Recently, two senior experts from Mauritius participated in International Ayush Conference in India (The Indian Express, 2020).

Even a cursory glance of contemporary history reveals that India has extended support to the people of Mauritius in every field. In the health sector India provides medical equipment's for the improvement of health condition. India continues to support Mauritius to contain Covid crisis sends around 10 tones Ayurvedic medicines and an Indian medical assistance team part of INS Kesari to work with the Mauritian health authorities. It was arranged by Indian government at the request of the Mauritius government. In 15th April India provides 13 tones essential medicines to Mauritius by the Air India flight including 0.5 million tablets of Hydroxychloroquine. INS Kesari was the part of mission 'SAGAR' which was articulated by Prime Minister Modi that reflects the India's commitment towards the maritime neighbors in Indian Ocean Region (Sibal, 2020). Through these 'operation Sagar' India sent consignment medicines and 14 medical team to help Mauritian people and contribute developmental, financial, technical, and educational assistance for this island (Choudhury, 2020). As the report of Indian High Commissioner in Mauritius Tanmaya Lal, the government of Mauritius helps to take care of Indian nationals here. When an Indian worker was confirmed in positive case, they assisted the testing and provide other requirements that are needed. There are many Indians who want to return India including hotel interns, students, tourists, workers and other professionals. The Indian Government officers are regular touch with them and provide special passes, transport and medicines during this curfew. To engage with them three help lines are working in 24x7. With the help of Mauritius govt. the Indian officers provides essential products for those who are facing major problems (Tanmayala, 2020). Apart from health India is the largest development partner and net provider of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief in the Indian Ocean region. In recent Mauritius passes major oil spill crisis, to pull out this crisis India has dispatched over 30 tones of technical equipment's and materials. It shows that India wants to maintain cordial relations with this Island country and the expectations of Mauritius from India were obviously very high, especially from the dominant Diaspora.

Prime Minister Jugnauth quoted that "contribution of Indian Diaspora

can help the India grow and India can help grow the countries where the Diaspora located through the development opportunities initiated for them to work with each other". Connection of Diaspora can be powerful instrument of face the increasing challenges of multilateralism. There are so many project like mass transit system, new supreme court premises and modern ENT hospital are both India and Mauritius have mutual benefit. India helped Mauritius economically, militarily and diplomatically, thus Mauritius remains India's major trading partner, investment route and friend with shared culture in the Indian Ocean(The Indian Express, 2020). During this Pandemic India have the opportunity to show their liberal attitude through these health diplomacies towards their extended neighbors. That can be showing the warm and cordial relations between India and Mauritius. For that India creates a good image not only in regional level also in Global spear, also have positive impact in our Foreign policy and creates favorable image of India among the Diasporic populations.

Challenges and Opportunities in the post pandemic period

The world is now crossing in a critical juncture in the COVID- 19 pandemic and some countries are in the dangerous zone. Both India and Mauritius are facing various challenges in different sector. Mauritius is now managing and avoiding the spread of COVID-19 in domestic level. The country has also managed the economic implications of the rest of the world including India and China. Both India and Mauritius have some opportunities and challenges in the post pandemic world. India use this time asaopportunities to revise their vision for its extended neighbourhood. Previously Mauritius became the part of India's ocean diplomacy but now India take it as a part of Health diplomacy. It can be help India further to develop strategy in the blue economy. Because India and Mauritius relations are totally close, largely conflict free and driven by its Diaspora. Mauritius also use this situation and get benefit from India in all sector. It's time for India to take utilize close ties with this smaller island neighboursto tackle challenges posed by increasing Chinese's engagement in Indian ocean and Africa.Mauritius must be considered as and an integral part of the new security architecture of India in the Indian Ocean Region and Africa. In the foreign policy point of view there is a global competition and great power rivalry in the Indian Ocean. These are some reasons that India face challenges in last few decades. In the post pandemic world Mauritian government will need major consideration to revive the economy which is hampered by the pandemic. The major challenge that Mauritius is facing today is in the tourism

sector which is the backbone of Mauritian economy. Temporary closure of the international airports and other travel lines are causing huge loss to the people and government of Mauritius. Mauritius needs to diversify its economy and encourages in financial sector to move faster in a strategic direction. In this moment Mauritius can make the shift towards e-payments and e-commerce for the individual level. Mauritius also need to strong promotion in the tourism and manufacturing sector in the post pandemic period to stable their condition it can be ensure equal support for all the members of the society (Bax, 2020). Indian Diaspora basically PIO's facing issues in India that Indian government required documents to get Overseas Citizen of India Cards, which most of them are unable to provide because their ancestors left India in more than several years. Indian government must evolve a mechanism to address issues of its Diaspora which will be crucial in post pandemic period.

Conclusion

As the world grapples with a major crisis after the outbreak of COVID-19, India have the missions across the world to help their Diaspora living in different parts of the world. As the report of the Indian High Commissions and Ministry of External Affairs, Indian students and interns those are staying in Mauritius in this time the government should supply them food and other essential items. Mauritius was known for its well-developed health care system in Africa. The government provides free of charge primary, secondary, and specialized medical care to all citizens including primary health care to foreigners. The Mauritius government set up high level virus committee to saw all the activities going on their country. The government manage this crisis in very well manner. Now there are a smaller number of people affected by this virus and it became the first African country to get Corona virus under control. After a long time of lockdown now the government has tries to open the international airport and open the industries and engage the employees in the workforce with proper sanitization. Mauritius also facilitated many African countries to deal with the health emergency caused by this pandemic. Support rendered by India through supply of medicines, equipment's and development of health infrastructure is well regarded by the people and government of Mauritius. India's Prime minister Shri Narendra Modi also congratulated for the effective management of COVID-19 pandemic and expressed his happiness as India able to support the Mauritian population including Indian Diaspora living in Mauritius. It was really pleasure to India that The Indian government help

Mauritius and timely supplies of Medicines and other necessary equipment's. Looking into this matter we can said that India clarify their foreign policy principles in a true manner. Our Prime minister also said that, " Both India and Mauritius respect our independent judiciaries as important pillars of our democratic systems" (IANS, 2020). Not only in health sector there are also many other sector India help Mauritius as par the needed. The building of courts as the symbol of bilateral partnership between two countries. During the oil spill also, India help its Ocean partner.

Thus, health diplomacy should be seen as the new strategy of India to connect with their Diasporas and get some benefit from them and use it for our nations development process. It is the limitation of Indian government that still there is no specific policy towards the Indian Diasporas living in Mauritius. But day to day our policy makers creates new policy and engage the Diasporas which can be work as an bridge between two countries. Health Diplomacy is one of the strategies of India during this crisis to reshape the relations with their extended neighbours like Mauritius and resetting the relationship with Indian Diaspora living in Mauritius.

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Potential of Historical Tourism in India

Dr. Mahendra Pal Singh

Abstract

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries of the world. It plays a vital role in the economic development of a country. India is one of the popular tourist destinations in Asia. Bounded by the Himalyan ranges in the north and surrounded on three sides by water. India offers a wide array of places to see and things to do.

In India, throughout the country, there are historical places and monuments. When individuals plan a trip to these historical places or monuments, then it is termed as historical tourism. The individuals may be from within the country or outside the country. The development of historical tourism involves number of aspects to be taken into consideration. These are infrastructure development, product development, human resource development, promotion and marketing, co-ordination, marketing strategies, competitiveness, positioning tourism as a national priority, development of digital technology and heritage tourism division.

The tourism department is required to put into practice important functions in order to ensure the development and growth of not only historical tourism, but also other forms of tourism within the country.

Key Words:- Historical Ranges, Marketing Strategies, Digital Technology, Heritage Tourism.

Introduction:- India is known to be amongst the earliest of the places on planet where civilizations flourished. It is renowned for its rich cultural and historical background. Tourism flourishes on the history of the country. It is regarded as an integral part of history, particularly in India. History figures prominently in promotional literature. Many destinations have always been promoted through their historicity.

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries of the world. It plays a vital role in the economic development of a country. India is one of the popular tourist destinations in Asia. Bounded by the Himalyan ranges in the north and surrounded on three sides by water. India offers a wide array of places to see and things to do. The enchanting backwaters, hill stations and landscapes make India a beautiful country. They attract tourists from all over the world.

India has a composite culture. There is a harmonious blend of art, religion

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and philosophy. Though India has been subjected to a series of Invasions, she has retained her originality even after absorbing the best of the external influences. Religions like Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism etc have co-existed in India. India has fascinated people from all over the world with her secularism and her culture.

Besides its cultural heritage, India is well-known for its natural surroundings, the architectural masterpieces, paintings, arts and crafts, heritage sites, creativity, ethnicity, music, dance, customs, mountains, valleys, beaches and rivers. All these aspects render a significant contribution in making the country a tourist paradise. Though India had acquired prominence and status as a tourist centre during the days of the early rulers of various dynasties. There have been implementation of planned efforts with the main emphasis put towards the organization of the process of growth and development of the tourism industry. India has been under the British rule for more than three centuries. There are number of inventions and developments that they brought about within the country and for this purpose, they made organised efforts towards the promotion of tourism in 1945. The Government of India recognized that it is essential to put into practice the measures for the development of tourism.

Historical tourism is primarily focused upon historical places. The individuals make visits to these places with the purpose of leisure as well as acquiring information. The main purpose of this research paper is to acquire an understanding and significance of historical tourism.

The Need for History of Tourism

The history of tourism was for a long time the history of European tourism, the assumption being that tourism was most developed in Europe. However there emerged a school of historians which integrated economics, statistics, scientific methodology, anthropology and sociology to develop an interdisciplinary approach to the history of tourism. Yet their methodology was limited in time as the statistical study of tourism is recent origin. But they have identified sources that can be used to reconstruct the history of a period for which the statistical basis may not exist. As a result we can apply this method to develop the history of tourism on a global as well as national scale.

The main stream objective to study the history of tourism is to understand the phenomenon in a particular society at a particular time. We do so in order to know the factors that encourage tourism development as

well as the factors that discourage the growth of tourism. Moreover a study of the history can help us to illustrate a dynamic model of tourism development. We can evaluate the role of tourism as well as establish concepts that help us to understand its impacts.

Early Civilizations

Civilizations developed around 10,000 BC to 8000 BC in the Neolithic period when people began living together and developed settlements. Instead of constantly moving about in search of food, man started using his intelligence and took control over nature. Trade began amongst various settlements and the need for better transportation was felt. Travel on horseback began and was popular with the military movement to acquire land and conquer tribes. By 5000 BC, water transportation in the form of rafts and canoes propelled by poles or paddles were developed for the use in rivers, lakes and streams. The development of the wheel around 3500-3000 BC by the Sumerians, ancient inhabitants of southern Mesopotamia, was a major landmark in the travel industry.

In Asia, India was the most developed region and the Indus Valley Civilization was the earliest civilization recorded in 3000 BC, during the Iron Age, followed by the Vedic period in 2000 BC. The excavations of Mohenjo-Daro in Sind and Harappa in Punjab are ample evidence of that era. Remains of modern cities with well developed houses, streets, drainage systems, common baths and large courtyards have been unearthed. Seals of trade in terracotta have been found in Mohenjo-Daro which is evidence that people indulged in trade. The advent of civilization created one of the most important reasons for travel and it was during this period that the first signs of a tourism industry were visible. Inns appeared at prominent centers of trade to offer hospitality to the weary trader.

The Imperial Era

Tourism was established during the early empires of Egypt, Persia, Rome, China and India. Road networks were laid for travelers, transport was made available, accommodation was provided for the traveler and the beast of burden, wells were dug for water, and security pickets were set up. Apart from travelling for trade purpose, the aristocrats' travelled in style they enjoy the comforts of their home away from home. Road systems with bridges and aqueducts built for military purposes, became an excellent tourism infrastructure for the Romans and were used for trade and pleasure tourism.

Wealthy Greeks and Romans travelled to Athens, Rome and other cities to participate in or observe sporting competitions and performing arts events. Some travelled to the Oracles to pay homage to the numerous gods. Travellers were attracted all over the world to participate in festivals held in honour of the Gods. Apart from the Greek and Roman civilizations, other sophisticated civilizations were being established which have contributed significantly towards modern tourism.

India's wealth and rich treasures were exposed to the Western world only after the Persian and Macedonian invasions in India. The Mauryan Emperor Ashoka was responsible for the spurt in development of formal travel facilities. Emperor Ashoka's kingdom extended from Nepal in the north, to Tamil Nadu in the south and from Kabul in the west to Bangladesh in the east. After his great conquest and the sight of bloodshed, he left the administration of his vast kingdom to his officers and adopted the Buddhist teachings. The grand trunk routes were improved further, trees were planted along roadways, and Ashoka pillars with his doctrine etched on them, were erected. Rest houses were constructed along the grand trunk routes for the comfort of the travelers.

The Silk Route

The Silk Route or Silk Road was a major trade route for caravans carrying silk and other luxury items from China to India and the Middle East which began as early as 2000 BC, and flourished during the Kushan Empire from 50 AD to 200 AD. The Kushan emperors opened and protected the silk road. It is most important link in the movement of people from east to west to exchange silk, muslin, porcelain, tea, rice and spices or for the purpose of trade. This trading gave the travelers an experience of present tourism i.e. seeing new places, cultures, interacting with people, exchanging ideas and learning new processes. In spite of the hazardous route, travel was undertaken and profits were high.

The Industrial Era

The Industrial Revolution, which occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was a period when major changes occurred in agriculture, manufacturing and transportation. It started in Britain and subsequently spread throughout the world. One of the first products of the Industrial Revolution to affect tourism was the development of the steam engine. Steam engines were used in the industries for manufacturing and also for transportation. Steam powered ships and railways hastened the

speed of travel.

Rail travel initiated the first form of mass travel, as a large number of people could be moved around at a relatively low cost. In 1841, Thomas Cook, the pioneer travel agent organized a special train to carry 570 passengers from Leicester to Loughborough to attend a meeting. In 1843, he took nearly 3000 school children on a trip from Leicester to Derby. He introduced the concept of chartered transport and package tours which resulted in a spurt in pleasure travel.

Tourism in the Modern Period

The Rail network in India placed the needs for recreation within the reach of an increasingly large number of people who had leisure time and the means to enjoy it. Air India came into existence with the enactment of Air Corporations Act on 1st August 1963, when the entire air transport industry in India was nationalised. At the time of nationalisation, Air India operated four weekly flights on the India/UK route and three flights fortnightly on the India/Nairobi route. Today, it has an extended network of air routes linking all the five continents of the globe. Air India organises special programmes to give a wide publicity for projecting India. Soon, Indian Airlines began, with a view to establishing an air transport network to link the remotest places in India. Today, Indian Airlines has expanded its wings to nearby countries as well. They have introduced many schemes and offers like the Discover India package, *. Leave Travel Concessions encouraged domestic tourism. Concessions for the youth and students also promoted travel within the country.

In the early 1960's The ITDC (India Tourism Development Corporation) was started to provide western comforts to International visitors. The ITDC played a major role as a catalyst in developing a modern superstructure (eg, The Ashoka group of hotels) for International tourists. The government set up infrastructure to promote tourism by establishing Air India and tourism promotion offices in London and Frankfurt. The tourism cell in the Ministry of Aviation was upgraded into a department. The private sector was invited to establish luxury facilities for the high spending tourist. The first pioneer in this field was Mohan Singh Oberoi, who began his career in the hotel business with the Clarks Hotel in Shimla and the Grand Hotel in Calcutta.

Tourism both domestic and international, is growing at a rapid pace in India. The air-transport network is expanding with new players entering

the competition and airports with modern facilities are being constructed in major cities. The development of labour unions and government legislations brought about a reduction in work hours and paid vacations which prompted people to travel. Though the average work hours are once again on the rise, the increase in disposable income, and the realization of the need to de-stress, has people planning weekend getaways at the first opportunity.

Modern tourism after the 1980's gained momentums. Economic analysis specified the tourism industry as the most lucrative foreign exchange earner and a vital aspect in the country's social and economic development. Domestic tourism in India is as old as its birth. It plays a vital role in national integration, cultural cohesion and as well as generates new sources of employment. The increase in income levels and emergence of a powerful middle-class tourism potential has grown during the last few decades. Since tourism is basically a service industry with multidimensional activities, all wings of the central and state governments, private sector and voluntary organizations should actively participate in the growth of tourism to make India a world player in the tourism industry.

Development of Historical Tourism

The development of historical tourism is necessary for the growth and development of the country. The main areas in the ninth plan that have led to the development of tourism have been stated as follows:.

Infrastructure Development:-The development of the selected tourist places and areas for integrated infrastructure development are considered important. Since most of the infrastructural constituents and delivery systems are within the purview of the state Governments or private sector, the infrastructure for tourism is primarily to be developed by providing financial assistance to state governments and union territories and by providing various incentives to the private entrepreneurs. When the development of tourism takes place, then it is vital to bring about development in the infrastructural facilities. In all types of tourism and not only historical tourism, the individuals transfer from one place to another, hence, it is vital to make improvements in roads, infrastructure and other modes of transportation.

Product Development: - Diversification of tourism takes into consideration, holiday and leisure tourism. India has an appearance, which identifies the country as only a cultural tourist destination. But any major attempt has not been made to present its diverse attractions nor developed in an appropriate manner to bring it to the suitable standards of the tourists.

A conscious policy has been implemented for the diversification and improvement of tourism products of the country, including the cultural tourist attractions. Promotion of festivals and fairs, rural craft fairs etc. renovation of monuments and heritage buildings, flood lighting and sound and light shows, development of traveler centers, development of precise circuits through external assistance, discovering new source markets in regions and countries having cultural affinity, initiation of national image building and marketing plans in the main markets, providing economic accommodation in different tourist centers and improving service efficacy in the public sector corporation are the main aspects of product development.

Human Resource Development:- Human resource development to meet the needs of tourism industries is a major responsibility of the central government. It was decided to be achieved through the services of the National Council for Hotel Management and Catering Technology; Indian Institute of Tourism & Travel Management; Indian Institute of Skiing and Mountaineering; National Institute of Water Sports, Goa; guide training courses; training of trainees in collaboration with the Department of Personnel and Training. All such training will make provision of rationalized knowledge in terms of the emerging trends in the tourism field in terms of its various segments and improved in the efficiency of the service providers.

Promotion and Marketing:- India is a multi-destination country with a diversity of tourist attractions and facilities. It however, experiences from the problems of economic under-development, including insufficient basic infrastructure, lack of hygiene, cleanliness in public places etc. On the other hand, there is severe competition in tourist generating market from several nations for attracting a large share of the traffic to their countries. Thus, special emphasis was put upon to strengthen its promotional and marketing efforts to maintain its existing market share as also to penetrate into new markets, like Korea, South Africa, Israel, and C.I.S countries. Measures were implemented to undertake market research and marketing segmentation analysis. The promotional efforts of the overseas field offices are to be augmented and incorporated with the efforts of Indian missions and other agencies abroad. Air India, Indian Airlines sales offices abroad also lead to an increase in the efforts of the Ministry of Tourism.

The particular elements of promotional efforts abroad include, advertising, printing of brochures in local languages, brochures support, joint advertising with tour operators and travel agents, promotion of charters, production of promotional aids, multi-vision presentations, festivals

celebrated within the country, production of films and audio-visuals in local languages, trade posters, dynamic seminars and tourism talk shows, direct mail and correspondence, involvement in tourism trade fairs, media relations and hospitality program, continuous market research and analysis, road shows at the strategic centres, regional promotions with state tourism delegations and special thematic promotions, i.e. Ayurveda, MICE etc.

Co-ordination:- Tourism comprises of the activities of the individuals, travelling to and staying in places outside their normal environment for a not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes. These individuals habitually seek an agreeable and delightful experience on their trips. The characteristics of the tourism products are, they should be an environment of peace and friendliness, an assurance of safety and security, appropriate hospitality services, and there should be provision of facilities and civic amenities. These include, clean drinking water, libraries, reading rooms, gymnasiums, restrooms, restaurants, coffee shops, parks, sports facilities and so forth. When these facilities are available in the living accommodation or in educational institutions, then the individuals are able to manage their stay appropriately and take pleasure in all the activities.

Marketing Strategies: – Effective marketing strategies would be developed to differentiate the products of the country from the competing destination to undertake market research to identify and assemble an operative product to a major extent. In India, efforts are been made by the individuals and there are even utilization of modern and innovative techniques and methods in the production processes. In the production of products as well as in providing services, individuals are making use of modern approaches. Apart from the utilization of modern approaches, it is vital for the individuals to inculcate among them, the skills and abilities, so that they can render an operative contribution in improving productivity.

Competitiveness:- Competitiveness of India as a tourist destination would be improved by the rapid issuance of visas and permit, computerization of the process of visa issues, improving air capacity to India, and improving the standard of facilities at the international and major domestic airports and by forming rules and policies. In some cases, the lack of competitiveness and rules and policies would impose detrimental effects. The lack of rules and policies would not enable the individuals to maintain discipline and implement the tasks in the systematic and a methodical manner. Improvements in the standards would enable to lead to an increase in the number of tourists within the country.

Positioning Tourism as a National Priority: - Tourism would be placed as a national priority by including it in the concurrent list of the Constitution of India, providing operative connections between Departments and Ministries, setting up Tourism Advisory Council, adopting tourism satellite account system, and by implementing a professionally managed national tourism awareness campaign. When tourism has been positioned as a national priority, then the main objective is, the destinations, architecture, aesthetics, artworks, handicrafts, traditions, cultures, norms and values of the country should be preserved in such a manner that it should attract tourists from throughout the world.

Development of Digital Technology:—The development of digital technology for marketing would be applied to enable tourism organizations in helping to promote their destination projects by the internet and other growing inter active multimedia platforms. In the present existence, when individuals are planning their trips, they make use of technology to a major extent in not only obtaining information regarding the place, but also in carrying out various tasks and functions, such as, booking the tickets, accommodation, transportations modes and so forth. The use of digital technology is regarded as an integral part of one's existence and is crucial in the implementation of tasks and activities. In the present existence, technology has gained prominence for the individuals, therefore, in some of the accommodation facilities and hotels, there is provision of free WI-FI connections that enable the individuals to have access to the internet all the time. As through this facility, individuals are able to search information in terms of all the areas.

Heritage Tourism Division:- The Heritage Tourism Division implements its projects through its technical divisions and the chapters as these projects require multidisciplinary inputs and proficiency. The Heritage Tourism Division is engaged in a wide range of activities, these are, re-use of heritage property for various cultural purposes; facilitating the marketing and promotion of the various heritage sites and destinations, identified by INTACH; identifying unexplored heritage destinations and circuits for tourism; identifying, developing and promoting heritage villages; developing of heritage interpretation centers with signs; specifying heritage tours and walks at identified places using the listings of INTACH and promoting them through INTACH chapters; developing training modules for guides of heritage sites; providing advice on issues connected with heritage properties and hotels; conducting tourism impact assessment studies to assess the impact

of tourism on heritage sites, conserving socio-economic political and economic aspects and tourist surveys and providing inputs to the Central and State Governments on heritage tourism policies.

Components of Tourism Development

The basic requirements for understanding the planning of tourism is the knowledge of the components of tourism development and their inter relationships. There are various categories of these components but some basic components are always included in any plan that is prepared. For the purpose of the planning approach used in this course, the components are classified as:-

■ **Tourist Attractions and Activities:-** All those natural, cultural and special features and related activities of an area that attract tourists to visit it.

■ **Accommodation:-** Hotels and other types of facilities and their related services where tourist stay during their travel.

■ **Other Tourist Facilities and Services:-** Other facilities and services necessary for tourism development including tour and travel operations, restaurants and other financial facilities and services, tourist information offices, medical facilities and services, public safety facilities and entry and exist travel facilitation.

■ **Transportation Facilities and Services:-** Transportation access into the country, region or local development areas and transportation within the development areas.

■ **Other Infrastructure:-** In addition to transportation the other necessary infrastructure include water supply, electric power, sewage & solid waste disposal, telecommunication system etc.

■ **Institutional Elements:-** The institutional elements necessary to develop & manage tourism including manpower planning, education and training programme, marketing strategies & promotion programme, public & private sector, tourism organizational structures, tourism related legislation & regulations.

Conclusion

India is a vast and great country with a huge potential for the development of historical tourism. India is full of a number of historical places & monuments, great shrines and temples, places of pilgrimages, wild life sanctuaries, hill stations, sea resorts, places of winter sports etc. Besides it

offers a great variety of cultures, religions, festivals, languages, fairs, music etc.

In India, throughout the country, there are historical places and monuments. When individuals plan a trip to these historical places or monuments, then it is termed as historical tourism. The individuals may be from within the country or outside the country. The development of historical tourism involves number of aspects to be taken into consideration. These are infrastructure development, product development, human resource development, promotion and marketing, co-ordination, marketing strategies, competitiveness, positioning tourism as a national priority, development of digital technology and heritage tourism division.

India is a tourism product which is unparalleled in its beauty, uniqueness, rich culture and history has been aggressively pursuing the promotion of tourism both internationally as well as in the domestic market. However the sector is facing challenges such as lack of good quality infrastructure.

Really India's potential for historical tourism is as vast as it is varied. It is essential for the individuals, primarily employed in the tourism department to possess the essential skills and abilities that are required to perform one's job duties operatively and promote tourism.

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Practice Of Leasing- In And Leasing- Out Of Agricultural Land And Its Impact On Production (A Case Study Of District Anantnag)

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Abstract

The agrarian relations in Jammu and Kashmir have undergone vast changes since 1947. The most important institutional, social and economic change aiming at reorganization of land holding system in Jammu and Kashmir took the form of different land reform measure which were implemented from time to time in a phased manner. It is in this context that in the final phase, an Act was passed in 1976 in the form of Jammu and Kashmir Agrarian Reforms Act, 1976 which aimed to abolish the system of absentee landlordism in agriculture and disallows the creation of new tenancies. Although this was a step in the right direction and the implementation of this Act of agrarian reforms has been completed in all the districts of Jammu and Kashmir. However, despite this the practice of leasing-out and leasing-in land, still exists in Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, the present study analyses the impact of this practice on agricultural production, by using primary data and examining the pattern of production, structure of inputs and returns. Then the conclusions have been drawn, which have far reaching implications on the agricultural activities in particular and economic development in general.

Keywords: Land Reforms, Agricultural Land, Peasants, Production, Costs, Net-returns.

Introduction

The practice of leasing out land is a very old practice, which was the direct outcome of feudalistic pattern of land holding systems in Jammu and Kashmir. This practice was in vogue right from the early times down to dawn of independence, as the entire land in the state was considered to be the property of the ruler and it was leased out to those who carried favour with rulers of the state. Those who received land from the king, with or without property rights, leased it out to cultivators against payment of rent, the amount of which increased with the passage of time. In fact the land holding system prevalent between 12th and 19th century resulted in the development of landed aristocracy, absentee landlordism, concentration of land among few and increasing exploitation of the share of peasants.

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Consequently, one of the immediate tasks to be addressed after independence was that of carrying out agrarian reforms in a phased manner. In the first phase, government announced the end of all Jagirs, Maufis and fixed cash grants excepting those granted to all religious institutions. In the second phase, tenants were granted protection through certain amendments of the Tenancy Act. The third phase aimed at the abolition of landlordism and the transfer of land to the tiller. In the fourth and perhaps the final phase of reforms, all kinds of tenancies were declared illegal and the objective was to remove the intermediaries altogether and to bring the tiller into direct relationship with the state. The proposed study therefore seeks to evaluate, the land reform measures in respect of formulation as well as implementation and the impact on agriculture production and productivity.

Objectives of the study

The main objectives of the study are as under: -

1. To study the various land reform measures that were introduced in Jammu & Kashmir after Independence.
2. To enquire into the question of whether these reforms have realized the main objective of abolishing absentee landlordism and putting an end to the feudal practice of leasing-out and leasing-in of land in Kashmir agriculture.
3. To evaluate the impact of the practice of leasing-out and leasing-in of land on agricultural production.

Hypotheses

In consonance with the above mentioned objectives the following hypotheses has been formulated:-

- a) The practice of leasing-out and leasing-in of agricultural land still exists in Kashmir.
- b) The aforesaid practice, is indicative of the decline in interests of the cultivators in agricultural operations as they are finding it more lucrative to invest /engage in other non-agricultural pursuits.

Research Methodology

Since the necessary data pertaining to the issues listed above are not available, therefore, present study is based on both primary as well as secondary source of data collection. Secondary data has been collected from concerned Departments which includes, the Report of Land Commission, Jammu and Kashmir Government and the Performance

Reports and other Periodicals published by the Government of Jammu & Kashmir. The data, which highlight the features of various land reforms in Jammu & Kashmir, has also been collected from other non-official sources. The primary information has been collected by means of an open end questionnaire. The questionnaire has been framed strictly in accordance with the objectives of the study and information on important variables has been collected in District Anantnag, which is situated in the south of Kashmir.

Sample Design

District Anantnag consists of sixteen developmental blocks out of these three blocks namely, Achabal, Shangus, and Khovripora, have been selected randomly for field survey. In Achabal block, two villages namely Gopalpora and Telwani have been selected considering their representative character. In block Khovripora, two villages namely Rampora and Krangsoo have been selected and in block Shangus, two villages namely Ranipora and Dethu have been selected purposively for field survey.

Thus, in all, six villages from three blocks have been selected as it would be beyond the resources and capacity of an individual surveyor to cover all the villages of the District. The data thus collected has been properly tabulated and interpreted, keeping in view the objectives of the study. Appropriate statistical methods have been used to analyse the data.

Discussion and Result

One of the immediate tasks to be addressed after independence in Jammu and Kashmir, was that of carrying out agrarian reforms. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir (N.C), which was committed to the abolition of intermediaries, redistribution of land and protection of tillers from the parasitic hierarchy of intermediaries, in the policy document "New Kashmir," initiated various agrarian reforms in 1948 and the years proceeding thereafter in different phases.

The experience gained in the implementation of the aforesaid reforms necessitated that the tenants should be granted more security, as the importance of the security of tenancy was received by the remarks of Sir Arthur Young, who observed "give a man the secure permission of a bleak rock and he will turn it into a garden, give him a nine year lease of a garden, he converts it into a desert".

It is thus that the state government again come up, (in its new phase) with a legislation in 1972, aiming at the removal of intermediaries altogether and to bring the tiller into direct relationship with the state and consequently

passed the Jammu and Kashmir Agrarian Reforms Act 1972. The operation of this Act was however, suspended in 1975, due to its structural deficiencies and a change in the government i.e. in early 1975, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah staged a political come back and formed a new government. Consequently, in 1976, the Jammu and Kashmir Agrarian Reforms Act 1976 was passed.

Jammu and Kashmir Agrarian Reforms Act of 1976

The main objectives of this Act are to transfer the land to tillers thereof and reduction of ceiling area to 12.5 standard acres and better utilization of land in Jammu and Kashmir. The main features of this Act are:

1. The Act seeks to abolish the system of absentee landlordism. According to this Act, all rights, title and interest on land of any person, who was not cultivating it personally on 1st Sept. 1971, shall be deemed to have extinguished and vested in the state, with effect from 1st May 1973.
2. The Act fixes a ceiling on land at 12.5 standard acres and makes no exception in favour of orchards.
3. The Act relates the ceiling area to a family and not to an individual.
4. The Act provides that a person and other members of his family, if any, whose rights in the land have been extinguished by the Act, may resume land for purposes of bonafide personal cultivation, but such person or persons are entitled to file an application for personal cultivation within six months of the commencement of this Act.
5. According to this Act, no person, who or any member of whose family, if any, is an income tax payer, shall be eligible to resume any land. Similarly, no person, who or any member of whose family, holds an orchard exceeding 100 kanals, shall be eligible to resume land.
6. The Act provided that the person allowed to resume his land shall not fail to cultivate his land within one year of entering into possession otherwise such land shall vest in the state.
7. The Act provides adequate compensation to persons (ex-landlords) whose rights in land get extinguished as a result of the implementation of the Act, at rates fixed proportionate to the type of land.
8. Disposal of surplus land:- The Act provides that the government shall be competent to dispose of surplus land vested or which may vest in the state under this Act.

In the sampled villages two types of agrarian relations were noticed.

In the first category which constituted 87.95% of total area surveyed, the farms were wholly owner-operated. In the second category part of land operated was leased-in from others which constituted 9.88% of the total area surveyed and the part of land which was leased-out to others constituted 2.16% of the total area surveyed (table: 1). Although, major portion of area is operated by owners, but slightly more than one-tenth of the area is still being operated by others, despite it being banned by the recent Act of reforms.

Table : 1
Pattern of holding in the sampled villages (Acres)

Total Area	Area owned (col.1- col.4)	Area leased-out	Area leased-in	Area operated by owners (col.2- col.3)
236.56	213.18	5.12 (2.16)	23.38 (9.88)	208.06 (87.95)

The above categories of land (i.e. land operated by owners and land operated by others) will be classified into two categories, X and Y and in order to study the effects of tenancy on agricultural production, the comparison is made between these two categories, in terms of production, costs and returns. The two categories, X and Y, are further divided into many classes, according to their size i.e. category X is divided into five classes A, B, C, D, E and category Y into two classes A & B. In category X the size of the farms less than 1 to 1 acres come under the class A, similarly, the size of the farms 1.1 to 2 acres, 2.1 to 4 acres, 4.1 to 6 acres, 6.1 and above, come under B, C, D and E, classes respectively. Similarly, in category Y, the size of the farms less than 1 to 1 acres come under class A and the size of farms 1.1 to 2 acres, come under class B.

Table: 2
Total Area under each crop in category X, in sampled villages (Acres).

Size class	No. of Farms Area	Total Area under the group	Area under paddy	Area under oilseeds	Area under pulses	Area under pulses
0-1(A)	49	30.56	20.12	17.37	2.81	5.56
1.1-2 (B)	29	44.93	28.25	21.62	4.37	11.00
2.1-4 (C)	19	58.32	29.87	23.37	3.62	10.12
4.1-6 (D)	11	51.00	30.37	23.00	3.37	10.74
6.1 and above(E)	02	23.25	2.5	2.5	4.00	4.00
All sizes	110	208.06	111.11 (53.40)	87.86 (42.22)	18.17 (8.73)	41.42 (19.91)

The total area in both these two categories are devoted to the cultivation of paddy, oilseeds, pulses, maize and oats for cattle, as shown in table-2 and table-3. However, keeping in view the objectives of present study, the costs and returns of only one major (common) crop i.e, paddy is analysed

Table: 3

Total Area under each crop in category Y, in sampled villages (Acres).

Size class	No. of Farms	Total Area under The group	Area under paddy	Ares under oilseeds	Ares under maize
0-1 (A)	22	12.25	9.87	7.12	2.37
1.1-2 (B)	11	16.25	11.12	11.12	5.12
All sizes	33	28.5	20.99 (73.64)	18.24 (64.00)	7.49 (26.28)

To begin with costs and returns are studied in category -X & category -Y. The gross return has been taken as the total physical output valued at farm harvest prices or the money equivalent of physical output. Net returns are derived by deduction from gross returns, all costs – out of pocket as well as imputed, incurred in the process of cultivation.

The input structure and the total costs of the two kinds of farms are shown by the Tables: 4, 5, 6 and 7

Table: 4

Relationship between the value of inputs and the value of output, in category X, by size class of holding in the sampled villages, for the crop Paddy -(Rs).

Size class	Output	Seed	Fertilizer	Manure's	Human Lab-	Block Labour Tractors	Rental value our/	Misc.	Total costs
0-1(A)	1474796	16096	33187.14	241440	450800	40240	2782 63 .39	12535 7.6	11853 84 .13
1.1-2 (B)	1847550	20340	51222.47	319000	632800	56500	348594 .34	157041 .75	15854 98.56
2.1-4 (C)	2024588 .6	21612	52861.24	358440	716800	59740	381997 .84	172090 .03	17635 41.11
4.1-6 (D)	207670 0.6	20797	58415.02	364440	777600	60740	391830 .30	176519 .55	18503 41.87
6.1&above(E)	136250	1604	5550	25000	50000	5000	25707 .54	11581 .25	12444 2.79
All sizes (%age)	755988 5.2	80449 (1.24)	201235.87 (3.09)	1308320 (20.10)	2628000 (40.37)	222220 (3.41)	142639 3.41 (21.91)	6425 90.18 (9.87)	65092 08.46 (100.00)

* Misc cost includes Depreciation of farm equipment's /farm construction, Depreciation of block labour/ tractor, and other costs.

Table: 5

Relationship between the value of inputs and the value of output, in category Y, by size class of holding in the sampled villages, for the crop Oil Seed -(Rs).

Size class	Output	Seed	Fertilizer	Manure's	Human	Block Labour Tractors	Rental Labour value	Misc.	Total costs
0-1 (A)	59200 2.6	8211 .84	14386.66	98700	209600	19740	111698 .60	50320 .22	512657 .32
1.1- 1 (B)	642068 .8	9073 .92	15756	11100	248800	22240	121145 .06	54575 .85	582592 .83
All Sizes (%age)	1234071 .4	17285 .76	30142.66 (2.75)	209702 (19.15)	458400 (41.85)	41980 (3.83)	232823 .66 (21.26)	10489 6 .07 (9.58)	10952 .50.15 (100.00)

* Misc cost includes Depreciation of farm equipment's /farm construction, Depreciation of block labour/ tractor, and other costs.

By studying the tables, it is observed that the major item of cost is human labour in both types of farms i.e, X & Y, Since the second largest item of cost is rental value of land, however this cost is given and does not enter into the calculations of the farmer. The tables: 4 and 5, reveal that the inputs of fertilizers (3.09 percent) and manure's (20.10 percent), for crop paddy is higher in category X as compared to category Y, where it stands 2.75 percent and 19.15 percent respectively.

These differences in input structures not only influence the returns per acre but also the yield per acre of the crop in physical terms. Table: 6, depicts the yield per acre of major crop by tenurial status.

Table: 6

Yield per acre of major crop in the sampled villages -(Quintls)

Class	Paddy
Category X*	21.72
Category Y	17.79

**For calculating average yield of crops, the calculations have been confronted to first two size classes in category X as other size classes are not present in category Y.*

The above table, reveals that the yield per acre of paddy is higher in category X as compared to category Y.

The fertilizer intensity per acre of land of both categories of farms are depicted by the table: 7.

Table: 7

Fertilizer intensity per acre of land in the sampled villages - (Kgs.)

Class	Paddy
Category X*	97.90
Category Y	77.62

**In category X, all size classes i.e, A, B, C, D and E are included*

By studying the table, it is clear that the fertilizer intensity in respect of crop Paddy, is higher in case of category X as compared to other comparable category.

Thus relative organizational inefficiency with which the cultivators of category Y are confronted with, adversely affects the level of production as

well as employment. Another interesting point to note is that the cropping intensity is higher in case of category X as compared to the category Y. This is because that in the sampled villages, most of farmers lease-out their farms only for some months (less than one year) for producing one or two crops, to evade the law. From the foregoing analysis, the following broad conclusions can be drawn: The returns are higher on owner operated farms.

Wide variations in input structure are visible. Although the largest item of costs is human labour on both types of farms but wide variations are seen in respect of fertilizer and manure which is bound to have a major impact on production, productivity and net returns. Interestingly the labour absorption capacity and cropping intensity is higher in case of owner operated farms.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, it can be concluded that although, the various land reform measures adopted so far are a step in the right direction, we must not however forget that mere passing of legislation cannot do the whole job. The excessive pressure on land resulting in the feeling of land hunger combined with the illiteracy of the peasants enable the landlords to evade law. In fact, the landlords even now lease-out their farms (land) and charge excessively high rents. As the data collected from the sampled villages clearly indicates that the practice of leasing-out and leasing-in, still exists, despite it being banned by the recent Act of reforms (Act of 1976). In the sampled villages more than 10% of the area is still being operated by others. The landlords who lease-out land to others, lease it out for a very short period, usually for one production period to defeat the objectives of the reforms. The position of actual cultivators is worse-off as compared to protected tenants because their name does not figure in any revenue records.

In nutshell, the analysis of data clearly shows that owner operators are in a better position to promote agricultural production, employment per unit of land and capital formation. Therefore the policy makers have to devise measures to bring an end to the absentee landlordism and the practice of leasing-in and leasing-out in agriculture, so that more fruitful agrarian relations are developed for the sustained growth of the agricultural sector which even after seven decades of planning is still one of the leading sectors of the economy of Jammu and Kashmir.

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Sino-India Borders isputs amid Covid Crisis And India's Response

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Abstract

India, an Asian giant is now playing a dominant role not only in South Asia but also in the world. India has a key role in Global politics. But it is facing the problem of boarder disputes related with its neighbours. Out of its seven neighbours India is involved with severe boarder disputes related to China and Pakistan. Border dispute is one of major bones of contention between India and China. In the International domain, China has been categorized as the offensive power because of its aggressive policy and India as Defensive power. China has been consistently active in incursions in Ladakh, Arunachal Pradesh and Indian Ocean that have time and again created frictions between the two countries. Both India and China are conflicted to each other on various issues like Aksai Chin, Doklam, Nathula pass, Sikkim, Arunachala Pradesh etc. This article is an attempt to analyse the Sino-India border conflicts and their efforts to minimize the border disputes in the time of COVID crisis.

Keywords: COVID, Galwan valley, Pangong Tso, Border Roads Organisation, Ladakh

India is a land where people believe in cooperation and maintain healthy relationship with its neighbours. India has always been known as a “peace-loving country” that’s why the foreign policy makers have always given high priority to building friendly relation with her immediate neighbours. India has official political relations with most nations. India is considered as the world’s largest democratic and second most populous country in the world. India’s economy is the fastest growing around the world. With the world’s third largest armed force, eighth largest military expenditure, seventh largest economy by nominal rates and third largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity, India is a not only regional power, but also an emerging global power and also has the capability to become super power. India is a progressing industrialised nation. It has partnership with several countries in the World. India was one of the founding members of several international organisations, most notably the United Nations, the Asian Development Bank, and also the founder of the Non-Aligned Movement. India has also played an important and influential role in other international organisations like East Asia Summit, World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund (IMF), etc. Locally, India is a part of SAARC. The Foreign

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policy of India has always based on the concept of neighbourhood. There are many territorial disputes of India with China like in the western part of border as Aksai Chin, Depsang Plains and Trans-Karakoram Tract. Also in eastern part of border China claims most of Arunachal Pradesh saying that this was once a part of the Tibet and should now be returned to China. Recently amid the COVID pandemic the border dispute between China and India has been crossed all limits and both parties are involved in a skirmish like situation at Galwan River valley.

Sino-India Border Disputes-Historical Background

India and China are the trans-Himalayan Asian twins holding together something like one-third to half humanity. In spite of the fact that people of two countries are the inheritors of two of the most ancient civilization of the world, and are faced with similar needs of economic development, the relation between the two have not been as extensively cooperative, as this should have been. There continues to be present a complex boundary dispute between the two. In fact, there exists a sort of competition, even a conflict, between them and the attempts at the development of relations have not really produced desired results. Both are now trying to adjust their roles in emerging post-cold war international system. Yet, several factors, particularly the boundary dispute, continue to keep their relation limited and at times low.

China's sovereignty over Tibet complicated the Sino-Indian border dispute. China claimed that the Arunachal Pradesh region, previously administered as the North-East Frontier Province (NEFP), was the part of South Tibet so it is a part of Chinese territory. Though this region was earlier is the part of Tibet, but it was ceded to British India as part of the Simla Agreement on 1913- 1914, where the Mac Mohan Line was drawn. In 1950s, India believed this border dispute could be resolved through the all parties jointly recognizing the validity of the Mac Mohan Line, but however, the border only got further confrontational with time. China claimed that the Arunachal Pradesh as part of its territory through the military intervention in the time of 1962 war. But after winning the war, it unilaterally withdrew from the region. Since China has tried to negotiate the Arunachal Region in exchange for control over Aksai Chin, with India. So the China attempted to claim control over the territory in 2006, prompting India to increase military presence in the region. So the conflict over Arunachal Pradesh costs more for the Indian government to manage.

Aksai Chin is a bone of contention between India and China. It is an inhabited land of the eastern part of Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir, forms an important part of the Sino-Indian border dispute. In 1958, Indian officials received information that China had been building a highway from Tibet to the autonomous Chinese region of Xinjiang, through the Aksai Chin and also within a few months, China display the Aksai Chin as the part of their territory in their map. India was deeply condemning these activities of china which create tension relations between the two countries and these tensions went on to culminate in the Sino-Indian war of 1962. Today, Aksai Chin is administered by China, but continues to be claimed by India which creates a major conflict relation between India and China.

Another matter of grave concern is Sikkim. The Chinese reaction was very strong when the people of Sikkim revolted on 1974-75 against their ruler the Chogyal, and later when Sikkim's request for merger with India was accepted and it became a state within Indian union. China blamed India for the problems in Sikkim, and accused her of "expansionism". China said that India was bullying its neighbours, gobbling up Sikkim, had already divided Pakistan was encouraging anti-national elements in Nepal and giving protection and succor of Tibetans rebels. China stated that it "absolutely does not recognize" Sikkim's status as part of India and that India was trying to create "a great Indian Empire with the backing of Moscow". But India rejected Chinese contention.

The 9,900 square kilometers Shaksgam Tract or the Trans-Karakoram Tract is an area which is currently administered by China as part of its Xinjiang region. In earlier this region was controlled by Pakistan but in 1963 under the Sino-Pak Frontier Agreement Pakistan give it to China which developed cooperative relation between the two countries. China built a Hotan-Golmud Highway in this region, which linked from Xinjiang to Qinghai province and central China. Commercially and militarily this highway provides more benefit to China. This region is very much important to India for strategic basis because it situated at Siachen Glacier. That's why India is wary of Chinese control and development of the region, given Pakistan and China's strategic alliance. So, the Sino-Indian border dispute is a matter of concern for both countries.

Sino-India Border Disputes amid COVID Crisis

The corona virus outbreak came to light on December 31, 2019 when China informed the World Health Organisation (WHO) of a cluster

of cases of pneumonia of an unknown cause in Wuhan City in Hubei Province. Subsequently the disease spread to more Provinces in China, and to the rest of the world. The WHO has declared it a pandemic. The virus has been named SARS-CoV-2 and the disease is now called COVID-19. Corona virus disease 2019 (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by severe acute respiratory syndrome corona virus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). It was first identified in December 2019 in Wuhan, Hubei, China, and has resulted in an ongoing pandemic. The first confirmed case has been traced back to 17 November 2019 in Hubei. As of 25 July 2020, more than 15.7 million cases have been reported across 188 countries and territories, resulting in more than 639,000 deaths. More than 9.05 million people have recovered.

In this pandemic to divert world's attention China started the issue of border disputes with India. Since 5 May 2020, Chinese and Indian troops have engaged in aggressive melee, face-offs and skirmishes at locations along the Sino-Indian border, including near the disputed Pangong Lake in Ladakh and the Tibet Autonomous Region, and near the border between Sikkim and the Tibet Autonomous Region. Additional clashes also took place at locations in eastern Ladakh along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). In late May, Chinese forces objected to Indian road construction in the Galwan River valley. According to Indian sources, melee fighting on 15/16 June 2020 resulted in the deaths of 20 Indian soldiers (including an officer) and casualties of 43 Chinese soldiers (including the death of an officer). Media reports stated that soldiers were taken captive on both sides and released in the coming few days. On the Indian side ten soldiers were reported to have been taken captive while the Chinese numbers remain unconfirmed. Later the Chinese Foreign Ministry and the Indian Army denied any detention of Indian soldiers.

On 25 July, news reports emerged of disengagement at Galwan, Hot Springs and Gogra. As of 30 July, disengagement remained incomplete at Pangong Tso and at PP 17A Gogra while "complete disengagement and de-escalation" between India and China was remaining. The Indian Army has maintained that it will continue enhanced deployment of troops even through winter if the disengagement process is not complete. At the end of August and beginning of September, the Chushul sector saw Indian troops occupy multiple heights along the LAC which overlook Chinese fixtures at Spanggur Gap and Spanggur Tso. On 7 September, for the first time in 45 years, shots were fired along the LAC, with both sides blaming each other

for the firing. Indian media also reported that Indian troops fired warning shots at the PLA on 30 August.

Causes of Recent Border Disputes

- Multiple reasons have been cited as the trigger for Sino-Indian border disputes. Mitch McConnell, US Senate Majority Leader, and Ashley Tellis, senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace pointed one reason is responsible for this i.e China's territory grabbing technique, also referred to as 'salami slicing'. It implies encroaching upon small parts of enemy territory over a large period of time.

- In mid-June 2020, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) councillor Urgain Chodon from Nyoma, Ladakh, stated that successive Indian governments (including the current Narendra Modi government) have neglected the border areas for decades and turned a "blind eye" to Chinese land grabbing in the region. According to her, India had failed in the protection of its borders, and even in 2020, all along the LAC, India had lost land. Other local Ladakhi leaders also acknowledged similar incursions by the Chinese in the region. Also in mid-June 2020, BJP M.P from Arunachal Pradesh Tapir Gao acknowledged the presence of regular Chinese patrols inside north-east India as well.

- Taylor Fravel, the MIT professor said that the skirmishes were a response from China to the development of Indian infrastructure in Ladakh, particularly along the Darbuk–Shyok–DBO Road. He further said that it was a show of strength for China amidst the COVID-19 pandemic because the pandemic had damaged the Chinese economy and its international reputation.

- Yun Sun, a China specialist at the Stimson Center said India's road building amounted to "stabbing China on the back" in the Chinese view. China sees it as a threat to its "territorial integrity", which it will not sacrifice for the sake of good relations with India.

- Lobsang Sangay, President of the Tibetan-government-in-exile, stated that China is raising border issues due to internal problems within China and the international pressure being exerted on China over COVID-19.

- Jayadeva Ranade, former National Security Advisory Board member, posited that China's current aggression in the region is to protect its assets and future plans in Ladakh and adjoining regions such as the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor.

■ Wang Shida of China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations linked the current border tensions to India's decision to abrogate Article 370 and change the status of Jammu and Kashmir in 2019. Although, Pravin Sawhney agreed with Wang, he postulated that a parliamentary speech by Amit Shah also could have irked the Chinese. In the speech, Shah had declared that Aksai Chin, a disputed region administered by China, was part of the Indian administered Ladakh Union Territory. Furthermore, the bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir in 2019 prompted multiple senior Bharatiya Janata Party ministers, most recently in May 2020, to claim that all that now remained was for India to regain Gilgit-Baltistan.

- Liu Zongyi, a South Asia specialist at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies told the Financial Times that "India has been active in many of US plans that target China".
- Tanvi Madan, author of *Fateful Triangle* stated that India thought that this was "signal from Beijing" to "limit" its relations with the US.
- Phunchok Stobdan, a former diplomat of India, stated that "smaller powers like India and Australia, who have aligned with the US, are witnessing a more aggressive China".
- India's former ambassador to China, Ashok Kantha said that these skirmishes were part of a growing Chinese assertiveness in both the Indo-China border and the South China Sea.
- C. Raja Mohan, Director of the Institute of South Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore, writes that the growing power imbalance between China and India is the main cause of the dispute, with everything else such as the location of the dispute or international ties of India, being mere detail. These skirmishes have also been linked by multiple people with the Chinese strategy of Five Fingers of Tibet.

Respond from India

Political Response

On 18 June, India's Minister of External Affairs made a statement saying that China had "unilaterally tried to change the status quo" and that the violence was "premeditated and planned". On 17 June 2020, Prime Minister Modi addressed the nation regarding the Galwan skirmish, giving a firm message directed at China over the deaths of Indian soldiers. On 19 June, however, Prime Minister Modi declared that "neither have [China] intruded into our border, nor has any post been taken over by them", contradicting multiple previous statements by the Indian government. Later

the Prime Minister's Office clarified that the Indian Prime Minister wanted to indicate the bravery of 16 Bihar Regiment who had foiled the attempt of the Chinese side. On 3 July, during a surprise visit to military posts in Ladakh, Prime Minister Modi, said in a speech that the "age of expansionism" is over and history has revealed that "expansionist forces have either lost or were forced to turn back"; the media noted that this was in reference to Beijing. Chinese General Wei Fenghe and his Indian counterpart Rajnath Singh held a talk, on 4 September in Moscow, on the sidelines of a Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) meeting.

On 19 June 2020, during the all-party meet, Prime Minister Narendra Modi told, "No one has entered Indian territory or captured any military post". In the Upper House of the Indian Parliament, on 16 September 2020, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, in response to a question from a BJP MP about infiltrations, said in a written reply that "since February there had been 47 cases of attempted infiltration along the India-Pakistan border" and "no infiltration has been reported along India-China border during the last six months." On 15 September 2020, in the Parliament of India, Defence Minister Rajnath Singh said "China made transgression attempts on Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the western sector. This includes Kongka, Gogra, and the north bank of Pangong Lake. Our Army took necessary action against these attempts."

In the aftermath of the incident at Galwan, the Indian Army decided to equip soldiers along the border with lightweight riot gear as well as spiked clubs. On 20 June, India removed restriction on usage of firearms for Indian soldiers along the LAC.

Amid the standoff, India decided to move approximately 12,000 additional workers to border regions to help complete Indian road projects. Around 8,000 workers would help Border Roads Organisation's (BRO) infrastructure project, Project Vijayak, in Ladakh while some workers would also be allocated to other nearby border areas. Apart from completing the DS-DBO Road the workers would also be assisting the BRO in the construction of other border roads. Experts state that the development of Indian infrastructure along the border was one of the causes for the standoffs. India has also installed surveillance equipment along the LAC.

On 17 June, following the Galwan clash, former chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Omar Abdullah tweeted, "Those Kashmiris tempted to look towards China as some sort of saviour need only google the plight

of Uighur Muslims. Be careful what you wish for...”. He deactivated his Twitter account following the tweet.

Diplomatic response

After the first melee took place, on 5–6 May 2020 at Pangong Tso, Foreign Secretary of India Harsh Vardhan Shringla called Sun Weidong, the Chinese ambassador to India. Then, Ajit Doval reportedly talked to the CCP Politburo member, Yang Jiechi, who is also a top diplomat under CCP General Secretary Xi Jinping. On 28 May, in a press conference, Indian spokesperson for the Ministry of External Affairs, Anurag Srivastava, maintained that there were enough bilateral mechanisms to solve border disputes diplomatically. The Border Personnel Meeting (BPM) points have seen rounds of military talks in May–June; first between colonels, then between brigadiers, and then finally, on 2 June, more than three rounds between major generals. All these talks were unsuccessful. On 6 June, commanders’ talks took place at Chushul-Moldo BPM. The talks involved the Indian commander of Leh-headquartered XIV Corps, Lt Gen Harinder Singh, and the Chinese commander of the Tibet Military District (South Xinjiang Military Region) Maj Gen Liu Lin.

- The first communication since the start of the border dispute between the foreign ministers of China, Wang Yi and of India, S Jaishankar also happened after the Galwan skirmish. S Jaishankar accused the Chinese actions in Galwan to be “pre-meditated and planned”.
- The second round of commanders’ meeting was on 22 June. In an 11-hour meeting, the commanders worked out a disengagement outline. On 24 June, this disengagement was then diplomatically acknowledged by both sides during the virtual meeting of the Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on China-India Border Affairs (WMCC). Chinese spokesperson, Zhao Lijian said that India “agreed to and withdrew its cross-border personnel in the Galwan Valley and dismantled the crossing facilities in accordance with China’s request”.
- The third round of commanders’ talks was held on 30 June. In the third round of talks, India reiterated its demand for the pullback of the Chinese troops from all key areas including Pangong Tso, Galwan Valley and the Depsang plains and the restoration of status quo in April whereas China emphasised that the military build-up in the region should be reduced. Following the talks, it was reported that Chinese vehicles were seen withdrawing from the Galwan clash point, as well as from Hot Springs

and Gogra.

- On 5 July, the fourth round talk was held between special representatives National Security Advisor of India, Ajit Doval and Foreign Minister of China, Wang Yi, where it was decided that both Indian and Chinese troops would move back 1.8 km from the patrolling point PP 14 which is also the 15 June clash site in the Galwan valley. It was reported that both the troops moved back around 1.5 to 2 km from the PP 14 to create a buffer zone, which would be off-limits for foot patrolling by them for the next 30 days. Chinese troop fully moved out of the clash site, along with thinning down of troops at Hot Springs and Gogra. However, the Chinese troops did not withdraw from the Pangong Tso, where they entered 8 km inside Indian patrolling territory.
- The fifth round of talks was held on 2 August at Chushul-Moldo BPM. On 24 July diplomatic talks were held between the two countries with regard to disengagement.
- On 21 September, the sixth commander-level meeting took place at Chushul-Moldo BPM. The Indian delegation consisted of Lt Gen Harinder Singh, Lt Gen P G K Menon, two major generals, four brigadiers and other officers. The chief of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police was also a part of the delegation. During this meeting, for the first time, a Ministry of External Affairs representative from the Indian side was also present. Following the 14-hour talks, a joint statement was released, which included both sides having agreed to “stop sending more troops to the frontline”.
- On 30 September, the fifth round of diplomatic talks took place; this was the 19th meeting of the WMCC. On 13 October, the seventh round of military commander’s talks in Chushul took place; while the talks were called positive, on ground issues and tensions remain. On 15 October, Jaishankar said that the talks between India and China to resolve the standoff are “confidential” and shouldn’t be “prejudged”. On 6 November, the eighth corps-commander-level meeting took place.
- On 10 September, the foreign affairs ministers of China and India met in Moscow. Five points were agreed upon in a joint statement, including new CBMs between the two countries.

Reactionary From military Side

On 3 October 2020, the Indian Army revealed a memorial to commemorate the Indian soldiers who died in Galwan on 15 June during

Operation Snow Leopard. The inscription on the memorial reads: “On June 15, 2020 at Galwan Valley, Col B Santosh Babu Commanding Officer, 16 Bihar led the Quick Reaction Force of 16 Bihar and attached troops tasked to evict the PLA OP from Gen AY Nala and move further to Patrolling Point 14. The column successfully evicted the PLA OP from Y Nala and reached PP 14 where a fierce skirmish broke out between the IA and PLA troops. Col B Santosh Babu led from the front and his troops fought gallantly in hand-to-hand combat, causing heavy casualties to the PLA. In the ensuing fight twenty “Gallants of Galwan” achieved martyrdom”.

The memorial has been built at KM-120 post on the DSDBO Road. The names of those killed in the Galwan Valley clash will also be inscribed on the National War Memorial in New Delhi. Special Frontier Force company leader Nyima Tenzin was given a public funeral with a 21-gun salute in Ladakh on 7 September 2020. Nyima Tenzin had died after stepping on a 1962 war mine. Tenzin’s body was wrapped in both the Indian and Tibetan flags.

Amidst the standoff, during September and October, DRDO tested “10 missiles in 35 days”, with Indian media reporting a total of at least 12 missiles or systems being fired. This included the Hypersonic Technology Demonstrator Vehicle and Rudram-1, an air-to-surface anti-radiation missile. The Indian media reported that the DRDO missile testing was considered significant by senior DRDO officials as it was undertaken against the backdrop of the standoff with China. However it was also noted that COVID-19 had caused delays in previous tests, which were being conducted now.

The skirmishes and standoff has caused reactionary purchases by India. This includes the Indian Air Force starting the process for emergency procurement of 12 Sukhoi-30 MKI and 21 Mikoyan MiG-29 from Russia. In July, The Print reported that post Galwan, the Indian Armed Forces were working on over 100 emergency procurement contracts. In July it was reported that India was looking for lightweight tanks that could be used in Ladakh. While light weights tanks for Ladakh has been noted since 2009, the 2020 China tensions created a sense of urgency. Russia offered its Sprut SDM1 lightweight tanks while Defence Minister Rajnath Singh was in Russia in June. On 14 September 2020, media reports claimed that the F-15EX fighter jet had been offered to India. On 28 September 2020, the Defence Acquisition Council, Ministry of Defence, under fast-tracked procurement, ordered an additional 72,400 SIG 716 for troops in Ladakh.

Emergency purchases also included DRDO Smart Anti Airfield Weapons under the Indigenously Designed Developed and Manufactured (IDDM) category.

Reactions from Public

On 6 September, the Hindustan Times reported that social media posts were being shared of how locals from Chushul and Merak villages are helping to supply water and other essential to the Indian Army, including front-line areas such as Black Top.

Following the Galwan clash, Chinese flags and effigies of paramount leader Xi Jinping were set burned in various places across India and various groups registered their protests in different ways. Initially, India's economic response to China was mainly restricted to patriotic programs on news channels and social media publicity appeals, with very little actual impact on businesses and sales. In May, in response to the border skirmishes, Sonam Wangchuk appealed to Indians to use "wallet power" and boycott Chinese products. This appeal was covered by major media houses and supported by various celebrities.

The Indian Railways cancelled a contract with a Chinese firm, while the Department of Telecommunication notified BSNL not to use any Chinese made product in upgradations. Mumbai cancelled a monorail contract where the only bidders were Chinese companies; and alternatively said it would focus on finding an Indian technological partner instead. Numerous Chinese contractors and firms were under enhanced scrutiny following the 2020 border friction. Chinese imports began undergoing through additional checks at Indian customs. In retaliation, customs in China and Hong Kong held up Indian exports. There were also calls for making sure the Chinese do not have access to strategic markets in India. Swadeshi Jagaran Manch said that if the government was serious about making India self-reliant, Chinese companies should not be given projects such as the Delhi-Meerut RRTS. Days later, the Transport Minister Nitin Gadkari announced that Chinese firms would be banned from road projects in India. The Haryana government cancelled a tender related to a power project in which Chinese firms had put in bid. The Uttar Pradesh government Special Task Force personnel were given orders to delete 52 apps including TikTok and WeChat for security reasons while officials in Madhya Pradesh Police were given an advisory for the same.

Numerous Indian government officials said that border tensions would

have no impact on trade between the two countries. Amid the increased visibility of calls for boycotting Chinese goods in the aftermath of the Galwan incidents, numerous industry analysts warned that a boycott would be counter-productive for India, would send out the wrong message to trade partners, and would have very limited impact on China, since both bilaterally as well as globally India is comparatively a much smaller trade power. Experts also stated that while the boycott campaign was a good initiative, replacement products should be available in the immediate future too. An example taken was the pharmaceutical industry in India which meets 70% of its active pharmaceutical ingredient requirements from China. Dumping in this sector is being scrutinized. By the end of June, some analysts agreed that the border tensions between India and China would give the Make in India campaign a boost and increase the pace of achieving self-reliance in some sectors.

The issue of Chinese materials in Indian Army bulletproof vests was again raised in June after the Galwan incidents. V.K. Saraswat, a NITI Aayog member and former DRDO chief, said that it was due to the quality and the pricing that Chinese material was being used instead of Indian products. Bullet-proof vests ordered by the government in 2019 had up to 40% Chinese material. On 20 June, it was reported that development of an Indian bulletproof vest, the “Sarvatra Kavach”, that is 100% made in India, is near completion. The Maharashtra government has put 5,000 crore (US\$700 million) worth of Chinese projects on hold. The Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade brought out a list of over a 1000 Made in China goods on which the Government of India has sought comments for imposing import restrictions. Previously, the Department had asked private companies to submit a list of Chinese imports. Incidents in Ladakh are also being taken as additional reasons to keep India away from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership in which China has a big role.

TTK Prestige, India’s largest kitchen appliances maker, said it would stop all imports from China from 30 September onwards. On 23 June, the government had ordered all e-commerce companies to show the ‘country of origin’ for products. In July, Hero Cycles cancelled 900 crore (US\$130 million) worth of projects with China as part of their “commitment to boycott Chinese products”. Amidst the border situation in early August, the premier cricket league in India, Indian Premier League (IPL), decided to retain Chinese sponsors including the title sponsor VIVO. After facing a lot of criticism for this on various fronts, VIVO pulled out itself, supposedly

also due to finance issues as well as the border tensions. The sponsorship deal was worth \$293 m. By 15 October, the Indian government had put restrictions on more imports from China including television sets, tyres and air conditioners.

On 8 August, the Business Today reported that mainland China's exports to India since January 2020, amidst the boycott calls, had fallen 24.7 per cent year-on-year according to the Government of India's customs data. It was also reported that the share of Chinese smart phones companies in the Indian market fell to 72 per cent during the June quarter 2020 from 81 per cent in the March quarter 2020."

Following the announcement of a "complete boycott of Chinese goods" during the 2020 Diwali season; figures released by The Confederation of All India Traders (CAIT) showed that the season "gave China the expected loss of 40,000 crore (US\$5.6 billion)". Various initiatives were taken across the country to stop the sale of Chinese goods during the festive season, and in turn replace it with Indian products.

Response in Media Field

On 29 June, the Indian government banned 59 Chinese mobile applications including TikTok, WeChat, UC Browser, SHAREit and Baidu Maps. PRC responded with blocking Indian newspapers and websites in mainland China. Following the initial ban, in September, the Government of India further banned 118 more Chinese apps including popular gaming app, PUBG Mobile, citing the sovereignty and integrity of the country. In November, the fourth ban list was released, listing 43 more apps including Alibaba Group's AliExpress, Alipay Cashier and Alibaba Workbench. Following the fourth ban list, 200 plus Chinese apps had been banned by the Indian government, including apps owned by Alibaba, Tencent, Baidu, Sina and Bytedance.

Reactions in Outside India

Small-scale protests against China's actions along the Indo-China border were held in Canada, the United States and Japan. The Regional Tibetan Youth Congress held protests outside the Chinese Consulate in Toronto. Tibetan-American, Taiwanese-American, and Indian-American held a rally at Times Square in New York raising placards with slogans such as 'Boycott China', 'Tibet stands with India' and 'Stop Chinese Aggression'. On 10 August 2020, a small scale protest against Chinese aggression was held by Indian-Americans at National Mall facing the United States Capitol

in Washington. The protesters also praised India's move to ban Chinese apps and highlighted the plight of the Uyghurs.

India got supports from different countries on Galwan issue. On 1 June, Barry O'Farrell Australia's High Commissioner to India, said that the border issue should be solved bilaterally. He also expressed concern about Chinese presence in the South China Sea. In the aftermath of the Galwan skirmish, the envoy of France tweeted condolences and concern for the Indian lives lost at Galwan valley. On 29 June, the French Defence Minister Florence Parly wrote to the Indian Defence Minister, extending condolences for the deaths of 20 soldiers, and also extended support over the LAC tensions, "I wish to express my steadfast and friendly support, along with that of the French Armed Forces". With this France became the first country to extend the support of its military to India. In response to the Galwan skirmish, Japanese envoy to India Satoshi Suzuki tweeted condolences for the Indian lives lost following Galwan. On 18 June the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs called for a peaceful resolution to the situation. Japanese Ambassador to India Satoshi Suzuki, after a meeting with the Indian Foreign Secretary on 3 July, said that "Japan opposes any 'unilateral attempt to change status quo' on LAC."

Conclusion

India is a peace loving country in the world. She not only tries to maintain peace and security in the world but also to sort out all conflicts with her neighbors. Our foreign policy for this reason is based on world peace. India has taken many steps to normalize her relations with neighbors especially on boarder issues. But more should be done in ties direction.

The Chinese leadership does not want to annoy the India Leadership. In Fact they have not shown any flexibility in their approach towards India and are expecting from the India side to offer concessions on the border issues. The Indian public opinion has always favorer in solving the major issue through peaceful means and has also welcomed the progress registered by the two countries in strengthening their relations. The slight change of the Chinese attitude towards the Kashmir issue would be helpful in creating an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding.

Border issue is not an isolated issue. It is the centre of all issues. To sort out boarder issue is not an easy task. It is essential to make cooperation in other fields to solve the boarder issues. No doubt India has tried to resolve the boarder issues with her neighbours and this effort is continuing.

Same response should come from Chinese side. So, we hope in the coming future all boarder conflicts will resolve and a better South Asian sub-continent will emerge.

In an interview on 2 August 2020, the Indian External Affairs Minister said to the Times of India, “the state of the border and the future of our ties cannot be separated”. On 4 August, the Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson said that the two countries should “make sure differences do not escalate into disputes” and that China hopes India will work with them in maintaining the “overall interests of bilateral relations.” The European Foundation for South Asian Studies (EFSAS), a think-tank based in Netherlands, wrote on 7 August 2020 that India’s reaction to Chinese aggression has “surprised China”. China now needs a face-saving exit. In a previous commentary in early July, EFSAS stated that China should realise that if it forces India into a corner, India will join “the ever growing comity of nations that seek to compel China to adhere to the norms of the international order and abide by the rule of law”, irrespective of India wanting or not wanting to walk down that path.

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Hans Kelsen's Pure Theory of Law: An Analysis

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Kelsen himself gives a title to his theory. Pure Theory of Law, a name which serves to describe some of the essential features of his account of law. According to Julius Stone¹, Kelsen's theory of law can be broadly characterised as standing on four main thesis: first, legal theory is a science, second, that its method must be pure; third, that there must be unity of juristic cognition; and fourth, that the scope of legal science is different from what has been traditionally supposed. Kelsen points out that the law in which his theory is interested in "positive law", that is, its norms are "created by acts of human will" He aims at purity. Purity of What? Kelsen wishes to free "the law from the metaphysical mist with which it has been covered at all times by the speculations on justice or by the doctrine of jus nature² (natural law). He wants to purify the science of law from all evaluative criteria, and ideological elements. He wants to eliminate alien elements which are not the proper concern of an account which confines itself strictly to the specifically legal phenomena in the structure of a system of law.

Kelsen regards justice an ideological concept and at the same time an "irrational ideal" representing the subjective preference and value preferences of an individual or group. Kelsen wrote that³, the usual assertion that there is indeed such a thing as justice, but it cannot clearly be defined, is in itself a contradiction. However, indispensable it may be for volition and action of men, it is not subject to cognition. Regarded from the point of view of rational cognition, there are only interests, and hence conflict of interests. To him, theory of law cannot answer this question as to what constitutes justice because this question cannot be answered scientifically at all. "Justice means the maintenance of positive order by conscientious application of it".

Kelsen's methodological objectives to purify the theory of law did not stop with the elimination of political and ideological value judgments from the science of law, he went a step further by keeping his account of law (legal theory) free from all extraneous non-legal factors. "Uncritically the science of law has been mixed with elements of psychology, sociology, ethics and political theory"⁴. He wanted to restore the purity of law by

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separating these subjects from the theory of law. In other words, a pure theory of law must be uncontaminated by politics, ethics, sociology, history etc. He did not intend by this to deny that there were close connections between law and these other subject-matters. In the words of Paton. "He desires to create a pure science of law, stripped of all irrelevant material, and to separate jurisprudence from the social sciences as rigorously as did the analysts".

W. Friedmann, enumerates six essential foundations of Kelsen's legal theory. They are:

- (1) The aim of the theory of law, as of any science, is to reduce chaos and multiplicity to unity.
- (2) Legal theory is science, not volition. It is the knowledge, of what the law is, not of what the law ought to be.
- (3) Law is a normative and not natural science.
- (4) Legal theory as a theory of norms is not concerned with the effectiveness of legal norms.
- (5) A theory of law is formal, a theory of the way of ordering, changing contents in a specific way.
- (6) The relation of legal theory to a particular system of positive law is that of possible to actual law.

From above premises it is comparatively easy to find out the cardinal points of Kelsen's legal theory. Kelsen begins his theory with the premise that a theory of law must deal with law as laid down and not as it ought to be. Here, as also in some other respects he agrees with Austin although unaware of Austin's work when he first propounded his views. It is his adherence on this point that earned him the title of 'positivist'⁵ Another aspect in which he is in agreement with the principal teaching of analytical school is his determination of the legal as distinguished from the moral norm. To him legal norm derives his validity from an external source and the particular ought of the legal as distinguished from the moral norm, is the sanctions. It is the element of sanction which is behind a legal norm. All the norms of the legal order are coercive norms that is, norms providing for sanctions.

A theory of law need to be distinguished from the law itself. Law consists of mass of heterogeneous rules, whereas the function of a theory of law is to put them into a single ordered pattern. To Kelsen, a theory of law

should be uniform to be able to apply at all times and in all places. Thus, Kelsen too advocated general jurisprudence as Austin did but with the difference in that the generalisations made by Austin were made on the basis of limited material i.e., English and Roman law and therefore, ran into trouble outside that sphere but Kelsen had the advantage of almost hundred years of legal development after Austin, hence generalisations arrived at by him hold good over very wide area.

To Kelsen law is a science of norms. The object of the science of law are those norms “which have the character of legal norms and which make certain acts legal or illegal⁶. The Science of law is a hierarchy of normative relations, not a consequence of causes and effects, like natural science. In other words, law is normative and not natural science. Natural science deals with cause and effect; for example, Newton attempted to formulate a general principle which would describe what actually does happen to the apple when its stalk is loosened from the tree, the theory of gravity. In the realm of natural knowledge it is also established that there must not be contradiction. If A is equal to B, A cannot also be equal to non-B. According to Kelsen law is our ‘ought’ proposition and knowledge of law is knowledge of ought, that is knowledge of norms. What is this ought proposition? ‘Ought’ is a relation of ‘condition and consequence’. If A is done, B ought to happen. If A breaks the criminal law, then he ought to be punished. What ought to be, given certain condition only in this sense the law is an “ought”.

What does Kelsen mean by his notion of a ‘norm’? In his words⁷: By ‘norm’ we mean something ought to be or ought to happen especially that a human being ought to behave in a specific way. This is the meaning of certain human acts directed towards the behaviour of others. Again, Norm is the meaning of an act by which a certain behaviour is commanded, permitted or authorised. Most legal norms both apply and create law.

To Kelsen, the sole object of study of jurisprudence is the nature of the norms (or standards) which are set up by law. A legal system exists in order to impose obligations on certain individuals; and to know whether in a particular case obligation has been imposed or not, we should ask whether he will suffer a sanction, if he disobeys the rule⁸. Even at the cost of repetition it worthwhile to distinguish between ‘legal ought’ and ‘moral ought’. Legal ought is backed by a physical force or sanction where as ‘moral ought’ does not have sanction behind it. Secondly, a legal ought remains valid even if it is violated. As for example, when a person breaks criminal law he ought to suffer the punishment. But it is just possible that he may not be punished:

which however, will have no effect on the validity of the law, the criminal law would still be valid.

According to Kelsen, “a legal norm derives its validity from other norms of the same legal system, and finally from the apex norm of that legal system and that is what distinguishes it from a norm of ethics or other non legal norm⁹. Again according to Kelsen in a given legal order every act (human conduct) is concerned with norm, which gives the act validity. Kelsen made the efficacy of the total legal order a condition of the validity of every norm. The validity of a norm is ascertained with reference to its authorising norm, which confers a power?, to create it and may also lay down the conditions, for its exercise. A particular norm, therefore, is authorised if it can be subsumed (absorbed in something else) under a more general norm. To Kelsen a legal norm derives its validity from a specific norm. The idea of a legal norm is concerned with the concept of validity. What is validity? “By validity, says, Kelsen, “We mean the specific existence of norms. To say that a norm is valid, is to say that we assume its existence – or what amounts to the same thing – we assume that it has a binding force” for whose behaviour it regulates” Again, he says, “validity of law means that the legal norms are binding, that men ought to behave as the legal norms prescribes, that men ought to obey and apply the legal norms “Explaining the concept he further observes that : “A non valid norm is a non existing norm, is legally non entity”. To put it in other words, to say that a legal norm exists, is to say that it is valid, which in turn is equal to say that it ought to be obeyed? The validity of a rule is to be derived from ought to (rule) standing behind it and imparting validity to it. If the rules of law are valid then they are norms. In other words, “law is the primary norm which stipulates the sanction¹⁰”.

The distinction between validity and efficacy is one which is applicable to a variety of problems of structure and operation of a legal system. Different view can be taken of the relationship between the two. Sometimes validity and efficacy are defined with reference to each other that is “one is defined in terms of the other”. In Kelsen’s thinking the validity of a norm cannot be determined or ascertained by any meta-legal fact. In other words, the validity of a norm has to be found out within the given legal system itself. It has nothing to do with social facts or higher principles of justice. To Kelsen, “the legal order is not a system of co-ordinated norms of equal level, but a hierarchy of different levels of legal norms¹¹.” That is to say, Kelsen does not believe in co-ordinate norms of equal value but in a hierarchy of norms of different level and value. Jurisprudence then studies the nature of this

hierarchy of norms, the validity of each norm depending on its being laid down in accordance with the superior norm until we reach the 'initial hypothesis', that is apex norm or basic or fundamental norm. To sum up we can say that amongst the hierarchy of norms, at the apex of the structure stands the basic norm postulating fidelity to the constitution.

It is this basic norm (Grund norm) which is considered by Kelsen the ultimate source for the validity of all other norms belonging to the same legal system. In other words, hierarchy of ought is traceable back to some initial, fundamental 'ought' on which the validity of all others ultimately rests. To put in a more simple language, to Kelsen, systematic character of a legal system consists in the fact that all its rules (or norms) are derived from the same basic rule or rules (Grund norms). Hence, we must trace every legal act back to a norm which imputes legal validity to certain human behaviour. In other words, every norm (except grund norm) derives its validity to a higher norm. Paton¹² exemplifies this: "The imprisonment of Jones is justified because of a sentence of a criminal Court; the Court has this power from the criminal code: the criminal code has legal effect because it was enacted by the appropriate legislative body, which is granted the power to legislate by the Constitution". Thus, in above example imprison of Jone gets its legal validity from the decision of Criminal Court, Criminal Court's decision is justified by criminal code, criminal code gets its validity from the Legislature which enacted the criminal code and the legislature in turn gets its validity from the Constitution which authorised the Legislature to enact the criminal code. Hence, in this illustration the Constitution is the basic, fundamental or grund norm.

Similarly, a judgment for example derives its authority (validity) from an Order in Council, the order from an Act of Parliament, the Act of Parliament from the Constitution. Between these sources of authority, there is a relationship of subordination. According to Kelsen, "between the norm regulating the creation of another norm and this other norm may be presented a relationship of super and sub-ordination". Here again, the Constitution is the apex norm, that is the grund norm. But whence does this constitution or grund norm to get its validity? Constitutions have an extra-legal origin. Its validity is a meta legal question. The fundamental norm is not capable of deduction, it must be assumed as an "Initial Hypothesis. Put in another way one cannot, on account for the validity of the basic or fundamental norm by pointing to another rule of law. To Kelsen then, the apex norm is neither legally valid or invalid, it is a hypothesis. In the words of Kelsen¹³ The base

norm is not created in a legal procedure by a law-creating organ. It is not – as a positive legal norm is – valid because it is created in a certain way by a legal act but it is valid because it is presupposed to be valid, and it is presupposed to be valid because without this presupposition no human act could be interpreted as a legal, especially as a norm creating, act.

Grund Norm and Revolutionary Regimes

According to Kelsen no fundamental norm is recognisable unless it has a minimum of effectiveness, that is if the legal order is to be effective, it must secure certain measure of acceptance i.e. which does command a certain amount of obedience. But Kelsen did not give any criteria by which the minimum of effectiveness is to be measured. All that he said was that the Grund norm imports validity so long as the “total legal order” remains effective. But subsequently he changed the stance and said that if the legal order is “by and large “effective. Again, it is a matter of debate as to what does ‘total’ or ‘by and large’ mean? Or how to measure this ‘total and ‘by and large’. If we apply above theory to some factual situations, then its weaknesses are exposed. An example by which to test Kelsen’s theory is the case concerning the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia Madzimbamuto v. Lardner-Burke the Rhodesian Courts looked at the problem in the light of the new legal order created by the declaration of independence. In other words, the Rhodesian Courts, constituted under the earlier Constitution accepted the new change (Regime) which was effected in defiance of old Constitution and accepted new Constitution on the theory of necessity and of the actualities of politics. But the Privy Council as part of the English legal order naturally decided against the validity of the Rhodesian Emergency powers which had not been laid down in accordance with the Grund norm, the Court accepted. In fact one of the judges pointed it out that an effective order cannot be said to be totally, or even by an large, effective as long as its judiciary refuses to accept the legality of its basis: Thus, in view of the divergent views expressed by Rhodesian Courts and the Privy Council with regard to the initial hypothesis or ‘basic norm’ we can say that the ground norm is coloured by political and meta-legal factors.

Kelsenian theory was again put to test in the case of State v. Dosso¹⁴. In this case the Supreme Court of Pakistan held that a usurper (revolutionary regime) to be effectively in power was legal on Kelsenian grounds and had thereby destroyed the previous Constitution. But this decision it was overruled by Pakistan Supreme Court in the case of Jilani v. Government of Punjab¹⁵. The Supreme Court of Pakistan declared both the first revolutionary regime

as also the second one illegal, repudiated Kelsen in to. In Dosso the Supreme Court of Pakistan relied heavily on Kelsen and that prompted a Judge to remark “a perfectly good country was made a laughing stock”. The Court further declared that revolutionary regimes were unlawful (not that they were lawful while they lasted) because they were unlawful ab initio notwithstanding effectiveness. In view of above one can conclude that the determination of a grund norm during a revolutionary change is a political and meta-legal decision to be determined by the Judges depending upon the context and situation of the time.

To Kelsen, law is a specific technique of “social organization”. The concept of law has no moral connotation whatsoever: its decisive criterion is the element of force. The mechanical apparatus of the law is capable enough to protect any political, economic or social set up. Any kind of content might be law. “There is no human behaviour which, as such, is excluded from being the contempt of a legal norm. He writes as if he has offered a definition of law, but Kelsen never did it. What he offers is certain elucidations. His purported definition law is as an aggregate or system of norms, as a normative order. According to Kelsen: “the State is neither more or nor less than The law are object of normative, juristic knowledge in its ideal aspect, that is, as a system of ideas, the subject matter of social psychology or sociology in its material aspect, that is, as a motivated and motivating physical act (force) ¹⁶.

Law and State are really the same thing considered from different angles. A legal order becomes a State when it has developed (within its own) organs for the creation, declaration and enforcement of law. When we look at it as a system of abstract rules we think of the legal order (law) ; when we examine the institutions by which law is put into effect or made operational we think of the State. But this is merely looking at the same thing (as already stated) from two angles. To the extent the provision for sanction is crucial to the understanding the concept of law, the theories of Austin and Kelsen agree. But they differ in its elaboration. For Austin law is a command backed by sanction. To Kelsen, the sanction forms a part of his concept of law. He says: “Law is the primary norm, which stipulates the sanction”. As stated elsewhere, Kelsen sums up: All the norms of a legal order are coercive norms, that is norms providing for sanctions; but there Are norms the efficacy of which is not secured by other norms.

Then, Kelsen illustrates the point by giving examples: “Norm, for example runs as follows: If an individual steals, another individual, an organ

of the community shall punish him. The efficacy, of this norm is secured by the norm $n+1$: If the organ does not punish the thief, another shall punish the organ who violates his duty of punishing the thief. There is no norm $n+2$, securing the efficacy of the norm $n+1$. The coercive norm $n+1$: If the organ does not punish the thief, another organ shall punish the law-violating organ, is not guaranteed by a norm of $n+2$ nd degree”.

Kelsen’s Theory of Law: Criticism

- (1) A strong opposition has been raised against the thesis of the Grund norm as being a fiction incapable of being traced in legal reality. Keeping this in view Allen points out that there are concurrent sources of law: custom, statute, precedent, none of which can be said to have supremacy over others.
- (2) That the absolute purity of any legal theory is impossible. Kelsen admits that except grund norm, all other norms are pure. It is beyond any body comprehension that if the Grundnorm itself is impure how can other norms be pure.
- (3) By calling basic norm a hypothesis or a hypothetical norm what does Kelson mean by it? Are these the same thing? Or are they only related but not identical notions? Or the same notion applied to different entities? Or both of these? These are some of the queries raised by Julius Stone.
- (4) As already stated Kelsen sees a ‘basic norm’ as a ‘hypothesis or presumption’. His presumption reminds us ‘a priori’ thinking of natural law-philosophy which is not empirical. In other words, the concept of ‘grundnorm’ is natural law in disguise. Thus, we can say, that the concept of ‘grundnorm’ is one of the weakest point of Kelsen’s legal theory.
- (5) When Kelsen accords primacy to international law, he still disagreed as to its apex norm. Even if we admit that there is international law in some sense, its development is such that no single apex norm can rationalise it. If Kelsen accords primacy to International law, it is necessarily on sociological or ethico-political considerations from outside the pure science of law.
- (6) All legal norms, according to Kelsen, derive their validity from the ‘grundnorm’, from where does the ‘grundnorm’ arise. It could certainly not arise out of a lower norm, for there it would not be the grundnorm and it could obviously not arise out of itself.

- (7) Kelsen studies a structure which is divorced from social realities. His concept of grundnorm is almost static. He forgets that the grundnorm itself keeps changing in the modern times. The legal structure is bound to keep changing (in view of changing social structure, need of the time, mending scientific and technological advance).

In view of above criticism it will not be appropriate to say that Kelsen's pure theory of law is without significance. How important and of value the contribution of Kelsen are prompted Roscoe Pound in 1934 to characterise Kelsen as "unquestionably the leading jurist" of the time. And no one can doubt the influence of his theory on fundamental legal thought. He stirred jurisprudential thought even in Anglo-Saxon countries even if often only by hostile reaction. According to Kelsen, the traditional distinction between private and public law is one of degree; the distinction between legislative, executive and judicial processes appear in new light, all are norm creating agencies, the executive and judiciary being but steps in the concretisation of norms in particular cases; the distinction between substantive and procedural law is relative; the distinction between law and fact has also become relative; the idea of duty is of its essence which is obvious in the 'ought'. These are significant contribution of Kelsen, none can dispute. Again, to him the concept of person was simply a step in the process of concretisation and that law and state are identical. A great value of Kelsen's work is its critical force, since he ably shows that many writers have clothed with the glory of first principles of jurisprudence what are their own prejudices. Kelsen's work is also valuable in the sense that it lays emphasis on the discretion of judges, by saying that "in executing the norms of law the judge has much discretion especially in the contingencies unprovided for.

To conclude in the words of Paton¹⁷: No one can doubt that Kelsen has made a original and striking contribution to jurisprudence. In 1832 Austin cleared away much dead wood, a century later Kelsen with critical acumen exposed many fallacies.

Theory of Kelsen: Indian Context

Kelsen's pure theory of law is not applicable in India. To Kelsen, law and State are identical. They are not two different things. But we in India believe that both law and state are altogether separate things. One cannot be seen in terms of the other. Rather we have adopted a system of political organisation, known as Parliamentary democracy, a federal constitution, which is regulated by law the Constitution of India. It established three

important organs of State: Legislature, executive and judiciary. In other words, a Constitution is a system or body of fundamental principles according to which a nation or body politic is constituted and governed. If we concede to the argument of Kelsen, as stated above, there would certainly be little room for the law without which no democracy be worth the name. Again Kelsen's pure theory of law is not in tune with Indian context. The Constitution which the people of India had adopted, talks of justice: economic, social and political. We can insure this only in a welfare state. Laws in India has to be attuned to this ideal. And, therefore, we normally cannot think of a law devoid of ideological content, which Kelsen rejects. To him justice is an ideological concept and at the same time an "irrational ideal".

Ideological content further finds expression in Part III of India's Constitution dealing with fundamental rights. These rights represent the basic values cherished by the people of this country since Vedic times and are meant to protect the dignity of the individual as also to create conditions in which every human being can develop his personality to the fullest extents¹⁸. Further, Part IV of the Constitution of India aims at to establish an ideal of a free and egalitarian social order and thereby ensuring the welfare of the individual. And, therefore, laws in India must reflect this basic value, for these values are "fundamental in the governance of the country".

Grundnorm in India

The Courts find the grundnorm of India's legal system in the Constitution of India. Constitutional law is also said to be fundamental law and all other laws (ordinary law) must conform to fundamental law and all execution or legislative processes are to be tested or measured at the anvil of higher law embodied in the Constitution, that is, the fundamental law of constitution. And this usually happens in India. When the question of the validity of an ordinary or general law is challenged it has to be justified with reference to the Constitution. It is well settled law in India that executive instructions cannot override a statutory rule. As already pointed out according to Kelsen, every hierarchy the bigger (higher law) will prevail over law¹⁹. In the Indian Legal System the hierarchy of laws is as follows:

1. The Constitution,
2. Statutory law which may be either made by the Parliament or State Legislatures.
3. Delegated legislation, which may be in the form of Rules and

Regulations, etc.

4. Executive orders or Governmental instructions.

The Constitution as a grundnorm or fundamental norm is a meta-legal fact. All ordinary laws and the institutions created under the constitution derive their validity from the Constitution. Amendment is permissible even in this grundnorm (the constitution) provided that the basic structure and the frame work of the Constitution are not altered²⁰. In Constitution, separation of powers and 'judicial review' are the basic structure. All these are constitutional norms. The vital distinction between constitutional law and ordinary law lies in the criterion of the validity of the ordinary law. An ordinary law when questioned, as already stated, must be justified by reference to the higher law embodied in the Constitution. But what about Constitution? The Supreme Court' says, "its validity is, generally speaking, inherent and lies within itself. In other words, observed the Supreme Court.

The validity of the Constitution lies in the social fact of its being accepted by the community and for the reason that its norms have become efficacious. Its validity is meta-legal. What about the validity of an amendment of the Constitution? Is it a meta-legal fact? The answer is no, for the reason that just as an ordinary law derives its validity from its conformity with the Constitution, so also, an, amendment of the Constitution derives its validity from the Constitution. An amendment of the Constitution can be ultra vires just as an ordinary law can be²¹.

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On Line Dispute Resolution, It's Relevance In India With Special Reference of COVID-19 Crisis

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Introduction

This article examines from Indian prospective the technological change by which legal and judicial systems have been affected and transformed by the expansion of information and communication technologies (ICTs) with special reference of COVID-19 crisis. There is integration of economies and societies of different countries across the globe. It has been a great tool for breaking economic barrier and envisioning world as a market for trade. In the modern techniques of dispute resolution of commercial conflicts, emphasis has drifted from litigation to arbitration. As things are never static, emphasis is further sliding from arbitration to alternate dispute resolution procedures. The aim of this paper is to analyse the prospective use of online dispute resolution in India. The growing use of ODR mechanism will reduce the burden of overburdened Courts in India. Technological change has remarkably accelerated at present and the world's legal and judicial systems have been affected and transformed by the expansion of information and communication technologies (ICTs). The rapid development of ICTs has opened new opportunities to significantly improve both the administration and the access to justice.

ODR was born from the synergy between ADR and ICT, as a method for resolving disputes that were arising online, and for which traditional means of dispute resolution were inefficient or unavailable.¹ ODR is an outgrowth of alternative dispute resolution (ADR), which took off in the United States in the 1970s. ODR started as ADR plus technology, but over time it has been realized that ODR opens new possibilities that just aren't practical in face-to-face processes. ADR was an attempt to find better ways for people to resolve their disputes outside of the courts and proved very successful in raising awareness about techniques such as negotiation, mediation, and arbitration. For instance, most family courts now recommend mediation for custody and parenting disputes in advance of a formal hearing.

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ODR's growth coincided with the expansion of the internet in the late-1990s. Websites like eBay were growing like wildfire but didn't have a fast and fair way to resolve problems that arose. Executives quickly determined this was undermining user trust. ODR experts helped eBay—and many other e-commerce companies—create platforms that could identify problems early and resolve them quickly, keeping users happy and making them more willing to buy things online. Eventually, eBay was resolving more than 60 million disputes per year through ODR, more than the entire U.S. civil court system.

Online dispute resolution in India is an important part of Legal Enablement of ICT Systems in India and Legal Framework for Information Society in India. Online dispute resolution (ODR) in India is in its infancy stage and it is gaining prominence day by day. With the enactment of Information Technology Act, 2000 in India, e-commerce and e-governance have been given a formal and legal recognition in India. Even the traditional arbitration law of India has been reformulated and now India has Arbitration and Conciliation Act, 1996 in place that is satisfying the harmonised standards of UNCITRAL Model. Even the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 has been amended and section 89 has been introduced to provide methods of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) in India.² The Act established a Cyber Appellate Tribunal to resolve disputes rising from this new law and also amended various sections of the Indian Penal Code, 1860, the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, the Banker's Book Evidence Act, 1891, and the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 to make them compliant with new technologies. The Act mentions of data protection issues but does not lay down specific privacy principles.

Definition Definition

Online Dispute Resolution (“ODR”) broadly refers to dispute resolution practices that take advantage of the convenience and efficiency of the internet and online communications. The term encompasses everything from the electronic filing of submissions and exchange of documents to online hearings.³

Like any avenue for dispute resolution, companies must weigh a number of considerations to determine whether ODR is appropriate for their situation. With respect to filing and exchanging documents, electronic filing is generally more efficient, economical, environmentally friendly, and less burdensome. Moreover, remote hearings, which avoid travel time, expenses,

and other fees associated with in-person hearings, should typically be more efficient to schedule and less costly for the parties. It is difficult to provide a self-contained definition of ODR, and given the pace of change it may not even be possible to do so. The use of technology usually involves the use of Internet-based communications technology at some stage, but ODR does not necessarily involve purely online processes – further, many could be replicated offline using pen and paper, or could be achieved using computers without Internet connections.⁴ Online dispute resolution (ODR) is a branch of dispute resolution which uses technology to facilitate the resolution of disputes between parties. It primarily involves negotiation, mediation or arbitration, or a combination of all three. In this respect it is often seen as being the online equivalent of alternative dispute resolution (ADR).⁵ However, ODR can also augment these traditional means of resolving disputes by applying innovative techniques and online technologies to the process.

Types Of ODR

ODR is often used as the deployment of applications and computer networks for resolving disputes with ADR methods. Both e-disputes and brick and mortar disputes can be resolved using ODR. At the moment there are four types of ODR systems: (1) Online settlement, using an expert system to automatically settle financial claims; (2) Online arbitration, using a website to resolve disputes with the aid of qualified arbitrators; (3) Online resolution of consumer complaints, using e-mail to handle certain types of consumer complaints; (4) Online mediation, using a website to resolve disputes with the aid of qualified mediators; (5) Not all of these types of ODR are fully developed yet. Online settlement and online mediation are currently the most advanced.⁶

The range of terms and acronyms used to describe the field augments the confusion often felt by those unfamiliar with the new field of ODR. These terms include: Internet Dispute Resolution (IDR); Electronic Dispute Resolution (EDR); Electronic ADR (EADR); Online ADR (OADR); ODR has emerged as the most used term in recent years.

It is uncertain whether these processes form a new *discipline* of ADR or a *tool* to aid existing methods of dispute resolution. The most appropriate view would be to view ODR as an interdisciplinary field of dispute resolution.

Advantage And Disadvantage of ODR

Dispute resolution techniques range from methods where parties have

full control of the procedure, to methods where a third party is in control of both the process and the outcome. These primary methods of resolving disputes may be complemented with Information and Communication Technology (ICT).⁷

In addition to the two (or more) disputants and the third neutral party, the labeling of technology as the fourth party is a clear metaphor which stresses how technology can be as powerful as to change the traditional three side model. The fourth party embodies a range of capabilities in the same manner that the third party does. While the fourth party may at times take the place of the third party, i.e. automated negotiation, it will frequently be used by the third party as a tool for assisting the process.⁸

Online Dispute Resolution (ODR) is often referred as a form of ADR which takes advantage of the speed and convenience of the Internet and ICT. ODR is the best (and often the only) option for enhancing the redress of consumer grievances, strengthening their trust in the market, and promoting the sustainable growth of e-commerce. Hence, e-commerce is the most natural field for the application of ODR, in particular for settling complaints that are characterized for being:⁹ cross-border; low value; high volume; occurred between Internet users.

There are advantages and disadvantages of ODR when compared with traditional, face-to-face ADR. The advantages include cost savings and convenience, while the disadvantages include that it is impersonal and potentially inaccessible to some individuals. As technology advances and high-speed Internet connections allow for video-conferencing.

Some authors have argued that the lack of personal presence in cybermediation can make it more difficult for the mediator to maintain effective control over the negotiating parties.

The online medium, at least the e-mail environment, makes it difficult for the mediator to manage or temper the tone of the interactions without sounding controlling and judgmental. The mediator, at least in the beginning, is a disembodied voice and cannot use her own physical 'personhood' to set the parties at ease and create an environment for sustained problem-solving. Similarly, absent the physical presence of the disputants, the mediator has difficulty using the intuitive cues of body language, facial expression, and verbal tonality that are part of face-to-face mediation processes.¹⁰

When disputes arise in an e-commerce marketplace, the disputant are tech savvy enough to log on to a website and make a purchase, and

they probably expect that any resolution will happen in the same environment where the dispute arose. ODR seems logical to them. That's not necessarily the case in a legal dispute. Some people may be comfortable with technology, and others may not. Courts are expected to invest resources in ways that maximize access to justice for as many as possible, but many court users do not have access to computers or fast internet connections. People may only have internet access through their smart phones or via public kiosks in a library, and they may not be comfortable expressing themselves in writing. Also, the types of issues that arise in e-commerce transactions (e.g. not receiving an item or not being happy with the item received) are usually less complicated than the kinds of issues filed in courts (e.g., workplace, landlord-tenant, or family matters). These factors required us to rethink our systems to better meet the needs of the wide spectrum of court users and dispute types, which wasn't easy.¹¹

The challenges confronting the courts aren't only in expanding access. Some judges are worried the courts are getting caught in a "spiral of irrelevance." Society is digitizing left and right, and the courts aren't keeping up. People's expectations are now set by daily use of highly personalized websites such as Amazon, Facebook, and Google. If the courts only provide services in person on weekdays between court hours or require paper forms to be mailed or faxed in, a large part of the population may face obstacles in getting full access to the justice system. ODR helps keep courts relevant in our digital age by providing access online 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

First and foremost is convenience. People give higher satisfaction ratings for in-person service than for online service, but the preference numbers are off the charts in favor of online, and that's due to the convenience. For people who live in remote areas, ODR can be a tremendous benefit. Users love that they can access the system whenever it fits into their schedule.¹² For many face-to-face cases resolutions take one to two months, but online resolutions are taking an average of six days, with some being resolved in a few hours. The majority of ODR agreements are reached outside of typical court hours—late in the evenings or over the weekend—because that's when people are free to engage and work out solutions.

The **second** major advantage is cost. Faster resolutions mean less time off work, less time away from family, fewer travel expenses, less administrative paper shuffling, and fewer scheduling delays. The **third** factor is accessibility. For those who cannot easily afford an advocate or take time

away from critical responsibilities, ODR may provide the only viable option for pursuing redress. As the internet continues to grow alternative forms of justice such as Online Dispute Resolution (ODR) have become available. ODR is considered a form of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) that uses technology in attempt to resolve disputes in a faster and more efficient way.

Court ODR was pioneered outside of the United States in places such as Singapore, the Netherlands, and Canada. The leading ODR provider for consumer mediation was until recently Square Trade. It was contracted by a number of market places, the largest of which was eBay . However, due to changes in the eBay feedback system in May 2008, Square Trade decided to stop resolving eBay feedback disputes from June 2008. Square Trade continues providing services to eBay users, such as warranty services and the trust mark program. It appears that in the last year these services have been taken over by eBay and PayPal dispute resolution services, but results on these services are still scarce.

Square Trade did not handle disputes between users and eBay, only between sellers and buyers on eBay. Square Trade offered two levels of dispute resolution: assisted negotiation and mediation. Square Trade was only used after eBay's own consumer satisfaction process. In the last few years, Square Trade has resolved millions of disputes across 120 countries in 5 different languages.¹³

ODR, Need Of The Time ODR

- Disputes resolution is a tricky affair for all stakeholders including courts, government, companies, individuals, international organizations, etc.
- This is more so where the conflict of law is involved as different countries may have different laws for dispute resolution.
- To reduce the hardships of such disputes, countries should adopt a model code of conduct that was incorporated in their respective domestic laws.
- Indian judicial system is already burdened with piles of cases, things will become much worse with the issues of increasing e-commerce disputes.
- For limiting the role of national courts and to give primacy to the will of the parties in establishing the procedure for the settlement of their disputes.
- Securing procedural fairness by means of a limited number of provisions from which the parties could not agree to depart.

- Putting in place rules which advance arbitration, even if the parties have not reached agreement on all relevant procedural matters.
- In spite of the drawbacks linked with online arbitration, it remains one of the most significant methods of resolving Business to Business (B2B) and Business to Consumer (B2C) disputes in the current era.¹⁴

CRISIS-19 Crisis

COVID-19 has currently reached more than 200 countries in the world and many of which have placed their citizens on lock down and/or have temporarily shut down the courts leaving little recourse for parties requiring immediate assistance. Courts around the world have responded to the COVID-19 outbreak by delaying or suspending proceedings. While some courts have attempted to use technological solutions such as remote appearances by videoconference to mitigate delays,¹⁵ others opted to postpone all proceedings deemed non-essential.¹⁶ The status of matters pending before courts is changing on a daily basis, in most cases providing little clarity about when or how they will be addressed.

Yet, disputes continue to arise, including disputes relating to the disruption and delays caused or exacerbated by the COVID-19 crisis.¹⁷ To minimize further disruption in an increasingly uncertain economic climate, many parties may seek avenues to resolve such disputes immediately and efficiently. ODR allows parties to present their case from anywhere in the world, including from their homes or offices. This option is particularly important in the present crisis period. Of course, companies, institutions and counsel may have concerns about whether they will be able to effectively present their case without in-person interactions with the judges, arbitrators, mediators, counselors, opposite counsels, witnesses, experts, opposing parties or not.

In light of the current crisis, parties may wish to consider ODR options to resolve their disputes. A number of considerations, including the type of dispute, amount in dispute, the opposing parties, and the urgency for resolution will need to be considered. While most dispute resolution mechanisms employed today will inevitably involve some online element, the relevant question for the parties may be to what extent the proceeding can take place online in the interest of saving time and cost.¹⁸

Assuming a party determines it is necessary and feasible to resolve a dispute through ODR, it need not already have a pre-existing arbitration agreement. Rather, it can enter into a post-dispute ODR agreement, tai-

lored to the specific requirements of the parties and the dispute. Companies not currently facing a dispute may also consider whether to add ODR clauses for future disputes in their contracts. Such clauses can preserve the option not just for any future crises but also for disputes that can more efficiently be resolved by virtual means. As today's reality has shown, businesses are becoming increasingly comfortable, as they must, to the use of online tools to manage their day-to-day operations. In the same way, parties should consider the potential for using these same online tools as viable platforms for resolving disputes.

But as a growing number of legal practitioners develop experience with ODR, advocates are growing increasingly comfortable with conducting oral arguments remotely. There are also studies which raise doubts as to the extent to which face-to-face contact actually assists in assessing credibility.

Crucially, the successful use of ODR requires access to a basic modern technological infrastructure, including a reliable internet connection and computers, which may not always be available to parties, particularly in less developed economies like our country. Many of these issues are, however, being addressed by technological innovations and creative procedures. Of course, in many instances, in-person hearings will be preferable to remote hearings. But one should know that in-person hearings are not always necessary, or—as we have come to appreciate in recent COVID-19 crisis—possible. Courts around the world have responded to the COVID-19 outbreak by delaying or suspending proceedings. While some courts including Supreme Court of India, some High Courts and District Courts in this country have attempted to use technological solutions such as remote appearances by videoconference to mitigate delays, others have opted to postpone all proceedings deemed non-essential. The status of matters pending before courts is changing on a daily basis, in most cases providing little clarity about when or how they will be addressed.

In advanced countries it is relatively common for witnesses to provide testimony over videoconference if that witness is unable to attend the hearing as a result of visa regulations, government restrictions, or even for business or convenience purposes. Additionally, for cost and efficiency reasons, sessions involving procedural or interlocutory issues are often held over telepresence or videoconference rather than in-person. But in India we are in infancy stage to use technology and replace in-person hearing, neither we are well equipped to cope up with the technological solutions to

address and deliver justice.

Yet, disputes continue to arise, including disputes relating to the disruption and delays caused or exacerbated by the COVID-19 crisis. To minimize further disruption in an increasingly uncertain economic climate, many parties may seek avenues to resolve such disputes immediately and efficiently. Though not a panacea, these parties may consider entering post-dispute arbitration or mediation agreements that tend to provide greater flexibility to the parties to resolve disputes remotely and in an expedited manner. In this client alert, many Institutions outline key features of online arbitration and mediation options which are particularly attractive not only for times of calm, but particularly in times of crises such as this. In this regard, many arbitration institutions have expressly confirmed that they remain open for business despite the global pandemic.

Alongside arbitral institutions, specialized service providers have developed virtual platforms that enable remote hearings and other sessions. For instance, the procedural rules of the International Chamber of Commerce (“ICC”) enable expedited and emergency arbitration proceedings to be held by “videoconference, telephone or similar means of communication.”

In response to the COVID-19 crisis in particular, the ICC, the American Arbitration Association (“AAA”), the AAA’s international division, the International Centre for Dispute Resolution (“AAA-ICDR”), JAMS, the International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (“ICSID”), and the Singapore International Arbitration Centre (“SIAC”) have all issued guidance on the use of videoconferencing for remote participation in hearings.¹⁹

Conclusion

The technological dimension of judicial processes in our country is far behind from significant initiatives taken at international level for the introduction of e-Justice in managing court cases. We are in the age of the digitization of material, the electronic filing and the online inter connection between courts. Other countries are implementing pilot online schemes that do not require the physical presence of the parties to court proceedings and allow witnesses to testify through the web. The evolution of technology convinces public justice systems more and more every day that the future of e-Justice is not far away. Public courts can become part of the ODR movement, incorporate its practices, gain significant benefits from the use of online

tools and resolve cases effectively through confidential and safe procedures. The collective experience of all systems that were occasionally created, have contributed to a significant volume of knowledge. This will lead us towards an era of electronic procedures in the administration of justice which a lot safer, quicker and attractive.

Every field of life is influenced by science and technology and life has become very easier and convenient after applications of technology. Similarly, we can use science and information communication technology in legal field and make judicial process and extra judicial process easier and convenient. Some deceases like Covid 19, swine flu and Zika virus are contagious and spread very fast and need to maintain social distancing. In this situation online dispute resolution, virtual court will be the best way of dispute resolution. Even apart from this crisis so many other circumstances like old age, sickness, disability, pregnancy, post pregnancy complication, risk of presenting notorious terrorist may occur due to which lawyers, witnesses and clients are unable to appear before physical courts and before other dispute redress forums. India is a big country and it takes a lot of time and money to travel from remote places to various Courts. In all cases ODR is most effective solution.

In spite of the advantages of online dispute resolution and usefulness of technology, virtual court cannot take place of physical court or ODR cannot replace other platforms of alternative dispute resolution completely. Because most of the people in India live in villages and they are illiterate, even large number of literate person doesn't have sufficient knowledge of technology. So India needs both type of courts virtual and physical and both online dispute resolution and alternative dispute resolution.

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COVID -19 And it's Implication on Global, Social, Economy And Environment

Dr. Tej Prakash *

Abstract

The world wide disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in numerous effects on the economics and environment. The relation between environmental pollution and economics is inversely proportional. In the period of covid-19 on the one side during lockdown water pollution, air pollution etc. are reduced due to which air quality has improved in many cities in other hands during lockdown the world-wide reduction in production and consumption due to which economy is fall down. Using a global multi-regional macroeconomic model, we capture direct and indirect spillover effects in terms of economic losses as well as socio-economic and environmental effects of pandemic. Based on information of may 2020, we show that global consumption losses amount to 3.8\$ tr, triggering significant job (147 million full-time equivalent) and income (2.1 \$ tr) losses global atmospheric emissions are reduced by 2.5Gt of green house gasses, 0.6 Mt of PM_{2.5}, and 5.1 Mt of SO₂ and NO_x while Asia, Europe and USA have been the most directly impacted regions and transport and tourism effects transmitted along international supply chains are being felt across the entire world economy. Some negative effect of covid-19, such as increase of medical waste, haphazard use and disposal of disinfectants, mask and gloves and burden of untreated wastes continuously endangering the environment. I hope that economic activities will return soon after the pandemic. It is expected that the proper implementation of the proposed strategies might be helpful for the global environmental sustainability.

Key Word- Environmental pollution, COVID- 19 Sustainability, Lock Down, Consumption of US 3.8 Trillion.

Introduction

COVID-19 virus outspread in Wuhan, China on December 31, 2019 (Kavangh 2020 Wu et. al, 2020; Zhu et. al 2020) since then, the national and international spread of the disease has threatened people's lives all around the world (Wu et. al, 2020; Zhu et. al 2020) .

The early causes of human infection with COVID-19 in Wuhan were associated with big seafood and live animal markets which indicated the transmission of virus from animals to human, soon after, several people who

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had not been exposed to animals were infected by disease, which indicated the virus transmission from one individual to another. The disease spread was observed out of Chinese borders, almost in all countries over the world (Tahir & Batool 2020). According to official report, human to human transmission is continuing nationally (Yang et. al 2020).

According to Herbert (2020) COVID-19 affects socio-economic circumstances because of declining global GDP, declining capital flows, fewer investment opportunities and decreased trading. Not limited to economic loss, this pandemic impacts social parameters like the changes in sustainable psychological development. Globally, the rate of poverty is increasing. **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** World Economic update for June stemated considerable fluctuation in the final ration (IMF 2020) More than 20 million people currently live in extreme poverty, however Mukhtar (2020) reports that on increase of about 420 million is projected to be living in extreme poverty, Finding gathered by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) reflect that COVID -19 has resulted in a severe decline in human development for the first time since 1990 (Zand' For and Badrfam 2020).

Their examination reveals that the current global picture lacks socio-economic development. Therefore the aim of this research report is determine the effect of the COVID-19 on the economic, social and political factors relating to the sustainable development environment. Evaluate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on global economy. Highlight the effect of support of the world trade environmental infrastructure in taking the COVID-19

Impact of Corona virus disease on Environmental Issues

A long with the impact of COVID-19 on economic conditions, there is an environmental impact which Cartwright et.al (2020) discuss. The COVID-19 situation impacts global emissions specially in relation to the release of emission into the atmosphere. The lessening of CO₂ emission relates to the effects of COVID-19 on human development, which in the view of Bastola et. al (2020) led to the 2020 financial crisis. The restrictions on human development and declining rates of change evolved along with the loss of environmental degradation. It was observed that in Asian and European countries, the extant of the ambient particulate matter has declined significantly (Gautam and Trivedi 2020 Kasha 2020) urban and industrial areas have less carbon monoxide and aerosol in the present situation. (Gautam and Trivedi 2020; Holthous 2020) These environmental gains mirror

the losses in the fields of health education income and trade(Bai et al 2020)

Impact of Corona Virus disease on the global economy

According to Moti and Ten Goon (2020) global economic integration is required to deal with the implications of the Corona Virus pandemic. A balanced partnership between the public private sector, with takes into accounts the contextual economy and health system, and is specific to each countries situation will help national as well as international health and economic recovery. The World's Total GDP depends on the economics of separate countries , China's economy is the largest contributing economy and the United. State's the second largest. Due to COVID-19, most factories are moving toward closure and stopping the production of goods. This lack of production of goods and services has a great impact on the consumers and no significant purchasing practices have been recoded since the spread of COVID-19. In the same context, declining soles are facing the international market to face the situation. Brands like Apple, Toyota, Jaguar, Land Rover and many more are facing loss of investors and consumers (Ahmad et.al 2020), Hyundai has shut down its business services and supply operations due to lack of consumer purchases. According to an IMF report (IMF 2020), the issues related to the current pandemic will restrict the global economy. Overall sustainable development criteria are excepted to collapse. The distribution of economic policy globally in response to COVID-19 was conducted across 166 countries. It demonstrated that united State is at the top, followed by the Sweden.

Methodology

All the principles and guidelines were followed at the time of preparing the methodology for this research. A through literature research was conducted and after proper evolution and analysis, relevant literature was identified and included for the present reviews. Ta accomplish the desired objectives, all the studies related to the topic published recently were selected. It was assumed that including some publications of the previous decade would be helpful in reflecting upon the practices and strategies that were implemented in situations previously like the global economic recession. A computerized and Journal articles from authentic sources were screened to identify any relevant studies.

Discussion

In the present study it is clear that the global disruption caused by the COVID - 19 has brought about several effects on economic and

environments due to movement restriction and a significant slowdown of social and economic activity. Directly or indirectly the pandemic is affecting human life and the global economy which is ultimately affecting the environment and climate it reminds us how we have neglected the environment all components and enforced human induced climate change more ever the global response of COVID-19 also teaches us to work together to combat against the threat to mankind. Though the impacts of COVID- 19 on the environment are short term, United and proposed time oriented effort can strengthen environmental sustainability and save the earth from the effect of global climate change.

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ifjo k ij gea dYg.k l st kudkj h i ktr gkrh gSfd tggk jkt njckj ds ykx
"Hkqsgg eká * vkj gYdh Bm/h vkj l æa/kr efnjk dk vkun mBkrs Fks oghavke
ykska dks pkoy vkj gk [k l s l arkSk djuk i Mæk Fkka⁸ l kel'fd mRi hMæ ij
Hkh dYg.k us izdk'k Mkyk gA ml le; eut; vi us vf/kdkjka dh ckr ugha
djrk Fkk] jktk ds nsh xqkka dh izka k gksrh Fkka dYg.k us xjhc vkj nhughu
ykska ds ifr l gkubkfr n'kkbZ gA xg/keh i Fkk dk fojksk Hkh fd; k gA dYg.k
bækunj bfrgkl dkj ds: lk eavi us dks i Lr q djus dk iz kl djrs gA vkj

dgrsg& døy , d l nkpjh dfo gh izka k dk ik= gStks iæ ; k ?k.kk l s
eDr jgdj viuh Hkk"kk dks l nð rF; ka dks mn?kkfVr&vkyk&dr djus rd
l hfer j [krk g&°

bl izdkj dYg.k Ñr jktrj&x.kh fuf'pr : lk ea Hkkjrh; bfrgkl
y&ku ijEijk ea iEke , srgkfl d xDfK ds : lk ea g& ftl us l o&Eke dkyc)
dj jkto&kk& dk o.k& iLr& djus dk iz kl fd; kA l kekftd djhfr; ka dks
[kydj n'kk&sd& iz kl fd; kA ; g iEke frffkijd , srgkfl d xDfK g& dYg.k
usbfrgkl y&ku dh , d ubz ijEijk dks tUe fn; k FkkA jktrj&x.kh okLro
ea , d , srgkfl d Ñfr fl) g&rh g&

I UnH&

- 1- bz Jh&kju &bfrgkl y&ku v&sj; & Cy&Lok& i0&1
- 2- ogh
- 3- M& , 0, y0 ckFle %n d'ehj Ø&fudy fgLV&sj; UI v&bf.M; k/
ikfdLrku l hyku i0&61
- 4- ogh i0&64
- 5- jktrj&x.kh 1@82
- 6- ogh 1@104
- 7- bz Jh&kju &bfrgkl y&ku v&sj; & Cy&Lok& i0&298
- 8- ogh
- 9- jktrj&x.kh i0&706

egkohj pfjr ea iÑfr fp=.k

IIIW jkt'sk d'elj¹

ep'sk p'it²

I ðÑr I kfgR; ea iÑfr fp=.k dk egROIwKz LFkku gð I kfgR; rks I keku; r%ekuofgr I k/kd gð vkš iÑfr Hkh] u d'oy ekuo vfi rqi kf.kek= ds fy, dY; k.kdkjd rFkk mi dkj&ijk; .k gð iÑfr vkš ekuo dh ikjLifjd vkReh; rk fo"ocU/kðo rFkk I koZkkš; LoLFk i; k'oj.k dh I ðFkfi dk] rFkk I jf{kdk gSbl nf'V I sukV; &dk0; kfn I kfgR; ea iÑfr fp=.k , d egROIwKz o.k'uh; fo'k; ds: i eaLoHÑr gð dk0; ukV; kaeafn; k x; k iÑfr o.k'U ml ds jpf; rk dh id'fr dk I p'd Hkh gkr'k gð

egkdfo HkoHkfr dh ekU; rk gSfd dk0; &ukV; kfn ea iÑfr o.k'U I ðe rFkk vfiHkuos'k i w'dl gksuk pkfg, A iÑfr ds; kollek= : i gð osl Hkh ekuo vkš ekuor'jkfn I Hkh ikf.k; ka ds fy, ije-mikns o fgrdkjd gð muea I tñj vl tñj dk Hknd fp'ru mfpr ugha gð dVs NjVš I ð ðdkfjr] Lk0; ofLFkr m | kuk'p oki hj rMkd'kfn je.kh; i kÑfrd n'; kadso.k'U eaf'ruh : fp gkr'h gð mruh gh : fp xgu Hk; kud ouk'p e: Hk'ie; k'p "e"kkukarFkk i "k&i f{k; kadso.k'U eaHkh gks'uh pkfg, A ; fn bl nf'V I sHkoHkfr dk I eh{k'kRed eV; kadu fd; k tk; rks mPpLrjh; Lkq fpi w'kz egkdfo ds: i ea ml'ga vo/kkfjr djuk U; k; I ær gks'kA

HkoHkfr ds: id ea iÑfr ds; kollek= : i id ær rFkk ukVd dh iÑfr&ijLFkr dsvuq i miLFkr gq gð HkoHkfr usvl k/kj.k I Qyrk vkš : fpi w'dl mudk o.k'U fd; k gð

ukVd ea iÑfr o.k'U dsfy, vR; Yi vodk" k gkr'k gð egkd'k0; kaeavud I xk'ea I w & p'unkn; kLr __r] i o'r] unh i Hkfr i kÑfrd n"; kadso.k'U feyrs gð t'cfd ukVd ea id ækadsvuq i gh iÑfro.k'U dk vol j gkr'k gð bl idkj ukVddkj dh {kerk rFkk : fp dk ifjp; vuk; kl fey t'rk gð , d e; k'rk ea jgdj fo'k; kuq i iÑfr o.k'U dh I Qyrk] o.k'U dh i w'kk; k rFkk I ðerk vkfn dfo ds I Qy i kÑfrd fp=.k dk fud'k gð

egkohj pfjr ukVd dh j'puk okYehfd jkek; .k ij vk/kkfjr gð bl ukVd ea egf'kzfo"okfe= ds vkJe eaf'o"okfe= }jkj ; K fo/kku I svkjEHk dj

¹, I l'el, V i k'2] j , oa v/; {k I ð'd'r foHkoX Qijkt x'p'lh dlyst'jk; c'jyh ¼m0i0½
² "k'k'k Nk=] I ð'd'r foHkoX] Qijkt x'k'lh dlyst' jk; c'jyh ¼ m0i0½

ds y&dk fot; ds i"pkr jke ds v; k& ; k i u j k x e u , o a j k T ; k f k ' k o d r d
jke&pfj= dk o. k u g a b l e a i n f r f p = . k d s i d a v R ; Y i g a j k o . k } j k
l h r k g j . k d s i " p k r l h r k . u o s k . k d s i d a l s o u & f o h k e . k d k y e a i k p o a v a d
e p r f k k n k s , d i d a y a d k l s o k i l y k v r l e ; e k x z e a i M u s o k y s i k n f r d
n " ; k a d k f p = . k f d ; k x ; k g a

dfo us i k n f r d n " ; k a d k o . k u v R ; U r l u e n f " k z k r f k k r n k R e H k o l s
L k q f p i d f d ; k g a l l r e v a d e a i q i d f o e k u i j v k : < g k d j y a d k l s o k i l
y k v r s l e ; e k x z f k f o f h k u i k n f r d n " ; k a d k e u k j e o . k u d f o u s i l r r f d ; k
g a f g e k y ; h ; i k n f r d l q e k v o y k d u h ; g a

; s i g k u s H k n t z k l s o ; k l r f g e k y ; d s i f o = i n s k g a f t u d s f " k y k [k . M k a
d k s n o k i x k x a k i z k k f y r d j j g h g a r f k k t k s d i j [k . M r Y ; m T t o y g a ; g k d
v u o j r l r r v / ; k R e f o | k i e u u f p l r u k f n d s i j e k h ; k l h c e g K k f u ; k a d k
l k s ; r s t o ; k l r g k s j g k g s f t u c e g o b r k v k a u s r R o K k u l s e k g k u / k d j d k s n j
g v k f n ; k g a

, r s r s l g j f l u / k a k k s n " k n c l i j [k . M k s T o y k %

i k n k t t j H k n t z Y d y H k r k s x l s h x j k s k o u k a

r R o k y k d f u j l r e k g r e l k e / ; k R e f o | k t q k a

; = c e a f o n k a f u l x e / k j a t k x f r z l k s ; a e g a A ¹

mn; kLrkpy Hkh i n f r d s e g R o i w k z v a k g a H k o H k n r u s e g k o h j p f j r d s
l l r e v a d e a m n ; k L r k p y d k H k h l g j E ; o . k u f d ; k g a

; g n k a k a m n ; k p y v l s v L r k p y g s f t u d h x k n e a l w z v l s p l n z
f u f " p l r H k o l s f u h k z g k d j c k Y ; v l s o k / k D ; n k a k a v o l F k k v k a d k l d q k y
; k i u d j y r s g a

mn; kLrkpykor k s ; R d k M s c k Y ; o k / k z d a

fo l E H k k P p U n d w k d ; k e r h ; r s f o f u h k z e A A ²

b l i z d j b u i n f r f p = . k a e a e g k d f o H k o H k n r d s l u e r e f u j h { k . k , o a
d Y i u k d k s k y d k i f j p ; f e y r k g a m n ; k p y r f k k v L r k p y d h x k n v l s
l w z p l n z i h c y d k a d k i k n h k k z } ; k o u d k m n e h i u r f k k o k / k D ; i k f l r v l s
v l r r % f o y ; v k f n d f o d h i s h l u e n f " V v n H k r d Y i u k " k h y r k j i k n f r d
i r h d k a e a e k u o h d j . k d k m n e k s k d f o d s v l k / k j . k f p l r u d s i f j p k ; d g a

i n f r f p = . k e a _ r q o . k u d k H k h f o " k s k e g r o g s D ; k a d _ r e d e l s
i n f r d k L o : i H k h i f j o f r r g k s t k r k g a ; g f d l h p r j f p r j s l u e k l r n z v k

fuiqk dfo dh dtkyrk dk ifjpk; d gks l drk gsfed og l kekl; r%vl tñj ; k vje; i nrhr gkus okys n''; ea Hkh l kñn; Z rRo <æ fudkys gñ l kñn; Z ; k je.kh; rk rks oLrç%; gh fd tks ifr{k.k uoRo/uoHurk½ dks /kkj .k djs ogh l kñn; Z g& {k.k {k.k.s ; Uuorkeij ßr rno : ia deuh; rk; k%

bl nf'V l s HkoHkñr i Ñfr ds mu n''; ka ea tks vl; dfo; ka dh nf'V ea vl tñj gñ muea Hkh l kñn; Z dk vuñko dj i krs gñ D; ka d osmuea uohurk dh mnHkkouk d jrs gñ bl ds l kFk ghj D; ka fd HkoHkñr , d xEHkhj i Ñfr dsegkdfo gñ rFkk v/; kRei .k Hkh gñ vr% mudh /kkj .kk gñ b l R; af''koal tñjeß-vFkkñr tks l R; vkñ f''ko gñ og l tñj gñ vr , o HkoHkñr i Ñfr ds ; FkkFkZ : i dk vkd'kd fp=.k dj usea l Qy gq gñ

egkohj pfjr ea egkdfo HkoHkñr uso'kkZ __rqdk o.kZu fd; k gñ pdnEc fodkl kñeñk gks jgs gñ e/kj d.BLoj okys uhyd.B rk.Mo dj jgs gñ rFkk fodl u''khy rekyo'k rç; uohu uhyeßk ioñ dh pks/h ij vkfJr gks jgs gñ flFkreij urtEHkhjEHk fcEc% dnEc% Ñrefrdyd.B&rk.Moa uhyd.B& vfi p fo?kVekuik&rkfi PNUhy% J; fr f''k[kj enuñruLrks okg&AA ³

bl h izdkj unhrVLFk&i kñrka dh je.kh; rk Hkh i kñfrd&l kñn; Z dk eukje i {k gñ unhrVLFk&i k''oz ea ioñka ouka rFkk ml dse/; ea __f'k efu; ka ds vkJekari koual sunhrVorhzi kñr Hkñe dh ''kkkk rks vR; Ur eukñj gks tkrh gñ bl ioñ l hek ds i kñr ea rFkñyhyrk l sP; ç edjUn /kkjk dks mnæh.kZdjus okys i ko{kka l s ?kuñHkñr fo''kkyre i jkru o{k gñ bu i jkru o{kka l s __f'kZ; ka ds vkJe i fjyf{k r gks jgs gñ ftuea dYi flFkfr ds l k{kñ efux.k fuokl d jrs gñ tks ri Lok/; k; kfn ds }kj k cEg l k{kñRdkj fd, gq gñ

; Ri ; ðr egh/kz l hfEu dggyhek/ohd/kkj knfxj & nA''; Ri ñkouh?kuñÑrry&rç&XkSt j PNkf [kfhk& y{; Urs fofo/kkJek% flFkjri % Lok/; k; l k{kñRÑr cEg.kks fuol flur ; = ep; % dYi flFkr% l kf{k.k.k&AA ⁴

I UnHkZ

- 1- egkohj pfjr 7@27
- 2- egkohj pfjr 7@23
- 3- egkohj pfjr 5@42
- 4- egkohj pfjr 7@13

^iáMr nhu n; ky mi kè; k; % , dkRe ekuo n"lú rFk vUR; k; *

*MLLW ½terh½ eerk ef.k f=iáBh **

nhu n; ky mi kè; k; dh vkfFkZd fopkjèkkjk mudh , dkRe ekuooknh fparu l sgh i Hkkfor FkA osHkkjrh; i já jkvka , oafopkjka ds l tx igjh ds # i ea tkus trs FkA muds fopkj tkfrokn] {ks=h; rk] Hkk'kkokn , oa l ka.Ñfrd tMfvka ds fo#) ^vfire 0; fDr dsmn; ^ l s l nfhkz fn [kk; h nrs gA mudk jktufrd fparu l ekurk ea 0; ki drk dk n"lú gA iáMr nhu n; ky mi kè; k; dk , dkRe ekuookn dk n"lú gA og euq; , oa iÑfr ds chp ds l æakka dk l kjrRo iáhr gkrk gA og l ekt ds i R; d {ks=ka ea vke vkneh dh Hkkxhnhkj dks iz; i nku djus okys fopkjka ds i {k ea fn [kk; h nrs gA orëku jktufrd ds LFkfi r ekunMka ds fo#) og oákokn dks fo'kosy ds # i ea crkrs gS mudk dguk gS fd ^Hkkjr ds fofoekr ea , drk dk n"lú l cdh LohdkjkDr gS vkS; gh Hkkjr dh vkRek HkA bl fy, pgs jktufrd dk iz'u gS l kekf t d Hkkxhnhkj dk iz'u gS vol jka ds l erk dk iz'u gks i R; d LFkku ij l ekt ds vfire 0; fDr ds iárfufekRo ds # i ea ykdra= fn [kkbz nsuk pfg, A bl "kkèk i = ea nhu n; ky mi kè; k; ds vUR; k; l æakh fopkjka dk o. lú fd; k x; k gA

iáMr nhu n; ky mi kè; k; , d egku fopkj d , oa n's kHkDr Fks os 20oha "knh dh l okRÑ'V cf) "khyrkvka ea l s, d FksftUgkaus Hkkjrh; jktufrd ds {ks= ea l ekurj ekxz i nku djus dk iz. kl fd; k vkS; Hkkjr dh l H; rkney d ; k=k ea ; kxnku fd; k og Hkkjr dh iÑfr vkS; i já jk ds vuq kj jktufrd n"lú dh vkdkk j [krs Fksft l ds rgr Hkkjr dk pgeq kh fodkl l fuf"pr gks l ds mlglkus , dkRe ekuookn ds jktufrd n"lú dks ifrikfnr fd; kA vesj dh l ekt foKkuh ukeZ i kyej ua muds ckjs ea dgk Fk fd Hkkjr ea vuq iáHk"kyh jktufrd usk gq gS tks fd jktufrd nk"lú dgs tkus dk nkok j [krs FkA nhu n; ky mi kè; k; bl l eay l s l Ecækr FkS , d jktufrd fopkj d vkS; l keF; ðku usk nhu n; ky mi kè; k; u doy , d vkUnksyu i kvhZ vFkok jk'V l s l æækr gscfyd fopkj vkS; vutko dh cgr cMh nfu; k l s t l s gA

, dkRed ekuo n"lú dk vFkZ gS ekuo thou rFk l Ei wZ Økár ds , dkRed l æakka dk n"lú A , dkRed ekuo n"lú 0; fDr thou dk Hkh ml ds l Hkh

* , l k l , V i k Q l j jktufrd "ML=½ cð Lukdkkij EkgRo / ky; d q k u x j m á i á ½

væka dksè; ku eaj [krsgg l æfyr fopkj djrk gð , dkRe ekuookn dk fopkj i æMr nhu n; ky mi kè; k; dh JsBre nsu gð , dkRe ekuookn dh 0; k[; k ds nkjku osdgrsgðfd 'Loraerk l ekurk rFkk cakrk , d gh rRo ea vUrfufgr gsftl svkReh; rk dgrsgð , dkRe ekuooknh fparu bl l R; dh vutkfr djrk gsfd l ekt dsifr 0; fDr dh vkReh; rk ml sifrnku ea vkReh; rk gh nsxA vkReh; rk 0; fDr o l ekt ds l ækka ea l ngyu LFkkfir djrh gð , dkRed ekuookn dkbZ uohu okn ugh gS; g ikphu Hkkjrh; l ÆÑfr dh uohu os"od fopkj i okg ds l nHkZ ea , d ; ækuupny 0; k[; k gð nhu n; ky mi kè; k; }kjk 1965 ea , dkRe ekuookn dh ækj .kk dk ifriknu fd; k x; kA bl dk mnHko v}S onkUr ds v}S oknh n"ku l sekuk tkrk gð bl n"ku ds vuq kj Hkkjr dsfy, l okZekd egROI wkZ Fkk fd , d , d sLons'kh vkfFkZd <kps dk fodkl djs ftl ds dñzeækuo dksj [kk x; k gð bl l si k"pkR; n"ku dks i wkZ-%vLohÑr ugh fd; k cfYd ; g l ektokn rFkk i ut hokn dks Øe" k% muds xq kka ds vkekj ij eV; kædu djrk gS l kFk gh ; g mudh vfrokfnrk rFkk vyxko dh vkykpuk Hkh djrk gð , dkRe ekuookn Lons'kh l ÆÑfr dks jk'V³ dh l kektfd vkfFkZd rFkk jktuhfrd l jpuks ds l kFk , dhÑr djus dk l efkZu djrk gð bl ds vuq kj Hkkjr }kjk viuk , tkusokysfd l h Hkh jktuhfrd n"ku ; k fodkl ds fd l h Hkh ekmy dh i' BHkfe dk fuekZk Hkkjrh; l ÆÑfr dh ey oLrq rFkk bl dh vf}rh; rk }kjk fd; k tkuk pkfg, A , dkRe ekuookn , d vkn"Z d'Yk; ij k; .k jkT; dks fu#fir djrk gS tGk; i R; d 0; fDr dks dñ vfekdkj inku djus ds l kFk&l kFk ml ds jkT; ds ifr dñ nkf; Ro Hkh fuekZj r fd; s tkrsgð , dkRed ekuookn eaerfHkUurk vka dks Lohdkj djrs l e; thou ds fofHkUu igypka ea vyxko] vLohÑfr rFkk vl gefr dh vi\$kk varjfulHkj rk] l kgp; Z rFkk , dRo ij è; ku dñnr fd; k tkrk gð bl fy, ; g l Hkh ds dY; k.k dsfy, dk; Z djrk gð

fodñnr vFkð; ol k; h dk fodkl djus l s gh ns'k dh vkfFkZd ixfr l Hko gð nhu n; ky mi kè; k; dh egROI wkZ ekU; rk 0; fDr ds l æk ea gS muds vuq kj i ut hoknh vFkZ'kkL= euq; dks , d vFkZykyq i k.kh ekudj pyr k gS ml ds l Hkh fu.kZ; vkfFkZd nf'Vdksk l sgkrs gð og vFkZ i knu dh i j .kk l sgh djrk gð nñ jh vkj ekDI Z rFkk l kE; oknh 0; oLFkk ea euq; dks jksh; cuk fn; kA vkekud vFkZ'kkL= vkfFkZd euq; dh voekj .kk ekudj pyr k gð nhu n; ky mi kè; k; dh egROI wkZ ekU; rk 0; fDr ds l æk ea gS muds vuq kj i ut hoknh vFkZ'kkL= euq; dks , d vFkZykyq i k.kh ekudj pyr k gð ml ds l Hkh fu.kZ; vkfFkZd nf'Vdksk l sgkrs gð og vFkZ i knu dh i j .kk l sgh djrk gð

vkfkdud vFkZkkl= vkfFkd euq; dh voekkj.kk ekudj pyrk g& ml ds l Hkh fu.kz vkfFkd n'f'Vdks k l s i Hkkfor gksr's g& og vFk&i knu dh ij.kk l s gh djrk g& nhu n; ky mi k&; k; th dk ekuuk Fkk fd bl v&re fparu vk\$ bl ij vkekkfjr vFkD; oLFkk dk ij .kke ; g g&rk fd gkM ekj dk okLrfod 0; fDr gekjh n'f'V l svks>y gksx; kA mlgkaus dgk fd eu] cf) vkRk "kjh bu pkjka dk l epp; gSge mudks VpdMka eack/dj fopkj ugh dj l drsmulgkaus i n'it hokn o l kE; okn nksuka dh l k>h vkypuk dh] or&ku l kE; okn i n'it hokn ea LokfeRo ds Lo#i dk varj NkM&ej dkbZ QdZ ugh gSvr% nksuka eagh 0; fDr ds fodkl dh l fpekk ugh g&

mi k&; k; th us dgk fd i n'it hokn vFkD; oLFkk igys vkfFkd {ks= ij vkfeki R; tekdj fQj ij k\$ k : lk l sjkT; ij vfedkj djrh gS rks l kE; okn dks gh l Ei wkZ mRi knuka dh Lokh cuk n&rk g& nksuka 0; oLFkk; a 0; fDr ds i zt krka= h; vfedkj , oa ml ds LoLFk fodkl ds i frdny g& nhu n; ky mi k&; k; th ykdr& dks dny jktuhfrd thou dk vk; ke ugh ekur& mudk er gSfd 'lR; d dksok/* t\$ sjktuhfrd iztkr& dk fu'd'kz gSo\$ sgh i R; d dksdke ; g vkfFkd iztkr& dk eki n.M g& i R; d dksdke dk vfedkj feyuk pkfg; A nhu n; ky mi k&; k; th dk vlxg Lon'skh] LokoyEch , oafod&Unr vFkr& , oa mRi knu r& viukus ij FkA fodkl i freku , oa mi Hkks "k\$yh ds ckjs ea vR; fekd fons'kh fuHkjrk ds fo#) FkA i &Mr nhu n; ky mi k&; k; dk ekuuk Fkk fd n'sk dh l eL; kv&dk l ek&ku i k"pR; n"ku dk vkekkj ydj ugh fd; k tk l drk ml dsfy, geavi usjk'V^ dks vkRefuHkj cukuk gksk ; gh nhu n; ky mi k&; k; dk Lon'skh fparu FkA mudh vkLFkk n'sk ds vkfFkd l kelftd fodkl dks Lon'skh fu'Bk ds l kFk i wkZ djus dk l dYi yrs FkA nhu n; ky mi k&; k; dk Lon'skh l s Hkkjr ds fodkl dsfy, fuEufyf[kr mn&s ; Fk&

- 1- Hkkjr dh l j {kk , drk dks l fuf"pr djukA
- 2- , d vkRefuHkj jk'V^ dk fuekZk
- 3- Hkkjr; l ka N'frd eW; ka dks c<kok n&ka
- 4- i k N'frd l ank dk l j {k.kA
- 5- l Hkh {ks=ka , oa l Hkh l ektka dk l rfyr fodkl A

i&Mr nhu n; ky mi k&; k; dk ekuuk Fkk fd fd l h Hkh n'sk dh vFkD; oLFkk , d h ugh gksuh pkfg, tks ekuo ds ekuoRo dks l ektr djs bl l s ml ij dkbZ foijhr i Hkko ugh i M&uk pkfg, cfYd ml dk fodkl gksuk pkfg, y{ ; g gSfd euq; ekuoRo l s A ij mBdj noRo dh vkj c<+l d& Hkkjr;h;

I ð.Nfr fodkl dh i {kékj FkhA vFkD; oLFkk dk y{; ykska ds Hkj .k&i ksk. k} thou dsfodkl vls jk'V^a dh ékkj .kk dsfy, HkkDrd I kekuka dks iz ksc djuk pfg, A i MRi nhu n; ky mi kè; k; us vFkZuhfr dh foopuk djrs gq dgk gS fd vFkZ ds i Hkko , oa vHkko nksuka l s l ekt thou dks eDr j [kdj l ekt ea I a fYk dsckj sea, d ; kx; 0; oLFkk fufeZr djus dks Hkkjrh; I ð.Nfr ea vFkZ ke dgk x; k gA vFkZuhfr dk Hkkjrh; dj. k djuk gkskA vius bl eUr0; dks foospr djrs gq i MRi nhu n; ky mi kè; k; usfy [kk gSfd nsk dk nkfjn; nij gskuk pfg, bl eankser ugh fdUrqi'zu ; g gSfd xjhch dS snij gkS ge vejd k ds exZ ij pys ; k #I ds exZ ij vFkok ; jksh; nskka dk vuqj .k djA I Hkh use "khuka dks gh vkfFkZd izfr dk l keku ekuk gA e"khu dk l oz i ékku xqk gSde euq; ka }kjk vfedre mRi knu djokuk i fj .kkr%bu nskka dks Lon'sk ea c<rs gq mRi knu dks cpus dsfy, fons'kka ea cktkj <pus i MA gea Lohdkj djuk gksk fd Hkkjrh dh vkfFkZd izfr dk jkLrk e"khu dk jkLrk ugh gA ----- dh/hj m | kska dks Hkkjrh; vFkZuhfr dk vkekkj ekudj nhu n; ky th cMh&cMh mRi knu bdkb; ka }kjk vFkD; oLFkk pykus ds i {k ea ugh Fksbl I sn'sk ea d'nhdj .k c<rk gS tks fo'kerk vls cjkst xkjh dks c<kerk gA gea 0; fDr o i fjokj vkekkfjr y?kq afe'Br vkfFkZd fod'nhdj .k dh izkkyh fodfl r djus ij tjs nsk pfg, vls Je foHkktu xtels kx dks l m'<+ djuk pfg, A mi kè; k; th jk'Vh; vls kfxd {ks= eafons'kh i pth dscy ij vls kschdj .k ugh fd; k tkuk pfg, A mi kè; k; th euq; rRo ij e"khu ds J) kyq HkDr gs rks n'jh vls de j nfeu Hkh ekst m gA , d e"khu ds vfhkuohdj .k ds vHkko dks gh Hkkjrh dh xjhch dk dkj .k ekudj pyrs gS rks n'j vfhkuohdj .k vls ; ahdj .k dks nsk ds fouk" k dsfy, ftEentj ekurs gA okLro ea e"khu u rks euq; ds "k=q, oafe= gS os e"khuka dks l ekt dh vFkD; oLFkk ij gkoh ugh gkus nsk pgrs FkA vFkD; oLFkk dh dl ksh ekuo dk l oksh .k fodkl gh gskuk pfg, A

fodkl ds vk; kfr fl) kUr dh vkykuk ea i MRi th ds fopkj mYys [kuh; gS mlgkus Hkkjrh; vFkZuhfr fodkl dh , d fn"kk uked viuh i qrd eadgk gSfd Lorark ds ckn gekjs nf'Vdksk ea varj vk; k gS vc ge i R; d iz' u dks vkfFkZd nf'Vdksk l sn'krsgamudk ekuuk Fkk fd gekjh i ja jk vls I ð.Nfr gea ; g crkrh gSfd euq; doy HkkDrd vko"; drkva rFkk bPNkva dk fi M ugh oju-, d vke; kRed rRo g& nsk vls dky dh fhku i fj l Fkfr; ka ds dkj .k Hkh gekjs fodkl dk exZ i f"pe l s fhku gskuk pfg, A ge ek"ky rFkk ekDI l s cpek x; s gA vFkZ'kkL= ds ftu fu; eka dh mlgkus

foopuk dh gSge mlga "kk"or ekudj py jgs gA iMr th usHkkjrh; rk ds ftl fodkl oknh rRoka dks viusfl) kUr ea ifrikfnr

fd; k gSml su; wbf.M; k dsrgr eknh th us2022 rd ijk djusdh eakk trk; hA mudk dguk Fkk fd U; wbf.M; k ds l adYi dk ; gh l gh l e; gA ge l c fey dj , d , d sHkkjr dk fuekZk djæstgk; xjhc ds ikl i Ddk ?kj gksckj fctyh gksckj i kuh gksckj ns'k dk d'kd fpark l sugh pda l s l ks sckA nhu n; ky mi kè; k; dk ekuuk Fkk fd vFkZdh vfr iëkkurk vksj vFkZdk vHkko nkuoka mfpr ugh gA nhu n; ky mi kè; k; us vR; kn; dh voëkj.kk ea euq; dks vkfFkZd ik.kh ds #i ean[kdj ml dh reke t#jrkadh i firZea l exrk eafpark fd; k x; kA iëkkuea-h tu èku ; kstuk vUR; kn; dh voëkj.kk dk ifrQy gA eknh l jdkj usvi usigysfnu l svi usdk; Zizkkyh ds dñnz ea l ekt ds väre Nkj ij [kMs0; fDr dks i ed[krk nh gA njvl y "kkl u dh uhfr; k; tc l ekt ds väre 0; fDr dh l exz t#jrkadksè; ku ea j [kdj cuk; h tk, vksj mudh igpp dks ml väre Nkj rd l fuf"pr fd; k tk; sck rHkh l gh ek; us ea vUR; kn; dh èkkj.kk dks 0; kogkfjd dgk tk l drk gA iëkkuea-h us bl h voëkj.kk ds rgr vR; kn; dk l adYi fy; k rFkk ml sfl f) rd igppkus dk chMk mBk; kA o'kZ 2014 ea ujñnz eknh dh l jdkj us tuèku ; kstuk ds eke; e l sn'sk ds xjhc l sxjhc 0; fDr dks e[; èkkjk dh vFkZ; oLFkk l stikM usdk , d vFkZ; ku "k# fd; kA 29 djkm+l s T; knk tuèku [krs [kksys x; A tc gekjs iëkkuea-h ujñnz eknh us ^l cdk l kFk l cdk fodkl ** ukjk fn; k rks ml dk vkekkj Hkh iMr nhu n; ky mi kè; k; dk , dkRe ekuookn Fkka nhu n; ky mi kè; k; th dk vkfFkZd ekMy Fkk ftl ds dñnz ea ekuo dY; k.k vksj fo "ksk #i l sl ekt ds väre ik; nku ij [kMs0; fDr dk dY; k.k Fkka vktkn Hkkjr ea bl fn"kk ea bèkunkjh l siz kl ycs l e; rd fd; s gh ugh x, A bl dh "k#vkr vVy fcgkjh ds iëkkuea-h cuus ds ckn gpA mudsvkus l sigyscMk l [; k dks nks oDr dh jk/h ul hc ugh gsrh Fkh bl hfy, vVy th usvlu Hk.Mkj ka dk egg [kksyk vksj ns'k Hkj ds xjhcka dks vR; kn; ; kstuk ds vURxZ l Lrh njka ij vukt mi yCek dj k; kA iëkkuea-h eknh th usmTtoyk ; kstuk] nhu n; ky xke T; ksr ; kstuk dh "k#vkr fd; k Fkka mTtoyk ; kstuk ds rgr xjhc j[kk l s uhps de l s de 5 djkm+ifjokjka rd , y0i h0 th0 xS duB"ku igppkus dk iz kl dj jgh gA nhu n; ky mi kè; k; ds , dkRe ekuookn dk mÍs; Lon'skh] l kekf td vkfFkZd ekMy iLr djuk gSftl ds fodkl ds dñnz ea ekuo gA l kekf td vkfFkZd #i l stc 0; fDr dk mRFkku djæsvksj fQj jk'V l ekt ds eke; e l smRFkku djus dks vxl j gA nhu n; ky mi kè; k; th us dgk gSfd

^fo"o dk Kku vlsj vkt rd dh l a wkl ij a jk ds vkekkj ij , d s Hkkjr dk
 fuekZk djks tks gekjs i wZt ka ds Hkkjr l svfekd xkso "kkyh gksokj ftl ea tleak
 ekuo vius0; fDrRo dk fodkl djrk gqk l a wkl ekuo gh ugh vfi rql 'f'V
 ds l kFk l k{kkRdkj dj uj l sukjk; .k cuuseal eFkZ gksokA^ vktknh ds ckn
 vVy th usns'k dsxkp xjhc fd l ku dh uhfr; ka dk dlnzcuk; k Fkk vkt eknh
 th ml h jkLrs ij pyrsgq rhu d'f'k dkun ikl fd; A vkt tc ge nhu
 n; ky mi ke; k; th dks; kn djrs gsrks mudsbl ukjs dks; kn djrs g&gj
 [kr dks i kuh&gj gkFk dks dke* yfdu fufgr LokFkk ds dkl .k ns'k dsfdl kuka
 dks; g l foekk ugh nh x; h vlsj osvi usegur dk ijyk ykHk ugh iklr dj i k; }
 vc tkdj rhu dkun cuk, x; sg& tksfdl kuka dks mudh mit dscgrj nke
 nuseal gk; d gk&A nhu n; ky mi ke; k; th usns'k ds Jfedka ds dY; k.k ds
 fy, tks l kpk Fkk ml svkt i ekkuea=h eknh th ds usRo ea ijyk fd; k tk jgk
 g& [kr [kfygku l syd j ; q) dseñku rd Hkkjr viuh t#jrka dks ijyk djus
 dh {kerk gkl y dj ys; gh vkrRefuHkj Hkkjr dk l dYi gs vlsj ; gh gekjs ns'k
 ds l keusfodYi g& nhu n; ky mi ke; k; th dk fpru vFkZuhfr ij ugh vfi rql
 l kefjd fpru dsfy, Hkh cgn egRo i wkl FkkA nhu n; ky mi ke; k; th usdgk
 fd l kefjd uhfr dsfcuk vFkZuhfr fodyk& gks tk; s&A l g {kk ; k l kefjd
 uhfr; ka dh mi {kk djds Hkh ns'k vkrRefuHkj ugh cu l drka vkt Hkkjr phu
 l scjkj yMeus grrql {ke g& vkt Hkkjr ds ikl fel kby {kerk g& fe"ku
 "kDr dh l Qyrk ij h nfu; k ds l kFk l kfcr g&

bl rjg nhu n; ky mi ke; k; dk vkfFkZl fpru rRdkyhu okLrfodrkvka
 ij vkekkfjr Fkk os euq; l s euq; ds chp cukovh l e&ka l s l arqV ugh Fk&
 mudk ekuuk Fkk fd , d rjQ "kksk.kk xjhc Hkkfkehj gSrksnñ jh rjQ vFkZr-
 dk , d kfekdj gks ogk; euq; dk fodkl d&oy Ny g& vkfFkZl fc'kerk dks
 l ektr djds gh 0; fDr dh ifr'Bk dh j {kk dh tk l drh g& osfodlnhÑr
 0; oLFkk ds i {kekj Fk& og foYk ds , d kfekdj] forj .k ea vl ekurk tehu ij
 vko"; drk l svfekd fu; U=.k dsfo#) Fk& og jktuhfr ds l eku vFkD; oLFkk
 eaHkh 0; fDr dh jpukRed {kerk dsfodkl ds vol jka ds l quf"prrk ds i {kekj
 Fk& vFkD; oLFkk ds {ks= ea l ello; oknh Fk& ns'k dsfodkl vlsj ns'k dh jktuhfr
 fo"kskdj xjhc dY; k.k ds ifr nhu n; ky th ds; k&nku ges'kk ; kn fd; s
 tk; &A mudsfopkj fl) klr vlsj ns'k o l ekt ds ifr l efiñ thou l fn; ka
 rd ns'k l ok dsfy, i s jr djrk jgs&A

I aHkZ

- 1- dyd.khZ "kjn vullr&¼1987½ ^iáMr nhu n; ky mikè; k; fopkj n"ku^
[k.M&4] ubZfnYyh] I #fp idk"ku
- 2- fiykuh "kfkkoVh&tul ák I Eeyu ea iáMr nhu n; ky mikè; k; th dk
mn?kkVu Hkk'k.k] ikptU; 12 fnl ecj 1955
- 3- mikè; k; nhu n; ky ¼1998½ Hkkjrh; vFkZuhfr % fodkl dh , d fn"kk*
y[kuÁ] jk'Vª ekeZ iqr d
- 4- mikè; k; nhu n; ky ¼1991½ ikfyfVdy Mk; jh] ubZfnYyh] I #fp idk"ku
- 5- f=i kBh ukFk dSyk" k ^Hkkjrh; Ñf'k , oam | ksx ij nhu n; ky th dsfopkj**
fl rEcj 1991 mYkj insk l nsk
- 6- ;kstuk vDVwaj 2017

Ekuokfekdkj vls Hkjrh; ifyl

M&V iela flg

iFoh ij tle yus ds l kfk gh iR; d euq; dN vfeckkjka dk Lokeh gks tkrk gsfllgaga i kNfrd vfeckkj] tletkr rFkk uS fxZl vfeckkjka dsuke l s tkurs gA ekuokfekdkjka ds i hNs eny ekkj .kk 0; fDr ds fodkl ds fy; s i wKz vol j mi yCek djuk Fkk vls ml eafdl h izdkj dh ckekk ugha vkuh pkfg, A

ekuokfekdkj dh voekkj .kk ikphu dky l spyh vk jgh gA ikphu dky ea ekuokfekdkj ofoyksu; u fofek jvl hfj; u fofek] fgrRh fofek rFkk Hkjr es ofnd dkyhu ekeZ ea ik; s tk l drs gA fo"o ds l Hkh i eCk ekeka dk vkekkj ekuokfekdkj gS tks vllroLrq ea Hkn gks ds cktm ekuokfekdkjka dk l eFlZl djrs gA ekuokfekdkj uS fxZl fofek] i kNfrd vfeckkjka dh nk" kZud voekkj .kvka ea ik; h tkrh gS i jUrql dk fodkl eè; dky ds vllr ea vls vkekkud dky ds vll; m; ds l kfk gqk D; ksd eè; dky rd 0; fDr dk Loræ vllrRo ugha Fkk fdUr vkekkud dky ea bl ea Økfrdkjh ifjorZ "kq gks x; s vls ; g , d xR; kRed : i ekkj .k dj fy; k rFkk fodkl kbeCk gqk ftl ea ekuokfekdkj udkj kRed u gkdj , d l dkj kRed voekkj .kk cu x; hA

ekuokfekdkjka dh voekkj .kk ds fodkl ea 15 tu 1215 dk fcfV" k eXukdkvK 1628 eafoy vkD jkbVl vls 1776 ea ekuo ds eny vfeckkjka dh vllro; fDr] vls 1789 dh Yka hl h Økfr i eCk gA

ekuokfekdkj vaxth ds ^g; e u jkbVt * dk fglh vuokn gSbl eank "kCn gA g; e u l srkRi ; Z ^ekuo* l sgsvls jkbVt dk vFlZ ml ds vfeckkjka l gA vr% ekuokfekdkj dk vFlZ gqk og vfeckkj tkseuq; ka dh xfjek , oa i fr' Bk ds l kfk tMk gqk gA ekuokfekdkj ds vFlZ dks ml U; Hkre vfeckkjka ds : lk ea ifjyf{kr djrs gA ftllga iR; d 0; fDr dks fcuk fdl h vll; fopkj .k ds ekuo ifjokj dk l nL; gks ds QyLo: lk jkT; ; k vll; ykd vfeckkj dh ds fo:) ekkj .k djuk pkfg, A

vli s gkbe ekuokfekdkj ds vFlZ dks Li 'V djrs gq dgrsgsf d ^vrj kZVh; fofek vc , d h fofek ugh jg x; h gS tks , d ek= jkT; ka l s l EcflEkr gks tS k og igys Fkh bl eadZfu; e iR; {kr%0; fDr; ka dh flFkr rFkk fØ; kdyki ka dks fofu; fer djua l s l EcflEkr gA vls dbZ fu; e viR; {k : lk l s mllga i Hkfor djrs gA**

* vllrvv i kZj jktulr foKlu vli, uaihatladhvt vl. M&V fclMdj uxj/naia½

ekuokfekdkjka dks dHh enyvfekdkj] dHh iztk dsvfekdkj vks fcy vKND jkbV4 dsuke l st kuk x; k vks oržku l e; ea bl sekuokfekdkj dsuke l s tkuk tkrk gA bl dk vkekj ekuoh; l H; rk ,oa l ekurk gSfo"o ea bl dh ?kksk.kk Lorærk] l ekurk HkrRo U; k; ,oa "kkär dh LFkki uk ds mnns"; l s fd; k x; k FkkA bl h l UnHkZea Ydfyu : toV ds }kjk 6 tuojh 1941 dks, d mn?kksk.kk tkjh dh x; h ftl ea; g dgk x; k fd "0; fDr dh Lorærkvka rFkk vfekdkjka dk l Ecluk vlrjkZVh; "kkfUr vks l j {kk l s gSvks vlrjkZVh; "kkär vks l j {kk LFkfi r djus ds fy, ; g vko"; d gSfd ekuo dks muds eny vfekdkj o Lorærk, a inku dh tk, A ijUrq oržku fo"o 0; oLFkk ea tcfdekuo fodkl ds "kh'kZ ij i frf'Br gSekuokfekdkj fo"o dh eny l eL; k ds: lk ea; Fkkor gS l oE bl l eL; k ds mnkgj .k ekSt m gA

bl l eL; k l sfui Vusdh fn"kk ea10 fnl Ecj 1948 dks l a Dr jk'Va l ak ds rRokoekku es l koBkšed ekuokfekdkj ?kksk.kki = tkjh fd; k x; k ftl dk egRoi wkZ mnns"; gSfd l a Dr jk'Va l ak ekuokfekdkjka rFkk ekšyd Lorærk dks fcuk tkfr] Hkk'kk] fyax] ekeZ vkfn ds HksnHkko ds i kkl kgu inku dja

l a Dr jk'Va l ak dsekuokfekdkj ?kksk.kk i = ea; g ckr dgh x; h gSfd ekuo dks ml dh Lorærk rFkk xki uh; rk] i fjokj] ?kj rFkk ml ds bekunkjh rFkk ml dh flFkr l sfcYdy gh vyx ughafd; s tk; aksA l a Dr jk'Va l ak ds l nL; jkT; ekuokfekdkjka ,oa ekšyd vfekdkjka dk l EEkku djus rFkk mudk ikyu djus ds fy, opuc) gA

bl ds vykok l a Dr jk'Va l ak ?kksk.kk i = ds vykok vkt os"od Lrj ij ekuokfekdkjks ds guu dks jkdus ds fy, dbZ ns'k o Loq l dh l xBu ; Fkk , esuVh b.Vjuš'kuy] l a Dr jkT; vejhdh fl foy fyoVhzt ; fu; u] i hã; m l hã, yã iz kl jr gS bl h fn"kk Hkkjr us dne c<krsgq o'kZ 1993 ea ekuokfekdkj l j {k.k vefku; e dk l 'tu fd; k bl vefku; e ds rgr jk'Vh; ekuokfekdkj vk; l sx dk xBu fd; k x; k gS bl ds vykok Hkkjr ea Hkkjr h; i hi l QkV fl foy fyoVhzt tš h Loq l dh l a Fkk Hkh ekuokfekdkj dh l eL; k l sfui Vus ds fy, iz kl jr gA oržku l e; ea ekuokfekdkj dh j {kk ds fy, i fyl dh Hkfredk de egRoi wkZ ugh gA jkT; ks ds Lrj ij iz'kkl fud ræ dh l j {kk , d ukxfj dka ds fgrks dh j {kk rFkk "kkär , d l q; oLFkk cuk; s j [kus ds fy, i fyl iz'kkl u dh Hkfredk egRoi wkZ gA

bfrgkl jFk tš & tš svlxsc<k usrd vkpj.k dh dfm+k f"kfky gq h vks vko"; drk gplZ , s h 0; oLFkk dh tks euq; dks cyi dZ vulfr l j

vjkt drk l s vks; "kksk.k l sfoed[k dj l dA l EHkor% i fyl bl h J[kyk l s
 vflrRo eavk; hA ikphu Hkkjrh; ekeZxbFkka dsvè; ; u djus l s; g fofnr glork
 gSfd i fyl "kCn dh mRi fRr , oa i fyl l aBu dk ikjEHk l oã Fke Hkkjr es
 gh gqkA ckYehfd jkek; .k ea i fyl deþkfj; ka }kjk xLr xkMz rFkk xþrpj
 foHkkxh; dk; kã dsnkf; Ro fuokg dsvud il a gA okLro ea i fyl vaxst h dk
 "kCn gS tks; wkuh "kCn POLISI scuk gSft l dk "kCndkksk dsvud kj vFlzGS"uxj
 i ky ; k vkj{kt" A bl izdkj i fyl "kCn dk iz kx , d h iz'kkl fud 0; oLFkk ds
 fy, fd; k tkrk gS ft l dk dk; Z gS "kkr LFkki uk rFkk dkuu ykxw djukA
 i fyl dks turk dh l ok djuh gksh gS u fd muds dk; kã ea vukfekÑr
 gLr{ki A og "kkl d ugh gS vfi rq, d 0; oLFkk gS tks "kkl u dh l gk; rk gsrq
 l d fYir gA vkpj l fgrk dsvud kj vkn "kz i fyl Cky eafu' Bk] fo"ol uh; rk]
 pkfj f=d xfjek rFkk tul ok dk xqk rks gkuk gh pkfg, ft l l sog 'l R; eo
 t; rS rFkk ifj=k.kk; l kekuke fcuk"kk; p n'Ñrke~ds vi us okD; cksk dks
 pfjrkFkZ djA

i fyl l ekt ds ik.kh gSvr% LokHkkfod gSfd mudks l ekt dsvud kj
 l kps ea <y tkuk pkfg, A fdUr qvkt Lorark ikfir ds l kr n"kdka ckn Hkh
 fo"o ds l cl s cMv ykdrkã=d n'sk Hkkjr ea i fyl dh Nfo vks ml ds rksj
 rjhds fcfV" k dky dh rjg gh gA

i fyl iz'kkl u l s ukxfjdka ds vfedkjks dh j{kk djus ds fy; s rFkk
 "kkr" , oa l 0; oLFkk cuk; s j [kus ds fy; s tks vk"kk dh xbZ Fkh ml ds Bhd
 foijhr i fyl "kCn vkt Hk; , oa vkrad dk lk; kã cu ppph gA tgk rd drD;
 fu' Bk o nkf; Ro ckak dk iz'u gS bl dks l s nq kus ij ge ikrs gS fd vkt
 i fyl dk Lrj vks fxj x; k ft l ds dbz mnkgj .k l ekt ea nq kus dks feyrs
 gA vke ukxfjdka ds l kFk i =dkj ka vks vfedDrkvka tS sl ekt ds tkx: d oxZ
 ds ifr Hkh i fyl ; k mRi hMue dh f"kdk; ra c<h gA , d s vud ekkeys il
 dkthã fyax ds l e{k igprsjgs gA ftues i =dkj ka dks i fyl ; k irkMuek dk
 l keuk djuk i Mk bueal okfekd pfpz ekeyk d fHk esyk 2001 ds nq ku d fHk
 uxj ¼i z kx½ ea i =dkj ka dh l kefgd fi VkbZ dka igys dh i fyl efgykva l s
 n0; b gkj ds ekkeys ea mruh vkxs u Fkh ftruh dh vkt dh i fyl A D; kãd
 ml ua i fyl okya dh cstkgj drka dk fojkak fd; k FkA

vkt Hkkjrh; i fyl dh ekuf l drk ; g gks x; h gSfd onhZ ekkj .k djus
 ds ckn ml s M. Mspykus dk vfedkj fey x; k gA vkt i fyl dh Nfo j{kd
 dh de Hk{kd dh vfedk gks xbZ gA vkf [kj gekjs n'sk ea i fyl dh , d h dyãdr
 Nfo D; kafo | eku gA vkt Fk kus ds Hkhrj efgykvs ds l kFk cykRdkj] mRi hMue]

viekuj Qthz eBHKM} i ftyl vfhkj{kk ea ekr} vekuoh; ; kruk; a dkuuka dk
i ftyl }kjk xyr iz kx , oaekuokfekdkjka dk guu vk; sfnu gksjgk gS; g dS h
fcMEckuk gA

i ftyl ; k nfjnxh eaHkkjr dsreke i kUrkaeaegkj'V^a] vkleka ns'k] mRrj
ins'k] fcgkj dN T; knk gh vkxsgA vkdMka ds vuq kj fl QZmRrj ins'k esgj
l ky yxHkx Ms+ntZu ykxka dh ekr i ftyl vfhkj{kk ea gksrh gA mRrj ins'k
dh fcxMh gPZ fl Fkr dk vnkttk vki bl h l syxk l drs gSfd ekuokfekdkj
vk; kx ds l e{k NCchl gtkj ekeys fl QZ mRrj ins'k i ftyl dh Øjrk o
nq; b;gkj ds gA

xfjeki wk l jf{kr nckoedr vjS Lorark ds fy, ekuokfekdkjka dh
ifjdYi uk dh x; h Hkkjrh; l foekku ds Hkkx rhu ea Hkkjrh; ykxka dks vuq
vfekdkj inku fd; s x; s gA ; Fkk vuqNn 21 thou] Lorark] l j{kk dk
vfekdkj vuqNn 23 nkl Ro l s eDr dk vfekdkj] vuqNn 22 euekuh
fxj]rkjh ds fo:) vfekdkjA ^l foekku dk vuqNn 21 ; g dgrk gS fd
fgjkl r ea gksusokyh fga k dsfo:) vfekdkj i klr gS "khy okl ðcuke egkj'V^a
jkT; dsfookn ea "khy okl ð tks, d efgyk i =dkj gSmUgksus f"kd; r dh fd
efcbz "kgj ds i ftyl fgjkl r ea dsn; ka" ds l kfk fga k gksjgh gA U; k; ky;
usd;gk fd fofekd l gk; rk inku djusdh tks l foekk dsn; ka dks gSogh l foekk
efgyk dsn; ka dks Hkh gksuh pfg, A

29 fl rEcj 1993 dks Hkkjr ds jk'V^a fr us , d ve; kns'k ikfjr dj
ekuokfekdkjka ds jk'Vh; vk; kx dh LFki uk dh xbA ft l eadgk x; k fd Lor%
; k i hMf 0; fDr dh vjS l sekuoh; vfekdkjka ds mYy^aku dks jkdus ea mi {kk
ds fy; s; kfpdk ij tkp dh tk l drh gA

ekuokfekdkj vk; kx ds l e{k reke eqns i Lr; gq ft l dk ml ua
l Qyrk l sfui Vjk fd; k gA ekuokfekdkj vk; kx dh "kDr; ka, oadk; ka l a; g
eofur gkrk gSfd i ftyl cojrk o mRi hM^e ds ekeys bl ds nk; js ea yk; s tk
l drs gS vjS yk; s Hkh tk jgs gA ipj l ; k ea i ftyl mRi hM^e dh f"kd; r
vk; kx ds l e{k igp jgh gA cykRdkj] fgjkl r ea ER; qrFkk ; æ.kk vkfn ds
jkdFkke ea vk; kx ds iz kl i'ka uh; jgs gA i ftyl cy dks Hkh ekuokfekdkjka
vjS i koekkuka dh tkudkjh feyrh jguh pfg; A

ekuokfekdkj vk; kx ds l Ee{k efi"dy ; g gSfd vk; kx AR; {k : lk l s
dkbz dk; b;gk ugh dj l drk ; g fl QZ l jdkj dks viuh l Lr; ns l drk gS
ft l s Lohdkj djus ds fy, l jdkj cke; ugh gS; g t: j gSfd vk; kx fd

I l r t r dks l Eeku l sn [kk tkrk gS rFkk og ykder dks A Hkkfor djrh gA
ekuokfekdkj vk; kx ds gLr {ki ds cktm ifyl mRi hMta dsekeysea
dkbz fo"ksk deh ntZ ugh dh xbA vyoRrk vk; kx ds l e {k f"kdk; rks dk
vEckj t: j c<rk tk jgk gS fLFkr ; g gSfd vk; kx ds cars ij ifyl ij
fu; a.k dh mEehn ugha dh tk l drh gA

ifyl dk <kpkxr cnyko u fd; k tkuk Hkh ifyl foHkkx l s t t h
[kkfe; ka ds fy; sftEenkj gS l kFk gh ifyl dh vjkt drk dks gok nusea ifyl
foHkkx ea jktuhfrd gLr {ki 1/4 ds k 1/2 Hkh dk Qh gn rd ftEenkj gA ogha <hyh
o nq; bLFkk dh f"kdkj U; k; iz kkyh us Hkh ifyl ; k fuj d r k dks c<kok fn; k
gA ifyl ea l qk kj dh ; fn d n igy Hkh dh tk, rks ml ij vEky ds fnyh
iz kl ugha fd; s tkr s gA bl l e; ves k Vh b. Vju s uy l l Fkku us vi uh
fj i k Z ea j k d Fk ke ds nl l w h; mik; l q k; s FkA bl ij fofek vk; kx dh
l r t r Hkh yh xbA l jnkj cYy Hk HkbZ i Vsy jk'Vh; ifyl vdkneh }kj k
odk; nk il xEHkj l eL; k ij "kkok dk; Z Hkh fd; k x; k A ek d y f" k Qk j "ka Hkh
i d dh xbA ij budks 0; ogkj ea ugha yk; k x; kA d y feyk dj ekuokfekdkj Hkh
ifyl fuj d r k dh Hk w p <+ jgk gS or Eku ifjn"; dks n s k d j , d k yxrk gS
fd ; g fLFkr fparktud rks gS gha v l r j k Z Vh; Lrj ij Hkh gea y f T tr djus
okyh gA bl l cl s Hk kj r dh Nfo v l r j k Z Vh; t x r ea e k f e y g k s j g h gA ij
u rks bl dh ijokg v l r j k Z Vh; Lrj ij Hk kj r ds dn-dks A p k djus okys vkt
ds r Fk k d f k r j k t u s k v k a d k s g S v k s u gh n s k dh y k d r k a = d 0; o L F k k o k y h
l j d k j d k a

vktknh ds ckn cM s i f j o r u vk; A foKku rdulfd ds {k s ea v H k r i w Z
i x f r g l a g e k j h v i s k k v k a v k s m E e h n k a e a H k h c n y k o v k ; k A g e i x f r d s i F k
i j v k x s c < A v k t t k a i f j n " ; g S m l l s r k s ; g h i r k p y j g k f d M A k r a
y k d r a i j H k k j h i M + j g k g S f L F k r v R ; U r f p a r k t u d o x E H k j g S i j , d k H k h
u g h a g S f d b l l s f u i V k u t k l d s o " k r z i z k l x E H k j 0 ; k o g k f j d o g n ; l s
f d ; s x ; s g k a H k k j r h ; i f y l d k p g j k c n y u k d k b z e f " d y d k e u g h a g S i j
v Q I k d b l c k r d k g S f d " k k ; n H k z V j k t u h f r K v k s u k s d j " k k g ; g p k g r s
g h u g h g S f d o g n s k e a i f y l d k L o : i l o d ; k l g ; k s c h l k g k a A o s b l s
v k o k a r g h c u k ; s j [k u k p k g r s g A m l g a m u l s v i u s f g r t k s l k e k u s g A v k f [k j
D ; k d k j . k g S f d l R r k : < + j k t u h f r d n y d s f g r k a d k s l k e k u s e a v k t H k h i f y l
c y l f g r v U ; l j d k j h , t a l ; k y x h j g r h g A i f y l d h N f o e a c n y k o y k u a
l s i w z b l " k k l d h ; i o ' f r r e a c n y k o y k u k g k s c k A b l d s v y k o k d n v U ;
f c l n y k a i j x k s d j d s H k h i f y l d k j k L r k l q k k j k t k l d r k g A

t\$ k fd igys l q;k; k tk pqlk g\$fd ifyl ea <kpkxr cnyko dh vko"; drk g\$ij cnyko ewy pny ifjorzu t\$ k gkrk g\$bl fy, ; g Fkk&lk ef"dy gkrk g\$ij bruk ef"dy Hkh ugha gkrk g\$fd bl s v\$kke u fn; k tk l dA <kpkxr cnyko dsfy; su; sifjn"; ykdrki=d ey; kao e; khkvka rFkk cnyh gblz vki jkfed fLFkr; ka dks l keus j [kdj u, fl js l s, d l aBu dh vko"; drk gA cnyko , s k gksuk fd ml eafcfV" k dky dh cwu vkoA fo"ko ykdrki=d ijEijkvkads vuq i l c dN gksuk pfg, ; k u; k foLrkj dkQh ykHkin fl) gks l drk gA

ifyl fujdtkrk ij vdtqk yxkusdsfy; su; sfl js l s dkuu dh l ehkk o ml dk ijh{k.k fd; s tkus dh vko"; drk g\$dkunuka dk yphyki u o dkuuh rk\$ ij vfedkj l EiUurk us ifyl dks v\$ vfed fujdtk rFkk HkzV cukus dk dk; Zfd; k gA nQkvka dk euekuk iz l x u gksbl dsfy, fu; a.kdkjh mik; fd; s tkus dh vko"; drk gA vko"; drkud kj dkuuka ea l akaku djds o u; s fu; a.kdkjh dkuu l ftr djds fLFkr l smcjk tk l drk gA

dkuuh Lrj ij gh dN , s s iz kl Hkh gkus pfg, ftl ea ifyl ij jktuhfrd nco dks jkd tk l dA bl izdkj jkT; ka ds ifyl fu; e vi \$kkN r vfed mnkj gA ijUrgekuokfedkj dh ekj.kk ds vuq lk vc Hkh ugha gA ifyl }kjk ekuokfedkj ka ds guu dks jkdus dsfy, dN vi \$kr l qkkj fuEufyf [kr g\$&

ifyl ds fy, vkpkj l fgrk vko"; d cuk nuh pfg, v\$ ml dk mYyaaku gksa ij dBkj n.M dk ikoekku djuk pfg, A ifyl ea mPpf"kf {kr o l q l d k f j r v H; f F k z, l s d k s H k j r h d h i k F k f e d r k n u h p f g, A i f y l d s l k j s d k; k a i j [k i Q; k f u x j k u h j [k h t k u h p f g, [k i Q; k f j i k s / k a d s v k e k j i j r R d k y d k j b k b z H k h d h t k u h p f g, A i f y l c y d h f u; q D r; k j k t u h f r d b "k k j k a o u s r k v k a d h v u q k a k i j u g k s b l c k r d s i z k l g k u s p f g, A f u; q D r; k s d s l U n H k z e a p f j = i f t d k i m z f j d k M k a o i k j n "k i z d k; Z i z k k y h d k s o j h; r k n h t k u h p f g, A l e; & l e; i j g k s a o k y s i f y l d s "k k s d k; k a l f e f r; k a o U; k; k y; k a v k f n d h f V l i f . k; k a i j x E H k h j r k l s f o p k j d j u k p f g, v \$ b l g a v E k y e a y k u s d s H k j l d i z k l H k h g k u s p f g, A g e a f o n s ' k k a e a v i u s i f r f u f e k e . M y H k t d j o g i d s i f y l c y 0; o L F k k d k v e; ; u d j o k u k p f g, r F k k m u d h v P N h c k r k s d k s H k j r h; i f j n"; d s v u q l k v i u k u k p f g, A b l l s t l y s d k u u d s i n k a d k s v \$ v f e d i H k k o h c u k u a d h t : j r g s t : j r b l c k r d h H k h g \$ f d e k u o k f e d k j k a d k g u u u b l f n "k k e a e k u o k f e d k j v k; l s x d k s e t c w d n e m B k; s t k u s p f g; A e k u o k f e d k j v k; l s x d k s v \$ v f e d "k f D r l E i U u

cuk; k tk, A bl dsfu.kz ka dks ckè; dkjh cuk; k tk, A

ifyl Nfo ea l qkkj ds mnns; l s; g vko"; d gSfd pksdh Fkkuk o l fdykadsLrj ij ifyl okys?kj&?kj tkdj okS) d ykskael yu l kfgR; dkjka fpdfRI dkj i=dkjka vfeokDrkvka o f"k{kdkka vkfn l s l Ei dZ dja rFkk muds fopkjka o e"kojka dks l qus dsfy, mudh cBdks vksj xks'B; ka vkfn vkef=r dj; s tk, rFkk muds 0; kogkfjd e"kojka ij vEky Hkh gka bl l s ifyl dh Nfo rks l qksch gh ml dh dk; Z"ksyh Hkh nq Lr gksch A ckS) d oxZI nS fn"kk ckak djokus dk dke djrk jgk gS vksj bl s ifyl dks Hkh viukuk pfg, A

ifyl cy ea efgyk ifyl dfez; ka dks c<kok ndj rFkk mudh l q; k c<kdj fLFkr ea l qkkj yk; k tk l drk gA n.M ds l eLr i koekku vksj l qkkj dh l qpfr o i j n"khz ufr; ka o ; kst ukvka n<&bPNk"kdR o fnyh iz kl Hkkjrh; ifyl ds fcxM+pgjs dks l qkkj l drs gA "kk; n bl h ckr dk br tkj Hkkjrh; tuekul Hkh dj jgk gA ekuokfekdkj dk l Ecllek fd l h , d ns'k ea ekuokfekdkj ka dks c<kok n s rFkk fd l h vl; ns'k ea jgus okys 0; fDr dks l Eeku n s l s gA D; k ekuokfekdkj fl QZ vij kfe; ka ds fy, gS ifyl ds fy, ugha eBHK/ka ea viuh tku dh ckth yxk ds tc ifyl okys [kq]kkj vij kfe; ka dks ekj fxjkrsrc gh ?kfm+kyh vka wcgkus i g p tkrsgA i ekkuea=h Jh ujbnz eksh dk fopkkj gSfd ekuokfekdkj dh j{kk gekjh l l Nr dk vge fg l l k gA

oS srks oxh; l ekt ea ekuokfekdkj ka dh ppz dk dkbz vksj pR; ugh gA , d 0; fDr dh l Rrk dh cqt yk ykdra= oxZ dk fuekZ k djrk gS vksj "kk l d oxZ vketu d ekuokfekdkj ka dk guu "kksk.k dk Øe pyk; sj [kus ds fy; s LokHkkfod : lk l s djrk gA ysd u bl txg ge viuh fo'k; oLrq dks ifyl vksj ekuokfekdkj rd l hfer j [kuk pkrsgA vktkn ds ckn Hkh i ifyl dk l pkyu mi fuos'koknh nf'Vdksk ds rgr fd; k tkrk jgka bl es nks rRo i e[: lk l s mYy[kuh; gA , d rks de l s de oru vksj l qoekk; a nks vksj n h js ml dseu ea; g fo"okl foBk nksfd vijkek jk d us dk dke rHkh gks l drk gA tc neu dk vkrd ijs l ekt ij Nk; k gka bl h dMh ea n[k l drs gA fd dkj k suk ds f[kykQ gS ifyl okys yM+jgs gA ifyl dk gj , d fl ikgh vki dh j{kk ds fy, iz kl dj jgk gA vki ?kj ij jga vksj l j f{kr jga

bl idkj fu'd'kz : lk ea dgk tk l drk gSfd ifyl l s thou l j{kk dh vk"kkj l Ei fRr dh l j{kk rFkk vius l eku fu; e vksj dkuu dh vk"kk ge djrs gA vksj og rHkh gks l drk gSfd ge ml dk l g; kx djA

I UnHkZ

- 1- fcfV" k I kellrksdksfn; sx; svfêkdjka l sl Ecflekr gð
- 2- 1776 ea13 oa l a ðr jkT; vešjadh Lora=rk dh |ksk.kkA
- 3- Mhá Mhá cl & áæu jkbVt bu dkuLVhV; #ku ykW1994 i 0 5
- 4- vki ugkbe& b.Vjušuy yk [k.M 1 uokl h dj.k 1992 i 0 846
- 5- Ýdfyu : yošV&MkdesV vktQ vešjdu QkVš fjs'kUI [k.M iii i 026
- 6- Lh; ðr jk'Vª pkVj vuðNn 1 ¼13½
- 7- ykVjiš& b.Vjušuy yk ,.M áæu jkbVt i 0 1952
- 8- jk'Vh; ekuokfêkdj vk; ks ds2000 dsrF; dsvekklj ij
- 9- A.I.R. r=ð 101&102&103
- 10- NRrhl x<+i fýl , oal hávkjái há l Hkk'k feJk&2010 ekuokfêkdj dk ekuoh; psgjk i 0 69
- 11- vuhl k Hkkfl uk 2011 tkfu; sekuokfêkdjka dks i 0 217
- 12- Lhjs'k pkšjk.k ds thá dá l q"ku U; nt 9 tgykbZ2018
- 13- i fýl vki ekuokfêkdj "nšud tkxj.k** vDVej 28] 2013
- 14- fglnh U; nt 18 tu 2020& dšjkuk dsf[kykQ yM+jgs i fýl okys

Hkj r ea Økürdkjh vkhkyu dk oþkj d I kj I Ro

MW ctsk lo: i Iardj ^u

Hkj r ea I æfBr Økürdkjh vkrælokn dk jkLrk I oð Fke egkj k'V^a ea vi uk; k x; kA pki dj clækp/ka vFkkz nkekj gj pki dj vks cky N". k gj pki dj us1896&97 ea i uk ea '0; k; ke e. My* dh LFkki uk dhA '0; k; ke e. My* dh LFkki uk ds i hNs pki dj clækp/ka dk mnæs; fo'kq jktufrd FkA os '0; k; ke e. My* ea 0; k; ke vks 'kL= I pkyu dh f'k{k nðj , d s ukStoku r\$ kj djuk pgrs Fks tks nsk ds fy; s ik. kka dh ckth yxkus dks r\$ kj gkA pki dj clækp 'kh?kz gh dk; Z{k= eamrjA mlugkaus cEcbZ eafodVkj; k dh efrZ ds eeg ij vydrkj k ikrkA bl ds ckn i uk ea 22 tu 1897 dh jkr dks ghjd t; rh I ekjkg I soki I ykVrs I e; jM vks vk; tVZ uked vfekd kj; ka dh pki dj clækp/ka us xkyh ekj dj gr; k dj nhA¹

1896&97 ds I e; i uk ea lys egkekjh QSyh gþz FkA jSM dks lysc dfe'uj cukdj ogka Hkst k x; k Fkk yfdu ml us ogka dh turk ds I kFk tks vekuoh; 0; ogkj fd; kj og vl guh; FkA ml ds bl h 0; ogkj ds dkj .k pki dj clækp/kaus ml dh gr; k dh FkA bl idkj Åijh rks ij nskus I s; gh yxrk gS fd pki dj Hkkbz ka ds dk; k dk rkrdkfyd ij d rRo jSM dh fujætkrk FkA yfdu ; g fl QZv) I R; gA njvl y pki dj clækp/kads fopkj egkekjh QSyus; k jSM ds i uk vkus I sigysgh , d 'kDy vf[r; kj djusyxs FkA 1894 eagh pki dj Hkkbz ka us i uk ea 'kkjhjd vks I sud if'k{k.k ds fy; s 'fgUnw ekeZ vojkek fuokj .k I fefr* dh LFkki uk dh FkA ft I s 'fgUnw I j{k.kh I fefr* Hkh dgk tkrk FkA ; g I fefr i R; d o"zfu; ei wðd f'kokth o x.ki fr I ekjkg vk; kstr djrh FkA bu I ekjkgka epki dj Hkkbz ka }kj k i < t kusokys 'ykdka I smudh Hkkouk dk irk pyr k gA f'kokth 'ykd dgrk gS^----- ge ekjrh ij mu nteuka dk [ku cgk nax\$ tksgekjs ekeZ dk fouk'k dj jgsgA ge rkekdj ej tk; ax\$ yfdu re vks rka dh rjg fl QZ dgkfu; ka I ukrs jgksA** bl h idkj x.ki fr 'ykd eafy [kk Fkk & ^vQI kd re xykeh dh ftUnxh ij 'kfeðnk ughagk\$ tkvls vkRegR; k dj ykA mQ! ; g dehu\$ dl kb; ka dh rjg xk; vks cNMka dks ekj jgsgA ml s ½kS dks bl I dV I seðr djkvkA ejks yfdu vaxt ka dks ekj dj] ui d d gkdj ekjrh ij cks u cukA**

* vllLVW iQI j&jktufr foKlu foHkx dðdð iðtIð dñjst bVlok ñaiã½

caaký eaHkh ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu ekezij vkekkfjR FkkA D; káid ogka ij
dk; }r ØkfUrðkjH l æBukædk l nL; cuusl sigysdN ekkfeð vks pkfjdrk, a
ijH djuh i MfH FkhA tS svuðkhyu l febr dk l nL; cuusl sigysfglnw
ekez ds deðk. Mkæ dks ijk djukl dkyh th dh ifrek ds l keus 'ki Fk ysukl
xhrc dk fu; fer i kB djuk vkfn dk; kæ dks djuk i MfH FkkA ft l l s bl
l æBu eadøý fglunw; ød gh 'kkfey gks l drs Fkj D; káid nlr jsekeZ ds; ød
fglnwekeZ ds deðk. Mkæ dks ugha dj l drk FkkA² bl idkj ge n[s krs gð fd
i Eke pj.k dk ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu ijH rjg l sfglnwekeZ ea jack gnyk FkkA
mudk n"Vdks k ?kky fglunw dVvj i Fkh FkkA l EHKor%bl h dkj .k l sosfcV'k
fojkækh gh ughaeðLye fojkækh Hkh FkA ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu dk ; g nkj chl oha
'krkCnh ds i Eke n'kd rd tkjh jgkA yfdu ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu dk fodkl
tS & tS s gkrk x; kl oS & oS sml ds Lo: i eaHkh ifjorðu gkrk x; kA i Eke
pj.k dk ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu vi usvfure o"kkæ eadkQh cny pðk Fkk] tgka
ekekfeð cðekuka dh dBkjrk ekhj & ekhj s f' k f Fky gks ysxh Fkh vks ; g vklUnksyu
T; ka gh vi us thou dsf}rh; pj.k ea iðsk djrk gð oS s gh bl dk Lo: i
ijH rjg l scny tkrk gð tgka i gys pj.k dk ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu i wkZ: i
l sfglnwekeZ ds jak ea jack gnyk Fkk] ogha nlr js pj.k ds ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu
dk Lo: i ijH rjg l scny dj ekez fuj i {k gks tkrk gð ; gka ØkfUrðkfj ;
dh u rks dkbZ tkr Fkh vks u dkbZ ekeA l Hkh l kFk mBr & cBr s Fks vks
l kFk & l kFk [kkuk [krs FkA ml l e; mudsvlnj døy , d gh Hkkouk dke
dj jgh Fkh fd ^ge l Hkh Hkkjr rh; * gð

1913 ea xnj i kVhZ dk xBu ØkfUrðkjH vklUnksyu ds fodkl dh fn'kk
ea, d cgr cMk , oaegrO i wkZ dne FkkA bl usjktuhfr dks ekeZ l seðr fd; k
vks eke& fuj i {krk dks vi uk; kA ekez dks futh ekeyk ?kkf"kr dj fn; k x; kA
xnj v [kckj usfglnw ed yeku nksuks dk vk°oku fd; k fd os vkfFKZl ekeyka
ij T; knk è; ku nD; káid ml dk nksuks ds thou ij , d tS k i Hkko i MfHk
gð ----- l eL; k fglunw cuke eðLye dh ugha cfYd Hkkjr rh; cuke vaxst
'kkSkdka dh gð fglunw eðLye , drk dks bruk etcw cuk; k tkuk pkfg; sfd
ml s dkbZ rkdM+u l dA

xnj i kVhZ ekez fuj i {krk* eafO'okl djrh Fkh vks Bkl fglunw eðLye
, drk dh i {kekj FkhA og Np & Nw dks ugha ekurh FkhA Hkkjr dh , drk vks
Hkkjr ds Lokekhurk l ækte dsfy; s, drk dh Hkkouk] ; gh ml si fjr djusokys
i ædk fl) klr FkA bl ekeys ea xnj i kVhZ ml l e; ds Hkkjr rh; urkvka l s
ehyka vks FkhA l kgu fl g tsk ds vuð kj ^xnj ds ØkfUrðkjH

jk tuhr&l keftd l ækkj ds l okyka ij vi us l el kef; dka l svkekh l nh vkxs FkA**3

l u-1915 ea xnj Økflur ds foQy gkaus ds ckn i kvhZ ds uskvka ea oþkfd ifjorZu gþk vks osekDI ðkn&yfuuokn dh vkj eþl+jgs FkA mlgkaus ubZ i fjfLFkfr; ka dsrgr jk"Vh; Lorærk l æk"lz dks vkxsystkus dsfy; si atkc dsfdl kuka vkj vl æfBr etnjka dks l æfBr djus dk dke 'kq fd; ka

xnj i kvhZ ds l nL; : l dh l ektoknh Økflur l s dkh i Hkkfor FkA buea l s dbZ 0; fDr; ka dks : l h Økflur ds ; ækflurdkjh egRo dks l e>us rFkk ekDI ðkn&yfuuokn dk vè; ; u djus dk vol j feykA xnj i kvhZ ds vucl l nL; ka us etnjka o fdl kuka dks muds oxZ l æBuka ea l æfBr djds mlga jk"Vh; eþDr l æk"lz ea mrkj rFkk l keftd&vkfkd eþDr dsfy; soxZ l æk"lz pykus dsfy; svi {kkñr mRÑ"V ekxZ dk vuq j .k fd; ka i kvhZ ds l nL; f' k{kk xg.k djus dsfy; s l kso; r : l pysx; svks muea l s dbZ l nL; ka us Hkkjr vkdj ubZ fopkjækkj ds vuq i turk dks l æfBr djuk i kjEHk fd; kA⁴

bl fn'kk ea xnj vkUnksyu ea egRo i wkz Hkkfedk fuHkk pps Økflurdkjh usrk 'kphUnukFk l ku; ky us fuHkkbA mlgkaus Økflurdkjh vkUnksyu dks vf[ky Hkkjr h; Lo: i nus ds mnæs; l s 1923 ds vlur ea fglUnrku iztkra l æk" dh cþu; kn MkyhA mlgkaus i kvhZ dk l foekku Hkh r\$ kj fd; kj tks i hys dkxt ij Nik Fkk] bl fy; sog "i hyki plz" ¼ yks i Ei yv½ ds uke l se'kgj gþkA 'kphUnukFk l ku; ky us , d vks egRo i wkz nLrkost r\$ kj fd; k Fkk & fglUnrku dk iztkra dk ?kksk.kk i =] ftl dk 'kñkZd Fkk "fn fjok; wkujh"; g nLrkost igyh tuojh] 1925 dh jkr dks i jsmRrj Hkkjr ea cka/k x; kA 1917 dh vDVncj Økflur l s i Hkkfor gkdj ?kksk.kk&i = ea Hkkjr h; Økflurdkj; ka ds mnæs; dh ?kksk.kk djrs gq fy[kk g\$ "jktuhrd {ks= ea Økflurdkjh i kvhZ rRdkfyd mnæs; l æfBr l 'Dr Økflur }kjk Hkkjr ds l a þr jkT; kadk , d l ækh; x.kj kT; ¼Q&jy fjifcyd vkñD ; wk bVM LVV/ vkñD bf.M; k½ LFkfr djuk gA bl x.kj kT; ds vlur l foekku dk fuekZk , oa?kksk.kk rc gksch] tc l Ei wkz Hkkjr ds i frufek vi usfu.kz kadks ykxwdjusea l {ke gkaA yfdu bl x.kj kT; dk eyHkur fl) kuR l koZfud erfekdkj ij vkekkfjr gksck rFkk 'kksk.k ij vkekkfjr , d h l eLr 0; oLFkkvka dh l ekflr ij vkekkfjr gksck tks eq"; }kjk euq; ds 'kksk.k dks l EHko cukrh gA bl x.kj kT; ea ernkrkvkadk; ; fn ospkarks i frufek; kadksoki l cgykus dk vfekdkj gksck] vU; Fkk iztkru= , d e[kksy cudj jg tk; xkA⁵

fglntqrku fjicydu , l kfi , 'ku us ekhj&ekhs vi uk dke 'kq fd; kA
 l æBu ds l Qy l pkyu dsfy; sèku dh deh dks i jk djusdsfy; sfglntqrku
 fjicydu , l kfi , 'ku ds l nL; kaus l jdkjh [ktkuk ywusdh ; kst uk cuk; hA
 fopkj & 'foe' kZ ds ckn 9 vxLr] 1925 dks dkdkj h uked LFkku ij jsyxkMh
 jkdj ml eaj [kk l jdkjh [ktkuk yw fy; kA bl l Eclèk ea40 0; fDr; ka dks
 fxjQrkj fd; k x; kA mu ij epnek pyk; k x; k tks dkdkj h "kM+ U= ds ds
 uke l sifl) gpkA

dkdkjh dk.M ds Økfldkj h l kE; okfn; ka ds l Ei dZ ea Fks vksj os
 ekhj&ekhs l kE; oknh fopkj ka l s i Hkkfor gks jgs FkA muds dE; fuLV i kVhZ l s
 l Eclèk ds ckjs ea erHkn Hkh FkA yfdu fopkj 'khy Økfldkj; ka ds l keus
 l kE; oknh jkLrk vi ukus ds fl ok; vksj dkbZ fodYi ugha FkA⁶ bl dk , d
 mnkj .k geajkei d kn fclYe }kjk Qka h dsrhu fnu igysfy [kh x; h i qrd
 ^vkrEdFkk** eans [kus dks feyrk gA ft l eafclEy usfy [kk gSfd ^eSbl l e;
 bl ifj .kke ij igpk gWfd ; fn ge ykxka us i k.kizk l s turk dks f'kf{kr
 cukus ea i wkZ iz Ru fd; k gsrk rks gekj m | kx Økfldkj h vkUnksy l s dgha
 vfedk ykHknk; d gsrk ft l dk ifj .kke LFkkbZ gsrkA vfr mRre gsrk ; fn
 Hkkjr dh Hkkoh l Urku rFk uo; pdoln Økfldkj h l æBu djus dh vi {kk
 turk dh i dfr dks nsk l ok dh vksj yxkus dk iz kl dja vksj N"kdka dk
 l æBu djds mudks tehmkj ka vksj j bZ kka ds vR; kpkj ka l scpk; A** fclEy us
 vksx fy [kk gSfd ^uo; pdka dks ejk vflre l nsk ; g gSfd os fjokYoj ; k
 fi LrkSy dks vi us i kl j [kus dh bPNk dks R; kx dj l Ppsnsk l od cuA i wkZ
 Lokèhurk mudk è; s gks vksj os okLrfod l kE; oknh cuus dk iz Ru djrs
 jgA⁷

1924&30 dk l e; Hkkjrh; Økfldkj h vkUnksy ea oSrkjd ifjorZ
 dk Lof.kè l e; FkA D; kfd bl h l e; Hkkjr ds i æ[k Økfldkj; k& Hkx
 fl g] Hkxorh pj .k ckj jk l [kn] jktxq] f'ko oekZ vkfn us ekDI ÷knh&
 ysuuoknh , oa l ektoknh l kfgR; dk xgu vè; ; u o fparu&euu djus ds
 i 'pkr~bu Økfldkj; ka us Hkkjrh; Økfldkj h vkUnksy dks , d ubZ fn'kk
 rFk oSrkjd vkèkj inku fd; kA dkdkj h "kM+ U= ds ds i 'pkr~fglntqrku
 fjicydu , l kfi , 'ku VWdj fc[kj x; k FkA plnz ks[kj vktkn] Hkx fl g]
 ; rHnukFk nkl] dtnu yky tS sdfri ; Økfldkj h fxjQrkjh l scp x; s
 FkA dN fnukard bèkj&mèkj Hkvdus ds i 'pkr~mDr Økfldkj h , d dñh;
 l æBu cukus dh ; kst uk ij fopkj fd; kA dñh; l æBu ds fuekZk dh l eL; k
 ds l ekèkku ds fy; s 8 o 9 fl rEcj 1928 dks l eLr Hkkjr ds i æ[k

Økflurdkfj; ka dh , d l Hkk fnYyh dsfQjkt 'kkq dks/yk fdys ds [k.Mgjk ea
 ghpA Hkxr fl g vks muds l kfk; ka ds l e{k e; l eL; k ; g Fkh fd ubz
 fopkjekkjk dsvud kj l xBu dksu; k : i dS sfn; k tk, \ bl fy; sfQjkt 'kkq
 dks/yk dh cBd ea Økflurdkjh ny ^fglntkrku fjifcydu , l ksl , 'ku** ds
 uke ea^l ksfyLV** 'kcn tkmusdk l rko Hkxr fl g vks l dknø usj [kk vks
 blgkaus dgk fd ny dk uke ^fglntkrku l ksfyLV fjifcydu , l ksl , 'ku
 %vkehZ* gksuk pfg; A QyLo: i cBd eany dsuke ifjorū ds l rko dks
 ydj l nL; ka eadkQh okn&fookn gpkA vlr ea Hkxr fl g dk l rko Lohdkj
 dj fy; k x; k vks ny dk uke vc ^fglntkrku fjifcydu , l ksl , 'ku** ds
 LFkku ij ^fglntkrku l ksfyLV fjifcydu , l ksl , 'ku %vkehZ* gks x; kA

Økflurdkjh vknksyu ea; g ifjorū l kxfBud fujlurjk] ij l rko pjkfd
 , oavkn'kkr vyxko %cd½ dk |kr d gA , d k bl fy; sgpk fd døy vkn'kks
 ea fodkl u gkdj Økflurdkjh vknksyu ds; s ea Hkh fodkl gpkA ny dh
 vks l svud LFkkuka ij ce cukus ds dkj [kkus [kksys x; A bl ea; g uhr Hkh
 fuekkjr dh x; h fd vc ny døy mlgha fo"k; ka dks vi us dk; Døe ds: i ea
 Lohdkj dj; ftudk jk"Vh; , oa l koztud egro gka vxspydj ftrus Hkh
 ^, d'ku* fd; s x; ; muds i hNs ; gh Hkouk dke dj jgh FkhA⁸

ny dsuke ea^l ektokn* 'kcn dk tkmuk l kekl; ckr ugha Fkh] cfYd
 ; g , d , frgkl d ?kVuk ugha FkhA bl ?kVuk dsegro dks l e>usdsfy; sgea
 ml l e; dh jk"Vh; vks vlrjkZVh; ifjlFkfr dh mi t Fkh] bl h Økflurdkjh
 mHkj ds ncko l s Økflurdkjh jktuhr ea xqkkRed ifjorū vk; kA fglntkrku
 iztkrU= l ak ds l kfk ^l ektokn* 'kcn tkmuk bl h xqkkRed ifjorū dk
 irhd Fkka bl dk vfkZ; g Fk fd Økflurdkjh vknksyu us vkn'kkn dh
 l hekvka dks i kj fd; k vks l ogkjk ds thou n'kū dks vi us fluru dk vekkj
 cuk; k vfkkr tks pntk rhl js n'kd ds i kj EHK l s v. Ms ds Hkhrj i yuk&c<uk
 'kq gpk Fkk] og vc [kksy rkmdej ckj fudy vk; k vks fopkj ds fodkl
 dk ekxz izklr gpkA⁹

vl icyh ce dk.M dsckn ^fglntkrku l ksfyLV fjifcydu , l ksl , 'ku**
 ds vfedkka Økflurdkjh fxjQrkj dj fy; s x; A mlgkaus vi us eplnes dh
 l qokbz ds nksku vi us n"Vdksk ipkfr dju; l ektokn ds fopkka dks
 ykdfiz; cukus vks Økflurdkjh i kvh ds mnas; ka rFk iz kstuka dks turk ds
 l keusj [kusdsfy; svnkyr dksep ds: i ea tedj blræky fd; kA mudh
 ; g j. kuhfr dke; kc Hkh ghpA bl dsckjsea, l 0, u0 etenkj usfy [kk gsf
 ^fglntkrku l ksfyLV fjifcydu , l ksl , 'ku** dh reke xyfr; kavks detksj; ka

dsckotm l epsjk"Vh; vktlksyu ea vks r: .k Økflurdkjh dks l kE; okn dh
vksj vkdf"kr djuseabl ikvhzds; ksnku dh mi {kk ughadh tk l drh gA

fglntlrku l ektoknh izkra= l ak ds vfekdak iæf k urk 1929 ds
eè; rd fxjQrkj djds tsyka eacn dj fn; sx; sFkA t gkamlga i <us vks
fopkj&foe'kz djusdk Hkjij; ektk feykA bl l smudsvlnj tksu; h l e>
i snk gþz Fkh] ml ds vkekkj ij mlgkaus vius ijs vrhr dk [kk l dj o\$ fDrd
dk; l dyki ka vks 'kk\$ l in'kz ds vkekkj ij vkn'kz dks u; s fl js l s
tkpk&ij [kk vks viuh vc rd dh dk; l izkyh dks Nk&Mj l ektoknh
Økflur dk jkLrk viukusdk fu'p; fd; kA xgu vè; ; u vks çk&Vz ty
eanl js l kfFk; ka l syEcsfopkj foe'kz dsckn Hkxr fl g bl fu.kz ij igps
fd ; gk&ogkadn Hksn; kavks vQl jkadh o\$ fDrd gR; kvka l sy{; dh i kflr
ughagk l drh gA¹⁰ Hkxr fl g us 19 vDVicj] 1929 dks i æk LVMW/ l dh
dkad ds uke , d l Unsk Hkst k Fkk] ftl ea mlgkaus fy [kk Fkk ^vkt ge
ukst okuka dks ce vks fi Lrksy viukus ds fy; s ugha dg l drA --- blga
vks] k\$xd {ks=kadh xlnh cLr; ka eavks xkoka dh Vw/h&Qw/h >ki fM+ ka eajgus
okysdjkb/ka ykskadks txkuk gskk** , d vl; txg mlgkausdgk Fkk ^xkoka vks
dkj [kkuka ds fdl ku vks etnij gh vl yh Økflurdkjh l sud gA**

mDr rF; ka l s ; g ckr Li"V gsrh g\$fd i R; æd pj .k ds Økflurdkjh
vktlksyu dh viuh fopkjekkjk FkA i Eke nks dk Økflurdkjh vktlksyu fglnt
ekkefæd fopkjekkjk ij vkekkfjr FkA y\$du tc rd vktlksyu nls js nks ea
igprk g\$ rc bl dk Lo: i ekefuj i \$k gks tkrk gA bl nks ds vflure l e;
ea Økflurdkjh ekhj&ekhs l ektokn dh vks c<us yxs FkA y\$du tc
Økflurdkjh vktlksyu rhl js nks ¼1923&1928½ ea igprk g\$ rks ml l e;
Økflurdkjh l ektoknh fopkjekkjk l sckQh i fjfpr gks pps Fk\$ i jUrqvHkh Hkh
og i jh rjg l s l ektoknh fopkjekkjk dks l e> ugha l ds FkA y\$du tc ; g
vktlksyu 1928&31 ds nks ea igprk rc Hkkjrh; Økflurdkjh l ektokn ds
fl) kUrka l svPNh rjg l si fjfpr gks pps FkA QyLo: i Hkkjrh; Økflurdkfj; ka
ushkkjr ea l ektoknh l ekt dh LFki uk djusdh fn'kk ea vius dne c<kuk
'kq gh fd; k Fkk fd nkkkX; l s Hkkjr ds Økflurdkjh dks ml l e; cgr cMk
ekDdk yxk] tc vl fcyh cedk. M ea Hkkjrh; Økflurdkfj; ka dksfofHku i zkj
dh l tk, a nh x; hA QyLo: i chl oha 'krkCnh ds pks n'kd ds i kj Etk ea
Økflurdkjh vktlksyu yxHkx l ekr gks x; kA ; | fi ckn ea d n Økflurdkjh
l æfBr gkdj bl fn'kk ea dk; l djus ds iz kl fd; ; y\$du og l Qy ugha
gk l dA

I UnHkZ

- 1- v; kè; k fl g ^Hkkjr dk efdR l xte** i "B&235
- 2- I R; e oekZ ¼ Eiknd½ ^^kghns vkte dh tsy ukVcpI** ifjf'k"V&, d i "B 164&165
- 3- I kgu fl g tks'k ^fglnhrku xnj i kVh&, 'kkVZfgLVH** i "B 160] 189
- 4- fo'ofe= mi kè; k; &^fons'kkæaHkkjrh; Økflrdkjh vkUnksyu&Hkkx nks* i "B 210
- 5- 'kphUnukFk I kU; ky ^cUnh thou** i "B 308&309
- 6- gjxkfoln ^fxjr&mBrsc<spyk* i "B&174
- 7- jkeiI kn fclEY ^vkRedFkk** i "B 126&132
- 8- >kj [k.Msjk; ^Hkkjrh; Økflrdkjh vkUnksyu&, d fo'ySk.k** i "B&30
- 9- gI jkt jgcj ^Hkxr fl g&, d thoul** i "B&128
- 10- I R; e oekZ I Eiknd ^^kghns vkte dh tsy ukVcpI** i "B&190

i fMr nhun; ky mik; k; %jk'V^a fopkj d] f'k'k'fon ,oansk dh v'k.Mrk ,oa l hÑfr ds izk'k

Mk'k' f'k'k' f=i'k'k'k'
u'g'k'k'

'k'k'k' l'k'k'

i a nhun; ky mik; k; Hk'k'rh; l hÑfr ,oa Lons'kh f'k'k' izk'k' dh ds i {k'k' Fk'k' mlg'k'k' n' d Lons'kh f'k'k' izk'k' dh ds gh egRo fn; k , oamRF'k'k' dk ekx'zeku'k' mudsfopkj e'gek'jh l hÑfr /k'k'k' gh ge'vi us'x'k'k'oe' h b'f'g'k'l l s't'k'k'k' e) g'S'v'k'j gek'jh l hÑfr ,oa Lons'kh f'k'k' izk'k' dh ds }k'k' gh l ekt' e'ok'g'uh; i'f'j'or'z' yk; k tk l drk g'Smudsfopkj e'ge Lor'l= g'k'rs'g'k' i a nhun; ky mik; k; th ds'v'ud' k'j f'd'l h Hk'k'jk'V^a dh ml'uf'r ml dh l h-fr ,oav'k'k'.Mrk ij fu'hl'k'j d'j'rh g'S, oax'q'ko'r'rk l sv'k's i'k'k' u'f'r'd e'w; k'ao'k'yh fop'k'j/k'k'j, a'v'k'o"; d g'k'k' x'q'ko'r'rk ,oa u'f'r'd e'w; k'ao'k'yh fop'k'j/k'k'j, a'gek'jh Lons'kh f'k'k' izk'k' dh fo'k'k'k'k' g'gh g'k'k' i a n'hu n; ky mik; k; th ds'v'ud' k'j f'k'k' i'f'0; k e'a'N'k'= i'e'f'k' l'F'k'k' j [k'k'k' g'k'k' N'k'= f'k'k'k' i'f'0; k dk og eg'Ro i'w'k'z'v'x' g'S'f't'l d's'f'c'uk ; g'f'k'k' i'f'0; k f'0; k'f'lor g'k'g'gh u'gh l dr'h'A mud'ser'ku'f' k'j jk'V^a dh ml'uf'r ml dh l h-fr ,oav'k'k'.Mrk ml jk'V^a ds'N'k'= ij fu'hl'k'j d'j'rh g'k'k' mlg'k'k' n' d l s'gh jk'V^a dh , drk ,oav'k'k'.Mrk ij t'k'j fn; k'k' vi'uh fop'k'j k'ad'k's'ml'g'k'k' n' d u'oh'u'&i'k'p'hu] o'k'k'f'ud'&'k'f'e'z'd] v'k'; k'f'e'r'd] n'k' k'k'ud ,oa H'k'k'f'r'd l H'k'k' f'cl'n'q'k'k' i'j H'k'k' H'k'k'f'r t'k'k'k' d'j i'L'r'f' f'd; k mlg'k'k' vi'us'v/; ; u' e'a'H'k'k'j'rh; l hÑfr dk k'k'k' ,oav'l d'j .k d'k'g'gh jk'V^a dh , dr'k] v [k'a'k'f'k' ,oam't't'o o m'r'N'V' H'k'f'o"; g'r'q'v'f'u'ok; z'ek'k'k' mudsfop'k'j k'ae' u'oh'u' v'x's't'k' }k'k'j i'nk'u dh x; h f'k'k' izk'k' dh g'ek'j's'n's'k' d's'f'y, c's'k'k' [k' l s't; k'rk' d'q'N' u'gh F'k'h'A v'k'j c's'k'k' [k' h'f'd'ru'h H'k'h v'p'N'h D; k's'u' g'k's'g'e's'k'k' v'k'j'j' u' dk v'g'l k'l j'g'r'k' gh g'k'k' f'd'l h H'k'h jk'V^a dh ml'ur'h ml ds u'k's't'oku ; p'k' i'h'k' i'j v'k'k'f'j'r g'k'r'h g'Smudsfop'k'j k'ae'g'ek'j's; p'k' N'k'=k'ad'k's'g'ek'jh l hÑfr'd /k'k'k'j l s'vo'x'r d'j'k; k tk, f't'l l s'os'vi'uh l hÑfr d'k's'l e>s, oam'l h v'k'k'k'j ij n's'k' dh ml'uf'r ,oav'k'k'.Mrk g'r'q'i'L'r'f' g'k'k' nhun; ky mik; k; th vi'us'i'j's't'hou vi'uh n'j' n'V'k' 'k'k'k'd ,oank'k'k'ud fop'k'j/k'k'j d's'ek'; e l s'iz'k's't'u'ok'nh fop'k'j/k'k'j d'k's' n'j' d'j H'k'k'j'rh; l hÑfr d'k's' i'f'r'f'Br d'j'us'g'r'q'iz' k'l j'r' j'g'k'

i'L'rk'ouk

f'd'l h H'k'h jk'V^a dh ml'uf'r ml dh l h-fr ,oav'k'k'.Mrk ij fu'hl'k'j d'j'rh g'S, oax'q'ko'r'rk l sv'k's i'k'k' u'f'r'd e'w; k'ao'k'yh fop'k'j/k'k'j, a'v'k'o"; d g'k'k' i'k'p'hu d'ky l s'v'k't' rd f'k'k'k' 0; o'LF'k'k' vi'uh bl y'ech ; k=k' e'a'd'k'Q'h i'f'j'or'z' n'q'k' p'p'q'h g'k'k' b'ue'al s'd'q'N' i'f'j'or'z' v'k'o"; dr'k'v'k'ad'h i'f'r'z'g'r'q't'k's'f'd l ekt' m'r'F'k'k'u

* l'g'k; d' v'k'p'k; l' b'f'g'k'l] l h-fr ,oa i'j'k'Ro fo'k'k'k'k'k'k' j'k' e'uk'g'j' y'k'g; k' v'o/k' fo' 'ofo /ky; jv; k'; k'k'na' i'z'z'z'
** 'k'k'k'k'k'k'k'k' i'h&, p-M'h- d'k'k'z' od'z'2019]e/; d'ky'hu ,oa v'k'k'k'ud b'f'g'k'l] l h-fr ,oa i'j'k'Ro fo'k'k'k'k'k'k' j'k' e'uk'g'j' y'k'g; k' v'o/k' fo' 'ofo /ky; jv; k'; k'k'na' i'z'z'z'

grsqvko"; d FkA ijUrqHkkjrh; f"kk 0; oLFkk ea ifjorZu vkØKUrkrvka }kjk i R; kjksir FkA ftl dk gekjh l —fr l s dkbZysuk ughaFkk] rFkD budk vyx gksuk vko'; d FkA fdl h Hkh l ekt dh f'k{kk eyw : l l sml l ekt dsLo: i] ml ds nk'kZud fpUru] eukØKkfud rF; ka , oa oKkfud ixfr ij vk/kkfjr gksrh gA¹ Hkkjrh; l hÑfr , oaf'k{kk ikjFEHkd dky l sgh l e) jgh gS ijUrq dñ vkrnk; ka , oackgjh rRoksdk gekjsnsk eagLr{ki dsdkj .k i Hkkfor vo' ; gDZ gD l e; & l e; ij fofHku nk'kZud] f'k{kfonka , oa euhf"ka; ka us vi u&vi us erkuD kj , oan'kZud kj vi usfopkjka dk ifri knu fd; ka bu fo}kuka dh yEch drkj gS ftu l Hkh ds dk; Z , oa fopkj izkl aih; , oa l jkguh; gA l Hkh us Hkkjrh; l hÑfr , oaf'k{kk dsLrj dksmBkusdk Hkj l d izkl fd; k rFkk Hkkjr dksogh xkSjoe; h vrhr l sfeyokusgrq l rr izkl jr jgA bu l Hkh fo}kuka eaegf"kn; kuln l jLorh] Lokeh foodkuln] jfolnz ukFk Bkdj] egf"kn vjfoln , d svud uke 'kkfey gSbl h ifDr ea i a nhun; ky mi k/; k; th dk uke Hkh , d vknj.kh; LFku j [krk gA i a nhu n; ky mi k/; k; th , d mPpdksV ds fo}ku] cgqk; keh 0; fDrRo ds/kuh] fopkj d] xqkh funDkd] i frHkk'kkyh ekxh'kZu] i Hkkoh oDrkj dWuhfrK] jktuhfrK gksus ds l kFk&l kFk , d mPp dksV ds f'k{kffon ds : lk ea foneeku gA os Hkkjrh; l hÑfr , oa f'k{kk 0; oLFkk ds ikjn'kZl Kkrk gA os l nD l sgh Hkkjrh; l hÑfr , oa ikphu xkDdy f'k{kk izkkyh ds l eFkZl FkA mlGksuaviuh l hÑfr , oa ikphu f'k{kk izkkyh ds mRFkku grq l nD gh rRi jrk , oaf'kSk : fp ds l kFk dk; Zfd; kA² muds }kjk fn; k x; k ekxh'kZu oKkfud] /kkfeZl] jktuSrd] l kelftd] vkfFkZl , oa'kSk[kd l Hkh Lrj ds fy, , d fo'kSk ekxh'kZu ds : lk ea LFkfir gqkA i a nhun; ky th ds vuD kj f'k{kk gh , dek= , d k gfFk; kj gS ftl l sfd ge Hkkoh i h<h dksokfi l vius l e) l hÑfr , oa xfjek dh vkj yst k l drs gS , oa vius nSk dh v[k.Mrk , oal ef) dks i qkLFkfir dj l drsgA os l nD gh nSk dh v[k.Mrk , oal ef) grq izkl jr jgsrFkk l Hkh dksml h fn'kk eadke djusdh ij .kk nrs jgA i D nhun; ky th Hkkjrh; l hÑfr ds izy l eFkZl Fks vkj ml h vk/kkj ij mlGksu vi usfopkjkaes l exrk dsfopkjka dks c<kok nrs gq s , dkRedokn n"ku i Lr q fd; kA³

Hkkjrh; f'k{kk ,oa l hÑfr ,oa ml dk gkl

l fV dh jpuk djusokys ijesoj useut; ds : lk viuh l okRe Ñfr dk l tu fd; kA tle yus ds ckn dbZ o"kkZ rd nw jka ij fulHkj jgrsgq s Hkh eut; cMk gksdj i Foh gh ugh cju ty o vdk'k ij Hkh vius iS tek yrk gA bl dsfoijhr tle yus ds rjUr ckj vius iS kis ij [kMk gksdj pyusokyk

g"V&i iV vks LokoyEch lk'kqgtkjka o"kkz dsckn Hkh ts sbi /kjk ij tUek Fkk vkt Hkh os k gh g\$ bu nksuks i kf.k; ka es vkus okyk ; g vlnj dny f'k{kk dh gh nsu gsf'k{kk vFkkz~l h[kus vks fl [kkus dh {kerk} f'k{kk gh og fo'k\$krk g\$ tksekuo dkslk'kqtxr l sÅpk mBkrh gA⁴ bl h Øe eage ns[krsgsfid Hkk\$rd] ck\$) d vFkok vk/; kfred {ks= ea tks Hkh ekuo dh mi yfc/k; k; g& pkgs os xxupfich vVvfydk gksplnek rd tkusokyk ; ku ds: lk ea i Ñfr dsjg; ka dks [kksyus oksys fl) kUrka ds: lk eagks vFkok vkf.od 'kFDRk l s Hkh ijs vkrk ds Kku ds: lk ea dyk vks l kfgR; }kjk l k\$N; kZtHkfr ds: lk ea gks vFkok l ekt jpuk dsfofHku vk; kela ds: lk eagks os vk' pZt ud g\$ vks mu l c ds i hNs ekuo dh ; g 'k\$kd {kerk gh gA⁵

vr%; g ckr fufobkn : lk l s l R; gsfid 0; fDRk dsekufi d fodkl ea f'k{kk dh mYy\$kuh; Hkiedk gksrh g\$ f'kf{kr 0; fDRk jk"V^a dks vkxs c<kaus ea egROI wZ ; kxnku dj l drk gA i R; d jk"V^a ea viuh fo'k\$kk Hk\$ckfyd i fjfLFkr rFkk , srgkl d i jEi jkvdksdkj.k , d fo'k\$kk idkj dh l Ñfr dk fodkl gks tkrk gA og jk"V^a viuh ml fo'k\$kk l Ñfr ds vuqph gh viuh 0; oLFkk, acukdj mlufR dj l drk g\$ yfdu bfrgkl usHkkrh; kads l kFk Øij etkd fd; k eflYe vkØkUrkvka usHkkr vkdj ; gk; ds LorU= fpuru vks v/ ; ; u dka, d vijj/k ?k\$kr dj fn; kA bl h ds l kFk Hkkrh; l H; rk o l Ñfr ds l j {kd r {kf'kyk o ukyUnk fo'ofok|ky; tks Hkkrh; ck\$) d fojkl r dks l aghr fd, sFks dks vR; s"V dj Hkkrh; n'kZ ds ewy rRo dks vi Hkkrfor dj fn; k x; kA⁶ vaxt kads v/khu Hkkr dks, d nkl dh Hkkrh 'kkl d jk"V^a dh Hkkrkk , oal Ñfr dks Lohdkj djuk i Mka fd l h ij cys yknh gpZ l Ñfr vR; Ur Hk; kog gksrh g\$ vks Hkkr ds l kFk ; gh gqk vaxt kus viuh f'k{kk ufR ds }kjk gea, d k ehBk tgj fiyk; k fd ge Lo; aviuh l Ñfr vks i jEi jkvdks Hkoyus yxs vFkok ml l s?k.kk djus yxs l kFk gh i f'peh Hkkrkk pky&pyu gea viuh vks vkdf"kr djus yxs; g gekjsfy, vR; Ur ?kkrd fl) gqkA

o\$nd f'k{kk izkkyh

gekjs Hkkrh; l ekt ea f'k{kk l n\$ l s 0; ki d vFkz ea gh jgh gA gekjh o\$nd f'k{kk fuf'pr l e; , oal fu; k\$tr <ak okyh gkdj , d h f'k{kk i k.kkyh i) fr dk mRÑ"V mnkgj.k Fkh ft l eackydka ds l Ei wkZ0; fDRo 0; ogkj dks ky dk fodkl l efo"V gka gekjh l Ñfr dk ewy mnas; gh l oZlY; k.k dh ekouk l svks&i ks jgk gA gekjh o\$nd f'k{kk izkkyh l n\$ l gh ol qk\$ dV/qc de dh ufR; ka ij dk; Zj gks, d sgh Hkfo"; dk fuekzk dk l kku i Lr q djus gsrqFkA⁷ tc ge f'k{kk 'k\$N dk iz ks djrsgsrks; snks idkj l sfu: fir gkrk

gS0; ki d vFkZ ea , oa l ætjor vFkZ ea f'k{kA 0; ki d vFkZ dh f'k{k I ekt ea
 i kjEHk I spyh vk jgh ijEi jk , oal kektfd ifØ; k I sgStkseut; dh tEutkr
 'kfDr; ka ds fodkl dksky , oa0; ogkfjd Kku dksfu: fir djrh gA , oaml s
 I H; I q ÆÑr , oa; kx; mRN"V ukxfjd cukrh gA eut; vi us thou eafur
 u, &u, vutkoka dks ikr dj I k>k djrk gA Hkkjrh; I ÆÑfr o I H; rk dh
 x.kuk fo'o dh ikphure I ÆÑfr o I H; rkvka eadh tkrh gA⁸ fd I h jk"V^a dh
 I H; rk ds I okre fodkl ea ml jk"V^a dh f'k{k 0; oLFkk vge Hkfedk dk
 fuokzu djrh gA fd I h jk"V^a ds I okzch.k fodkl vFkZ~jktusrd I kektfd
 o /kfeZd i {k ds mRFkku dsfy, f'k{k mRRkjnk; h gkrh gS gekjk nsk bl {ks=
 ea xkS o'kkyh jgk gStksgekjs i wZt ka usf' k{k dh egRrk dks o"kkā i gysgh I e>rs
 gq s Hkkjr ds I qij vrhr eaf'k{k dh , d , d h I q; ofLFkr izkkyh dk fuezk
 fd; k ft I I s Hkkjr dh ikphu f'k{k izkkyh ds fo'kky ofnd I kfgR; dks I at ka
 dsj [kk vkSj foHkUu {ks=ka ds fopkj dka o fo) kuka dks tle fn; k] ftuds }kj k fd, s
 x, s xkS oi wkZ dk; ka I s bl nsk dk eLrd fo'o ds vxks I Eeku I s vkt rd
 Åpk gA

gekjs nsk dh I H; rk , oa l ÆÑfr dk gtkj ka o"kkā dk bfrgkl gS bruk
 gh ijgkuk bl nsk dh f'k{k 0; oLFkk dk bfrgkl gA fdUrq, frgkl d iek.kka
 ds vHko ea dñ iæf.kr ugh fd; k tk I drkA bl h ds I kFk ; g gekjsfy,
 xkS oi wkZ gSfd fo'o ds I Hkh fo}kuka us; g Lohdkj fd; k gSfd I a kj ea tc
 Kku dh fdj.k mtKxj gPZrksog I oI Eke Hkkjr dh gh Hkfe ij iLQVr gPZ
 FkhA9 , oa vaxst fo}ku , Q-MCyw Fkkā I us ikphu Hkkjrh; f'k{k dk xqkxku
 djrs gq sdgk gSfd , d k dkbZ nsk ugh gStgkWKku ds ifr iæ brus ikphu
 I e; I s i kjEHk gPZk gksftruk Hkkjr ea; k ft I usbruk LFkk; h vkSj 'kfDr'kkyh
 i Hkko mRi Uu fd; k gksftruk Hkkjr uA

bl ckr dks I Hkh fo}ku Lohdkj djrs gSfd fo'o tc Kku : ih nhi d
 ds izk'k I s vNrk Fkk rc Hkkjr dh Hkfe ij onka dk i knHkko gks ppk FkA
 bfrgkl dkj 1500 bZ iw I s 500 bZ iw rd ds I e; dks onka ds opLo dk I e;
 ekursgq bl dky [k.M dks ofnd dky dh I Kk nrsgsbl h ds I kFk bl rF;
 dks Hkh Lohdkj fd; k tkrk gSfd ofnd dky ea Hkkjr Hkfe ij , d I q; ofLFkr
 o I e) f'k{k izkkyh dk tle gks ppk Fkk bl h f'k{k izkkyh dks ofnd f'k{k
 izkkyh dsuke I s tkuk tkrk gA¹⁰

Hkkjrh; f'k{k I ÆÑfr , oa oS HkHk

tsjk"V^a ftruk vf/kd f'k{k gksk og vi us jk"V^a dks mruh gh vf/kd
 ÅpkbZ ka ij yst k I drk gA f'k{k eut; gh , d fodf I r , oa I e) nsk dh

uhc j [kusgrsqvko'; d gS tks vi uh I lNfr I stMk jgrk gA iã nhun; ky
 mik/; k; Hkkjrh; I lNfr , oa Lonsh os'kHkkk ds i{k?kj FkA mUgksa I nD
 Lonsh f'k{k iz kkyh , oa os'kHkkk dks gh egRo fn; kA muds fopkjks es I knk
 thou] I knh ikjEifjd os'kHkkk gh gekjs mPp fopkjks dks /kkj.k djus grsq
 vko"; d gA mudserkuq kj gekjh I knxh] I knh ikjEifjd os'kHkkk] I k/kkj.k
 thou gesl ka kfjd 0; FkZdsfpUru I snj j [krh gA¹¹ iã nhu n; ky mik/; k;
 th usf'k{k i fØ; k ea Nk= thou es I knk thou] I knh ikjEifjd os'kHkkk dks
 iæqk LFkku nrs gq s dgk fd Nk= ds f'k{k dky es I knxh dk fo'ksk egRro
 gA Nk= f'k{k i fØ; k dk og egROIwZvæ gSftI dsfcuk jk'Va dk fodkl gks
 gh ugh I drh , oa I kns vkpj.k dsfcuk Nk= fodkl I Etko ughA

Hkkjrh; I l-fr jk'Va dh v[k.Mrk grsq vko'; d

iR; d nsk o jk'Va dh viuh HkSkkyd ifjLFkfr o viuh , frgkl d
 ijEijk, a gsrh gA ftl I sog xgjs : i I stMk gks gS rFkk bu , frgkl d
 ijEijkvka ds dkj.k gh ml nsk ea, d fo'ksk I l-fr dk fodkl gsrk gA og
 nsk ml fo'ksk I l-fr ds vuphy dh mlufr dks i ktr dj I drk gA ; g I l-fr
 fr gh gsrh gS tks ml jk'Va dks ml js jk'Va I s fHkUu cukrh gS rFkk ml jk'Va
 ds xkS oi wZ bfrgkl dh jpuk djrh gA¹² fd I h jk'Va dh I l-fr o I h; rk ml
 jk'Va dh og /kj ksj gsrh gSftI sog viuh vki usokyh i h<h; ka dks gLrkU=r
 djrk gA fdUrqHkkj r o"z dk viuk xkS oi wZ bfrgkl gksrsgq Hkh bl /kjr ij
 fonskh; ka ds vkØe.k ds dkj.k bl dh I l-fr dks /krey djus dk iz kl fd; k
 x; kA bl fy, ; sdgk tk I drk gSfd bfrgkl usHkkjrh; ka ds I kFk Øij etkd
 fd; k tc eqLyeka usHkkj r ij vkØe.k fd; k rks; gk; ds LorU= fpUru vkSj v/
 ; ; u dks vij/k ?kks"kr dj fn; k rFkk Hkkjrh; I l-fr o I h; rk ds I j {kd
 r {kf'kyk o ukylnk fo'ofok | ky; kadk gh u"V dj fn; k x; kA¹³ tc vasst Hkkj r
 ea Fks rks mUgkaus Hkkjrh; I l-fr dks fo'o ds I ekus , d gkL; ifjgkl dh
 I kexh cuk dj iLrq dj fn; kA

ia th usHkkjrh; I l-fr dh fo'kskrkvka dh vkj mUeqk gksus dk I nsk
 fn; kA mUgkaus dgk dksZ Hkh jk'Vz rHkh mlufr dj I drk gSt cog viuh I l-fr
 fr o I h; rk ds vuphy mlufr djA mUgkaus dgk fd fd I h Hkh jk'Va ds fy,
 i o jHkk"kk o ij I l-fr I nk ck/kk gh jgh gS vkSj jgsh] mUgkaus dg LoHkk"kk]
 Lol l-fr gh I oki fjr gS mUgkaus dgk geaviuh I l-fr I H; rk ij vfhkeku
 gksuk pkfg, fd Hkkjrh; I H; rk dh fxurh ikphure I H; rkvkaedh tkrh gA¹⁴

iå nhun;ky fd fopkj/kjk, I e) fodkl dh vlg

iå nhun;ky th usvius ikjEtk I sgh nsk dh I ðÑfr , oal ef) dh vlg egRo fn; k , oahkkj rh; f'k{k iz kkyh I ðÑfr dksgh fodkl , oamRFkku dk emy e= ekukA osl nð I sgh ykxka dks tkxr djus dsfy, iz kl jr jgsfd ykx viuh I ðÑfr dh vlg tðs, oansk dh I ef) grq; kxnku djA vktknh ds lk'pkr-eal eL; k ml I ; e vlg tðVy gksx; h tc geavxat ka l sdq kfl r tdMk , oal dðpr 'kkl u 0; oLFkk I seðr gksuk pkfg, Fkk vlg vi h LorU= f'k{k ulfr dh vlg c<uk pkfg, Fkk ftl ea gekjs I e) , oaxkoe; h bfrgkl dh tkMuk iæfk Fkk ftl I sgekh tuekul ykHkfolr gks I dA¹⁵ i jUrq, d k uk gypk vktknh ds lk'pkr-gekjs nsk dk Hkfo"; , d s ykxka ds gkFk ea pyk x; k ftudh [kq dh f'k{k dðct , oavkDI QkMZ dh Fkh vlg os Hkkj rh I ðÑfr dks frykat fy ndj vaxst h Hk"kk eafy [kus, oacksyuk viuh ifr"Bk I e>rsFkA bu jktu s'kvkaus Hkkj r dks vesj dk , oabaxySM dk udyph ek= cuk dsj [k fn; k FkA vRef/kd jktu s'rdKka dh fopkj/kjk, vaxst ka dh dðBr dhfr; ka dk xtl gks pðh FkA ml I e; dh jktu hfr vol joknh , oal) karghu 0; fDr; ka dk v [kkMk tku i Mh Fkh] u gh muds vpkj 0; ogkj vkn'kz I ðÑfr I s I Ecf/kr FkA¹⁶ if.Mr th us prkouh Hkjs 'kCnka ea prk; k Fkk fd os ustk tks ik'pkr; jktu hfr , oavkZu hfr dh fn'kk dksgh izfr dh fn'kk I e>rsFkA os ogkl dh I ðÑfr dks i kði r djuk pkgrs FkA muds fopkj ea Hkkj r dh Hkkoh fn'kk dk fu.kè djus I si wZ; g mfp gsk fd ge if'pe dh jktu s'rd dk oðkjd vf/ k"Bku djs vlg mudh Hkkj r ds vuq kj foopuk dj fopkj djA

fu"d"z

i [kj cf) erk] vl keku; ÑfrRo 'kðDr] I k/kj .k&l jy thou] fujgdkj , oaykdSk.kk dh vfuPNk dk Lof.kè I æe ds: lk Fks nhun;ky th I ekt ds I Hkh oxka dks I kFk yd] I Hkh dsfgrka dh fpark , oafgrka dk /; ku j [krs gq dk; Zdjus okys iå th usviuk I oLo bl nsk dh v [kaMrk , oal ðÑfr dks I gstusea yxk fn; ka if.Mr th vukl Dr fu"dke deZ ksch Fkð bl h ds I kFk mudk gn; 'kð] pfj= i [kj nsk&HkðDr rFk ykd I æg dh vi wZ 'kðDr dk i fo= I æe ds: lkj eafon; eku/kkj h bZoj dh fo'kSk vupEi k I sgh ekuoka ds thou dks ubZ fn'kk , oamudh n'kk dks I ðkjus grqgh , d s; q; iq "kka dk /kj rh ij vorj.k gk r k gA vi uk dk; Z I Ei wZ djus ds mi jkUr ea egki q "k fd I h cgkus I s /kj rh I s vUrZ; ku gks tkrs gA iå nhu n; ky mi k/; k; Hkkj rh; I ðÑfr ds i {k/kj Fks rFkk f'k{k ea og vaxst h f'k{k iz kkyh ds ctk, s Lonsh f'k{k iz kkyh ds lk{k ea FkA og jk"V^a ds I Ei wZ fodkl dsfy, vius I ðÑfrd

vkn'kk& ds vuqphw f'k{kk inku djus ij cy nrs Fks D; k&f f'k{kk ds }kjk gh
 I ekt eaok&Nr ifjor& yk; k tk I drk g& mUg&us, d ckj btjk; y n&sk dk
 mnkgj .k nrs&gq dgk Fkk fd ge btjk; y t& sNks/sns&k I s i j .kk y&uh pfg, A
 ftl dh vkcknh gekjh jkt/kkuh fnYyh I s Hkh de g& v&js tks pkjks v&js I s
 n&geu n&ks I sf?kjs&g&sgq Hkh muds I keuspV&ku dh rjg I huk rkus ds [kMk
 gw&k g& bl dk , d gh ckj .k g&sf& Lorl= g&rs&gh ml us vi uh Hkk"kk dks gh
 vi uh jk"V& Hkk"kk cuk; k v&js Hkkjr ea jktur&vka us if'pe dh Hkk&rd oknh
 I &Nfr dks gekjh I &Nfr ij gkoh cuk fn; k g&

vr%ges viuh I &Nfr o I H; rk dks I ok& fj j [kuk pfg, s rFkk vi uh
 f'k{kk 0; oLFkk ij ik'p&r; dh Nk; k Hkh ugh i M&us&uh pfg, & rHkh ge fodkl
 dj I ds& mudsfopkj ea gekjh I &Nfr /kjs&j gh gea vi us x&soeh bfr&kl
 I s tkM&us ea I e) g&sv&js gekjh I &Nfr , oa Lons&kh f'k{kk iz&kyh ds }kjk gh
 I ekt ea ok&uh; ifjor& yk; k tk I drk g& mudsfopkj ea ge Lorl= g&rs
 g& i& nhun; ky mi k/; k; th ds vuq kj fdl h Hkh jk"V& dh ml&ufr ml dh
 I &-fr , oa v&[k. Mrk ij fuH&j djrh g&, oa xq&or&rk I svks i&rs] us&rd e&v; ka
 okyh fopkj/k&jk, a vko"; d g&gekjh I &Nfr /kjs&j gh gea vi us x&soeh
 bfr&kl I s tkM&us ea I e) g&sv&js gekjh I &Nfr , oa Lons&kh f'k{kk iz&kyh ds
 }kjk gh I ekt ea ok&uh; ifjor& yk; k tk I drk g& muds fopkj ea ge
 Lorl= g&rs&g& cys f'k{kk iz&kyh , oa I H; rk dks R; kx r&j&ur gh vi uh I &Nfr
 dks vi ukuk pfg, FkkA

I a&Z

- 1- f'k{kk dsnk'k&ud , oal ekt 'kkL=h vk/k&j] M&W jkt I DI &k I kfgR; i&dk'ku]
 v&x&jk i:-I a 4]5
- 2- fo'od&sk ds egku f'k{kk'kk=h] fou&sk Hkkos xq d&y thou i"B I a 829&830
- 3- , dk Reekuon'k&u] jk"Vh; thou ds vuqphw v&f&j&puk&f'k{k I ekt dk nkf; Ro
 i"B I a& 63
- 4- f'k{kk iz&ky; ka v&js muds i&dr&xq d&yk Je v&pk; Z I hr&k&ke pr&ph&h i:- I a &
 48
- 5- f'k{kk dsnk'k&ud fl) k&ur&Lorl=rk v&js vuq&kl u i k&D , oa R; kxh&fou&kn
 i&rd e&f&j v&x&jk i:-I & 240
- 6- jk"V&fp&re f'k{kk i&nhu n; ky mi k/; k; & jk"V&/ke&zi&rd i&dk'ku y[ku&A
 i:- I a 99 A
- 7- v&pk; Z Jh&j&eplnz 'kek&u&rd f'k{kk ¼ Fke Hkkx½; q& fue&k&zk ; kst&uk] e&f&j&kA
- 8- Hkkjr&h; f'k{kk dh or&ku I eL; k, a/k&fed , oa us&rd f'k{kk M&W j&folnz v&x&ug&s-h

- 9- iā=dk ia nhun; ky mik/; k; ykdrU= ds i jk{kk} Mkw egšk plnz 'kek' I puk
 , oa tu I Eidlfohkkx y[kuÅ fl rEej 1991
- 10- , dkRen'kū jk"Vbkn dh I gh dYiuk ia nhun; ky mik/; k; AA
- 11- ia nhu n; ky mik/; k;] drD; , oa fopkj] f'k{kk} Mkw egšk plnz 'kek'
- 12- , dkReekuon'kū jk"Vh; thou dsvuphy vFlj puk & f'k{kk} I ekt dk nkf; Ro
- 13- f'k{kk} iz kkfy; k; vkš muds i drž xq dykJe vkpk; Zl hrk jke prφñh
- 14- Hkkjrh; f'k{kk} dh I eL; k; ĩ i kphu Hkkjrh; f'k{kk} ia nhu n; ky mik/; k;
- 15- jk"V^a thou dh fn'kk& ykder i fj"dkj& ia nhun; ky mik/; k;
- 16- , dkRerk ds i qtkjh ia nhun; ky mik/; k;] ekmjkonōjI] f'ko dēkj vLFkkuk]
 ykdfgr i dk'ku] y[kuÅ

vfhkku'kkdtrye~eaie %, d nfv

vry dēkj l g *

ie ekuo thou dh e/kjre Hkkouk gā bzōjh; lfv ea tks dñ Hkh
l qnere-gš JSBre gsmi dseiy eaie gh gā ie gh ekuo thou dk vk/kkj
gš ie l Ei wZ R; kx dh Hkkouk gā t gk R; kx dscnys dñ Hkh i klr djus dh
yky l k gkrh gSog ie ughavfi r q 0; ki kj gā ?kukuln th us d gk g&

vfr l vks l ug dks ekj x gš t gk usdq l k; ui ck d ughā

rgk l kps pyā rft vki q i kš >> dš di Vh tsful kd ughAA¹

ie dk ekz Ny Ū[©] l seDr gkrk gā ogk cukovhi u v g d k j ; k p r j k b z
dsfy; s d k b z l F k k u u g h a g ā ; g k r k s R; k x i e v k š v a r j a r k g h f n [k k b z i M + h
gā ekrk dk vi us y k y d s e [k i j l c d ñ U; k ñ k c j d j u k g h i e g ā H k D r
dk vi us b z o j e a f o y h u g k u s d h H k k o u k g h i e d k p e k d " k z g ā i e v u t k o l k /
; gš 'k c n k a d s e k /; e l s i e d k s m l h i z k j 0; D r u g h a f d; k t k l d r k A f t l
i z k j x p k k 0; f D r e h B s Q y d k v k u l n r k s i k l r d j l d r k g S i j U r q o k . k h } k j k
0; D r u g h a d j l d r k j c ā K k u h K k u d k v u t k o r k s d j l d r k g S i j U r q o k . k h
} k j k 0; D r u g h a d j l d r k A i e , d k d k j d h i r h r g ā t c i e h e a ' k j h j e k =
d h g h H k n j g t k r k g S e u , d k d k j g k s t k r k g S o g h l P P k i e g ā J h j k e p f j r e k u l
e a x k k o k e h r y l h n k l t h u s H k h d g k g &

rūo ie dj ee v# rkj kA

tkur fiz , dqeuq ekj kAA

l kseuq l nk jgr r k f g i k g h A

tkuq i h r j l q , r u f g e k g h A A ²

ie vius 0; ki d : i ea Lusj l kōn] okRl Y;] l Eeku vkfn Hkkouk dks
l e f g r f d ; s g q g ā d f o r k d k f e u h d k l r d k f y n k l d s l H k h x b F k k a e a i e d s l H k h
i { k k a d h L i " V v f h k 0 ; f D r g p z g ā e š k n i r e - e a i e d e e L u e ; { k e š k d k s g h v i u k
l a n s k o k g d c u k n s r k g š r k s d e p k j l E h k o e - e a i k o z h i F o h i j v i u s f i z r e f ' k o k
d k f p = c u k d j m i k y E h k n s r h g p z f n [k k b z n s r h g &

; nk c d k % l o z r l r R o e p ; l s u o s R l H k k o l F k f e e a d F k a t u e A

bfr LogLrksYyf[kr'p eš/; k jgl; q kyH; r plnz k[kj %AA⁴

jk?kpa kegkd0; e-eavt foyki rFkk dēkj l Ekkoe-ea dkenō dsHkLe gk

* v f l l v h i k d j j & l h n r f o h k x j V h , u - i h t h d h y s t V k . M h v f c M d j u x j
/ n a i a ½

tkus ds i'pkr~jfr dk eR; q ds fy, r\$ kj gksuk⁵ iæ dh ijkdK"Bk gA
 vfHkKku' kdttrye-ukVd eaegkdfo usiæ dð Hkh i {kkaadk o.ku djuk gh ekuka
 vi uk y{; cuk fy; k gkA tgl; uk; d&ukf; dk dsfeyu ds vol j ij l a kx
 dh NVk fn [kkbz i M#h g\$ og hafo; kx dh volFk eafoiyEHk J&kj vifre : i
 l s foykl dks iklr djrh gA ukVd ea uk; d&ukf; dk iæ] i Ñfr iæ]
 fir k& i e#h dk okRI Y; Hkko] x# dk f'k"; dsifr Lug Hkko] l Æn& iæ vkfn
 dh vfHkO; fDr l ân; kadsfy, De#eokeæje gksus dsl kFk&l kFk or&ku Hkksrdoknh
 ; æ ea l Ecu/ka dh thourk dsfy, ij.kknk; d Hkh gA

egkdfo dlfynkl iæ ds iqt kjh gA iæ dh fo"K; eafdlæpr ek= Hkh
 pkfjf=d nkSk egkdfo dks Lohdk; Z ugha gA egkHkkjr dh dFk ea tgl; jktk
 nq; Ur dk pfj= 'kdttryk dks Lohdkj u djus ds dkj.k dyf"kr gsrk gsrk
 i rhr gks jgk gSogha vfHkku' kdttrye-ukVd eaegkdfo us nðk k ds Jki dh
 dYi uk }kjk uk; d ds pfj= dh j{kk dh gA ukVd ds vîre n"; eækjhp us
 Hkh jktk nq; Ur dks funk&k crkrs gq dgk g&

'kki knfl ifrgr Lefrj k&# {k\$ Hkrz ð rrefl i Hkrk ro&ka

Nk; k u eRNR eyki grki ð kn\$ 'kð s rqnizkrys l gyHkkodk' kAA⁶

ukVd ds iFke rhu vad ea jktk nq; Ur dk pfj= , d fo"K; Hkksch O; fDr
 ds: i eafjyf{kr gsrk gS tks Hkæj dsl eku , d iqi l snw js i qi dk j l iku
 djuk pkgrk gSogha i R; k [; kr ds l e; uk; d dk mnky O; fDrRo izdV gsrk
 gA i'pkrki uked NBsvad eav&Bh iklr gksus ds i'pkr~jktk dk pfj= fojg
 dh vfxu ea rirk gsrk vk/; kfred iæ dh l hek ea i&sk djrk g\$ ftl dk
 i wk&ky l oheu vls 'kdttryk ds i pfezyu ds: i ea gsrk gA

d.o&vkje ea i&sk djrs gh rkeo n&; kfe⁷ mfDr ds }kjk jktk dh
 jfl drk dk vkHkl gks tkrk g\$ tks o{k dh vk/ ea fNidj l f[k; ka ds
 i kjLi fjd okrk&yki dks l p us l si qV gsrk gsrk ^dq ækfe hkkuh; a ; k&ue&Skq
 l Hk) e⁸ bR; kfn okD; ka }kjk nq; Ur ds dkepd O; fDrRo dks izdV djrk gA
 jktk 'kdttryk dks iklr djus ds fy, iz kl j l gA og l Ung dh lFkfr dks
 nij djus ds fy, vul w k , oe-fiz ðnk l scMh dq kyrki ðð 'kdttryk dsckjs
 ea Kkr dj yrsk gA {kf=; dU; k gksus ds dkj.k 'kdttryk fookg ; k&; gS ; g
 Kkr gksus ij jktk dh vkl fDr vls rhoz gks tkrh gS ftl dh vfHkO; fDr jktk
 ds bl mfDr l s gsrh g&

Hko ân; l kfHkyk"ka l i fr l angfu.kz ka tkrk&A

vk' k&l s ; nfxua rfnna Li 'k&Zka j =eAA⁹

bl l e; l sydj og 'kdttryk ds fo" k; ea gh l kprk jgrk gA og viuh fiz; foukn ex; k l s Hkh fojDr gks x; k gA¹⁰ fojg dh voLFkk ea jtkk dh funk xk; c gks pph gS N'k gks ds dkj.k dud oy; Hkh <hyk gks pphk gA¹¹ 'kdttryk ea vujDr jtkk dks plnek dh 'khry fdj.kka l s Hkh vfxu ds riu dh vuttkr gksjgh gS dkeno dk i ti kck.k Hkh otz ds l eku d Bkj gksjgk gA¹²; | fi jtkk dh ; g eukofuk 'kdttryk ea vujDr ds dkj.k gh gA jtkk ; Fkk' kh?kz 'kdttryk dks i klr dj ysk pkrk gSftl dsfy, og fir k d.o ds okil ykS/usdh irh{k djuk Hkh mfpr ughal e>rk vls xU/koZfookg ds }kjk 'kdttryk dks i klr dj yrk gA i jUrq; sl eLr oUkkUr jtkk ds jfl drk] ml ds dkerk ds gh irhd gSftl dh i fV ^vuk?krA i ti afdl y; eywad j#g¹³ bR; kfn dFku ds }kjk gsrh gA ftl ea og 'kdttryk ds mi Hkks ds ckjs ea gh l kprk gA uk; d ea okLrfod i e dh mnHkkouk] ml dspfj= dk mTtoy i {k i R; k[; ku ds l kFk gh n fVxkpj gsrk gA tc ml h voxqBuorh 'kdttryk ftl ij og l oZkkoou vki Dr FkKA ftl dks i Fke ckj ns[kus ij ^vgkS e/ kjekl kan'kze¹⁴ dgdj viuh Hkkouk idV dh Fkh] ml h 'kdttryk ds ckj sea ^vfoZkzh; aijdy=e¹⁵ dgrsgq viuspj= dh j{k djrsgq i rhr gsrk gA l lre vad ea l oheu ds ckj sea mRl p gsrsgq Hkh 'kdttryk ds ckj sea ugh i Nr k gS vls vls ^vuk; % i jnkj0; ogkj¹⁶ mfDr ds }kjk viuspj= dh mnkUr k idV djrk gA vaxBh i klr gks ds i 'pkr-jtkk dh voLFkk ml ds i e h an; dh i rhr djrk gA i R; k[; ku ds l e; dgs x; s ^bna rRi R; i UeFr L=SkfeFr ; nP; r¹⁷ rFkk ^L=h.kkef'kf{kr i Voeekuqk¹⁸ vkfn okD; jtkk dks fo'kck.k dh rjg i hfMf dj jgs gA i 'pkrki , oafookg l smleUk gqk jtkk dHkh fiz; k dks fiz; yxusokyh yrkvkae arks dHkh Lo; acuk; sgq fo=i V ea eu cgykus dk vl Qy iz kl dj jgk gS i jUrq i R; k[; ku l smRi Uu {kkk rFkk fo; kx l smRi Uu onuk jtkk dseu dks 'kkUr ugha gks nsjgh gA og dHkh Lo; a dks nkSkh ekurk gsrk dHkh vpru vaxBh dks mykguk nsjgk gA¹⁹ ; gh Hkkouk jtkk ds i e h an; dh l k{k gh ; gh jtkk ds okLrfod i e dh i jdk" Bk gS l ku eRh Hkh jtkk ds bl nq[k dks ns[kdj dgrh gS ^LFkkus [kyq i R; kns kfoekfurkl; L; Nrs 'kdttryk DykE; rhr²⁰ vFkkz~ i R; k[; ku }kjk viekfur gpZ 'kdttryk dk nt; Ur dsfy, nq[k gksuk mfpr gh gA

ukVd dh ukf; dk 'kdttryk Lo; aea i e vls Lug dh i frefrZ gA jtkk nt; Ur ds i Fke n'k k l s gh og mu ij vujDr gks tkrh gS ; | fi L=h l y/Hk yTtk ds dkj.k og viuk i e idV ugha djrh gA i jUrq gko Hkko l sek/; e l sjtkk 'kdttryk ds i e dk vu eku yxk yrk gA i e dh ; gh e/kj vfhko; fDr

I ân; kã dks Hk vkuln foHkj dj nrh gA yTtkyqLoHko ds dkj.k 'kdtryk vi us iæ dks fNki us dk iz kl djrh gSyfdu l e; 0; rhr gkus ds l kFk jktk dsifr iæ ml ds 'kjhj , oaeu nksuka dks vfHkHkr dj nrk gA ftl dk vuøku djrh gq fiz ðnk dgrh g&^ vul w \$ rL; jkt"K% i Fken'kZuknjH; i ; qI qlo 'kdtrykA fda uq [kyqrL; kLrfullukfeUkks ; ekrædks Hkor^{*21} 'kdtryk ds iæ dk pek&d"iz nq; Ur ds gflruki j pys tkus ds i'pkr nFVxr gkrk g\$ tc og jktk ds iæ ea bruk vuqDr gk tkrh gSfd ml s__f" k nøka k ds vlxu rFk Jki dh ?kVuk dk fdæpr Hkh Kku ugha gkrk gA nq; Ur ds iR; k[; ku ds ckn Hkh og Øk&k ugha djrh vfi r q vi us HkkX; dks gh nksk nrh gA bl idkj ge n\$ krs gSfd vfHkKku'kdtrye- ea uk; d&ukf; dk iæ Hk&rdrk dks Nk&elk l kRrod Hko dh rjQ vxl j gA

iæh&ifedk l Ecu/k ds vfrjDr iæ ds vl; i{k iNfr&iæ] okRI Y;] Lusg vkfn l ekt , oa l ðNfr ds vfuok; Z vx gA egkdfo dk iNfr&iæ l ân; k&knkjH gkus ds l kFk&l kFk ukVd ds vfuok; Z vx ds: i ea ifjyf{kr gkrk gA ukf; dk 'kdtryk dk o{k&ouLifr rFk vkJe ds tho&tUrqka ds l kFk Lusg iNfr ea Hkh thou dk l pkj dj nrk gA o{kka dks l hpsr l e; l f[k; ka dk ifjgkl o{kka ea iæh&ifedk l Ecu/k dk vkHkl djrs gA ou T; k&l uk rFk vke{k dk feyu Hkh egkdfo dh nFV l svks-y ugha gA i f[k; ka ds }kj jf{kr rFk iNfr ds je.kh; okrkoj.k ea ; økoLFk ds l k&nZ o.kZ ea i kNfrd rRoka l sgh mi knku xg.k fd; k gA dd j o{k ds ikl tkus l fiz ðnk 'kdtryk dks yrk ds l eku vuHko djrh gøz dgrh gS'gyk 'kdtry\$ v=ð rkollegwã fr"B] ; kollo; ki xr; k yrkl ukFk gok; a ds jo{k d% ifrHkfr^{**A22} egkdfo ds iNfr iæ dk pek&d"iz 'kdtryk ds ifrxg xeu ds l e; nFVxr gkrk gA tgg; , d rjQ 'kdtryk ds l k&kX; Jh ea ofæ) dh l øuk nrsgq fd l h o{k us plnek ds l eku 'k&kz ek&fyd oL= idV fd; k] fd l h us i \$ ka ea yxkus ; k& ; egkoj mxy fn; k rFk vl; o{kka us vkHkk.k i nku fd; k23 ogha nq jh rjQ fonkbZ ds d#. kki wkZ okrkoj.k ea gfjf.k; ka us nHkZ ds xkl dks mxydj] e; jka us vi us fiz deZ uR; dks Nk&elj rFk ouLifr; ka us i hys i Uks fxjkdj vi uk d#.k Hko idV fd; kA²⁴ vkJe l s fonk gkr l e; ^i krq u i Fka 0; oL; fr tya ; ðekLoi hrSkq ; k^{**25} bR; kfn : i l s o{k ouLifr; ka l s vuøfr ysuk] xHkZ/kkj.k djus dkj.k eUFkj xfr l sfopj.k djus okyh gfjf.k; ka ds ckjs ea fpflrr gkus rFk iæ-or-ikys gq ex'kkl od dk 'kdtryk ds vkpy ea fyiVuk ukf; dk ds iNfr iæ dk mnkj.k gA bl idkj egkdfo dk iNfr iæ â | kje&end , oa l oFkk vuøj.kh; gA

ukVd ea vul q kj fiz, ðnk rFkk 'kdtþryk dk I [; Hkko fe=rk dh
 dl kV/h gA ; |fi ukVd ds ikjFEHkd vd ea l f[k; ka dk l & ifjgkl gh
 fn [kkbznrk gþ ijUrq 'kdtþryk ds dkeToj I si hfMf gksus l syd j ifrxg tkus
 rd nksuka l f[k; ka dk , d ek= mns; 'kdtþryk dh l gk; rk djuk gh i rhr
 gsrk gA jktk nt; Ur l sfeyus ds i 'pkr-vul w k 'kdtþryk ds Hkfo"; dsckjs
 eafuf' pUr gks tkuk pkgrh gog jktk l svud i fRu; k; gksus ij Hkh 'kdtþryk
 ds fy, l Eekuuh; LFkku dk i Lrko j [krh gþZ dgrh g& ^o; L;] cgþYYkHkk
 jktku% Jw UrA ; Fkk ukS fiz, l [kh cu/kqt: u'kkpuh; k u Hkofr rFkk fuoZ: k*A²⁶
 jktk ds }kjk vk'okl u27ns ds i 'pkr-gh nksuka l f[k; k; nt; Ur vksj 'kdtþryk
 dks , dUr ea feyu dk vol j inku djrh gft l ds ifj.kkeLo: i xU/koZ
 fookg l Ei lUk gks l dka prfkZ vd dk l Ei wk?kVukØe ikfjokfjd l Ecl/kka dh
 i xk<rk dks l e/s gq gA i ti p; u djrh gþZ nksuka l f[k; k; 'kdtþryk dsckjs
 eagh ckr djrh gA i u% nkZ k __f" k ds Jki²⁸ dks l u d j fiz, ðnk __f" k l s {kek
 ; kpu djrh gvs Jki dks v fHkKkun' kZurd l ekir djkus ea l eFkZ gsrh gA
 Jki dh dBkjrk vs 'kdtþryk dh LokHkkfod l eþekj ds dkj .k gh l f[k; k;
 Jki dh ?kVuk 'kdtþryk l sfNikrh gA bl fo" k; ea l f[k; ka dk fu" di V i e
 Li"V ifjyf{kr gsrk gA 'kdtþryk ds fonkbZ ds l e; l f[k; ka dk d# .k Hkko
 fp=& i e dh pje mi yfC/k gA

egkdfo us ukVd ea ikfjokfjd l Ecl/kka dk l eLi 'k o.kZ fd; k gA
 vkJe dso) k rki l h xkfeh okRl Y; Hkko l si fj i wkZ g 'kdtþryk ds ikyd fir k
 gksus ds cko t m egf" kZ d.o i e-h l svi kj Lug j [krsgA vi uh vuq fLFkr ea Hkh
 'kdtþryk ds xr: i l s l Ei lU xU/koZ fookg dks mfpr ekurs gq dgrs
 g& ^fn"V; k /kkdfyrn"Vj fi ; tekul; i kod , okgr% i frrkA ; Rl s l q" k"; k
 i fjnrk fo |k' kpuh; kl ðr k**A²⁹ bl l s egf" kZ ds n; dh mnkjrk dk vuþku
 yxrk gA ouokl h gks s gq Hkh egf" kZ d.o 'kdtþryk dk ifrxg Hkstrs l e;
 i q=fo; kx gks mBrsgA mudk n; nf kka l svfHkHkr gks tkrk gþ xyk jkdsgq
 vJi pg l s dyf"kr gks tkrk gþ vR; Ur fpUr ds dkj .k KkusUnz; k; fo" k; ka dks
 xg.k djusea vl eFkZ l h gks tkrh gfOj Hkh egf" kZ , d vkn' kZ fir k dh rjg
 vi uh fiz; i e-h 'kdtþryk dks mfpr l Unsk nrs gq dgrs g&

'kq/HkLo xq Ud# fiz l [khofUka l i Ruhtu
 HkroZ Nrkfi jksk.kr; k ek Le i rhi axe%
 Hkr; "Ba Hko nf{k.kk ifj tus HkX; Soul fduh]
 ; kUR; Ða xfg.khi na ; þr; ks ; kek% dy/L; k/k; %AA³⁰

vFKZ~iW; 'OkI g vkn x#tuka dh I ok djuk] I i fRu; ka dsI kFk fiz
 I f[k; ka dsI eku 0; ogkj djuk] ifr ds }kjk mi f{kr gksrsgg Hkh Økdk dsdkj .k
 mudsfoijhr er tkuk] I od oxZ ds ifr vR; Ur mnkj gksuk] vi us HkKX; ij
 xoZer djuk bl izdkj dh fL=; k; gh xfg.kh in dks vyÑr djrh gA bl ds
 foijhr 0; ogkj okyh fL=; k; fi rdy vLj ifr dy nku ka dks gh ekufI d i hMk
 nusokyh gkrh gA egf"KZ dk ; g mi nsk fdI h Hkh ufookfgrk L=h dsfy, I oZ
 Fkk mi ; Dr gA bl izdkj dk 0; ogkj djusokyh L=h ds xgLFk thou ea i e
 dk gh okl gkrk gA egf"KZ d.o usvi uh i e-h dsfy, gh ughavfi rjktk nq; Ur
 dsfy, Hkh I nsk fn; k gS ftI ea mUgkaus 'I keU; i fri fUki wZdfe; a njskq n' ; k
 Ro; k; HkKX; k; Uer% i jau [kyqr }kP; a o/kUUnqHk%³¹ dgrqgg 'kdqryk dsfy,
 xLjoi wZ LFkku dh gh bPNk 0; Dr dh gA

bl izdkj egkdfo us i e dsfofo/k i {k dsfy, vf}rh; mnkgj.k i Lrqr
 fd; k gA , d rjQ ukf; dk uk; d ds i e ea i wZr% vujDr gS rks nu jh rjQ
 uk; d HkKrd i e dh [kkt djrk gwrk fojg vLj i 'pkrki dh vl á i hMk I gu
 djrk gwrk vi us dkepl Hkko dks R; kx dj I kRod i e dh rjQ vxZ j gkrk
 gS tks vUr ea vej i e ds: i ea gekjs I e {k mi fLFkr gkrk gA

'kdqryk dk o {k ouLi fr; ka ds i fr Lug vUe ds tho & tUr qka ds i fr
 okRI Y; Hkko i Ñfr i e dh vuj e NVk i Lrqr djrsgA dfo 'kdqryk ds i Ñfr
 i e dh ek/; e I sekula gea i Ñfr I j {k.k dh f'k {kk ns jgk gA

vul w k vLj fiz onk dk I [; Hkko geafe= i e ea I c dñ U; kNkoj
 djus dh ij .kk nsk gwrk i rhr gkrk gA ouokl h gksrsgg Hkh egf"KZ d.o dk
 'kdqryk ds i fr Lug Hkko I á; ka dks vk¥kfnr djrk gwrk i kfjokfjd I Ecu/
 kka dh ixk<fk fl [kk jgk gA egf"KZ }kjk 'kdqryk dks fn; k x; k mi nsk vkt
 Hkh ufookfgr nEi fUk dsfy, vkn' kZ okD; dh rjg gS tks muds thou dks
 I q[ke; , oa' kfuRe; cukusea I efkZ gA ; fn ge orZku HkKrd rkoknh ; q ea
 Hkh bl izdkj ds I Ecu/kka dks tfor j [kus dk iz kl djsrksgekjk thou i e;
 gks tk; sk vLj vusd I ka kfjd I eL; kvka dk I ek/kku Lor% gh gks tk; skA

I UnHkZ

- 1- ?kukuln@ I q[ku 'krd @ I á kn d , oaVhdkdj & Mkk fd'k kjh yky xqr I a
 192@i- 75
- 2- JhjkepfjrekuI @ I qnj dk.M @ nsgk& 14@pks kb& 3&4
- 3- dkekrkZ fg i Ñfr Ñ. kk' prusq AA i wZs@05
- 4- d[ekj I Ekhoe-@05@58

- 5- 'kf'kuk l g ; kfr dksnk l g e9ku rfmRi yh; rA
ienk% ifroRekk bfr ifri lUafg foprujfi AA dckj l EHKoe-@04@33
- 6- vfhkKku'kkdly@l a kn d&MKWfu: i .k fo | kydkj@}kn'k l d.dj.k
1998@07@32
- 7- rns@01@i:40
- 8- rns@01@21
- 9- rns@01@28
- 10- eekfi dk'; i l rkeuqR; ex; kfoDyoapr%AA rns@02@i:116
- 11- rns@03@10
- 12- rns@03@03
- 13- rns@01@10
- 14- rns@01@i:48
- 15- rns@05@i:310
- 16- rns@07@i:487
- 17- rns@05@i:326
- 18- rns@05@22
- 19- vpruauke xqkau y{k; Be; d dLekno/khfjrk fiz; k AArns@06@13
- 20- rns@06@i:379
- 21- rns@03@i:171
- 22- rns@01@i:59
- 23- rns@04@05
- 24- rns@04@12
- 25- rns@04@09
- 26- rns@03@i:194
- 27- rns@03@17
- 28- fofpur; Urh ; eull; ekul k rik/kuaorRI u ekeij lLFkreA
Lefj"; fr Rokau l ckf/krksfi l UdFkka ier% NrkfeoAArns@04@01
- 29- rns@04@i:233
- 30- rns@04@18
- 31- rns@04@17

egRek xkäh dktou n'kü

M,ä väky ikäs^u

egRek xkäh dk n'kü , d thou n'kü gß tksfdl h Hkh 0; fä dks l ekt dks vFkok jkT; dks i wZrk çnku djrk gß ftl ea xjhch Hkq[kehj cjkst xkj h vi eku -<rk 'kSk.k vksj mnkl hurk dsfy, dgh dkbZLFkku ugha gA ; g n'kü Hkkjrh; kads thou vksj eflr"d dks jks kuh çnku djrk gß ftl dsekë; e l shko; Hkkjr , d ubZfn'kk dh vksj vxl j gsrk gSA xkäh th us0; fä dks l ekt dh , d vko'; d bdkbZ ds: i ea Lohdkj fd; k gß ftl ds0; fäxr mRFkku l sgh l ekt vksj jkT; nksukadh gh mlufR l Hko gSA fdarq0; fäxr mRFkku dh egku vkdkk dk vflRo ân; dh ifo=rk ij fvdk gvk gß ân; dh ifo=rk ds dkj.k eutj; èkèZ dks vkRel kr dj l drk gA xkähth dk er gSfd bZoj dks ekuork l si Fkd ekuuk Hkted gß bZoj rksnfjæ ukjk; .k gß ; fn ge nhu ghu dks pkgæsrks bZoj dks çlR dj l drsgA ; gh dkj.k gSfd ân; dh ifo=rk ds dkj.k gh eutj; èkèZ dks vkRel kr dj l drk gS tks ân; 'kq) ugha gSmuga bZoj n'kü dHkh ughagks l drk bl lfy, vkRe 'kq) thou ds l Hkh igyæka ea gksuh pKfg, A

xkähth döy Lolu—"Vk vksj dkj's vkn'kòknh gh ugha Fkß og , d dky jktuhrK] l ekt l çkkjd]f'k{kk 'kkL=h] vFk0; oLFkk] vksj vke; kFRed vLFFk l ä ll u egku Kkuh i# "k FkA mudsiki vkfRed 'kfä gß rdZ'kfä gß l gkuHkfr gß fdarqokn fookn ughaA mudh vke; kFRedrk Hkkjrh; l l—fr l sl Hkkf"kr vksj fopkj LokrR; Z l seMvr gA xkähth us vi uh vkRedFk ea Lohdkj fd; k gSfd pejs fopkj ejh vutHkfr ds ç; kx gSmuea dkbZ fo'kSkrk ugha gS vksj ; fn dkbZ fo'kSkrk gS rks og gSfd ml ea ejh vi uh dfe; ka , oa [kkfe; ka gA

muga Hkkjrh; tuekul dh Hkkoukvka dks l e>us dh ijh {kerk Fkha mudk fo'okl Fkk fd l ekt dk fodkl vksj tudY; k.k rHkh l Hko gks l drk gß tc l ekt dk çR; d 0; fä ml h çdkj dk 0; ogkj djæ tS sog vi usi fjokj vksj ?kj ead jrk gA ftl çdkj ifjokj ea olRq, d dh ughagksrh ifjokj ds l Hkh l nL; ml dk mi ; kx djrs gAm l h çdkj l ekt ea , d vfedkj h çofük dh l ekfRr gksuh pKfg, A

xkäh n'kü ds çe[k vk; ke l R; vksj vfga k ekus tkrsgA xkähth ds fy, l R; fo'okl vksj ijekRek gA A xkähth dsfy, l R;] l R; ckyuk gh ugha

**vlllv çkZj jktuhr foKku foHkx n; kum xylZ il0t10 d,yt 'nâiâ½*

cfYd l oLo l efiZ djus dsfy, rŞ kj jguk pfg,] bl hfy, os dgrs gđ
ge l c , d gh l R; dk vAk gSbl fy, gekjk ijLij l æak çæ] l g; kx
mnkjrk vŞ l Qyrk dk gkuk pfg,] uk fd >xMŞ-vkŞ ekjdKv dka xkakhth
dsthou dk mıs; l R; dk l k{kRrdkj djuk FkA l R; ds l k{kRrdkj dsfy,
vfga k , d l keku Fkh A xkakh th dsfopkjka ea vfga k , d , d s pèAap rkjB ds
l eku gŞ ftl ij mudk l kjk thou vŞ mudh l kjh dk; ç. kkyh dæer gđ
xkakhth ds vfga k dh 0; k [; k 0; ki d gŞ dkbZfopkj feF; k Hk" k. k fd l h dsckjs
ea çjk l kpuk] çjk fd; k tkuk] vko'; drk l s vfekd j [kuk ; g l Hkh dN
vfga k gđ mlgkousfy [kk gSfd l Hkh çkf. k; ka ds çfr nHkZbuk ds vHko dk uke
gh vfga k gđ xkakh th us vfga k ds rRo dks 0; fæxr thou dh ifjek l s
fudkydj l koZfud thou dh ifjek ea 0; ki d : i l sfØ; kflor fd; k gđ
egkRek xkakh geşkk gh dgk djrs Fksfd uşrd vŞ l keftd mRFku dks gh
geusvfga k dk uke fn; k gđ mudk i wkZfo'okl Fkk fd vfga k l sgh LojKT;
l Hko gSbl h LojKT; dks ge jkejKT; Hkh dgrs gđ LojKT; dks vŞ vfekd
ifjHkkr"kr djrs gq os dgrs gđ LojKT; og 'kkl u gSftl ea fonşkh l Uk l s
l a wkZ efä gks vŞ l kFk gh l a wkZ vkfFkd Lorærk Hkh çklr gđA bl jKT; ea
l Hkh ekeZ uşrd] vŞ l keftd : i l s l Hkh ykx l eku gkxŞ ftl ea fgn
bLyke] bZ kbZoxŞg l Hkh ekekd dk l ekoşk gkxk] ijr q, d tks bu l cl s Åij
ekeZ gS og gŞ ije l R; dk tks l oZ 0; ki d gS vŞ mri fluk o y, l sijs gđ

xkakh th dk n'kZu mu jktuşrd , oal keftd fopkjka ij vkekfjr
gŞ ftudks mlgkous l cl sigys 0; ogkj ea ç; kx fd; k] mnkgj. k dsfy, l R;
dsç; kx dsfy, egkRek xkakh us viuh vkrRedFkK dk çdk'ku 1927 eafd; kA
Lorærk vknsyu ea vaxst ka ds fo#) fd, x, xkakh th dsçedk vL= vfga k
vŞ l R; kxg gh FkŞ ftul s Hkjr dks vktknh çklr gđA xkakh th us viuh
vkrRedFkK eadgk gS l R; kxgB vkrRe 'kq) dh yMkbZgSbl hfy, og ekkfeZd ; q
gŞ l R; kxg vfhkuo fuekZk dh 'kfä l s l a l u gŞ vkrRed 'kL= gŞ tks l PpkbZ
}kj k çjkbZ vŞ vkrRecy }kj k i 'kq dks thrusea enn djrk gŞ ; gh dkj. k Fkk
fd egkRek xkakh dk y{; l PpkbZ ds jkLrs ij pydj gh Hkjr dks Lorær
djuk FkA og l R;] çæ] vŞ vfga k l s ifji wkZ l ekt dh LFkki uk djuk
pkgrs FkA vaxst h jKT; ds Øjrk] vŞ neudkj h uşr; kamuds fy, l gu'khy
ugha FkhA viusbl y{; dks çklr djus dsfy, xkakh th us ifo= l keku ka dks
vi ukus ij cy fn; k vŞ 'kkari wkZ vknsyuka ds eke; e l s, d , d k folrr
dk; Øe pyk; k] ftl dk mıs; l keftd pruk dks tkxr djuk vŞ cy'kkyh
cukuk FkA xkakh th ds n'kZu dks ge fuEu vkekfjka ij l e> l drs gđ&&

xlakh th dk vke; kfred n'ku& xlakhth dgrsFksfd bep>sekkfeZd gkus ij
 xozgSos l Hkh ekeka dks Lohdkj djrs gS vks ekuork ds l kfk tkMoj fodkl
 dh vks vxl j gkus dh c; .kk nrs gBA os dkbZ i ja jk oknh ; k vakkuplj .k oknh
 ughaFksA mlgkaus Lo; adgk gSPl R; ds vxzg dks pfg, fd og : <h l sfpi d
 dj dkbZ dk; Zu djacfyd vutko vks ; fa ds vkekkj ij fd l h Hkh dk; Z dks
 l a kfnr djB mlgkaus QØ ds l kfk dgk gSfd] bep>s, d svè; kRe oknh gkus ij
 xozgSftl us l a kj dks l fg". kark vks l okeZ l eHkko dh f'k{kk nh gS ejk ekeZ
 tkMaus dh ckr djrk gS rkmus dh ugha ge l Hkh ekeka dks ekuork ds l kfk
 tkMoj , d fo'o l epk; dk Lolu n[krs gBA

xlakhth dk vkfkd n'ku

egkrek xlakh l knk thou vks mpp fopkj rFkk vkfkd l ekurk ds
 fgek; rh FksA vkfkd l ekurk dk vkZgSfd l c ds ikl bruh l a fuk vo' ;
 gksfd og viuh dnjrh t: jra vo' ; ijh dj l dA xlakh th Lo; adgrs gS
 ejs l iuka ds Lojkt; ea tkfr&Hkn ; k eke& Hkn ds fy, dkbZ LFkku ugha gskj
 ekuoku dk dkbZ fo'kSk vfedkj ugha gskk ; g Lojkt; l cds dY; k.k ds fy,
 gskkS1vkfkd n'ku eaxlakh th us Je dh egllk ij cy fn; k gSvks 'kj hj Je
 dks ifo= ekuk gA muds pl okh; B Je dk fl) kar gSftl ea dgk x; k gS
 fdnrl jka dks f[kykj rc [kkvks vks nrl jka ds fy, thfor jgkS ; gh
 vfga kRed mi Hksx gA xlakh th us Je ds dkj.k gh pj [kk l a—fr ij fo'kSk
 cy fn; k gS]mlgkaus dgk fd dvhj m | kska ds eke; e l s mRi knu dk forj.k
 gskk pfg,] tgard l Hko gsk mRi knu eul; ka ds gLr dks ky o i 'kqka ds Je
 }kj l pkyr dvhj & m | kska ds eke; e l s gskk pfg, A dvhj m | ks vi ukus
 l s cdkjh nj gskh gS vks ykska ea vkRefuHkark dk Hkko tkxrk gSftl l s
 mRi knu c<rk gA e'khuka dks y?kq m | kska dk ij d gskk pfg, A ; a ; q ds
 l cak eaxlakh th dk dFku gS bejk fojkk ; a-ka l s ugha gSfdarq Hkkjh ; a-ka dks
 VLvhf'ki , d l keku gSftl ea ekuh 0; fa viuh vko' ; drkvka l svfed l a fuk
 dk vius dks Lokeh uk l e>h cfYd ml s vius ikl l ekt dh vekur ; k
 ekjgjj (trust) l e>a vks vius dks ml vrfja l a fuk dk l j {kd ¼Trustee½
 समझे। धनवान लोग अपनी आवश्यकताओं के लिए धन व्यय करें किंतु अतिरिक्त
 धन को अपने लाभ के लिए नहीं बल्कि समाज के कल्याण के लिए व्यय करें
 mudk ekuuk gSfd eku dk ykyp eul; dks 'kksk.k djus ds fy, foo'k djrk
 है। यदि मनुष्य उन वस्तुओं का संग्रह करने तथा उन पर एकाधिकार स्थापित
 djus dh çofuk dks R; kx n[ftudh nrl jka dks vko' ; drk gS rksgekj j kejkT;
 dk l iuk l kdkj gks l drk gA bl çdkj VLvhf'ki fl) kar dk vk'k; ; g

कदापि नहीं है कि धनिको की अतिरिक्त संपत्ति निर्धन व्यक्तियों में बांट दी जाए। इसका अभिप्राय यह है कि धनी व्यक्ति अपनी अतिरिक्त संपत्ति को जनकल्याण के
dk; kãeârFkk , ð sm | kx ekakkaeaayxk, aftl | sl kekj .k turk dksjkstxkj fey
l dA

xlãh th dk lkekftd n'kũ

Hkkjrh; -f"Vdksk l sHkkjrh; l ekt dh l el; kvka dk Li"Vhdj.k ftrus
l yhds l sxlãh dsy[kkaeafeyrk gß mruc 'kk; n gh vU; = l Hko gkß ftl ij
xlãh th viusfopkj çdV u fd, gkß bl hfy, mluga Hkkjr dk jk"Vfir k dgk
tkrk gA l kekftd thou dh fn'kk fuekkZjr djus ea xlãh th dk fo'kSk
; ksnku gß mlugkausHkkjrh; l ekt dsfuEure Lrj ij jgusokysnfyrkã xjhcka
dschp jgdj mudh l el; kvkavkß Hkkoukvka dks l e>k rFkk mudksnj djus
dh l kFkZl igy Hkh dhA Hkkjrh; l ekt ea0; klr dgj hfr; ka vLi"; rk nonkl h
çFkk foekok &fookg fu"kkj ngst] oS; kofUk] u'kk[kkgh]'kksk.k vkfn dks tM+l s
m[kkM+Qadus dh fn'kk ea xlãhth dk ; ksnku Lej.kh; gA

xkãhoknh fopkjekkjk dk mîs; fdl h u, fl) kar dk çfriknu djuk u
gksdj jpukRed dk; Øeka dh l kFkZl çLrfr gsmugkausçfu; knh f'k{kk dh ftl
; kstuk dksçLrfr fd; kj ml dk mîs; Je vkekkfjr f'k{kk i) fr dksyxwdjds
f'k{kr çdkjh dh l el; k dks l gy>kuk Fkk] bl h çdkj vLi"; rk fojkãh muds
fopkjãdk mîs; vLi"; rk l æfækr fl) kar dk çfriknu uk gksdj Nq/kNar dh
Hkkouk dks l emy u"V djuk FkA os tkfr çFkk dksfgmwekeZ ij , d dkyk êkCck
ekursgA rFkk tkfr çFkk dsfoijhr o.kz0; oLFkk dks l ekt dsfodkl dsfy,
vko"; d ekursgß mlugkaus dgk gSfd l ekt dks çkã.k {kf=; } oS; } 'kæ bu
pkj oxkã ea foHktu l s0; fã dk drD; ij Hkkf"kr gkark gß u fd fdl h dks
fo'kSkfkdj fey tkrk gA l çdks vius&vius deZ l l ekt dh Hkj ij l ok
djuh pkfg,] ; gh o.kzJe 0; oLFkk dk ear0; gA bl dk vk'k; ; g dnkfi ugha
gSfd çkã.k dõy Kku dksLo; ard l hfer j [kãçfyd og vius Kku ds }kj k
nũ jka dks f'k{kr djus eS l g; kx djA l kFk gh mlugkaus dgk fd 'kæ dk deZ
l ok t: j gSfdarq Kkuktũ dk ml sHkh vfedkj gß tks çkã.k Kku ds vkekkj
ij mPp in dk nok djrk gß og ifrr gSvkß Kkuh dgykus; kx; ugha gA
bl l kekftd dyad dks fevkus ds fy, muds }kj k l kFkZl ç; kl fd, bl
çdkj xlãhth ds l kekftd fopkj 0; ogkfjd vkß l qkjkRed Fks tks l ekt ea
l kekftd fodkl dh Økar yukuk pkgrs Fks A

xlãh th dk jktulfrd n'kũ& egkRek xlãh jktulfr dk vke; kRehdj.k
djuk pkgrs FkA os dgrs gãfd pekeZ jktulfr dh çk.k'kfã gSejsfy, êkeZ l s

foe[k jktuhfrd eR; q tky gSD; k&id ml l s v&kRek dk guu g&rk g&A4

jktuhfr ea&keZ ds v&rfuZgr g&us l sU; k; v&S l R; ds d&j.k jktuhfr i F&H&ZV g&us l scph jgrh g&A v&kt dh jktuhfr H&ZV g&s x&bZ g&S v&S ge p&jka v&S l s i jh rjg H&ZV&kpkj l sfxjsgq g&AH&ZV&kpkj] 0; f&H&pkj jktuhfr ds f'k[kj d&s Nw jgs g&]e; k&hk Vw jgh g& l kel&td l j&k&kj {k&.k g&rk tk jgk g& &ekj hghu] fn' k&ghu v&S e&v; ghu jktuhfr vi uk opLo cukrh tk jgh g& v&kt ge l cds l keusi gyh p&u&h ; gh g&sd jktuhfr d&sg e d& sLoPN cuk l drs g& rF&k&dFF&r &keZ u j i & k jktuhfr &keZ l sfoe[k g&sd j t&rh; ml&ekn dh f'k&kj g&s x&bZ g&S l k&Fk gh ok&v c&id dh l dh.k jktuhfr l s H&h l e&kt ea&e&uL; rk v&S n&ij; kac<f&h tk jgh g&A n&qr l scpus ds fy, rF&k y&dra= d&s v&S et&ar cukus ds fy, jktuhfr d&s eg&Rek 1x&k&h ds n&[&s x, Lolu v&kn' k&Z j&kt; ds &e&e; e l s, d v&kn' k&Z k&Red jktuhfr cuk; k tk l drk g& eg&Rek x&k&h us, d v&kn' k&Z j&kt; ds fy, Lor&=rk l ekur&] H&krRo dh vo&ekj .kk nh g&Sft l e&amUg&us pol &e& d&v&e& v&S p&bZ k&k&L; f&en&l o&fo'o c&e& p&e& d&se&e; e l sfo'o 'k&ar dk H&h l n&s k fn; k g&

x&k&h ds y&dra=d fopkj

eg&Rek x&k&h usfy [kk g&S y&dra= ds&ckj s&e&e&h &ekj .kk g&Sfd bl ea l cl s fucy 0; f&e d&s H&h ogh vol j &klr g&us p&f&g, t&ks l cl s' k&f&'k&yh d&s &klr g&rs g& ; g v&fg& k ds v&rf&j& v&L; fd l h mi k; l sug&h&g&l drk g& mudk v&kn' k&Z j&kt; jktuhfrd -f'v l s l Ppk y&dra= g&A mudk fopkj g&S fd y&dra=d 0; oL&F&k ea H&kj&r ds &R; d 0; f&e d&s p&fopkj v&S v&f&H&0; f&e dh Lor&=rk l &Bu dh Lor&=rk] &keZ v&S v&rf&dj.k ds Lor&=rk &klr g&us p&f&g,]&A l k&Fk gh v&fek&dj&ka dh vi &kk dr&0; ka i j mudk n' k&u v&fek&d cy n&rk g&S Ax&k&h th ds 'k&C&ka ea p&dr&0; i ky&u dk v&fek&dj g&S ok&p v&fek&dj g&S v&S dr&0; i ky&u ds f&cuk v&fek&dj dh d&Yi uk ugh&dh tk l drh g& Aml&gh&ds' k&C&ka ea p&de&Z dr&0; g&S v&S Qy v&fek&dj g&A

y&dra= d&s v&S v&fek&d et&ar cukus ds fy, Loj&kt; dh d&Yi uk ml&g&us vi uh i&rd&B f&gn Loj&kt; B e&adh g& ml&g&us vi uh i&rd& p; & b&f&M; k* e&afy [kk g&S Loj&kt; l c ds y&H&k ds fy, g&us p&f&g, A (swaraj is for the good of all) bl ds v&rf&j& ml&g&us Lon&sh vi ukus i j H&h cy fn; k g&S Lon&sh l s vi us j&k'V& dh l &—fr ds &f&r J) k m&Ri l&u g&rh g&

x&k&h th dk j&k'V&kn o v&rf&j&'v&h; okn& eg&Rek x&k&h ol &no d&v&e& e&fo' okl d&jrs F&sr&F&k j&k'V&kn ds l k&F&l k&F& v&rf&j&'v&h; rk&kn ea H&h mudk

; dhu Fkka mlgkaus jk"Vh; rk dks dHkh Hkh l dth.k] LokFkhz vlsj , dkdh -vFkkā ea xg.k ughafd; kA mlgkaus vi uh i qrd p; æ bāM; kβ ea fy [kk gS pēā Hkkj ro" kZ dk mRFkku bl fy, pkgrk gwf t l l sl ā wkZ fo'o dk fgr gks l d} eā Hkkj ro" kZ dk mRFkku nlr js jk"V^o ds fouk'k ij ugha pkgrkβ] mlgkaus vkxs dgk pējh jk"Vh; rk mxz jk"Vh; rk gSfdarqfQj Hkh eā fo'o cākqo dk Lolu n[krk gāA mlgkaus dgk gSfd jk"Vbkn dh uho HkkSrd vkdkākkvka ij ugha cfYd thou dh JSBrk vlsj vkē; kfred fl) karka ij gh j [kh tk l drh gS A egkRek xkakh ds fopkjka dh çkl fxdrk orēku l e; ea Hkh egl w dh tk jgh gā mlgkaus vi us jktulfrd] l kēftd] vkfFkd] ēkkfēd] fopkjka dsekē; e l sft l vkn'kZ l ekt dh LFkki uk dh ml h ds vuq i y{; çkflr grq mlgkaus vi us vki dks l efi r gh ughafd; k cfYd nsk dh turk dks çj r Hkh fd; kA mudh -f"V Hkkj r gh ugha l ā wkZ fo'o ds dY; k.k dk ekxZç' kLr djrh gS vkt 21oha l nh ea egkRek xkakh ds fopkjka dh l kFkZdrk gea çR; d {ks- ea egl w gksh gā

I aHkZ

- 1- th0 jkepæu] xkakhoknh 'kkL= dk ee] i "B l ā; k& 33
- 2- M,0 Mh0 , u0 prpāh] xkakh dh vFkZulfr' '; kek çdk'ku] dk'kh fo | ki hB] okjk.kl h i "B l ā; k 138
- 3- egkRek xkakh] xhrk çkik] eaxy çHkkR 6-8-30 i "B l ā; k 86&87
- 4- M,0ch0i h0 oek] vkekfuud Hkkjrh; jktulfrd fpru] i "B l ā; k 357
- 5- M,0 gjh'k dēkj xkakh l kēftd jktulfrd ifjorū ISBN NO-81-8330-040-5 vtū i fcyf'kak gkml] ubZfnYyh
- 6- M,0 ; ks'oj] l ektokn] vkpk; Zujæ nō] M,0 ykfg; k vlsj t; çdk'k th ds n"V e] çfrHkk çl y[kuĀ1994
- 7- M,0 nqkiznūk i kās] xkakh n'kū dseyy fcmq ISBN NO- 81-89570-15-3 'k[kj çdk'ku bykgkckn
- 8- M,0 ohjæ 'kek] Hkkj r ds i qfuēkZk ea xkakhth dk ; ksxnku ISBN NO-81-7071-041-3 Jh i fcyf'kak gkml] vkxjk

^vkklykbu f'k{k% l eL;k vlg pqlkr ; k*

*MKWjke ikr ef.k f=ikBh **

mPp f'k{k og gS tks gea døy Kku ugh nrh cYd gekjs thou ds
 vflrRo ds l kFk l ejl rk ykrh gA* dksom 19 dsifji; ea; fn ml dsihko
 dk voykdu fd; k tk, rksvFk; oLFkk vlg l keftd thou dsvykok dkjksk
 okbjl usftl pht dks l okZekd iHkkfor fd; k gS og gS f'k{k 0; oLFkk , oa
 iBu&iKBuA Ldnyh l sydj mPp Lrjh; f'k{k yxHkx Bi gks x; h gA dN
 fo | ky; kausvud ekè; eka ds }kj k vkklykbu f'k{k.k dh 0; oLFkk dh gS tks bl
 l dV dky ea, dek= jkLrk gA Hkkjr fpru i jà jk eaf'k{k dsmís; ekus tks
 g& 0; fDrRo pfj= fuekZk l ekt dY; k.k vlg Kku dk fodkl A ; sy{;
 vkklykbu f'k{k ea, d l hek rd gh gfl y gks i krs gA i jà jkxr f'k{k ea Kku
 nus ds l kFk&l kFk 0; fDrRo pfj= fuekZk dh i fØ; k pyrj jgrh gA d{kh;
 i fjošk ea l g; kx l k>nkjh l kefgdrk l g vLrRo , oa l fg' .kqk dk Hko
 Nk=ka ea fodfl r gkrk gA foHku l kefg f'k{k.k kj fØ; kdyki l rfy
 0; fDrRo fuekZk dh i fØ; k dks vxsc<krs gA vkklykbu i }fr eaf'k{k Kku
 rks gfl y dj ysk ij mijkr ekuoh; l keftd xqkavlg l kky dksy dk
 ml ea l E; d fodkl ugh gkskA ; pkvka ds l rfy 0; fDrRo ds fuekZk ea
 vkklykbu f'k{k l keku ds ctk, ckèkd gh cuskhA vkt vkklykbu f'k{k.k dk
 #>ku c<k gSyfdu ftruh rsth l sbl shkfo"; dsfy, fodYi ds#i ealr
 dj c<kok nus dh ckr dh tk jgh gS rks cgr l kjs izu miLFkr gks x; sg
 tS &

- 1- D; k dksom&19 f'k{k.k ea, d Økr ykus okyk gS
- 2- D; k Nfre cf) erk vkusokys l e; eaf'k{k dk LFkk xg.k djx\
- 3- D; k f'k{k.k fofek; ka ea 0; ki d ifjorú vk tk; sk\
- 4- D; k vkklykbu f'k{k.k f'k{k ea l erk l xqkoYkk vlg igp ds vi{kr y{;
 dks i ktr djus dk fo'ol uh; ekè; e gS
- 5- D; k rduhr f'k{k f'k{k ds eny mís; ka dks i ktr djus ea l {ke gS
- 6- vkklykbu f'k{k dk l eFlú ; k fojkèk djuk mfr gS\
 i Lr: 'kèk i = eabl fo'k; ij 0; ki d izk'k Mkyk tk; skA dhom&fu; ked
 l LFkk, j uokpkj l fl Øks l] vuf l Øks l] bz f'k{k

* , l k l , v ik d j Mkr ik kj ½ ckck jk?ko nkl Lukrdkij egfo/ky;
 nofj; k mo i 0½

Hkkjr , frgkfl d #i l sKku dk izdk'k LrEHk jgk gA 5000 bDi 0 gekjh
 fpfdRI k i }fr vk; qñ FkA fl akq?kkVh l H; rk ea 2500 b7 kb i wZ rd fl pkbZ
 rFkk fl ojt fl LVe FkA 'kk; dk vkfo"dkj gekjh gh ncu gA d.kkn usv.kq dh
 ckr dh Fkh rks pjd l qur l t]h dsfi rk ds#i ea tkust krs FkA f'k{kk l ekt
 dk , d k gh l ka Ñfrd vloSk.k gStks l pukRed ckok vls vkt hfodk dsfuokg
 ds l keku mi ycek djkus ds l kFk&l kFk eW; ckok Hkh fufeZ djrh gA Hkkjr h;
 i ja jk eaf'k{kk dks l l dkj ekuk tkrk gStks euq; ds t sod #i dk #i karj.k
 djusea l gk; d gkrh gA vkjkk ea Hkkjr ea x# fo"k; i ja jk Fkh f'k{kk ekt [kd
 gh jgh gA nkgjko] Lefr] vH; kl] , dkxrkj vuqkkl u bl ds i e q k rRo jgSgS
 tks ekhj & ekhjs vkekud f'k{kk ea xkSk gks x; A f'k{kk ea l e; izlkeu Nks/cPpka
 ds ruo dk fo"k; cu x; k gA f'k{kk vius l kekt d nkf; Roka l snj gks x; h
 gSvls vkt ftl rjg l sdgkuk vkin ds nls eai KB; Øe i wkZ djokus uohu
 l = dh l e; l rdZk ij t\$ k xkhj fopkj foe'kz gks jgk gS f'k{kk dh xqkoYkk
 i q% xkSk gks x; h gA Hkkjr eaf'of o|ky; h f'k{kk dbZ izdkj dh fo"kerkvka l s
 i fjr gSftl ds eny ea vkfkd dkj.k l kekt d ifjLFkr; k gA rduhdh dk
 iz, l x] vaxst h Hkk"kk , d cMh l eL; k gA vktknh ds ckn l sgh Hkkjr ds l e{k
 , d Loræ jk"Vh; vFk; oLFk rFkk Loræ f'k{kk uhr dh i kFkfedrk egROI wkZ
 jgh gSftl ds i hNs vucl ykxka dk cfynku FkA gekjs fu; ked l l Fkkvka ds
 l e{k os'od Lrj dh l l Fkkvka dh nyuk ea JSB vFkok l ed{k f'k{k.k inku
 djus dh puks h gA

Hkkjr ea 1-30 djkl + ykxka dks mPp f'k{kk inku djusea 949 fo'of o|ky; ka
 ea yxHkx 39 ifr'kr futh gkFkka ea gA 39931 dkyst ka ea 78 ifr'kr futh {ks=
 l gk; rk i klr xj l gk; rk i klr gA mPp f'k{kk ea i osk yas okys 66-4 ifr'kr
 ykxka dh t#jrs futh dkyst ea i jh gkrh gac<rh gqZ l kekt d vkdkk vka us
 'kgjh , oa xteh.k {ks=ka eaf'k{kk dh [kkbz vls] pkmh dj nh gA mPp f'k{kk ds
 l ekj ds fy, Hkkjr l jdkj vucl dk; z kst uk r\$ kj dh gA ekuo l d keku
 fodkl ea ky; us 5 o"z dh dk; z; kst uk bfDoi (Education Quality Upgradation
 and Enclusion Programma) r\$ kj dh gA bl dk mī\$; 5 o"z ea mPp f'k{kk ea
 dk; kdYi ykuk gS bl ea i R; d ea ky; dks 5 o"z ds fy, fotu lyku r\$ kj
 djua dks dgk x; k gSftl ea vuq akku] uokpkj dks c<kok nsk] eW; kadu
 i ek.ku] jidax fl LVe] m|e'khyrk] mPp f'k{kk rduhd dk foLrkj] f'k{kk dk
 vrjZVh; dj.k "kkfey gA

bZ f'k{kk ds foHkUu #i gSftl ea co vkekfjr yfuZ] ektkby vkekfjr
 yfuZ ; k dEl; Wj vkekfjr yfuZ] opy Dykl #i vkn 'kkfey gA vkt l s

tc dbz'o'kz igysbzf'k{kk dh voekkj .kk vk; h Fkh rks nfu; k bl ds i fr l gt ugh Fkh ijUrql e; ds l kFk gh bzf'k{kk us l a wkz' k{kd 0; oLFkk eavi uk LFkku cuk fy; k gA

bzf'k{kk dks nks Jf.k; ka eackVv tkrk gSfl Øksul 'k{kd 0; oLFkk ea, d l e; eavFkzr fo|kFkz vks f'k{kd vvx&vyx LFkku ka l s, d nu jsl s'k{kd l ðkn djrs gA bl izdkj fd l h fo" k; dks l h[kus ij fo|kFkz vi us iz uka dk mYkj rRdky ik tkrsgA

vfl Øksul 'k{kd 0; oLFkk l srkRi ; ZgSfd , d l e; esugh vFkzr ; gk; fo|kFkz f'k{kd ds chp okLrfod l e; ea'k{kd l ðkn djus dk dkbZ fodVi ugh gS bl 0; oLFkk ea ikB; Øe l sl æækr tkudkj h igysgh mi yCek gkr h gA tS & cD vèkkfjr vè; ; u ftl ea fo|kFkz fd l h vkkWykbu dks [Cykuk] cDl kbV dhM; k; V; WkSj; Yl] bZcDl bR; kfn dh enn l sf'k{kk i ktr djrs gA bl rjg l sbzf'k{kk 0; oLFkk dk l cl scMk ykHk ; g gSfd fo|kFkz fd l h Hkh l e; tc pkgSrc 'k{kd ikBØeka rd igp l drsgA

bzf'k{kk dks c<kus ds fy, l jdkj us foHku 'k{kf.kd l a.Fkku ka eabzf'k{kk ij dSUnr 'k{kk , oa vuq ækku ifj; kst ukvka dks i kRl kfgr dj jgk gA bu ea njLFk f'k{kk ds ekè; e l sl k{kjrk ea l ækkj ds fy, ikB; l kexh fodkl 'k{kk , oa vuq ækku igy 'kkfey gA o'kz 2025 rd Hkkjr ea b.VjuS/ mi ; kxdrkZ/ka dh l æ; k 900 feyh; u rd igpus dh mEehn gS Hkkjr ea bzf'k{kk ds {ks= ea cMk cktkj rS kj gkus dh l Hkkouk, ; gA dñnz , oa jkT; l jdkj ka us bzf'k{kk dks c<kok nus ds fy, dbz izdkj dh ; kst uk cuk; h gA ekuo l a kaku fodkl ea-ky; us fi Nys dñ efguka ea fMftVy yfuæ dh vgfe; r , oa Hkfo"; dks nS krs gq reke , s QS ysfd; s gA tks vkus okys fnuka es f'k{kk ds {ks= ea u, vk; ke LFkfi r djæA ySdu bu l cea l cl scMk ; kxnu mu vè; ki dka dk gSftUgkus fMftVy l kexh vks u, ikB; Øe rS kj djus ds l kFk gh bz yfuæ dks jkpd cuk; k gS rkd fo|kFkz ka dks bl dk ij k ykHk fey l dA nS k ea vkkWykbu f'k{kk dks l eku #i l sfeyuk l fuif' pr fd; k x; k gA orèku ea uskuy fMftVy ykbcjh (NDL) Lo; j Lo; a Hkkj nh{kk vks NROER tS h igy a bur eke lyS/Qekæ ea l s gS tks Hkkjr Hkj ds dj kMka Nk=ka dks fMftVy f'k{kk inku dj jgh gA xkeh. k rFk nj njkt ds bykdka rd vkkWykbu f'k{kk dks igpus ds fy, , d jk"V", d fMftVy lyS/QekZ vks , d d{kk , d psuy tS h efge gA l jdkj dh vks l si h, e bz fo|k igy 'kæ dh x; hA ; g igy fMftVy@ vkkWykbu@ vkkWyk , ; j f'k{kk l sl æækr l Hkh iz, kl ka dks , d l kFk tkMæchA nh{kk ¼ d jk"V&, d fMftVy lyS/QekZ l Hkh jkT; ka @dñnz 'kfl r inS kka ds fy, nS k dk fMftVy cu; knh <kpk cu tk; sxA nh{kk lyS/Qek ij

27 jkT; ka , oa dlnz 'kkfl r in skka ds 1900 l svfekd , ut fvd ikB; i qrdka ds 88]000 l svfekd l kexh dsfgl ka dksD; w/kj dkm l svx fd; k x; k ftl ea 200 NCERT dh i qrdagA bl dsl kfk gh Vhoh ij , d d{kk , d puy eigr ds rgr d{kk , d l sckjg rd ds iR; d fo | kfkz dsfy, l efi r puy gksck tksxqkoYkki wZl f'k{k.k l kexh mu rd i gpk; sxA dkgkuk dky ea IITè JEEè NIIT dh r\$ kjh djus okys fo | kfkz; ka dh i js kkuh dks n\$ krs gg National Testing Agency uscpka dh i SDVI cfekr u gksbl dsfy, vH; kl , lk dk fuelz k fd; k ftl es ij h{kk dh r\$ kjh dj jgScPps ?kj l sfglnh ; k vaxst es ekWl VtV nsl drsgA vkuu ykbu i < kbz dsckn irk pyr k gSfd rduhd ds bl rcky ea; pk i h<h dkQh rst gA , d seabzyfuak eamudh dkQh #fp gSvkj ml s jkpd cuk; s j [kua ds fy, l ksky ehfM; k dk l dkj kRed #i l s cgq ; ksnku gA

f'k{k.k ; kstuk ds l mHkz ea ekS[kd] fQj fyf[kr nksuka l s gkrs gg vkuu ykbu f'k{k.k dk; Døe dh rjQ rst h l sc<+jgsgA i R; d u; sdk; Døe dh vi uh dQ [kfc; k rFkk [kkfe; k; Hkh gks h gA Hkkjr eaf'k{k.k i fØ; k ds 3 fclnq g& f'k{k.d] f'k{kfkz i kB; Døe bu rhuka ds l ki \$k vkuu ykbu f'k{k.k ds l Ecak eafopkj .kh; g&

- 1- D; k f'k{k.d dk i f'k{k.k vkuu ykbu f'k{k.k dsfy, gpk gS\ bl dk mYkj g& vkuu kfrd #i l s de f'k{k.d ka dk 1/2 dy f'k{k.d ka dh rgyuk ea uke ek= ds f'k{k.d ka dk 1/2 i f'k{k.k vkuu ykbu f'k{k.k dsfy, gpk gA
- 2- D; k f'k{kfkz vkuu ykbu f'k{k.k gsrq ekuf l d #i l s r\$ kj gks i k; k gSbl dk mYkj gS ugh] og etcj h ea , d k dj jgk gA T; knkrj fo | kfkz Nk=xr ckè; rkvka ds pyrs gh bl s vi uk jgA gA
- 3- D; k gekj sn\$ ea vkuu ykbu f'k{k.k gsrq i kB; Døe mi yCek gA\ bl ds mYkj ea; gh dgk tk l drk g& Ldny Lrj ij jk"Vh; eDr fo | ky; h; f'k{k l hFkk; ; rFkk mPp f'k{k ds Lrj ij bñjk xkèkh jk"Vh; eDr fo' ofo | ky rFkk dQ jkT; eDr fo' ofo | ky; ka dks Nk&Mèj 'kSk fo' ofo | ky; k& l hFkkvka ds i kB; Døe vkuu ykbu dh n"V l s r\$ kj fd; s x; s gA

vkuu ykbu bz f'k{k dh pqr; k; % vkuu ykbu f'k{k l s l cfekr 15 vi \$y 2020 dks l a Dr jk"V^a cky dsk us dgk fd ykMkmu ds n\$ ku yk [kka cPps vkuu ykbu , d s xe [kysrsg tks cMka ds fy, cuk; s x; s gA ; fu l Q ds vuq kj l kbcj xfax cPps vkj fdl kj kads l keus vkus okys i eQk l kbcj [krj ka ea l s , d gS tks yxkrkj c<+jgk gA Hkkjr t\$ h mHkjr h vFkD; oLFkk ea ; g

gkykr rsth l s c + jgh gA fo'o vkfFkd ep vks Mhd; wbaVhV; W dh , d
 l a pr fj i k / Z ds e r k fcd 8 l s 18 o " k z dh mezo kys 50 i fr ' kr ds v f e k d c Pps
 l kbcj ekedh ohfM; ks x e dh yr] vkfn ds i fr l onu ' khy gkrsgA , d os' od
 i f j i t ; nrs gq ; qk dks us dgk & d y f ' k { k k f k z ka es l s v k e k s y x H k x 823
 f e f y ; u 182-6 d j k M 1 / 2 N k = d k f o M & 19 e g k e k j h d s d k j . k d { k k l s c k g j g q g A
 l k f k g h m u d s i k l ? k j y w d E l ; W j r d dh i g p u g h g A , d s l e ; e a t c
 v f e k d k ' k n s k k a e a ' k f k d f u j a r j r k l f u f ' p r d j u s d s f y , f m f t V y v k e k f j r
 n j L F k f ' k { k k d k m i ; s x f d ; k t k j g k g A 43 i fr ' kr 1700 f e f y ; u ; k 70-6
 d j k M 1 / 2 y k s k a d s i k l ? k j i j d k b z b a / j u s / u g h g A

vkWuykbu f'k{k.k dh l kcl s c M h p u k s h g s f d H k j r e a d o y 12-5
 i fr ' kr N k = k a d s i f j o k j k a e a b . V j u s / d k m i ; s x g k r k g s ; g k ' k g j h x t e h . k
 f o H k t u H k h g A ' k g j h { k s = k a e a 27 i fr ' kr d s i k l b . V j u s / v k s x t e h . k { k s = k a e a
 d o y 5 i fr ' kr d s i k l A H k j r d s d n j k T ; k a e a ; g v l r j T ; k n k g s t g k d j y
 e a 31 i fr ' kr x t e h . k i f j o k j k a d s i k l f o f H k u l k s k a d s e k e ; e l s b . V j u s /
 l f o e k k g s o g h a d o y 23 i fr ' kr x t e h . k i f j o k j k a d s i k l b . V j u s / d h i g p g A

vkakz insk ea 30 i fr ' kr x t e h . k i f j o k j k a d s y k s b . V j u s / d k m i ; s x
 d j r s g a y f d u ? k j i j b . V j u s / d h i g p d o y 2 i fr ' kr i f j o k j k a r d g A
 i f ' p e c a k y v k s f c g j t s j k T ; k a e a f t u e a i k j a f j d # i l s i o k l h N k = c M h
 l t ; k e a g d d o y 7 & 8 i fr ' kr x t e h . k i f j o k j k a d s i k l b . V j u s / d h i g p g A

; g l g h g s f d o r e k u i f j l F k r ; k a e a v k W u y k b u f ' k { k k g h i B u & i k B u
 d k , d e k = f o d Y i g s y f d u f o l x f r d h f o f o e k r k H k j s b l n s k e a ; g f d l h
 p u k s h l s d e u g h g A

- 1- x t e h . k f o d k l e a = k y ; d s v e ; ; u d s v u d k j n s k d s 16 i fr ' kr i f j o k j k a
 d k s j k s t k u k , d l s y d j v k B ? k . V s d h f c t y h f e y r h g A 30 i fr ' kr d k s
 j k s t k u k 9 & 12 ? k . V s f c t y h f e y r h g s t c f d 47 Q h l n h i f j o k j k a d k u ' k h c
 v P N k g s f d , d f n u e a 12 ? k . V s f c t y h f e y r h g A
- 2- f ' k { k k i j 2017 & 2018 e a u s k u y l s i y l o s d h , d f j i k / Z d s v u d k j 24
 i fr ' kr H k j r h ; i f j o k j k a d s i k l b . V j u s / d h l f o e k k g s n s k d h 66 i fr ' kr
 v k c k n h x k p o k a e a j g r h g A x t e h . k i f j o k j k a e a 15 i fr ' kr i f j o k j g h b . V j u s /
 l o k v k a d k b l r e k y d j r s g s t c f d ' k g j h { k s = e a ; g 42 i fr ' kr g A
- 3- v k E u y k b u d { k v k a d s f y , m i d j . k v k o ' ; d g A , d v e ; ; u d s v u d k j
 24 i fr ' kr H k j r h ; k a d s i k l L e k V Z Q k u g s t c f d 11 i fr ' kr i f j o k j k a d s
 i k l f d l h i d k j d k d E l ; W j g s t s & M k d V k i] y s V k i] u k s / c p] V e y s /

bR; kfnA

- 4- b.Vjuſ/ ,oa ekckby , l kſl , 'ku vkſD bf.M; k ds vuſ kj 2019 ea 67 ifr'kr i#''k b.Vjuſ/ dk mi ; kx djrs gſ cfd efgykva ds fy, ; g vkſDſMk 33 ifr'kr rd gh fl eV x; k gſA xkeh.k Hkkjr ea72 ifr'kr i#''kka dh rnyuk ea fl QZ28 ifr'kr efgyk, ; b.Vjuſ/ bLræky djrh gſA
- 5- gſhjkcn fo'ofok |ky; ea vkſDkybu f'k{k.k l s l æfækr eſka ij yxHkx 2500 Nk=ka ds l kFk , d bu gkſl l oſk.k fd; k gykfd 90 ifr'kr cPpka ds ikl ekckby Oksu gsyſdu mueal s65 ifr'kr gh vkſDkybu d{kſkva rd igp l drsgſA 40 ifr'kr usvfo'ol uh; duſDVfoVh dks iæſk ckækk ds #i eacrk; k gſ tçfd 30 ifr'kr usMſk dh yxkr dk gokyk fn; k gſA

dkjksk l æV usgedks ; g fl [kk; k gſfd i kB; Øeka dks ek= fo''k; dh tkudjh nus okyk ugh çYd fo | kFkz; ka ds thou dſky] jpukRed] xgu yphyh l kp fodfl r djusokyk gksk pkfg, i ſfr ds l kFk ekuo ds l gthou dks l e>uk oræku dh iæ[k vko' ; drk gſA jk''Vh; f'k{kſk uhrh ds MſſV ea ftl mnkj f'k{kſk dh çkr dgh x; h gſml dsegro dks oræku i f j l Fkfr; ka us çgrj #i l s l e>k; k gſA fo | kFkz; ka ea l kemf; d uſrd pruk] ykdrka=d eſ; kads i fr vkLFkk LokoyEcu] l eL; k l ekekku] l g; kx dh Hkkouk] vſoſk. kRed nſ''Vdksk] LoLFk fnup; k] l Uryu l ænuk] vkReckk] l kgl] æſ] d#.kk] LoPNrk tſ sxqk i f j l jka ds thou okroj.k eafodfl r gſ l drsgſvkſDkybu f'k{k.k l s ughA bl nkſ ea ; g Hkh l e> ea vk; k gſfd f'k{k.k i f'k{k.k ea egROI wſz l ækkj dh t#jr gſA f'k{k.k i f'k{k.k ea f'k{k.k dh HkkoukRed {kerk dk fodkl djusrFkk è; ku nus dh vko' ; drk gſA vkſDkybu f'k{k.k dk egro bl çkr ij fuHkj djrk gſfd fo | kFkz dſſnr , oa xqkkRed fdruk mRi kn d bZ l kexh dk mRi kn gſk gſu fd l æ; kRedA l jdkj s rFkk uhr fuekzſkva dks ; g Li''V l e> fodfl r gſk pkfg; ſfd rduhd vfeſe foKku ds mi j ugh gſ l drh] ugh ; g f'k{k.k dk LFkku ys l drh gſyſdu rduhd f'k{k.k fofek; ka vkſ l h[kus dh i) fr; ka ea l gk; d t#j gſ l drh gſ bl gſ rduhd dk iz; kx djuk pkfg, A ekuo l æ leku fodkl ea=ky; }kj k fd; s x; s bZ yfuſk lyſ/æz tſ & Lo; a nh{kk] bZ çLrk] uſkuy fj; kfyVh vkſD vki su , tæſku] f j l kſt] 'kæxak] fo}ku] bZ i k B'kkyk vkfn çgr mi ; kxh gſA bl l æV ds l e; vkſDkybu f'k{kſk vko' ; d gſyſdu l keku; fnuka ea Hkkjr ds l exz fodkl ds fy, i j æ j x r d {k; f'k{kſk l okfæd mi ; kxh fl) gſchA

I anHZ

- 1- Hkkjr ea 'k&{kd izkkyh dk fodkl & i k&jeu fcgkjh yky] jLrtxh i fcydsku ejB] 2012
- 2- f'k{k ea uokpkj&; kstuk Qjoh 2020
- 3- mPp f'k{k dks nau; k vk; ke l i kndh; cnh ukjk; .k& 4 ebznfud tkxj.k
- 4- vktk ykbu f'k{k dh p&ksr; k; l i kndh; & 7 ebzx#okj fujatu d&kj n&ud tkxj.k
- 5- f'k{k cuavol jka dk eke; e&l i kndh; 25 ebznfud tkxj.k] vry dkBkjh
- 6- vktk ykbu i <k&zl scnyrk 'k&{kd <kpk& 27 tu n&ud tkxj.k] feJk p&ksr; ka dschp fn[k jgk mTtoy Hkfo"; &jesk i k[kfj; ky fu'kad] ekuo l i keku ea-h] 3 t&ykbz2020 n&ud tkxj.k

JhenHkxonxhirk ds vk/kj ij Kku; kx dk foopu

*MMW flerk vxoky **

Åi i kFkZ ; i frckf/krka Hkxork ukjk ; .ksu Lo; eA
0; kl su xffkrka i gjk.k efuuk e/; segkHkkj reAA
v } S kerof 'kz kha Hkxorha v'Vkn "kk/; kf; uha
vEck Rokeud Un/kkfe Hkxonxhirs Hko } S'k. kheAA

vFkZr-Lkk{kk-ukjk ; .k usftl dk vtj dksmi ns'k fn; k gA ftl sigkru
efu 0; kl usegkHkkjr ds chp xfrk gvk gS tks v } S Kku : ih ver dh o'kz
djus okyh gS tksfn0; xqkka l s l Ei Uu gS tks vBkjg v/; k; ka l s ; Ør gS vks
tleej.k dh J[kyk okys bl l d kj l s } sk j [kus okyh gS bl hfy, rñgkj /
; ku] gs xhirk ekrk! eš l oñk djrk gA

v } S n "kz dsekk; fo } ku-Lokeh e/kd mu l jLorh Ñr ^ xhirk/; ue^
dk ; g i Fke "ykcd gA JhenHkxonxhirk dh fo "kskrkvka dsckjsea; g l c dñ
dg nrk gA xhirk us, dkrud /kezd k i DRkz fd; k Fk ftl dk n "kz tle&eR; j
vkrk& i jekrek] dež vks ; kx dk FkA xhirk ds nñ js v/; k; ea Kku; kx dk
foopu gsftl dh mi ; kxrk ; g gSfd euq; thou vks ej.k ds vlrj dh
vutñr djdsLo; adsi kjekfkd ugha e>rkA xhirk eavtj dki Z; nksks grLoHko^
gkcdj rFk vFkZr-dk; jrk ds nsk l sftl dk okLrfod /khj] xEHkj fNi x; k
gS, oadUk; &vdUk; ds Kku l sjfgr 0; fDr ds : lk ea gekj s l keus vkrk gA
vtj dk ; g dki Z ; , d izdkj dk nñ; gh gS tks d#.kk; Ør dk; jrk vks "kcd
dks inf "kz dj jgk gS vks Hkxoku-Ñ'.k i gys KkuekxZ ds in "kz l } rRi "pr-
fu'dkedežkxZ ds in "kz] vnr% HkFDrekxZ ds mi ns'k l s ml s LoLFkfpuk vks
rRi j cukrs gA

bl ds fy, l cl sigys os thokREk dks vtj] vej] l kožkfyd fl)
djus dk iz Ru djrs gD; kcd euq; tc Hk vk/; kfred Kku dh vks mledk
gkrk gS l cl sigysog ; gh iz'u inrk gSfd "kjhi kr dsckn Hk ; g thokREk
jgrk gS; k ugha mi fu'kn-ea ufpdrk Hk ; ejkt l s ; gh iz'u inrk gA vtj
: ih KkuekxZ ds iffkd ds bl l k; dks Hkxoku Ñ'.k xhirk ds f}rh; v/; k;
ea ; g dg dj fou'V djrs gdf&

* 'kqf.kd ijke 'kñrk m-izjktf'kz V.Mu eØr fo'ofok/ky;] izkxjkt ñnãiã½

u Rookga tkrqukl a u Roa ues tukf/ki k%A

u p6 u Hkfo'; ke% l o3 o; er% i jeAA¹

vFkkZ~gs vt! , d k dkbZ l e; ughaFkk tc rø vFkkZ~vkRek ughaFkk] eävFkkZ~ijcã ijekRek ughaFkk vkš ; sjktk ughaFks vkš u Hkfo'; eadkbZ, d k l e; vk; sk tc gel c ughajgxA bl "ykcd eaHkxoku N'.k vt! dks; g l e>kuk pkgrs gâfd ftuds uk" k dh vk"kd k l s vt! fo'knxLr gSmudk vflRro "kjhj/kkj.k l s i wZ Hkh Fkk vkš ckn eaHkh jgxA

xhrk Li 'Vr% ; g dgrh gS fd iFoh vkfn tMFRoka l s "kjhj curš ifjofrZ gkrsrFkk fou" krs gâ ijUrqmueafuokl djusokys tho u curs gâu ifjofrZ gkrsgâ vkš u fouk" k dks i ktr gkrsgâ osfur; gâ vtj gâ vej gâ vr, o vl š; prutho igysHkh l nk Fkš vkt Hkh gâ vkš vullrdky rd jgxA , d "kjhj l snl js "kjhj eavkuk& tkuk okLro eavkRek dk ugha vfi rql (e "kjhj dk ftl idkj bl ng ea tho dks; ; l tokuh vkš caki s dks i ktr gkrk gS ml h idkj nl jh ng dks Hkh i ktr gkrk gâ

nguks flEu-; Fkk ngs dks kja ; kâua tjkA

rFkk ngkUrj i kfr% /khj% r= u eâfrA²

vFkkZ~ckY; kfn voLFkkvka ds cnyus l s rüo ugha cnyrk] ml h rjg ngkUrj i kfr l s Hkh pru ugha cnyrkA bl idkj thokRek ; k prurüo ds cgRo vkš ml dsuf" kRo dks fl) djus ds ckn Hkxoku-N'.k thokRek& : lk dk o.ku djrs gâ D; kâd 0; fDr l oZ Eke vkRek dš k gš bl sHkh tkuuk pkgrk gâ N'.k ds "kOnka ea ; g vkRek vtUek gš vfouk" kh gš vfpUR; gš vkš v0; ; g& onkfoukf" kua fur; a ; , u eta v0; ; eA³

bl "ykcd ea ukjk; .k dk Hkko Li 'V gSfd eu] cŋ)] bfUnz ka ds l fgr LFkoy "kjhj ds }kj k nl js "kjhj dks ekj fn; s tkus ij ; g dš s Lohdkj fd; k tk l drk gSfd ml usfdl h dks ekjk gš D; kâd l oZ , d gh vkRerüo gš tks u fdl h dks ekjrk gSu ejokrk gâ

^v0; Drks ; a vfpUR; ks ; e-vfodk; kâv; eŋ; rA

rLekna fofnRoSu ukuŋkkšprøgZl AA⁴

thokRe v0; Dr gš fopkj l s i js gš vkš bl dk ifj.kke Hkh ugha fn[krk bl l sos; g l dš Hkh nsnrsgâ vkRek dkj.k vkš Jâ[kyk ugha gSD; kâd ; fn ml sdkj.k eku&srksml dk dk; ZHkh Lohdkj djuk gksck vkš ; fn dk; ZLohdkj fd; k tk; srksml dh eR; qHkh Lohdkj djuh gksxA , d k vU; = xhrk eagh dgk

x; k gSfd&

tkrL; fg /kpk'e'R; %/kpa tle e'rL; pA ⁵

i u% Hlxoku N'.k vkrerUo ds n"ku] o.ku vks Jo.k dh vyksddrk
vks nyvkrk dk o.ku djrsgA vkrk dks Hlxoku N'.k cf) vks eu l svxE;
ekurs gD; kicd ni jh oLr/ka dks iR; {k vFkok vuoku iek.k l s tkuk tk
l drk gA vkrk dk Lo: lk cf) vks eu dsfy, bruk vxE; gSfd &

vk"p; bRi"; fr df"pnuek"p; bnbnfr rFkD plU; %A

vk"p; bPpsuel; %J'.kkr Jkkl; ua on u pD df"prAA ⁶

; g tksbruk nyvkr Lo: lk Kku g& bl sogh ik l drk tks l ecf) l s
; pr gks bfunz neu] eu"keu vks ojkX; dks vi ukrr gA

lLFkj cf) D; k gS bl dk Lo: lk crkrs gq Hlxoku dgrs gS fd lLFkj
cf); pr ik.kh l [k&n[k] ykHk&gkfu] t; &ijkt;] "khr&m'.k] eku&vi eku
vkfn }Unka l si Hkfor ughagrkr vFkr-mudseu eajkx&}sk ; k g'k&"kksd vkfn
fd l h idkj ds fodkj ka dk u gksuk gh lLFkj & cf) ; k l ecf) gA

l [kn[k] ks l es d'Rok ykHkykHkS t; kt; kS ⁷

n[k] ksolk}Xueuk % l [kksq foxrLi g%A

ohr jkxHk; Øksk% fLFkr/kheTu#P; rAA ⁸

ukuk fo'k; ka ea HkHkko j [kus ds dkj .k gh muea vPNk&cgk] Nk/k&cMk]
xje BUMk] l [k&n[k] vkfn dk vuHko gkrk gA blgha l seu ea fodkj mRi l u
gkrs gA vks osdeU/ku : ih iki dk dkj .k cursgA bl fy, bu l c n[k] ka dks
l guk vFkr frfr {kk gh "kjk Qy nus okyh gA vi jk[k] kuHkr ea vkpk; l "kcd j
Hkh ; gh dgrs g&

l gua l oh[k] kuka frfr {kk l k "kjkkerk ⁹

okLro ea l ecf) l Hkh thoka ea vl ekurk dh Hkkouk dks l ekrr djuk
gSD; kicd ek[k] ikfir dsfy, l ecf) gksuk vfuok; l gA

l Hkh ykxka dk Kku ea vf/kdkj ugha gkrk] D; kicd ojkX; ds fcuk dkbZ
Kku ekxZ dk vf/kdkj h ugha curkA fo'k; kads i fr ojkX; cgr de ykxka ea n[k] k
tkrk gA vks fpRr ea ojkX; gq fcuk Kku dk mn; gksuk l Ehko ugha gA
Hlxoku N'.k us xhrk ea dgk g&

Kkus rqrnKkua ; skka ukf"krekreu % A

RkskkekfnR; oTKkua idk" k; fr rRi jeAA ¹⁰

Hkxof}’k; d Kku ds }kjk ftudk oS&E; tfur vKku u’V gks x; k gS mudk og vkReKku vKku dks u’V dj bZoj ds ifjiwkZ Lo: lk dks ml h idkj idkf”kr djrk gS ftl idkj vkfnR; vU/kdkj dk uk”k dj fuf[ky tixfrd oLrqvka dks idkf”kr djrk gS Hkxoku d” .k i p% dgrs g&

rneq) ; LrnkRekuLrfUu’BkLrRijk; .kk%A
xPNUR; i p jko’fUka Kkufu/kir dYe’kk%A¹¹

vFkkZ~mueagh ftudh of) fu”p; kfRedk gks xbZ gS mueagh ftudk vkReHko gS vFkkZ~eu yhu gS mueagh ftudh fu’Bk gS vFkkZ~iz Ru gks jgk gS og gh ftudsije vkJ; gS rFkk mudh N’ik l siklr gq vkReKku ds }kjk ftudsiki /ky x; sgS osgh vi p jko’fUk vFkkZ~efDr iklr djrs gA cafon Kkuh i p’k dk y{k.k crykrs gq Hkxoku N’ .k dgrs g&

u ia’; Rriz a ikl; ukf} tRi kl; p kfiz eA
fLFkj c) j l eBks cafon fLFkr %A¹²

vFkkZ~tks caobkk gks dj ca ea vofLFkr gS osfiz oLrqdks iklr dj gf’kZ ugha gkrs vS u vfiz oLrqdks iklr dj mf}Xu ugh gkrs gS D; kid osvl e% gS vFkkZ~mudk ekg fuoUk gks x; k gS rFkk mudh c) fLFkj gA fLFkj c) gq fcuk Kku dh iklr vLkEHko gA

Kku ; kx dk vFkZgh gSKku ds }kjk thokRek dk ijekRek l s; kxA tc thokRek dks Kkr gkrk gS fd l a kj fuLl kj] uk”koku vS /kk[kk gS vS dby ca gh ”kk”or] fuR;] l dy ca k.M dk mnxe o foy; dlnz gS vS l a kj l svi usvki dks iwZ lk l sgVl dj l eLr bfunz ka eu rFkk c) dks ml h ds vuojr fpUru] euu , oa/; ku }kjk vi usvki dks ml ijekRek ea yhu dj n} ml ds l kfk viuk ; kx dj nsrks bl i fO; k dks Kku; kx ; k l h[; kx dgrs gA

l h; kl ”kCn ea ^ l e^ mi l xZ dk vFkZ gS l E; d idkj l } vS ^U; kl ^ dk vFkZ gS R; kx^A vr% l h; kl dk vFkZ gS eu] ok.kh vS ”kj hj }kjk gks osokys l Ei wkZ deka ea dUkka u ds vfhkeku dk vS ”kj hj vFkok l a kj l s l eLr vgar vS eerK dk R; kxA

Kku ; kx ea ijcā dh iklr ca’fu’B vkpk; ka ds l kflu/;] ruoKku ds Jo.k] euu vS fufn/; kl ukfn vkfn l k/kuka ds nh?kZ dky rd vuojr] dBk] vH; kl ds lk”pkr~gh l EHko gks l drh gA Kku; kx dk l k/ku nqze nqdj vS o Dysk ; Dr gS Njs ds /kkj ds l eku vR; Ur rh[kk gA

dBki fu'knelkj ds "kCnka ea

mfrk'Br} tkxr} i kl; ojkflu&ckskrA

{kjL; /kkjk fuf"krk nq; ; k nqz i FkLrRdo; ks onflurA¹³

Kku; ksch I Hkh deka dk eu I sR; kx dj d} I Hkh bfUnz ka dks o" k ea dj ds
ukSnjoktka okys?kj vFkkz~"kjhj ea 1/4 nks vk[k] nks dku] nks ukfI dk ds uFlkus
vks , d e[k] erSUnz rFkk eySUnz 1/2 vkunni wZd i jekRek ds Lo: lk ea fLFkj
jgrk gA

I oZekz.k eul k I t; L; kLrs I q[ka o"khA

uo}kjs i js ngh uo d p u dkj; uA ¹⁴

bl idkj] thokRek] vKku] I a kj vkfn fo'k; ka ij ppkZ ds lk"pkr-
xhkrkdj ijca ds vdUk'k vks i Nfr dstxRdSkRo ij ppkZ d j rsga tksi R; d
n"ku dk i e[k fo'k; gA

u drzRoau dekz.k ykdL; I tfr i HkA

u deDyI a ksa LoHkkoLrq i drzAA &5@14

Hkxoku dh f=xqke; h i Nfr ml ds vf/k' BkrRo eamI h ds i d k" k I sLk'V
jpukfn I elr deZ dj rh gA bl ij i wZ {kh ; g "kaek dj I drk gSfd i Nfr
dk ij d u gkus ds dkj .k i jekRek Hkh iki vks iq; dk Hkxh gkrk gsk i jUrq
bl dk Hkh mRrj i Hkq ds i kl g&

uknRrs dL; fpr-iki a u p b I Nra foHkA

vKkuskl ooa Kkuarsu eafur turoAA¹⁶

ijekRek ; |fi I oD; ki h gSrFkfi fdl h lkk.kh ds iq; vks iki dk xg.k
ughad jrk vFkkz~mudsfy, nkf; Rooku ugha gkrk D; ka d og dN ugha djrk
i Nfr gh fu%ksk dk; ka dks dj rh gA og rks I oFkk mnkl hu jgrk gS mnkgj.k
dsfy, I wZ I elr txr dks i d k" k nrk gS i jUrq ml ds i d k" k dh I gk; rk
y d j fd; stkusokys iq; vks iki : lk deka I sml dk d k b Z I Ecl/k ugha jgrkA
vKku ds }kjk Kku <dk gvk g& I svfhkik; ml vkfn fl) efreksg I s gS
ftl ds dkj.k og ; g tkrk gvk thoka dk dUkka u muds "kjk" kjk deZ vks
deDy i kflr Lo jfpr ugha cfYd i Nfr Nfr gA I kjk thou ; gh I e>rk gS
vep deZeusfd; k bl fy, e p s bl dk Qy feysk vkfnA i jUrqftudk og
vKku i jekRek ds Kku }kjk u'V dj fn; k x; k gS mudk og Kku I wZ ds
I eku ml ijca i jekRek dks i d k f"kr dj nrk gS vFkkz~ijekRek Lo: lk dk
I k{kkRdkj dj nrk gA

Kkuu rqrnKkua ; skka ukf"kreKReu%
rskkæfnR; oTKkua izdk"K; kfr rRijeA¹⁷

ml h rjg l sv/; kreKku ds vāre i {k vFKk-eksk i kflr dk mYy{K
xhrc ea Hkxoku Ń'.k us ml ds tholep r v{ } fong ; p r nksuka Hknka ds l kFk
fd ; k gA

bl ds vuq kj Kku; kx ds , dklrl k/ku l s i jekReLo: lk dh i kflr gk
l drh gS v{ } ogk ; igp tkus ij fQj i qjkoFRr ugha gkrh A

rned; LrnkRefulLu'BlLrRijk; .kk%

xPNUR; i qjkoFRra Kkufu/krdYe'kk%¹⁸

xhrc ea tholep r jkt; kxh dk Lo: lk bl izdkj of.kr g&

bgb rftz% l xk; ; skka l kE; fLFkra eu%

funkka fg l ea cā rLekn-cāf.k rs fLFkr%¹⁹

ftudk eu l ero eafVd tkrk gSmuds }kjk thfor voLFk eagh l Ei wK
l ā kj dks thr fy; k tkrk gSD; kād og fužksk v{ } l ekurk l s ifji wK gS
bl fy, osKkuh i # 'k Hkh l Hkh i kf.k; kaea , d gh i jekRek dh T; ksr n{ krs gA
osfdl h dks NkV/kj cMlq Åpk ; k uhpK ugha e>rA osl nk dsfy, tle &ej.k
l s Nw/dj tholep r gksx; A rUoKkuh Hkh rhuka xqkka l svrhr gks tkrk gA vr%
ml ds jkx] }sk] ekq] eerK] vgækj vkfn l elr voxqkka dk v{ } fo'ketHko dk
l oFkk uk"K gkdj ml dh fLFkr l ehko ea gks tkrh gA mudh nfV ea , d
l fPpnkulln/ku ij cā i jekRek l svrfjDr vU; fdl h dh l Rrk ugha jgrhA

fo | kfou; l i llus cā .ks xfo glRrfuA

"kqu pō "oikds p if.Mrk% l enf"kl%²⁰

Kku; kx dk vāre l ā kl; ijexfr dh i kflr gh gA

v0; Drks v{ } kj br; p r % rekgq ijeka xfreA

; a i kl; u fuorRsr }ke i jea euAA

I UnHkZ

- 1- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@12
- 2- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@13
- 3- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@21 ¼ wk) ½
- 4- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@25
- 5- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@27 ¼ wk) ½
- 6- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@29
- 7- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@38 ¼ wk) ½
- 8- JhenHkxonxhirk&2@56
- 9- v i j k s
- 10- xhirk & 5@16
- 11- xhirk & 5@17
- 12- xhirk & 5@20
- 13- dBki fu'kn-
- 14- xhirk & 5@13
- 15- xhirk & 5@14
- 16- xhirk & 5@15
- 17- xhirk & 5@16
- 18- xhirk & 5@17
- 19- xhirk & 5@19
- 20- xhirk & 5@20

^MKW Hhejko vEcMdj dk 0; fDrRo ,oa ; kxnku**

*MKW vHk ik.Ms **

MKW Hhejko vEcMdj vkekud Hkjr dsl ekt l qkkj d] nfy jktusk] fo}ku] nk' kZud oSkfud] l ektoknh ,oa ek\$ zku 0; fDrRo oknh gkus dsl kFk gh fo'o Lrj dsfokobkk o Hkjr; l ekt dsf'KYi dkj FkA mlgavi usfpru o l ak'kz ds }kj k ijs ns k ds gj {ks= dks i Hkfor fd; kA MKW vEcMdj foy{k.k , oavfnrh; i frHk ds ekuh Fk\$ muds 0; fDrRo ea i [kjr]k] cfi) erk] bEkunkjh] fu; ferrk] n<Fk fo |eku FkA osvius l Ei wkz ^thou* dky rFk ml ds i 'pkr- Hk jktuf r okn&fookn dk fo" k; cusjgA mlgkus vius l Ei wkz thou dks ns k ds dY; k.k eao l ekt dh l j puk dks l rfy djuseayxk fn; kA mlgkus vius ckY; dky l sgh l ekt dks i Hkfor djuk i kjEHk dj fn; k FkA bl fy, mudk l koZfud thou dc i kjEHk gqk ml dk dkbZfuf' pr l e; fuekkZjr ughafd; k tk l drk gA

Hkjr jRu vEcMdj Hkjr; bfrgkl ds ied[k egki q "kka ea l okZekd [; kfr i ktr 0; fDrRo gA mudk Hkjr; bfrgkl ea l kektfd ,oa l ka.Nfrd pruk ds ek; e l s vHkriwZ ; kxnku gA mlgkus l kektfd] jktuf r d ,oa vkfFkd l eL; kvka ds gy <=edj l erk] l ekurk] nfy rks] kj] l ka.Nfrd txj.k ,oa 'kksk.k eDr Hkjr ds fuekZk ds fy, viuk l oLo U; kNkoj fd; k gA vEcMdj dks l kektfd Økfu r ,oapruk dk tud dgk tk l drk gSD; kAd i f'peh ns kka eagpZ Økfu r; kadsfoijhr fcuk [kwi cgk, mlgkus l kektfd pruk mRiUu dhA vEcMdj dh fo) rk gh Hkjr ds fuekZk ,oabl dh Lorærk ea vfedk dkjxj fl) gA vEcMdj vius ifjuokZk ds i 'pkr-gh vfedk ifl) gq] tcf d vius thoudky ea muds l edkyhu urkvka us vEcMdj dks i frfØ; koknh rFk l kekt; okn dk l efkd ekuk FkA i jUrqoLrfu"V eW; ka du l s ; g ckr fl) ugha gks i krh vk\$ mudh fopkjekkjkvka dk l gh eW; ka du vc fd; k tk jgk gA l foekku fuekZk ea vEcMdj dh egRo i wkZ Hkriedk ds Øe ea jk"Vh; vkUnksyu ea muds vl g; ks ds i hNs cgr cMk dkj.k ; g Fk fd og vaxst ka dh l s l Mka o"z dh xykeh l s eDr ds l kFk&l kFk 5 gtkj o"z i jkuh Hkjr; o.kz 0; oLFk ds xHkZ l smi tsfrjLdkj l s Hk eDr pgrs FkA vEcMdj ds fonsg l svkgr Hkjr; l ekt ds dN oxka ea e] ftUgkus' kkl=l Eer cukdj

**vllLV ikQd j& jktuf r foKku foHkx] n; kuln xYlZ ik-th dlyx
dku ij maia½*

gekjsl kekftd Lo: i dksfoÑr dj fn; k Fkk mudseu eavkusokysvullrdky rd , d Vhl vksj xtl k cuk jgsckj bl ea dkbZcgq vk'p; Zdh ckr ugha gA bruk gh ughj vktkn Hkkjr ea , s h reke foHkfr; ka dks egRoi wkZ LFkku fn; k ftudk xkakhth ds usRo okys vkUnksyu l s dñ Hkh ysuk nsuk ugha Fkk tS s nkekj ohj l koj dj] ekekjko l nkf'ko xksyoydj] j kkkñ".ku] ' ; kek i d kn eqkthz vkfn ; gkard fd jktñz i d kn vksj i fMlr usg: usHkh nfyr vkj{k.k dk fojkok fd; k Fkka

vEcM dj dh jk"VHkfrDr cst kM+Fkha Hkkjr dh , drk eamudk ij k fo'okl Fkka Hkkjr; l foekku dk ik: i r\$ kj djrs l e; mlgkaus jk"Vh; , drk dks gh egRoi wkZ ekuk vksj ml h ds vuq i ræ ds xBu ij tkj fn; kA dkkad ds l Hkh fookna dks rkd ij j[kdj mlgkaus usg: efi=e.My eal fEefyr gksuk Lohdkj fd; kA fgUnw dkkM fcy tS s egRoi wkZ izu ij iekku eah ds <nyey jo\$ s ds dkj.k mlgkaus fcuk foyEc fd, efi=e.My l s R; kxi = ns fn; kA os l kekftd ifjorZ ds izy i {kekj Fk\$ bl fy, muds, ts Mka ij ; g fo"k; gh uEcj , d ij Fkka mlgkaus 10 vDVu; j] 1951 dks usg: efi=e.My l s R; kxi = nsrsl e; tks ckr dgh og bl fo"k; ij izdk'k Mkyus ds fy, i ; kZr gA vkt l s pkj o"lz , d ekg 26 fnu i mZ Hkkjr ds iekku eah useqscg ykdj ea hi n nns dh i s kd'k dhA ejsfy, dkuu eah dk fuea .k vk'p; Ztud Fkk D; kAd esrksfoi {k ea Fkka eqsLo; agh l ng Fkk fd vc rd eaf tuds fojkok ea Fkk muds l kFk dS s dck; Z dj l dkk\ eqs viuh ; kx; rk ds ckjs ea l ng Fkk fd D; k ea vius i mZ bñz l q kx; dkuu efi=; ka tS k gM fQj Hkh eas vius l ng dks rkd ij j[kdj iekku eah ds iLrko dks bl hfy, Lohdkj dj fy; k fd nsk ds uofuekZ k gsrq eq eaf turh Hkh {kerk gS ml ds vuq i l g; kx djuk plfg, A

l foekku l Hkk ds ve; {k Mko jktñz i d kn usmlga 30 tu] 1947 dks i = fy [kk vksj dkkad ds JSB urkvadh igy ij cEcbZ l smlga i q% Hkkjr; l d n dk l nL; cuk; k x; kA bl ds i mZ os cakky l s l d n l nL; Fks tcf d dkkad l smudsl Ecllek Bhd ugha Fkka ckn ds l k; bl ckr dks i qv djrsg d fd dkkad vksj xkakh th l smudk fojkok fdl h futh LokFkZ ds dkj .k ugha Fkka muds fookn ds eny : i l snfyr oxZ ds mRFkku dk izu tMk gqyk Fkka jkT; l Hkk l s 6 fnl Ecj] 1954 dks vuq fpr tkfr] tutkfr vk; fpr dh fj i kZ l ij mlgkaus tks Hkk" .k fn; k og vR; r egRoi wkZ gA ; g Hkk" .k bl ckr dk l cl scMk l k; gS fd os xkakhth dks fdl n"V l snf krs Fkka dE; uy , okMZ dks xksyest l Eesyu ea Lohdkj djrs l e; dkkad rFkk fl [k usk vki l ea fey x; s rFkk Mko vEcM dj dks vyx & Fkyx dj fn; kA bfrgkl l k{kh gS fd tc Hkh vol j vk; k]

MkD vEcMdj dsfojkæk ea dkacl vls yhx l kFk [kM+gksr's FkA dkacl us'Ro us1946 dsckn ftl idkj MkD vEcMdj dksvi usl kFk djusdh dks'k'k dh] ; fn ; g igy 1931&32 ea i kjEHk gbpZ gksrh rks 'kk; n Hkkjr dsfoHkktu : ih n[kkUr iV{k{ki gekjsjk"Vh; vktUnksyu dk u gprk gksrKA l Ei wkZ nksj ea dkacl usdø yhx dks iVkuseaviuh 'kFDr dk {k; fd; k vls ml dk dkbZykhk nsk dks ugha feykA

vEcMdj og 0; fDr gðftUgkausfglnwl ekt ea tle vLi"; rk vls Øjrk dh i hMk dks l cl s vfekd Hkksck gA bl fy; s fglnw ij muds fopkj cky xakækj fryd] jkekcd"" .ku vls nvl js fd l h Hkh fo }ku ds eplkcy's ea T; knk egRo i wkZ gA vEcMdj usvi usx dFka^, fufgysku vkQ dklV"] 'fn vuVpçyl *] 'Qykl kQh vkQ fglnwTe*] 'fj fMDI bu fglnwTe* vls 'fn fpYMLu vkQ bf.M; u xvka eafglnw ij fopkj l sfpurk dh gA 'fn vuVpçyl * dh Hkiedk eavEcMdj usfy [kk gSfd 'knpædsvfrfjDr fglnwl H; rk usrhu vls l keftd oxkæ dks tle fn; k gS ftudh vls ftruk è; ku fn; k tkuk pkfg,] mruk ugha fn; k x; kA ; s rhu l keftd oxZ gA & tjk; e i skk tkfr; k 2- vkfnokl h tkfr; k 3- vNir tkfr; k bu oxkæ dk vLrRo , d tçql k dk fo" k; gA ; fn fglnwl H; rk dks bu oxkæ ds tud ds : i ean[kk tk; } rksog l H; rk gh ugha dgyk l drhA og rksekuork dksnckus rFk xgyke cukdj j [kusdsfy, 'ks'ku dk "kM; æ gA bl dk Bhd ukedj .k rks ~ks'kfu; r* gksuk pkfg, A ml l H; rk dksge vls D; k uke nftl us, d sykska dh , d cMh l ; k dks tle fn; k gks ftUga pçjh djds thfodk pykus dh f'k{kk nh x; h gS nvl js cMh l ; k l H; rk dschpka chp viuh vls Hkd ccj volFk cuk; sj [kusdsfy, Lora= NkM+nh xbz gS vls , d rhl jh cMh l ; k gSftl sl keftd 0; ogkj l s ijs dh pht l e>k x; k gS vls ftl dsLi 'kZ ek= l s vkneh vifo= gks tkrk gA ; g fglnw l ekt dk ; FkkFkZ gS ftl s udkjk ugha tk l drkA gkySMokl h fe- çjsku ¼; ½ d ½ us o" kZ 1998 ea vi us l kFk gq snq; bçkj ds dkj .k l Ei wkZ Hkkj rh; ka ds ckj sea dgk fd osnfy rka ds ckj sea Øj gksr's gA bl idkj fglnw dh mnkjr k vls l fg" .kçk , d feFk i rhr gksrh gA

vEcMdj dsl keftd n'kZu ds vè; ; u eafglnw dh i fj Hk"kk vls Hkkj r dk l keftd fpUru vekjk gA Hkkj rh; l ekt dh rhu 0; k [; k; a feyrh g& fglnwknh] ekDI bknh vls xkækhoknhA ; s rhuka 0; k [; k; a vekjh gSD; kæd bu ea l s dkbZ Hkh ml l ekt dh 0; k [; k ugha gSftl s fglnw/ka usnfy rka ds fy, fufeZ fd; k gA bl fy, Hkkj rh; l ekt dh tks 0; k [; k vEcMdj usdh gSml svkekjk cuk, fcuk Hkkj rh; l ekt ds; FkkFkZ dks u rks l e>k tk l drk gS vls u gh

ifjHkkf"kr fd;k tk l drk gA vEcMdj usfglnwl ekt 'kkL= ds 0; k[; krkvka jkekñ".ku] fryd] ykyk yktir jk;] vjfoln ?kSk] cide plnz pVthz vkfn }kjk LFkfir l keftd fluru ea i qj k&Fkuoknh n"Vdksk dks mxz i ea Lohdkj fd;k gA l ak ifjokj usfglnwj"Vbkn dh voekj .kk dks Lohdkj djrs gq bl vks mxrk inku dh gA bl us , d , d h jk"Vh; rk dks fodfl r fd;k gS tks xj fglunwj"Vka ds ifr 'k=qk dk Hkko j [krh gA bl idkj ds l keftd fluru dk eq; vkekkj ikphu l ekt 0; oLFk dks LFkfir djuk vks ekez dk 'kkl u yxwdjuk gA ; g fluru ekez ifjorU dk fojksh vks ykdra= ea Hkh jkejT; dk l eFkd gS egroi wZ 0; oLFk dk vkykpd ugha gS cYd ml s Hkkjrh; l ekt dh , d vkn'kz 0; oLFk ekurk gA jke] Ñ".k] 'kadjkpk; l vks f'kokth bl ds vkn'kz iq "k gS vks jkek; .k] egkHkkjrh] xhrk vks i gk.kka l s; g viuh ij .kk, aikr djrk gA vEcMdj bl idkj ds fluru dks l ekt fojksh] izfr fojksh vks ykdra= fojksh ekurs gA mudk dguk gS fd tks fluru o.kz 0; oLFk dks vkn'kz 0; oLFk ekurk gS og fluru Li "V : i l sLora=rk] l ekurk vks clekto ds fl) kar ka dks ekuus l sbudkj djrk gA ml gkaus o.kz 0; oLFk dks , d okfg; kr 0; oLFk ekuk tks Je ds ifr ?k.kk dh Hkkouk mri lu djrh gA bl dk fl) kar ; g gS fd cka.k dks cf) mri lu djus dh vuøfr ugha gA ; g 0; oLFk Je dks ghu ekuus dh f'k{kk nrh gS fd urq'kqz dks dby Je djus dh f'k{kk nrh gS viuh cf) dk fodkl og ugha dj l drka ml gkaus dgk fd tfr 0; oLFk ifjorU dks jkdrh gA Hkkjrh; bfrgk ea tks ij kHkko dh , d ij Eijk cuh gq h gS ml ds fy, ; g o.kz 0; oLFk gh nks'kh gA bl o.kz 0; oLFk ds 'kkl u dh LFkki uk gh i qj k&Fkuokn gA

vEcMdj usdgk fd ; fn ikphu fglunwl ekt 0; oLFk dks ykxwfd; k x; k rks, d s'kkl u eanfyr&fi NIM+l epk; vi usfodkl ugha dj l dks ml gA 'kkr vks nkl cudj gh jguk gkskA bl fy, og ykdra= ds i {kekj Fks vks bl ds fy; sykdrka=d l ekt dh vko'; drk l e>rs FkA D; kad ykdrka=d l ekt ds vHkko ea ykdrka=d 'kkl u 0; oLFk cekuh gA ykdrka=d l ekt ds fy, og dBkj l keftd clekuka l seøfr l keftd l xBu pgrs Fks ft l ea dks l tfr ; k oxz pruk u gks vks vyxko dk dks okroj.k u gkA

vEcMdj usekDI bknh l ekt'kkL= dh Hkh dVq vkykpkuk dh gS ml gkaus dgk fd ekDI Zusbfrgk dh vkfkd 0; k[; k , d fl) kur ds: i eamruh ugha l r r dh gS ftruh fd Jfed oxz dks; g fn'kk ds: i ea dh gA ekDI bknh l ekt'kkL= dk ey vkekkj vkfkd l qkj gA bl ds vuq kj 0; fDr , d vkfkd l k.kh gS ml dh xfrfoek; k/vks bPNk, v/vkfkd rF; ka l scakh ga rFk l Rrk dk

, d ek= l kr l EifRr gA bl fy, l keftd l ekjk dh vi {kk og vkfFkd
l ekjk tS sl EifRr dk l eku cAokjk vkfn ij vfed tkj nrk gA

vEcMdj ds vuq kj 0; fDr dk l keftd Lrj Hkh rkdr dk vkekkj
curk gA mudk dguk gSfd ftu ykxka dks tle l sl keftd fo'kSkkfekdkj
i kr gS os vkfFkd : i l sdetkj gksdj Hkh l keftd rkdr j [krs gS tcd
os ykx fo'kSkkfekdkj i kr ugha gS viuh vkfFkd rkdr i kr djus ds ckn Hkh
l ekt ea l Eeku ; kk; ugha gA

vEcMdj dk l keftd n'ku tkfr dsfojk dk n'ku gS og oxzogh
l ekt ds fuezk dk n'ku gSog l erkj Lorark vSj cakRo ds fl) karka dk
n'ku gS vSj og ykdra dh LFkkiuk dk n'ku gA vEcMdj us vi uk igyk
l keftd l ?k"kl koZtud rkyk l snfyka dks i kuh yus dk vfedkj fnykus
ds fy, fd; k FkA bl vol j ij ml gkaus vl ekurk ij vkekkj eufefr dks
tyk; k Fk vSj jk"v dks l Eeksek djrs gq sdgk Fk fd ^eufefr vl ekurk
dh Hkkouk dk irhd gA ; g ml h idkj fglunw thou vSj fplru dk vkekkj gS
ftl idkj cflVy Okal ea ikphu l ekt 0; oLFk dk irhd FkA vNurka }kj
eufefr dk tyk; k tkuk , d , d h ?kvuk gS tks nfyka dh eqDr ds bfrgl
eaogh egRo j [krh gS tks Yka vSj ; jki ea turk dh Lorark ea cflVy ds
iru dk FkA** ; g fd l h ekeZkkL= ds ifr igyh vkokt Fkh] tks vEcMdj us
mBk; h FkA cD ds ckn Hkkjrh; l ekt ea igyh ckj vEcMdj us l keftd
ifjoru vSj l keftd U; k; dh ØkfuR i Snk dh FkA

vEcMdj us xkakhoknh l ekt'kkL=h 0; oLFk dks Hkh Lohdkj ugha fd; k gS
D; kfd xkakhoknh l ekt'kkL= i q% xk d dh vSj oki l ykS/us rFk xk dks
vkRefo'okl h cukus dk fplru djrk gA bl idkj {ks=h; okn Hkh bl dk , d
Hkx gA xkakhoknh l keftd fplru Hkh o.kz 0; oLFk ij gh vkekkj gA xkakh
th vi us dks l ukruh fglunw dgrs Fks vSj vi us i Fk dh 0; k [; k bl idkj djrs
Fks & ^es vi us dks l ukruh fglunw bl fy, dgrk gmfed ea onk mi fu"knk i gk. kka
vSj l Hkh fglunwekeZ xk d ea fo'okl djrk g o.kz Je ea fo'okl djrk g vSj {kk
ea fo'okl djrk g vSj efrz i ut k ea fo'okl djrk g*** xkakh th tkfr i Fk
dksu"V djus ds i {k ea Hkh ugha FkA ; gh dkj .k Fk fd Mk vEcMdj us xkakhoknh
l keftd fplru vSj n'ku dh vkykpuk dh vSj Lohdkj ugha fd; kA

vEcMdj us dgk fd Hkkjrh ea l keftd l ekjk fd; sfcuk vkfFkd ØkfuR
ughadh tk l drh vSj tkfr 0; oLFk bl ea l cl scMh ckek gA ; g og jk {kl
gS tks dne&dne ij l ektokfn; ka dk jkLrk dkVxka l Etkor% bl h l erk ds
fy, bl gkaus ekekDrj.k fd; k FkA tkfr foghu ckS l ekt nfyka ds fy, , d

ykdriki=d l ekt dk fuekzk dj l drk gš mudh ; g l kp Hkh QyHkur ugha
 gþZD; kiid ekeðrfjr nfyrrka usHkh , d u; soxZ dk fuekzk fd; kA bl oxZ ds
 : i eaHkh ml us tkfr dk ifjR; kx ughafd; kA vEcMdj ekeðrj.k ds ifj.kke
 dksns[kusdsfy, thfor ughajg l dA ctã.kokn dk vlr nfyrrka dh vkFFkZl
 eðDr eagh gš ; g vEcMdj HkyHkkár l e> x; s Fkš bl hfy, mlugkaus, d , d s
 jkt dh; l ektokn dk ekMy iLrñ fd; k Fkkj ft l ea f' k(kk) Ñf" k m | ksx] chek
 l c jkT; ds Lokfero eagkaus dk iLrko gð mlugkaus dgk fd jkt dh; l ektokn
 gh nfyrrka dks vkFFkZl xykeh l seðDr inku dj l drk gð og jktufr ea
 vfhktr oxZ dsopLo dsfo:) FkA og pgrs Fks fd ns k dk urRo etnij
 oxZ ds gkFk eagkA mlugkaus ctã.kokn vls i at hokn dks nfyrrka dk i ekku 'k=qekuk
 gð

vEcMdj ij ekDI Z dk fojketh gkaus dk vkjki yxk; k tkrk gš ij
 vEcMdj us dgha Hkh ekDI Z ds fopkjka dh fulnk ugha dh gš l kE; okfn; ka vls
 l ektokfn; ka dh mlugkaus vkykþuk vo'; dh gð orðku l e; ea Hkh vEcMdj
 ds fopkjka dks l e> us rFk l kþusea xyfr; ka dh tk jgh gð vEcMdj ekDI Z
 ds vkFFkZl fopkjks ds fojketh ugha Fks ij mlugkaus ; g izu mBk; k Fkk fd Hkkjr
 ea ekDI ðkn ctã.kka ds gkFk ea pyk x; kj bl fy, ml us ml us viuh l gh
 Hkriedk ugha fuHkk; hA muds urk viuh eðVB; kH Hkh rkus jgs vls l keftd
 fo' kskkfedkjka dk mi ; ksx Hkh djrs jgð l ektokfn; ka vls l kE; okfn; ka us ; fn
 vEcMdj ds fopkjka dks l e>k gkrk vls nfyrr l okyka dks mBk; k gkrk] rks
 vkt nfyrr vkUnksyu dk Lo: i dñ nñ jk gh gkrkA

dkacil usnfyrr vkUnksyu dks rks detkj fd; k gh nfyrrka ea dñ , d s
 oxZ Hkh iðk dj fn; § ftugkaus detkj nfyrr vkUnksyu ds l keus dñ u; h
 dfBukb; kH iðk dj nñ bl usnfyrr l ekt vls jktufr ea , d svfhktu iðk
 dj fn; § ftugkausu døy nfyrr vkUnksyu] cfYd nfyrr jktufr dks Hkh nfyrr
 eðDr dh voekkj.kk l sehykanij dj fn; kA bl oxZ ds ikl eku Fkk vls l Rrk
 dk vkd" kZ k HkhA bl fy, nfyrr vkUnksyu buds gkFkka ea pyk x; kA Qyr% bl
 nfyrr vfhktu oxZ us vEcMdj dks døy i frekvka vls t; flr; ka rd l hfer
 dj fn; k vls nfyrr eðDr dh tks voekkj.kk] mudsn' kZ vls nfyrr vkUnksyu
 ea Fkh] ml snfyrrka rd i gþkus dh cr rks nij] ml l s dkbZ l Ecak rd j [kuk
 ugha pgrk nfyrr jktufr bl h vfhktu oxZ dh l Rrk ea vFkðRrk [kks cBhA
 bl h ds dkj.k dkacil ea pVpþkj nfyrr urk iðk gq vls nfyrr okv dkacil
 dh >kyh ea pyk x; kA vkt nfyrr oxZ fn' kkg hu gks pþk gð nfyrr jktufr
 djus okys nyka ; k urkvka ds ikl vc dkbZ fopkjekkjk ugha jg x; h gð

I kekftd ifjorL vls vkfFKZl eDr dh voekkj.kk vc f'kfkky gks pprh gA
 vEcMdj usfojkl r ds: i eaviusdbZ, d segROI wKz I Unsk fn; sgatks
 vkt Hkh I Ei wKz ekuork dsfy, ikl fxd vls I ehphu gA mudh I cl sigyh
 fojkl r fglnwekeZ ds ifjR; kx djusdh gS i jUrqokLro eanfyr 0; ki d fglnw
 I ekt dk gh fgLI k gSrFkk vkadMx xokg gafd vEcMdj dh bl fojkl r dks
 nfyrl ekt usekVsrks ij Bpjk fn; k gAvEcMdj cskd fglnwds: i eaugha
 ej&mudk ngkUr cks ds: i eaqvkj i jUrqekelrj.k dk ; g fopkj ykdfiz
 ughagks I dka os sekelrj.k dsizu ij vEcMdj usl Hkh ekeka ij fopkj djus
 ds i 'pkr-cks) ekeZ dks gh nfyrcadsfy, vPNk ekuk FkA vEcMdj dh nlrjh
 fojkl r nfyrcadsfy, mudk ; g vfeV I nsk gSfd f'kf{kr vls I afBr cukA
 oSkfjd I ak"lz dsfy, mPp f'k{k vls foLr'r ve; ol k; ijeko'; d gA i jUrq
 mudh bl fojkl r dk ykHk nfyrl oxZughamBk ik jgk gS; | fi mluga vkj{k.k
 Hkh i klr gA vk'p; Z; g gSfd nfyrl f'kf{kr vls ee; eoxh; gks tkus ds ckn
 vkt rjg&rjg I sviusvki dksee; eoxh; I ekt ea [ki kusdh dks' k'k ea yxk
 gvk gS vls vius xjhc rFkk fuj{k.k Hkkb&cguka I snj gksrk tk jgk gA
 vEcMdj dh rhl jh fojkl r ; g gSfd og dby nfyrl I eL; kvka ij gh ugha
 I kprsfks mlugkaus Hkkjr dh yxHkx i R; d I eL; k ij vius fopkj idV fd; s
 gA ts s Hkkjr foHkktu dh I eL; k; Hkkjr h; : i; k; I ektokn] fo'o I eL; k; a
 vkfnA i jUrqvkt ds nfyrl uskvka dh n"V nfyrl ekeyka I svkxs ugha tkrh
 gA og nsk vls nfu; kldh ekstmk I eL; kvka ds cks ea I kprk gh ugha gA
 nfyrcads; g I e>uk gksk fd os vius 0; fDrRo dk foLrkj djds gh Hkkjr h;
 I ekt eavfekd Lohdk; Z gks I drsgA rFkk viuh cgrjh dk I ak"lz Hkh dkjxj
 <ak I spy I drsgA vEcMdj ; fn dby nfyrl ekeyka ds fo'kSkK] gks; rks
 Lora= Hkkjr eamuga dkunuu ea-h dk ntkZ dksa nrk\

Li"Vr% vEcMdj dh ; g og fojkl r gS ftl dk I Ecak nyr nsk I sgA
 vEcMdj dby nfyrcads gh usk ugha FkA og jk"Vh; usk FkA og , d s Hkkjr
 ds fo"k; ea I kprsfks ftl ea I Hkh dks U; k; feysvks fo"kerk de I s de gkA
 I foekku I Hk ea mudk ; g Hkk" k.k cgr ifl) gS fd geus dkunuu }kjk
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 mudk ve; {kh; Hkk" k.k vkt Hkh ge I cdh ij .kk dh I kr cu I drk gA
 I kekftd U; k; dsuke ij ftl rjg dh jktuhfr gksjgh gS ml dh I gh dkV
 tfr fouk'k dh jktuhfr gS ftl ds vud I kfkZl I # vEcMdj ds ys]ka ea
 feyrsgA vEcMdj dk x.kra=okn Hkkjr h; uhfr dk , d dlnh; I # cu I drk

gð i jUrqvk'p;Zdh ckr ; g gSfd vkt nfyr vls Lo.kz nksuka gh vEcmDj
 dh bl fojkl r dsifr mnkl hu gð bekj dso"kkæal o.kz jktulfr eavEcmDj
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 irhr gksrk jgk gð ; g [kn vls fplrk dk fo"k; gSfd l o.kz jktulfr vkt
 vEcmDj dk ftruk l Eeku dj jgh gð mudsvkn'kkæ dsifr mrug gh mnkl hu
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tcfð mlgaHkkohkhuh J) katfy nrsgq ykcd l Hkk dsHkr i wZvè; {k} vullr
 'k; u vk; xj usBhd dgk gS^MKW vEcmDj dk 0; fDrRo] fgeky; dh Åpkbz
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I UnHkZ

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 , oai f'k{k.k ifj"knA
- 3- i æt fd'kksj & MKW Hkhejko vEcmDj] i Hkkkr i d k'ku] ubZfnYyhA
- 4- ' ; ke yky , oads, l - l DI uk & vEcmDj , .M usku fcfYMax] jkor i fcyds kUI]
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- 5- , , y- JhokLro] ch, y- JhokLro & Hkkjrh; l ekt o l ðÑfr] l i uk v'kkcd
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- 6- thou egrk & Hkkjrh; jktulfr fplrd] l kfgR; Hkou i fcy'kl Z, oafMLVæ; wI]
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- 7- vte-i d k'k xkck & Hkkjrh; jktulfr fopkj d] e; ij i s j cDI] , &95] l ðVj &5]
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- 8- , p-l h- JhokLro & Hkkjrh; l ekt l j p uk] l ekt'kkL= i d k'ku] okjk.kI hA
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Mka vifkysoj i l n "ky "

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ij] vk³-mil xZ i øZ d 'o* ekkrq l s Y; /~i R; ; t k M us l s i ; kbj.k "kCn fu' i lU gsrk gA i fjr% vko. kksr ; ŪkRi ; kbj.ke] ; s k o j .k u t u k % t h o k % o k v k o r k f L r ' B f Ū r r n o k o j .k a i ; k b j .k a d F ; r } v F k k z - f t l l s t h o e k = d k t h o u l j f { k r j g r k g S , d s v k o j .k d k s i ; k b j .k d g r s g A n y B k e k u o t h o u d k s l j f { k r j [k u s d h f t E e n k j h e u q ; d h g A i k . k h e k = d s t h o u e a v k u s o k y s [k r j k a e a i ; k b j .k v l U r y u l o k z r " k k ; h g A b l h f y , o n k a o n k a k a r F k k l e x l l N r l k f g R ; e a j p u k d k j k a d k s i ; k b j .k d h f p u r k d j r s n s [k k t k l d r k g A i ; k b j .k v l U r y u d k l o k z e k d i H k k o i k f . k ; k a d s r u , o a e u i j i M r k g S f t l d k l e k e k k u v k o " ; d g A

i k N f r d i ; k b j .k d s " k k o k d s f y , o n k a e a ; K k a d s e g ū o d k s i æ f k r k l s i f r i k f n r f d ; k x ; k g A _ X o n d s v k j E H k e a g h ; K h ; m i d j .k d k L e j .k f d ; k x ; k g A v f X u e h M s i j k f g r a ; K L ; n o a _ f r o t e t ; t o p n e a H k h ; K d s e g ū o d k s i f r i k f n r f d ; k x ; k g A ; K k a d s } k j k i ; k b j .k i f o = g k s r k g S r F k k m l d h j { k k H k h g k s r h g S b r u k g h u g h a ; K k a e a f o f H k U u v k S k f e k ; k a r F k k o u L i f r ; k a d k m i ; k s c g k s r k g S f t l l s v u s d j k s c k . k q / k a r F k k d h v k . k q / k a d k f o u k " k g k s r k g A f d e f e k d s u ; K l s g h i N f r " k f D r l E i l U g k s r h g A f t u i F o h v k f n i k p r R o k a l s l f ' V j p u k g k s r h g S m u i k p r R o k a e a " k o) o k ; q r F k k " k o) t y e k u o l f g r l e L r i k f . k ; k a d s f y , v i f j g k ; Z g A ? k i r] n H e k v k f n l s f e f J r v l U 1 / 2 g o 1 / 2 r F k k x H x o y v k f n g o u h ; n o ; k a l s o k ; q l o k f l r g k s r h g S r F k k i ; k b j .k " k o) g k s r k g A ; K d k s

** v f l l U r v i k o j j & l N r f o H k o x] v k o u o n o f d l k u i h o t h o d k y s t] c H k u l u & x k s M k " n a i a 1 / 2*

bZ'oj dk : i dgk x; k gš bl ds l Eiknu l seuq; nh?kkz q; dks iklr djrk gš ; K l so'kkz gkrh gS rFkk o'kkz l sipj vlu rFkk ty iklr gkrk gš ftl l s i kf.k; ka dk i ksk.k gkrk gš; Kkn-Hkofr i tD; % i tD; knUl EHko% bl idkj i ; kbj .k l j {k.k dsekè; e l sthou l j {k.k ea ; Kka dk egüoi wkz LFkku gš

JhenHkxon-xhrk ea Hkxoku-JhN'.k us dgk gš fd eš l Hkh o{kka ea v"oRFk gš v"oRFk% l oZ o{k.k. kke7] eš ifo= djus oky ka ea ok; q g w rFkk ufn; ka ea tk°uoh gš

iou% iorkefle jke% "kL=HkirkegeA
>'kk. kka edj"pkfle l krl kefle tk°uohAA²

bl idkj o{kka rFkk ufn; ka vkfn i kNfrd rRoka ea bZ'oj dk okl gks ds djk .k gh budh i vt k dh tkrh gš èkeZBFkka ea o{kka ds jki .k , oa l j {k.k dks c<kok nus ds fy, ml ds egüo dks bl idkj jš k f³dr fd; k x; k gš

n"kdil ekoki hj n"kokih l ekgn%
n"k gn l ekdu; k n"kdU; kl ekne%AA³

YoYHkl sN'r&nku l kxj½

euq; dk iNfr ds l kFk vR; Ur fudVrk rFkk nksuka ds ijLij vuphy l Eclèk dks Hkh i ; kbj .k dgrsg&i ; kbj .kauke euq; L; i N'r'sp eè; sl gkoLFkkue-vuphy l Eclèk"pA l l N'r dko; l kfgR; eabl dh ipjrk nf'Vxkpj gkrh gš l l N'r t xr ds l Hkh i ; kr dfo; ka us vi us dko; ka ea dghau dgha i Nfr dk fp=.k vo"; gh fd; k gš fo"kskdj dfody f"kjkef.k egkdfo dlfynkl dh jpukvka ea i Nfr ds vuqe l kDn; Z dh vucl"kk%ppkZ dh x; h gš buds i ed[k xBFkka ea __r q gkj gks ; k dèkj l EHkoè- ešknire-gks ; k j?kø&ke-vFkok ukVdka ea ekyfodkfXufe=e]- foØekoZ'kh; e-gks ; k vfHkKku"kkdtjrye-l oE ou] mi ou] l j k o j] i o r] un h] __r q] foHkUu x t E ; , oa o l ; i "k& i {k h (bu l cl sekuo dk l k g p ; Z l g t gh vfHkO; Dr gkrk gš "kkdtjrye-ea rks egkdfo us i Nfr ds l k g p ; Z dk vnHkr fp=.k fd; k gš tc i Nfr Lo; a emrèrh gkdj foHkUu mi gkj ka ds }kj k "kdtjryk dk vfHkulnu djrh gš

{kk&a ds uf pfnUnq i k. Mqr : .kk ekaxY; ekfo'Nre-
fu'B; r"pj .kks j k x l y Hkks y k {k k j l % ds u fd p A
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bruk gh ughavk Jeka ea; Kkads }kj k ok; qdk "kkaku vks i w; Hkkouk
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i Foh ds prfn d- ty dkj vkdk" k rFkk ok; qdk vkok. k thou dh
j {kk djrk gA buds nfrkr gkus i j i Foh nfrkr gkrh gsft l l sbl i j fLFkr
thou vl j f{kr gls tkrk gA d& kj l Ekkoe-egkdk0; ea Hkh "k0 i Nfr ds
o. ku eke; e l si ; k0j .k l j {k. k ds mik; dk0; ki n'sk fofek l sl o-k, x; sg&

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fo"ksk : i l s JSB xhrdk0; ^e9knire^ ea i Nfr ds l tho : i rFkk
futh0 : i dsfp=. k i l a eaegkdfo dh i ; k0j .k fo'k; d l 0nuk i wkr; k
nf'Vxkpj gkrh gA egkdfo usbl Nfr ea i Nfr dsok0; , oa vkrj i {kka
dk l ve , oa efed fp=. k i Lr0 fd; k gA ok0; i Nfr ds l kfk dfo dk
vull; vujkx nf'Vxkpj gkrk gA i 0e9k eaok0; i Nfr dsgh eukgj : i
dk ; kstukRed fp=. k gA o'kkz __rq vks ml ea gkusokyh i kf. k; kadh fofok
mRd. Bk vkadk t\$ k fp=. k e9knir eagSog vl; = ngy0k gA vk'kk<+ds i Eke
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fy, l n'sk Hkstusdsfy, vkrij gks mBrk gA pruv&vpru dk fcuk fopkj
fd; se9k dks l n'sk okgd cukrk gA Hkkyh&Hkkyh xte o& q; e9k dks mRl 0rk
l sn{krh gA vks prj i k\$ o& q; ml svi us ppy dV k {kka dk fo'k; cukrh
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- 2- eln&elna unfr i ou" pku0hyks ; Fkk Roka

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l fo'; Urs u; ul Hkxa [ks HkouRa cykdKAA²

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dk uk" k] l epz ea c<+jgs ty i n&k.k l s ty& thoka dk vl&r vkfn fp&urk
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i n&k.k l s thou dks l EHkkfor [krjka dh Hkh bl&ga fp&urk g&ã budh l ok&f&ekd
fp&urk , gyk&ãdd rF&kk i jyk&ãdd l [k n&usokysifo= x&ãkty ds i n&k.k dks
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vHkko ea thou l adVki lu gkrk tk jgk gA cM&cM+dkj [kkukal sfudyusokys
ekq; l sok; qinfrkr gksjgk gSrFkk “oka dh xEHkhj chekfj; k; ykska dks “kDrghu
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ea cMh&cMh e”khuka l sQl yka dh dVkbZ dh tk jgh gSftl l svlu rks ikr gks
tkrk gSijUrqi qky vkfn ds tykus l si Foh dh ijr xez gks tk jgh gSrFkk
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l nD i ; kbj .kL; j{k.ke-
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fdl h dksugh gA dfo us ; g egl u fd ; k gSfd tks Hkh [kk |] is] y^o; rFkk
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vfgd ; D Hkrkuka dk; a J s ks uqkkl ueA
okd-pD eekj k”y{ .kk iz kS ; k ekefepNrkAA¹

ekeZ dh bPNk j [kus okyks i#’k dks pKfg, fd vfga k l s gh i kf.k; ka ds dY; k.k dk mins k dja rFkk mul s eekj vksj dkeyok.kh dk 0; ogkj djA oSpkfjd inrk.k bl dnj c<+x; k gSfd ifo=re-fj”rsHkh dyadr gkrs tk jgsgA bl h dk ifj.kke gSfd fir k dk i e ds ifr] i e dk fe= ds ifr] i Ruh dk ifr ds ifr rFkk ifr dk i Ruh ds ifr fj”rka eadMokgV] dVqI s dVqj gkrs tk jgsgA ftUga l ekpj eke; eka l sn[kk rFkk l uk tk l dkr gA bruk gh ugha, d xka dk nu jsxka l } uxj dk nu jsuxj l } , d jk’V^a nu jsj’V^a l s r[PN] LokfZ rFkk oSpkfjd fo’kerk ds dkj .k l Eclukka eadVqk vke ckr gksx; h gA vko”; drk bl ckr dh gSfd “kkL=ka dk vuqkhyu rFkk l RI x ds }kj yks viusfopkjkae ifjorU yk; &”l ekukel=% l fefr% l ekuh l ekuaeu% l g fpUk eske* vkn opuka dk vuqkhyu djrs gq ”ol qka dVqcd* dh Hkkouk dks vkRel kr djA ”l xPNaoa l onaoa l aoks euka l tkurke* dk ikyu djrs gq i kf.k ek= ds ifr eu ok.kh rFkk deZ l s l fg’.kq gksa , oa i jki dkj rFkk i j l ok dk or y ft l s l gh ek; us ea oSpkfjd inrk.k l s eDr ik; h tk l drh gA

I UnHkZ

- 1- __Xon] vfxul iaj] 1] 1] 1A
- 2- JhenHkxor-xhrk ve; k; &10] ”ykd&26A
- 3- JhenHkxor-xhrk ve; k; &10] ”ykd&31A
- 4- oYyHkl s N̄r&nku l kxjA
- 5- vfhkKku”kdlr yej- prfKZ vnd&7A
- 6- vfhkKku”kdlr yej- i Fke vnd&10A
- 7- dqlj l Etkoej- i Fke l xA
- 8- i mZSkj ”ykd&8] 10] 11A
- 9- j?kpa k l x&13] ”ykd&50A
- 10- uehk&l l N̄r dko; jpuj] MKW i’kL; fe= ”kkL=ha
- 11- r=δA
- 12- r=δA
- 13- uehk&l l N̄r dko; jpuj] MKW i’kL; fe= ”kkL=ha
- 14- r=δA
- 15- nzV0; &dk{kskohf{kre&”kkpe~”kh’kd] MKW egjkt nhu i k. Ms ”foHkk’k**A
- 16- euqefr&ve; k; &2] ”ykd&159A

Hkxr fl g dk Økür I EcUkh fl)ür

Mkx iue ;mo ^u

Hkkjrh; Lok/khurk vkuksyu eaHkxr fl g usØkür dsekxZij pyrsgg viusik.kka dk cfynku nsfn; kA ; g cfynku Hkkjr eafcfV'k I ketT; okn dh tMæfgykdj ml sm[kkM+Qadusdsfy, Fkka ftl I e; Økürdkjh Økür ds ekxZ ij pyrsgg nsk dks vktkn djkus dk iz Ru dj jgs Fkš ml h I e; I ketT; okn I syMusokysifjorZu dk Hkh Økürdkfj; ka dks*vkræoknh* dgdj turk dschp mudh xyr Nfo iZrq dh tk jgh FkhA1

Hkxr fl g dk ekuuk Fk fd cy iz kx ftl I sfunkkka dksfcuk fdl h uhp bPNk I suedl ku igpk; k tk,] ek= , d sgh cgm k dk; kã dsfy, fd; sx; s cy iz kx dksvkræ dgk tk I drk gA tc bl h 'kfDr dksfdl h xjhc vukFk dh I gk; rk dsfy, ; k , d sgh fdl h vksj dk; Z dsfy, iz kx fd; k tk, rks og vkræ ughaoju-iq; vksj ijki dkj dgykrk gA mlugausdgk dã tc tÿe dh ryokj idM+nædh ds?kj ea tk ?kq rk gS rks ml I e; og dke ?kf.kr vksj vkræ Fkš fdlrq tc bl h tkfye ds iats I s turk dks Nv/dkj k fnykus dsfy, JhN".k ryokj ydj ml ds njckj ea ?kq tkrs gA vksj ryokj I s ml dk fl j xnZu I svyx dj nrsgs ml I e; dk mudk dk; ZvfHkulnuh; gA nksuks ryokja gA nksuks gffk; kj gA nksuks dkeka ea cy iz kx fd; k x; k gS fdlrq, d dk dke tÿe I s Hkkj gS vksj nã jsdk usdA2 bl h ckr ij izdk'k Mkysrsgg I kgu fl g tksk usdgk gS Hkxr fl g vksj muds I kFkh jk"Vh; Økürdkjh Fkš ftUgkaus fcfV'k 'kkl dka dks Hkxkuk rFk vktknh o Hkkjr ea I ektokn dh LFkki uuk djuk pkgkA I ketT; okfn; ka us Hkkjr dh turk dh vka[kkseamUgacnuke djustdsfy, vkræoknh ; k vjktdrkoknh dh I k k nhA osu rks vkræoknh Fkš u vjktdrkoknh FkA os Hkkjr dks eDr djkus ds/; s dsifr I cl svf/kd vkRecfynkuh] I cl svf/kd bækunkj rFk fu%okFkZ: lk I s I efiZ FkA3

Økür , d flFkj I R; gS ijUrq; g ckr I oFkk vl EHko gSfd I R; I c voLFkkvka ea e/kj vksj n'kZuh; gkA Økür Hkh I R; dk , d Hkh" k.k : lk gS og pkgstS h Hk; kud D; ka u gPZgkš I nk I R; dh ifo=rk vksj 'kkâr dh i qj puk dsfy, gksh gA Hkxr fl g usØkür ds vFkZ dks I e>krsgg dgk **Økür dk vFkZ mFky&i fky ; k [kuh ; q ek= ugha gS Økür dk vk'k; vfuok; z%, d , d s dk; De dksyxwdjuk gStksu; svFkok vf/kd vPNsvk/kkj ij I ekt dk 172] Hkxš glrkj i HkMmu] jk; cjsyh maia½

i qzBu dja Økflur , d egROI wKz , frgkfl d ?kVuk gS tks iLr¶ , frgkfl d ; ¶ dk vLur vKj ml dsLFkku ij , d u ; s ; ¶ dk 'kKkjEHk djrh gA pñd tkus okysI ekt dsifrfuf/k ; k nyky] vkfFKd oxZvKj jktuhfrd l hFkk , atksml l ekt eaipfyr ifjflFkfr ; ka l sykHkkflur gkrh jgh gS , d Hk ; kud ifrjks k dsfcuk dkbZifjorZu ugh gksnæsfTI l sml dsiHkpo dk vLur gkstK ; bl h dkj.k vkerKj ij jktuhfrd fga k vKj mFky&iFky Økflur dgykus okyk , frgkfl d ?kVuk dk vax cu tkrsgA

Hkxr fl g us bdykc vFKZ-Økflur dk ukjk fn ; k vKj Li "V fd ; k fd Økflur ; k bdykc dk vFKZvfuoK ; Z : lk l sl 'kL= vKUnkyu ugha gS ; g iæfr dsfy , ifjorZu dh Hkkouk ; k vkdkk gA5 Hkxr fl g dk fo'okl Fkk fd nsk dks Økflur l sgh Lorærk feysxA osftI Økflur dsfy , iz Ru'khy Fks vKj ftI : lk eaog mudsI keusLi "V Fkh ml dk vFKZek= ; g ughaFkk fd fonskh 'kkl dka rFkk mudsfi BBvka l s Økflurdkfj ; ka dk døy l 'kL= l æk"lz gks oju-bl l 'kL= l æk"lz ds l kFk&l kFk uohu l keftd 0 ; oLFkk ds }kj nsk dsfy , eDr gkstK ,] og Hkh FkA mudk ekuuk Fkk fd Økflur iæhokn oxZbn rFkk dN ykska dks fo'kSkkf/kdkj fnykusokyh izkkyh dk vLur dj nsxA ; g jk"Vª dks vius iSka ij [kMk djsch] ml l suohu jk"Vª vKj u ; s l ekt dk tUEk glockA Økflur l sl cl scMk ckr ; g gskh fd og etnijkarFkk fd l kuka dk jkT ; dk ; e dj mu l c l keftd vokñNr rRoka dks l ekir dj nsxh tks nsk dh jktuhfrd 'kDr dks gFk ; k , cuk , cBs gA6 Hkxr fl g us dgk] **Økflur iæhokn vKj oxZbnka rFkk fo'kSk l ño/kkvka dh ekS dh ?ka/h ctk nsxA vkt fonskh vKj Hkkjrh ; 'kSk.kk ds Øj tq dsuhpsdjkgri l huk cgkrsrFkk HkFkka ejrs , d djkm+ykska dsfy , og g"lz vKj l EiUurk yk , xhA og nsk dksml ds iSka ij [kMk dj nsxA , d ubZ 0 ; oLFkk dks tUEk nsxA l cl segROI wKz ckr ; g gSfd og etnij oxZ dk vf/kuk ; dRo LFkfr dj nsxh vKj l ekt dh tkæks dks jktuhfrd 'kDr ds vki u l sl nk dsfy , P ; ¶ dj nsxA7

Hkxr fl g v/ ; ; u'khy iÑfr ds FkA ml gkaus ekDI Zo ysuu dh i qrdka vKj : l dh jkT ; Økflur dk o ml ds l keftd l kfgR ; dk [kæ v/ ; ; u fd ; k Fkka bl v/ ; ; u ds dkj.k mudk / ; ku fd l kuka vKj etnijka dh Økflurdkjh 'kDr dh vKj x ; ka vc mlga ; g yxusykh fd Hkkjr ds l keus l ektokh vkn'kz dks vKj vf/kd rkdr ds l kFk j [kk tk , vKj etnijka rFkk fd l kuks dks Lorærk l æke eavKj vKxsc<dj fgLI k yus dsfy , iSjr fd ; k tk , A mlga etnijka dsoxZ l æk"lz l svkxscg¶ vk'kk FkA l ektokn eagh mlga 'kks"kr vKj i hMf ekuo l ekt dh eDr fn [kkbZ i MæsyxA8 Hkxr fl g dk ekuuk Fkk fd

turk }kjk Økflur ek= etnjika vks fdl kuka dks l æfBr djds gh gks l drh FkA mlGkaus dgk Fkk& **jk"V^a dk l Qy l ?k"lz ek= l æfBr etnjika&fdl kuka vks l k/kkj.k turk ij gh py l drk gA ; g ejk n<+fo'okl gSfd ceksvks fi LrkSyks l sgekjk Ok; nk u gksckA**

Hkxr fl g usRo dsoxl pfj= dh rFkk turk dh Økflurdkjh {kerkvka ds fo"k; ea vPNh l e> j [krs FkA mudk ekuuk Fkk fd xkø ea etnj vks fdl kuka }kjk gh Økflurdkjh l suk, a cuk; h tk l drh gA Hkkjrh; l ekt dh , frgkfl d t: jr dks l e>rs gq muds Hkfo"; ds vkn'kz ds fo"k; ea mlGkaus ckj&ckj Li"V dgk& **Økflur tks turk ds fy, gks vks ftl s turk gh ijk dj* rFkk Økflur dk bl l nh ea ,d gh vFkz gks l drk g& turk }kjk jktuhrfd l Rrk ij dCtk **vius Økflurdkjh dk; Øe ds el kns ea mlGkaus fy [kk& **l kekT; okfn; ka dks xnñh l s mrkjus dk Hkkjr ds ikl ,d ek= gffk; kj Jfed Økflur gS dkbZ vl; pht bl mnñs; dh ifirZughadj l drh gA**9

Hkxr fl g usHkkjr ds Økflurdkjh vkUnsyuksdk xgjkBZ l sfo'y's.k fd; k vks fo'o dsdbZ Økflurdkjh vkUnsyukads vuHkoka vks fopkj ka dks Hkh fo'y's"kr dj l e>k vks Økflurdkjh l s oKkfud Økflurdkjh ea ifjofr'r gq A

Hkxr fl g igys Økflurdkjh Fks ftUgkaus Økflurdkjh vkUnsyu dks ,d fuf'pr oþkfjd exZ inku fd; k rFkk ,d u; k fopkj i'skoj Økflurdkjh fn; kA Hkxr fl g us dgk] **fdl h Hkh {ks= ea l Qyrk ds fy, ,d fuf'pr dk; Øe gksuk pfg; s vks vius y{; dks iklr djus ds fy, bl dk; Øe ds vuq kj j.kuhr r\$ kj dh tkuh pfg, A Økflur ds fy, l cl sigys i'skoj Økflurdkfj; ka dh i kvhZ gksuh pfg; A ftl dk dk; Zek= vktknh ds fy, yMæuk gksuk pfg, A bl dk vl; fdl h Hkh pht l sfdl h izdkj dk l Ecll/k ugha gksuk pfg, A bl i kvhZ ea l Hkh dk; Zdrkz/ka ea vius i.k. kka dks mRl xZ djus dh Hkkouk dW&dWdj Hkj gksuh pfg, A10 Hkxr fl g dk ekuuk Fkk fd Økflur djuk cgr dfBu dk; Zg\$; g fdl h ,d vkneh dso'k dh ckr ugha vks u gh fdl h fuf'pr rkjh [k dks vk l drh gA ; g rks fo'kSk l keftd vkfFkZd l fjflFkfr; ka l s i'ñk gkrh gS rFkk ,d l æfBr i kvhZ dks ,d svol j dks l EHkkyuk gkrk gS vks turk dks buds fy, r\$ kj duk gkrk gA Økflur ds nñ k/; dk; Zds fy, l Hkh 'kfdR; ka dks l æfBr djuk gkrk gA bu l Hkh ds fy, Økflurdkfj; ka dks vud cfynku nus gkrk gA Hkxr fl g us i pfyr i fjflFkfr; ka dks cnyus ds fy, *fglnrku l ektoknh iztkrka=d l æBu* dh LFkki uk dh vks ?kkSk.kk&i = ea Økflur ds l Ecll/k ea dgk& **fons'kh xykeh l s Hkkjr dh efr ds fy, ; g

I æBu Hkkjr eaØkflur dsfy, n<+l dYi gA xyke j [ksqq ykxkadh vlsj l s
 Li"V : i l sfonkg dsimzxtir ipkj vlsj xtr r\$ kfj; k; gksuk vko'; d gA tc
 n\$ k Økflur dh ml voLFkk ea vk tkrk g\$ rc fon\$ kh ljdkj dsfy, ml s
 jkdruk dfBu gks tkrk gA og dñ nj rksbl ds l keusfvd l drh g\$ i jUrq
 ml dk Hkfo"; l nk dsfy, l ektr gks pplk gkrk gA11

Hkxr fl g dk ekuuk Fkk fd t\$ &t\$ s0; fDr tkx: d gksck vlsj viuh
 'kfdR dksigpkusk og jk"V" dksLora= dj kuseavi uk i wkZ l g; kx n\$ kA r: .k
 Hkkjr dk viusn\$ k ea0; ktr l e>k\$ koknh uhr; kadk l eFkZu djusokysurkva
 dsifr fo'okl l ektr gkrk tk jgk gA vc osfl dh dk f'kd kj ugha gksuk
 pkgra etnij vlsj fd l ku ftl idkj dk 'kks"kr thou 0; rhr dj jgs gA os
 l e> pps gA fd vius thou ds vfrfjDr vc muds ikl [kksus dsfy, dñ
 ugha cpk gA vc Økflur gkdj jgsxh vlsj l ketT; okfn; ka dks Hkkjr NkM edj
 tkuk gkskA Hkkjr ea Økflur ds exz ij pyrs gq vc l ektokn dh LFkki uk
 dks dkbZ jkd ugha l drkA vc turk fd l h dk f'kd kj ugha gksuk pkgrhA n\$ k
 ds i R; sd Hkkx ds ykx ml vknksyu dk fg l l k ugha cu ik; s tksfd n\$ k ds
 fy, ipfyr 0; oLFkkvka ea ek= dñ l dkkj pkgrs gA u fd Lojkt; A ; g l d
 kjkoknh usk l Hkh n\$ kokfl ; ka dks bl vknksyu ea l feefyr ugha djuk pkgra
 D; kfid os, d , d soxZ dk l eFkZu djrs gA tksfd l ketT; okn ds uhrs jgdj
 ykHk iklr djrk g\$ vlsj ipfyr 0; oLFkk dk l eFkZu djrk gA Hkxr fl g us
 dgk "Hkkjr dsfdl kuka vlsj etnijka us l e> fy; k g\$ vlsj os, d oxZ ds: lk
 ea l æfBr gks jgs gA rFkk Lo; a l æk"lz dsfy, r\$ kj gA

bl idkj ; g Li"V g\$ fd Økflur ds fo" k; ea Hkxr fl g dk , d Li"V
 fopkj Fkk tksfd Økflur ds vFkZ i fØ; k; rRo vlsj mnas; dks l kQ&l kQ
 i Lr q djrs gA

l UnHkZ

- 1- fuekgh n\$ k & l Eiknd %iy ifriy %y\$kd&jfoHkkk.k] y\$ k&bDdhl oha l nh
 eaHkxr fl g½* i:37
- 2- fl g txekgu , oapeuyky & l Eiknd %Hkxr fl g vlsj muds l kffk; ka ds
 nLrkost i:210&211
- 3- tksk l kgu fl g %Hkxr fl g vlsj vl; i kjfEHkd Økflurdkjh i:12
- 4- fl g] txekgu , oapeuyky & l Eiknd %Hkxr fl g vlsj muds l kffk; ka ds
 nLrkost i: 293&294
- 5- fl g] txekgu , oapeuyky & l Eiknd %Hkxr fl g vlsj muds l kffk; ka ds
 nLrkost i:363
- 6- fl g] txekgu , oapeuyky & l Eiknd %Hkxr fl g vlsj muds l kffk; ka ds

- nLrkost i-369&370
- 7- jgcj gđ jkt %Hkxr fl g , d Toyar bfrgkl i-128&129
 - 8- jgcj gđ jkt %Hkxr fl g , d Toyar bfrgkl i-88&89
 - 9- fl g txekgu , oapeuyky & l Eiknd %Hkxr fl g vkš muds l kffk; ka ds
nLrkost i-242&243
 - 10- prōñh| ujskpln&l Eiknd %pln dk Qkd h vad %uoEcj 1928½ i-9
 - 11- fl g txekgu , oapeuyky & l Eiknd %Hkxr fl g vkš muds l kffk; ka ds
nLrkost i-365

vi xj otgr dsukVd eaekuoh; eV;

ftl ykgš ub nš; k vks tE; kb ub ds fo'ksk I mHž e½

/// vgen vnyh^u

I el kef; d dFkkdkjka ea vi xj otgr ds ukVd vius dF; dh uohurk dsdkj .k fo"ksk ifl) gq gA vi xj otgr dsftl ykgš ub nš; k vks tE; kb ub ukVd dsik= ekuoh; vš eukoKkfud /kjkry ij lfr gq gA vi xj dh thou nf'V ekuorkoknh gšos ekuoh; i hMk dk ekfeZd fp=.k djrsgA iLrŋ ukVd eajktuhfrd] l kekt d] 0; oLFkkj }U} Hkŋk] i hMk l a=kl vš Hkjr foHktu dh =kl nh tš sfo'k; ka dks iæŋkrk l smBk; k x; k gA

I kr vkl eku] dš h vxh yxkbz vš cj [kk jpkbz tš spfŋr mi U; kl ka ds yŋkd ds : i ea fglnh l kfgR; ea mudh vyx igpku cuh gA vi xj otgr eyr% dFkkdkj gšfdurqukVš; l kfgR; eaHkh , d fo"ksk nf'V ydj og vorfjr gq gA fQjxh ykš vk,] bluk dh vkokt] ohjxfr] l fe/kk] l cl s l Lrk xksr] ftl ykgš ub nš; k vks tE; kb ub muds ifl) ukVd gA ukVš; l kfgR; ea mudh fo"ksk [; kkfr ftl ykgš ub nš; k vks tE; kb ub ukVd l sekuh tkrh gA budsukVdkadh l cl scMk fo"kskrk ; g gšfd ukVdka eadFkkud l kekl; tuthou l stMk jgrk gšvš vi xj otgr blgajæeph; vuphyrk inku djrsgA

ukVddkj bl l Ecl/k eaLo; afy[krs gš "ftl ykgš---- okLro eadbz : f<+ ka dksrkM+k gA iz ksc/kfeZ-k] vkpfydrk ; k fons'kh ukVdka ds vupkn ds bl ; q; ea l h/kh&l k/kh dgkuh rFkk l jy l e>&cu>s ik=ka ij ukVd fy[kuk , d tkš[ke dk dke Fkk yšdu ukVd eaekuoh; l Ecl/kkadk , d k rki gšftl us l Hkh cl/kuka dks rkM+fn; k gA nksfojkskh ošpfjd /kkjk, j ukVd ea, d vkrfjd ošpfjd }U} mRi lu djrh gš tksoká }U} ds l kFk&l kFk vkxsc<rk gA , d vš /keZ vš thou dsckjse ukfl j dkteh] vyhe pk; okys ds fopkj gš rks nrjh vš /keZ dk og Lo: i gš tksjktuhfrKka ds vi us fufgr LokFka dks fl) djus ds fy, cuk; k gA^u bfrgkl dk ukVdh; xfr; ka ea; g <yko l edkyhu cšk dh tehu dsHkrj l sgh fodfl r gŋk gA bl fy, ukVd dk dšrh; Loj oržeku l e; dschp ekuoh; eV; ka dh ifrLFkki uk djuk gA l kšyg n"; ka ea foHkfr ; g ukVd bfrgkl dsHkrj l edkyhu cšk ds vucl Lrjka dks [kšyrk pyr gA ; g ukVd l kEinkf; drk ds fo#) vkØks'k ds rh[ks Loj mRi lu

** xte o ikV&FkysMh ftyk&jk; cšyh ŋmāiā½*

djrk gA l kFk gh ubZfpUru "kfDr inku djrk gA

bl ukVd dsdFkkud ea, d igyoku /keZdsuke ij Ok; nk mBkrk gS
vkS fglUnØknh 0; oLFkkvka dks egg fp<krk gS og LFkkuh; ekSyoh dks bLyke ds
uke ij xøjkg djrk gA pk; okyk ukfl j dkteh Hkh bl dFkkud ds iæ[
fgLI k gA ukVd dk dFkkud vR; Ur ukVdh; <x l si kjEHk gkrk gA ukVd ds
dFkkud dh l cl scMh fo"kskrk ; g gSfd bl ds iR; d n"; dk vUr xty l s
gkrk gA ; g xtys ukfl j dkteh ds }kjk xk; h tkrh g&

"kgj nj "kgj ?kj tyk, x,] ; p Hkh t"usrjc euk, x,
, d rjQ >e dj cgkj vkb] , d rjQ vk" k; k tyk, x,
D; k dgwfdl rjg l jscktij] vLerka dsfn, cøk, x,
vkg rksf[kyorka ds l jek,] ete&, &vke ea yk, x,
oDr ds l kFk ge Hkh , sukfl j] [kij & vks& [k+ dh rjg cgk, x, A²

l fg'.krk gh og rRo ftl dh bl n'sk vkS l ekt dks l cl s T; knk
t: jr gA okLro ea Hkkjr tS sn'sk ea tgk fglUnwvkS eq yeku l fn; ka l s, d
l kFk jgrsvk; sglh ogk; ij /keZdsuke ij oEUL; rk OSyuk fdl h dks cjn" r
ugha gA Hkkjr dh l fg'.krk dk usrd vk/kkj gh l ejl rk gA

l Ei wZ l ekt dsfy, ; g og usrd vkS l kekfTd vk/kkj gS ftl ij
; g l Ei wZ l ekt fVd l drk gS 1947 dsnaxeavi uh tku xok; n'usokyh cwkh
vkS r us/keZ l øxZ vkS "kfuUri wZ l gvflRro dh mu fel kyka dks i s'k fd; k tks
dVVjrk ?k.kk vkS fga k l s gea nij ys tkrh gS ; g thou dh ; kruk l s gh
l ekt dh eDr dk jklrk fn[kkrh gS vkS ; gh dkj.k gSfd l kekfTd l UnHkZ
ea^ftl ykgS ub n[; k vks tE; kb ub* , d nLrkosth vkys[k dh rjg i < s
tkus dsfy, etcij djrk gA

vl xj otgr dk *ftl ykgS ub n[; k vks tE; kb ub* ukVd ea
l kEinKf; d l fg'.krk dks l cl svifre : i l sn"kkZ k x; k gA rluKavkS gehnk
cxe ds }kjk okrkZki l sfHktu dh ifjflFkr; ka l s : &c&: dj k; k g&

rUuks %& vEek; ; s l c gwK D; ka
gehnk cxe %& D; k cS/h\
rUuks %& ; gh fglUnkLrku] i kfdLrku\
gehnk cxe %& cS/h] eq s D; k ekye-----
rUuks %& rks ge yks i kfdLrku D; ka vk x, \

gehnk cxe %& e&D; k tkuprcv/h

rUuks %& vEekj vxj ge ykx vkj Hkkbz , d gh ?kj ea jg l drs g& rks
fglnw rku ea fglw vkj ed yeku D; ka ugha jg l drs Fks

gehnk cxe %& jg l drs D; k-----\ l fn; ka l sjgrs vk, FkA

rUuks %& fQj i kfdLrku D; ka cuk\³

l kEi nkf; d nf'V vkj l d h.krk ds QyLo: i efl ye l ekt vius l iuka
dsnsk i kfdLrku eacl dj Hkh l qfBr jgdj l [k ugha i k l dk g& og vusd
i kdj dsl kEi nkf; d] Hkkf'kd] {ks=h; vkfn Hknka&erHknka eacVdj fc [kj l k x; k
g& bl nHk&X; dk dkj .k crk; k x; k g& ogk l Pph turkfU=d Hkkouk dk vHko
vkj l kea"kkgh dk l eph 0; oLFk ij vejcy dh rjg Nkdj tul k/kkj .k ds
l gt l [k&"kk&r dks Nhu yuka vc Hkh cMh l [; k eaeflye Hkkjr nsk ea jgrs
g& vkj Hkkjr l d kj ea cMh l [; k okyk efl ye nsk fxuk tkrk g& fdUrq; gk
Hkh foHktu dh dVrk l fglw rFk efl ye eku l eDr ugha gk i k; k g& fglw
l kprsg& ed yeku muds l nk dsfojksk g& vkj mudsfojksk usgh nsk foHktu
dk nfnz yk miLFkr fd; k FkA nll jh vkj ed yeku fglw/ka dks "k&lk dh
nf'V l snsk rsg& osl e> rsg&fd fglw mlgab l nsk ea l jf{kr ugha jgus n&A
bl idkj dk vkrd&ck& efl yeka dks fody dj myVs vkdted&l k cuk nsk
g& , d sea D; k gk& i' u mBrk g& okLro ep nksuka i {kka ea cgr l e> nkjh vkj
muea i kj l ifjd i Dds l e> k& s dh Hkkouk dh vko"; drk g& vkt vko"; drk
g& efl ye nsk dsfoHktu ds vius i wZ vknsy dh fujFkZ drk dks l Ppseu l s
Lohdkj dja vkj vc gkfnZ l g; ksch Hkko l snsk dh mlUfr ea; k&nku dja
nll jh vkj fglw Hkh i jkuh dVrk dks Hky dj] ed yekuka ds ifr l "k&dr u
jguk l h [ka vkj mlgab j'Vh; ed; /kkjk ea l fEefyr djus dk eu l s iz Ru dja
rHkh nsk dVrk vkj ruko ds ifjosk l seDr gk& fodkl & iFk ij vxd j gk
l ds&A⁴

vl xj otkgr usjktuhrd vkj /kkfeZd i fjosk dks l kdj djus dk
iz kl fd; k g& ukVd ea ifrikfnr usrd fplru ekuork dk l okgd g& rUuks
vkj gehnk cxe dh vkil h ckrphr bl ckr dk l k&; nrh g& fd ge
l kEi nkf; d nijkxgka dks d& s nll dj l drs g& vl xj dk l k&; or&ku g&
bl lfy, or&ku dky dh i R; d fLFkr dk l fefp=.k djrs g& ukVd ; q
l ki& k ifjosk dk l k&kr&dkj djkrk g& bl fy, os viuh ; qhu pruk dks bl
ukVd dsek/; e l s 0; Dr djrs g& bl fof" k'Vrk ds dkj .k i k Bd vkj i&kd ; q
ds l kFk rknkRe LFkfi r djusea l Qy gk tkrk g& vkt ds 0; fDr ds vfr" k;

LokFkhZ vLj I Eonuk "kl; gkusdk fp=.k fd; k x; k gSI el kef; d okrkoj .k dh eu%fLFkr dks ifrfcEcr djrk ; g fp=.k m) j .kh; gA

igyoku % rpsdS sekye fd oksjru tLjyh dh ek; gS

vyhe % yMedk crk jgk Fkk mLRkn-----

igyoku % %khjs I % og cp dS s xbz-----bl dk eryc gS vHkh vLj cgrr dN nc j [; k gSmI us-----

vuokj % ckbl dejka dh rks goyh gSmLRkn dgha Ni; xbz gLxhA

fl jkt % , d&, d dejk Nku ekjk Fkk geus rka⁵

^ftI ykgLj ub nS; k vks tE; kb ub** ukVd eal kef; d fol æfr; ka dh fo"kn ppkZ gS vLj /keZ ds okLrfod Lo: i dk cksk djkus dh vfhky'kk g&

ekSykuk % HkbZgnhl "kjhQ gafd rø nlr jka ds [kpkvka dks cjk u dgks rkfd og rfgkjs [kpk dks cjk u dg] rø nlr jka dsetgc dks cjk u dgkS rkfd og rfgkjs etgc dks cjk u dgA⁶ ; g ukVd /kkfeZ I æh.krkvka I s Åij mBdj ekuorkoknh thou n'V dk fuokZ djus dh ij .kk nrk gA

ukVd eanSkdkykuq i jktuhfrd ifjoSk dk Hkh fu: i .k gS fprrofRr vLj I onukvka ea vk, nSkdkykuq i ifjorZ ds i Hkko i wkZ fp=.k ds dkj .k ukVd fpjLej.kh; gks x; k gS ukVd eaulfl j vLj igyoku dse/; dk I on jktuhfrd ifjoSk dk I i'V , oa i Hkko i wkZ fp=.k i Lrr djrk g&

ukfl j % HkbZvki ekbz ds nhokyh eukus dks xSj bLykeh tks dg jgsgA oksvi usfgl kc I sdg jgsgA oksfglnwgsmLga i jk gd gS viusetøc ij pyus dka

igyoku % RokMsojxsl c gsk tk, Wrks bLykeh gplæ dh , s h rS h gsk tk; -----tukc vt oks intk dj jgh gS-----dy eflnj cuk, xh] ijl ka yksk; uw fglnwetgc nh rkyhe nøxhA⁷

vl xj otkgr us jktuhfrd vLj /kkfeZ ifjoSk dks I kdkj djus dk iz, kl fd; k gS ukVd ea ifrikfnr usrd fpuru ekuork dk I økgd gS ukVd ea gehnk cxe dk dFku jru dh ek; %ekbZ ds pfj= ij izdk" k Mkyrk g&

gehnk cxe % ekbZ?kj eajgrh dgk; gA rMels jkoh eaugkuspyh tkrh gA ml ds ckn dHkh I øg vdhy I kgc ds ; gk; cfM+ k; Mky jgh gS rks dHkh uQhl k dks vLi rky ys tk jgha gS dHkh cxe vkQrkc ds yMels dh rhej njkh dj jgh gS rks "kke dks I dhuk dks vpkj & Mkyuk fl [kk jgh gS----- jkr eanl cts ykS/rh gA ge ykska I seykdkr gks rks dS s gks-----A

fl dlUnj fetkZ% t tkdYykg!

gehnik cxe % ekgyys dscPp&cPps dh tcku ij ekbz dk uke jgrk
gS-----gj etZ dh nok gS ekbA⁸

; g ukVd l edkyhu ; FkkFkZ dks ml ds ijs Lo: i ea fn[kykrk gS
vkReckk vls y[ku ds l keftd nkf; Ro dsifr l onsu"khj jpukdj ds: i
eavl xj , d sukVddkj gSftudh l tu/keZ pruk ; x dh cnyh nf'V vls
u; seW; ka dh VdjkgV vUrfoj kskh foMEcuk, j l Hkh dks ukVd dh ifjf/k ea ys
vkrs gA

^ftl ykgkS ub n[; k vks tE; kb ub** vl xj otgr dk ixfr"khj
fopkj/kkj dk ukVd gA l kfk gh vkpfydrk dk i/ fy; sgg gA ukVd ea
ekuoh; l Ecu/ka dk , d k rki gS ftl ea l Hkh l Ecu/ka dks rkm+fn; k] bl dk
dFkki dFku eukokkfud nf'V l scgr dh egRo iwz gS tks oká }U} ds
l kfk&l kfk vkrfjd opkfjd }U} mRiUu djrk gS bl ukVd dk dFkkud
#fpdj Hkh gS vls l kfkZ Hkh gS ukVd dh , d vU; fo"kskrk ; g gSfd bl dk
gj n"; vlrjky xk; u ds l kfk l ektr gsrk gS bl ds dFkki dFku ea l h/ki u
Hkh gS vls l jyrk vls LokHkfodr k Hkh gA

vl xj otgr dsbl ukVd eal Eokn ; kst uk ds nks: i nf'V xkpj gsrk
gA , d vkpfyd vls ml jk l keftdA vkpfyd l Eoknka ea pyrka "kCnka dk
iz kx gprk gS tcf d l keftd l Eoknka eamni dh ifjfuf'Br "kCnkoyh dk iz kx
gprk gA l Eokn ; FkkFkZ dh Hkfe ij i Lrnf fd; sx; sgg l Eoknka ea ckf) drk ds
l ekos'k l smudh gkfnZ l i sk.kh; rk ea 0; k?kkr i sk gprk gA ; gkq , d h txgka
ij Hkk'kk rdZ l s ckf>y gk xbz gA yEcs l Eokn l Ei sk.kh; rk ea 0; o/kku i sk
djrs gA l kkeku; r% l f{klr l Eoknka dh ; kst uk cuhA

^ftl ykgkS ub n[; k vks tE; kb ub** ukVd /keZ vls l ekt nksuka ds
chp ea , d etar dMh curk gA bl ukVd ds dFkkud vls ik= Hkysgh l k/
kkj.k gSyfdu bu l cdkseukokkfud Lo: i inku fd; k x; k gA ; g Lorark
ds igys vls ml ds i"pkr dh ; xhu ?kVukvka dks c[kach fpf=r djrk gA
vl xj otgr , d , d sdFkdkj gSftUgkausvi usukVdkadsek/; e l s; g crkus
dh ij tkj dks"kk" dh gSfd os dks l srRo gSftuds vHko ea , d gh n'sk ea
jgus okys ykxka ds chp ea nfij ; k c<h l Ppkbz rks ; g gSfd dN ykx bl ds
ftEenkj gA tksgekjh fojkl r dksu'V djus ij rysgA ; g ukVd gj idkj
l svkxs vls i hNs l kpus ds fy, foo"kk dj nrk gA

I UnHKZ

- 1- ftl ykgkš ub nš; k vks tE; kb ub] vl xj otkgr]ok.kh iđk"ku fnYyh
iĐl @ 2001 iĐ vkoj.k iĐ l A
- 2- ogh i`B 31
- 3- ogh i`B 54
- 4- Hkkjrh; Lorærk vks fglrh mi u; kl jMk@ "kf"khkk.k fl gylvk; Ziđk"ku eMy
fnYyh]iĐl @ 2000 iĐ 40A
- 5- ftl ykgkš ub nš; k vks tE; kb ub] vl xj otkgr]ok.kh iđk"ku fnYyh
iĐl @ 2001 iĐ 28A
- 6- ogh i`B 60
- 7- ftl ykgkš ub nš; k vks tE; kb ub] vl xj otkgr]ok.kh iđk"ku fnYyh
iĐl @ 2001 iĐ 57 A
- 8- ogh i`B 52

Hkj r ea ernku 0; ogkj %efgykvla ds fo"lkk I nHkZ ea

ftrñnz døj feJ

efgykvla ds ikl ernku dk vfejdkj Hkkjr dh vktknh ds ckn l sgh jgk gš yfdu vkt oks [kydj bl dk iz kx dj jgh gšA ; gh dkj .k gšfd 16oha ykd l Hkk ½2014½ ea tgi mudh l q; k&64 Fkh ogh 17oha ykd l Hkk ½2017½ ea efgyk l ka nka dh l q; k 78 gksx; h gšA ; g i dñYk efgykvla ds ernku 0; ogkj ea l dkj kRed cnyko dk |krd gšA efgykvla ea c<fs "kš{k d] vkfFkd] jktuhfrd tkx: drk] l jdkjh iz kl ka ½tš &"kj kccnh] cš/h cpkvkš cš/h i <lvkš mTToyk ; kst uk] rhu rykd½ ds ifj .kke Lo: lk ernku 0; ogkj ea Hkh cnyko ifjyf{kr gšA

dhM&ernku 0; ogkj] iztkrkā=d l ekt] epñLQhfr b&xouñ] fodkl dšUnr] thjks Vkyjd uhfr]

Hkkjr h; I nHkZ ea ernku&0; ogkj dk Lo: lk ; gk dh cgyoknh l j puk l keftd vkfFkd] l ka—frd dkj dka l stñ/h gšZ gšA , dnyh; i èkku 0; oLFkj vLFkj xBcaku l jdkj l s gksrsgq vkt ge lFkj xBcaku l jdkj dk Lo: lk nš'k jgs gšA jkT; Lrj ij Hkh l keku; r% ; gh Lo: lk ifjyf{kr gksrk jgk gšA jktuhfrd Lo: lk eagksjgscnyko dk , d i eñk dkj d ernku&0; ogkj Hkh jgk gš tks LFkku] l e; rFkk ifjLFkfr; ka ds vuñ kj cnyrk jgk gšA

I el kef; d ifjn"; ea Hkkjr fo"o ds l Qyre ykd rkrā=d nš'k ds: lk ea ifrfr'Br gšA Hkkjr tš sykd rkrā=d nš'k ea l c o; Ldkadks ernku djus dk vfejdkj gš pks mudk èkz dksz Hkh gkš f"kk dk Lrj ; k tkfr dñ Hkh gkš osxjhc gka ; k vehj] osefgyk gka ; k iq 'k i R; d 18 o'kz ds 0; fDr dks ernku djus dk vfejdkj gš ernku dh 0; oLFkk ds }kj k fdl h l ekt ; k oxz dk l nL; jkT; dh l d n ; k foekku l Hkk ea vi uk i frufek ppuus dh fy, vi uk er d jrs gšA ernku dh ; g 0; oLFkk gh iztkrkā=d l ekt ea l oñ Eefr fuekz k dh , d dñ h gšA ykd rā= dh l Qyrk ; k vl Qyrk erkfejdkj ij fuHkj djrk gšA erkfejdkj og l okfekd egROI wkz l keku gš ft l l s l Rrk dk "kñri wkz LFkkur j .k gksrk gš ykd rā= dk Hkfo'; ernkrkvla ds 0; ki d nñ'Vdks k ij fuHkj djrk gšA ernku , d ifo= vfejdkj vkš drñ; gš tks bl èkkj .kk ij vkekkfjr gšfd i Hkk kñkk turk ea fufgr gš ; g tkuuk vR; r egROI wkz gšfd erkfejdkj

** vllLVsV ikñj cñ ikt h dks t] dñkuxj ñmāñ½*

dk iz; kx djrs le; 0; fDr fdu rRoka dks è; ku ea j [krk gš 0; fDr vius
vkl & ikl dh phtka l s dš s i Hkkfor gks jgk gš vFkkz ml dk jktuhfrd
l ekthdj.k fdl idkj l s gks jgk gš ykdrka=d eiv; ka l s ernku&0; ogkj
fdruk tMk+gS\ turk ds gkFk earkdr gksuk gh ykdra= dksegROI wkZcukrk
gš yfdu D; k okLro ea turk bl rkdr dk iz; kx dj jgh gSrFkk ; g D; k
dcj dš } fdu vkekjkaij cnyrh jgrh gS\

Hkkjr fo"o dk l cl scMk ykdra= gA ; gk efgyk ernkrkvka dh l ; k
yxHkx vkekjh gA ; g nškk tkrk jgk gš fd vkekjh vkcknh ; kfu efgyk, a
firi RrkRed <kps l s i Hkkfor jgh gA ykdra= dh l Qyrk ds fy, Lofood
dk iz; kx vR; r vko"; d gA Lorærk ds ckn l s orèku rd Hkkjr ds
l keftd] vkfFkd] jktuhfrd <kpseavud cnyko gq gA bl l sefgykvka dk
ernku&0; ogkj Hkh i Hkkfor gq/k gA

orèku ea l k'skyehfM; k dh Hkkfedk c<h gA f"kk , oa l keftd l kp ea
izfr"lhy cnyko gks jgagA efgyk l "kFDrdj.k dk nkš py jgk gš efgykvka
dh jktuhfrd Hkkxhnhjh c<h gA

ernku 0; ogkj dk vè; ; u l oš Fke Qhl ea 1913 eafd; k x; kA Hkkjr
eaf}rh; vke puko ds lk"pkr bl idkj ds vè; ; u dks Lohdkj fd; k x; kA
ernku ; k fdl h mEehnokj ds i {k ea er Mkyus dk dkj .k ernkrk ds futh
dkj .kkš voèkkj .kkvka rFkk i js l eij dk , d vak gks l s fuekkzjr gksrk gš l kFk
gh ernku 0; ogkj vYidkfyd , oanh?kZdkfyd i Hkkoka l s fufeZr gksrk gA

vYidkfyd i Hkko fdl h puko fo"sk rd gh l hfer jgrs gš tcf
ernkrkvka ij ieq k i Hkko l keftd] vkfFkd rFkk oškj d dkj .kka dk gksrk gš
vkš ; s i Hkko nh?kZdkfyd gksrk gA oLr%ernku&0; ogkj ds dkj dka dks fuEu
Jš.k; ka ea foHkkftr fd; k tk l drk g&

vkfFkd 0; oLFkk

puko ds l e; vkfFkd 0; oLFkk , d egROI wkZ dkjd gA bl eacj kst xkjh
dh fLFkfr] epkl Qhfr] vko"; d oLrka dh mi yfCek vFkok vuq yfCek vkfn
l feefyr gksrk gA Hkkjr ea , d smnkj .k gš tc puko vfhk; ku ea l; kt tš h
phtka dh c<rh dheravFkok epkl Qhfr dks fu; f=r djusea l jdkjh vl Qyrk
tš s ty o fo | r vki firZ dh fLFkfr] l Medka dh 0; oLFkk vkfn us Hkh ernku
0; ogkj dks i Hkkfor fd; k gA orèku ykd l Hkk ds l kFk foHkku jkt; ka ea gq
foèkk l Hkk puko ea efgykvka l s tMk foHkku ; kst ukvka tš smTToyk ; kst ukj
ckfydk l ef) ; kst uk vkfn ds vkfFkd i Hkkoka dk i B; {k i Hkko i j yf {kr gq/k gA

us'Ro

us'Ro ernku 0; ogkj dk , d i ekkurRo gA Hkkjr ea v c rd dspukoka dk ; fn bfrgkl n[ka rks us'Ro ds vkekkj ij gh vc rd dspuko ifj .kkela dh foopuk dh tk l drh gA i Fke rhu vke puvka eadkaxl dh l Qyrk dk , d ed[; dkj .k i @ usg: dk i Hkko "kkyh 0; fDrRo Fkk] bl ds l kFk gh bñnj k xkxkh] vVyfcgkj h kti s h rFk orZeku i ekkuea h Jh ujñnz eknh ds peRdkfjd 0; fDrRo , oa dk; Z'kSyh us puvkoka eafu .kkZ d Hkfedk fuozu fd; k gA mO i @ ds 2017 ea gq foekku l Hk puvkoka ea Hkktik dh Hkkjh l Qyrk ujñnz eknh ds 0; fäRo] dk; Z'kSyh] ulfr; ka , oa cnkx Nfo peRdkfjd us'Ro dh Hkfedk dks Li 'V d jrs gA

fof" k'V , oa egRo i wZ ?kVuk, j

Hkkjr ea ernku 0; ogkj ij ckg; ?kVukvka dk Hkh dñ gn rd i Hkko i Mfk jgk gA 1962 ds; @ ds i jkt; dks ernkrk ugha Hkoy svk] 1967 eadkaxl ij bl dk foijhr i Hkko i Mfk A 1971 ea i kfdLrku ds fo:) ; @ ea i klr fot; l s 1972 ds foekku l Hk puvko eadkaxl dks Hkkjh fot; i klr gA 1984 ea bñnj k xkxkh dh gR; k vk] ml l s mRi l u {kkk vk] l gku Hkfor ygj us jktho xkxkh ds i {k ea vHk i wZ l eFkZ i s k fd; kA 1999 dspukoka eadkaxl xy; @ ea Hkkjr dh l sud , oad wuhfrd l Qyrk us Hkktik ds i {k ea ernku 0; ogkj dks i Hkfor fd; kA bl h i dkj 18 fl rEcj] 2016 dks d"ehj eamjh vkra dh geyk] i R; vk] ea Hkkjr }kj k nh xbZ 29 fl rEcj 2018 dh l ftZly LV Rbd] Hkkjr & phu ruko fo" kskdj xyoku ?kVh ea t w 2020 eafgd d >Mk] vu R Nn 370 dh l ekfr] fd l ku vknsy u] ukxfjdrk l a kku v fefu; e rhu rykd ij cusdku vkfn us ernku 0; ogkj dks fo" ksk : lk l s i Hkfor fd; k gA

lLFkj , oa n<+ l jdkj

Hkkjr h; ernkrk vka us vi us 0; ogkj l s; g Hkyh Hkfor fl) dj fn; k gS fd os , d h l jdkj pgrs g] tks lLFkj] fVdkA , oa l {ke gk tks ns'k ds fy, jktuhfrd ifr'Bk vfr d jrs gq vUrjZVh; ifr'Bk vfr dj l dA 1980 ea bñnj k xkxkh l jdkj dk i q% vkuk] 1999 ea , u-Mh, - Hkktik , oa l g; ksch ny½ dh vVy l jdkj ds i {k ea ernku bl ds i R; {k i ek .k gA bl ds l kFk gh 2017 ; @ i hO foekku l Hk puvko] 2019 dk ykd l Hk puvko ea Hkktik dh Hkkjh thr bl dk i R; {k i ek .k gA

HkzVkpj

HkzVkpj dk epnk Hh ernku 0; ogkj dks i Hkfor djus okyk , d

egRoi wKZ dkjd gSA vktknh dsckn l sgh Hkkjr eaHkzVkpj 0; klr jgk gSvKj l e; &l e; ij bl epns us ernku 0; ogkj dks iHkkfor fd; k gA ckQkd Z izdj.k] Qs j&QDI] tkp rFkk ch-i-h fl g dk bl h vkekkj ij ea-h in NkMuek vkfn ?kVuk, agpZft l l s dkacl dks gkj dk egg n[kuk i Mka 8 uoaj 2016 dks HkzVkpj fu; a.k dsfy, dh xbZ uk/cmh %foephdj.k] b&xou] i kjnf"krk c<kus dsfofoek iz; kl ka vkfn usernku 0; ogkj dks iHkkfor fd; k ftl dk i R; {k i Hkko 2017 dsfoekku l Hkk papkoka rFkk 2019 dsykd l Hkk papkoka ea ifjyf{kr gYkA

ehfM;k ;k ipkj ekè;e

ehfM;k ernku 0; ogkj dks iHkkfor djus okyk , d iæ[k dkjd gA jktuhfrd vfHk; ku eabl dk mi ; ksx ernku 0; ogkj dksfo"ksk : lk l si Hkkfor djrk gA uskvka dh vPNh ; k cjh Nfo dks mHkkjuk rFkk er , oa: >ku tkuus ds ifreku ernkrkvka ds papko vkpj.k dks iHkkfor djrs gA gky ds o'kka ea l ks'ky ehfM;k ;k %QI cpl] OgkVt , i] VohVj vkfn½ dh Hkfedk rsth l sc<h gA l Hkh jktuhfrd nyka us vi us vkb&Vh l sy cuk j [ks g] tks foHkku izdkj ds ipkj , oanqi pkj dh xrfofek; ka dsekè; e l sernku 0; ogkj dks iHkkfor djrs gA

tkfrokN

tkfr 0; oLFkk inRr ekud ij vekkfjr gSftl esifo=rk , oavifo=rk dh voekj.kk fufgr g] tkfr 0; oLFkk dk ifj.kke tkfrokN gA Hkkjrh; jktuhfr ea tkfr ernku 0; ogkj dk , d egRoi wKZ dkjd gA yks fo"kskr; k xkeh.k {ks=ka ea tkfr fu'Bkvka l s vfekd i s jr gkrs gA mEehnokj i R; {k vfkok i R; {k : lk l s tkfr , oami tkrh; vkekkj ij vihy djrs gA orèku ea tkfr , d okV/ccl ds: lk eadk; Zdjusyxh gA j tuh d k Bkj h usvi uh i t rd **dKLv bu bM; u ikfyfVDI ** ea tkfr rFkk jktuhfr ds chp l aak dks Li'V fd; k gS ykdra= ds dk; Z l pkyu dsfy, LoSPNd l xBuka dh vko"; drk gksh g] ftl dh Hkfedk Hkkjr ea tkfr i Fkk us i jh dh A tkfr dsuke ij jktuhfr èkphdj.k LokHkkfod Fkk] D; kacl ; g Hkkjrh; tuekul dseu eflr'd ea l fn; ka l sjph cl h gA

nyh; 0; oLFk] dk; Dèe , oa uhfr; k

foHkku nyka dh uhfr; kj fopkj èkkjk , oa dk; Dèe dh lk; klr ek=k ea ernku 0; ogkj dks iHkkfor djrs gA dkacl dh xkpkhoknh uhfr; kj fopkj èkkjk , oadk; D; Hkh iz; klr ek=k ea ernku 0; ogkj dks iHkkfor djrs gA dkacl dh

xkqkthoknh uhr; kj fl) kUr vlsj etnij&fdl kuka dh fgrfpark cgr o'kkā rd ml dh l Qyrk ds egRoi wkZ dkjd jgs gA bl ds l kFk gh Hkktik dh ij kuh uhr; ka ds LFkku ij l cdk l kFk&l cdk fodkl] fodkl dānr pūkoh ?kksk.kk i=] efgyk l "kDrhdj.k dānr n'f'Vdksk] HkzVkpj ij *thjks Vkyjd uhr* vkfn ea lk; kUr ek=k ea ernku 0; ogkj dks i Hkfor fd; k gA

ēkeZ rFk l Eink;

t kfr ds l eku ēkeZ Hkh ernkrkvka ds ēkphdj.k dk egRoi wkZ l keku gA ēkkfeZ vkekkj ij ēkphdj.k us l kEinkf; d igpku dh Hkkouk dks oks/cfd ea cnyusdk dk; Zfd; k gA mYkj ins'k l nō l kEinkf; d jktuhr dk dānzjgk gA Hkjr ēkkfeZ vkekkj ij foHkktu dscn jkeēinj cule kcjh efltn 1990 dsn"kd l s, d iēqk epnk jgk gA l qhe dks/Zds , srgkl d Qs ydsckn Hkh bl dsijorhZ i Hkkoka dk ernku 0; ogkj ij 0; ki d i Hkko i Mūs dh l Hkkouk gA bl l mHkz ea Hkjr h; efgykvka dh ēkkfeZ i d'fYk ernku 0; ogkj dk , d iēqk dkjd jgs kA l kEinkf; d vkekkj ij gksokysnax ij Lij vfo"okl dh Hkkouk] n'f'Vdj.k , oaok/cfd dh jktuhr ēkkfeZ dkjd dks Hkjr h; jktuhr dk , d iēqk rRo cukrh gA

gky gh earhu rykd t\$ sl keftd l qkkj ds rRo dks Hkh ēkkfeZ : lk nsfn; k x; k gA bl l mHkz eaēqlye efgykvka ds, d ixfr" khy ēkMūs us Hkktik ds i {k ea ernku dj dsernku&0; ogkj ea u; svk; ke tkMūs gA tōi hō fl g us viuh i qrd *l ekt "kkL= vkoēkkj.kk , oaf l) kUr* ea fy [kk gSfd jktuhrd ny efgyk ernkrkvka dh ēkkfeZ Hkkouk vka dks vi us i {k eadjusdsfy, ēkkfeZ mRl oka dk pkykdh l s iz kx djrs gA

fodkl

; g , d , d h voēkkj .kk gSftl ea vkekkj Hkr l j puvka dh t\$ &fctyh i kuh] l Mē] -f'kxr l qkkj] vks] kSxd <kpka dk foLrkj vkfn "kkfey g\$ i kjāEHkd i po'kth; ; kstuvka l soržku rd fodkl i Fkfedrk dk dānzfclnqjgk gA Hkktik dh vxpkbz okysxBcaku dk vkekkj eksn dh fodkl dānr ipkj gh Fk ftl usvke turk dks uru Hkfo'; dh n'f'V ij vkekkj r ernku djus g\$ q i fjr fd; kA

bu dkjdka ds vfrfjDr {ks=okn] Hk'kkokn] xq/cUnh] vkfFkd flLFkr] vkekkudrk dk i Hkko] l Rrk fojkskh ygj] fopkjēkkj] ēkucy] kgcqy vkfn dk Hkh i Hkko ernku 0; ogkj ij i Mfk gA

ernku 0; ogkj dh mi jkDr foopuk l sLi 'V gSfd ernkrkvka dk fu.kz

fdl h , d dkjd ij fuHkj ughadjrk gA vkt Hkkjrh; ernkrk tlx: d gksjgk gA og ijEijjkr jktuhfr l smij mBdj l kpus yxk gA vf" k{kk} xjhch] tkfrxr }skj ekekkkrk vkfn cjkbz ka ds gks s gq Hkh Hkkjrh; ernkrk us l keku; r% food"khryk , oa njinf"krk dk ifjp; fn; k gS ftlls Hkkjrh; ykdrae l n'<+vkekjkaj ij LFkfr gvk gA

l keku; r% fir l RrkRed 0; oLFk ds dkj .k efgykvka dk dk; [ks= ?kjsyw ifjfe rd l hfer jgk gA ernku ifr"kr ea efgykvka dh mPp Hkkxhnhkj ds ckotm foekf; dkvka eamudh Hkkxhnhkj U; wu gA orZeku ykd l Hkk ea Hkh efgyk Hkkxhnhkj yxHkx 15 ifr"kr rd gh gA efgykvka dh , d frgkbZ Hkkxhnhkj ij Hkh l oal EefYk dk vHko gA bl l efgykvka dh jktuhfrd Hkiedk ij iz'ufplg yx tkrk gA gkykid l keftd thou ea yEcs le; rd gkf" k; s ij jgh efgykvka dh ernkrk ds rkj ij vge; r feyuk l keku; ckr ugh gA bl : >ku dksefgyk l "kDrdj .k vks jktuhfr ea efgykvka dh cnryh flFkr l s tkMdej n[tk tk l drk gSgky ds o'kkā ea l Ei lu gq pqukoka ds ipkj vflk; ku l sl kQ tkfgj gSfd efgyk ernkrkvka dh rjQ jktuhfrd nyka dk bruk e; ku igysdHkh ughajgkA bl nkj ku efgyk ernkrkvka dh l [; k vks ernku eamudh fgll nkjh Hkh yxkrkj c<h gA o'kZ 2019 ds ykd l Hkk pqukoka ea yxHkx 68 ifr"kr efgykvka us] 170ba ykd l Hkk ea dty 78 ifr"kr efgyk , avi user dk iz kx dhA "kjkccmh] efgyk d[unr ; kstul] f" k{kk , oafyak vkekkrj fodkl ; kstulvka vkfn us efgykvka ds ernku ifr"kr ea c<krjh fd; k gA

gkykid efgykvka eaftruh ukStoku efgyk ernkrkvka dh l [; k c<+jgh gS tks "kS{k}d] vkfFkd] , oajktuhfrd nfVdksk l s LofuHkj gkdj QS ys yxk pkgrh gA mues Hkh nsk dks cnryus dh pkg , oa A tkZ gA

gkykid efgykvka dh c<rh Hkkxhnhkj , oa tlx: drk dh ryuk ea jktuhfrd nyka usegRo ughafn; k gS ij cnryko ds l kFk jktuhfrd nyka ij ncko i Mæck] l kFk gh efgykvka dks , dtv gkdj jktuhfrd nyka ij ncko cukuk gksck] mlga vi us ok/ ds egRo dk vgl kl djuk gksck] rHkh l "kDr ukjh&l "kDr Hkkjrh dk fuekZk gks l dsxkA

l nHkZ

- 1- xsuk l hch & ryukRed jktuhfr , oajktuhfrd l LFk, j pn izdk"ku 2007A
- 2- tkjyh tsl h rFk tkjyh l hek & vkekud jktuhfr foKku dsfl)klr LVfyak ifcy"kl Z ikofyo 1992A
- 3- xkok vksi h & jktuhfr fl)klr dh : ij ftk e; j ij c&l 2001A

- 4- nmsnoin; ky & ekeZfujij{k fodYi dh [lkst] ykfg; k VLV y[kuÅ 1996A
- 5- ukjæ , -, l - & Hkkjr ea ykdraæ %l eL; k; avkšj papkšr; k; NCERT 2003A
- 6- d"; lkj l Hkk'k & dksykb"ku xoužw , M ikfyfVDI vkND bf.M; k mRi y
i dkk"ku] ubZfnYyhA
- 7- ol qMh-Mh & Hkkjr dk l ŋoekku , d i fjp;] i ŋUVI gkN/ vkND bf.M; k i kOfy0
ubZfnYyhA
- 8- oekZ, l - ih , .M ukjk; u vkbZ%okšVax fogšo; j bu , pštæ l kd kbVh/ uskuy
i dkk"ku ubZfnYyh 1973A

oákhékj 'kþy ds dko; ea ekuorkokn

*M&M v&Mk 'kþyk **

I kj&k&

ekuorkokn og fopkj&k&jk gStk&eut; ea&eut; rk dsxqkkadh vi&kk djrh g& ; g ekuo ek= d&e&y , o&adY; k.k l sl &ækr g& ; g i&Eker%0; fDr rnij&k& l&ekt dsfy, fgr&dkjh g& oákhékj "kþy dk ekuorkoknh dfo d#.kk l sv&kr&i&kr g& ekuo dsl k&F&l k&F& i 'k&æ;i {&kh} i&Nfr vkfn l H&kh dh 0; F&kk mud&ekul dksm}sy&r dj n&rh g&sr&F&kk mud&k l kfg&r; d eu l t&Z&k dsfy, v&f&kk i&fjr g&sm&Br&k g& ekuorkokn dk H&kou d#.kk dh uh& ij [k&M&k g&kr&k g& oákhékj "kþy dsl e&Lr d&ko; ds v&e; ; u l s&K&kr g&kr&k g&sf&d mud&s v&lr&e&u e&ad#.kk dh , d vu&ojr &kk&j&k fu&j&ar&j i&dk&fgr g&kr&h j&gh g& os{k&æ&kr N'kd vk&j n&for J&fed d&ksn&f&kdj gh n&for u&gh&ag&rs&g&g& H&ko&f&k&l; k l sc&S&y&ka&d&ks&x&l&M&h [k&þ&rs&g&g& n&f&kdj H&kh ml&gai&H&M&k g&kr&h g& os&N'f&k ij v&ks&y&ko&f&V n&f&kdj 0; k&þ&y g&ks&t&kr&sg&sr&F&kk b&z&oj l svi&uh l kfg&r; l t&Z&k }&k&j&k uk&j&kt&x&h 0; Dr dj&rs&g& bl i&dkj "kþy th ds&ekuorkokn dk o&f&"k&V; v&f&rh; g&

dhoM& ekuorkokn] l kfg&r; l t&Z&k] ; F&kk&F&Kz fp=.kA

oákhékj "kþy ds&d&ko; dh , d i&æ&f&k fo'ks&kr&k mud&k ekuorkokn g& bl ekuorkokn dk , d v&æ& n&ð; vk&j "k&sk&.k dk fp=.k g& dfo dh l &on&uk n&ku&n&kus ds fy, r&M&i&rs&g&g& J&fed] H&kh[k& ek&x&rs&g&g& f&H&k[k&j&h vk&j H&ko&f&k dh Toky&k l s i&hf&M&f& N'kd rd gh l h&fer u&gh& g& v&f&ir&q og v&uck&ys i "k&þ&k&þ& th&æ&t&ur&g&v&ka& i f&{&k; k&æ&r&F&kk i&M&ka&rd 0; k&lr g& "kþy th us&vi&uh j&p&uk &e&t&j eub&z ea&J&fed dh 0; F&kk d&ks 0; Dr fd; k g&s&

þge gu e&t&j eub&z dd&þ&k

H&kk&g&s t l e&M&q&m&B&k&br g& ek&sj&s&e&f&[&k; k dk i&k&br g& ge v&ek&l ks&sm&f&B vk&br g& v&kf [k&m& egg& ek&kb u i&k&br g&A ob fy&gs&B&k<+i u&gh dd&þ&kAA v&mr&sc&l c&ek&z [k&ok&br g& x&ks&# dj&d&V&q&m&B&ok&br g& f&Q&j g&# y&s [k&rs&t&k&br g& n&q&g&j y&ks [k&rs&q&t&kr&k&br g&A df&j&g&kp H&kok &ek&ug&ha dd&þ&kAA n&q&g&j ek&?&kj dk vk&br g& f&Q&j xx&j&h H&k&f&jr ug&k&br g& t&ks&pu&h H&ko&h i&k&br g& [k&k&br dk rifu c&þ&k&br g&A uk ne i&kb&z dc&g&ha dd&þ&kAA¹

** v&f&l LV&M& Á&ko&f&j] f&g&lh& fo&M&ks] , l á M&há , l á , u á f&M&x&h d&kk&st] H&M&erh ux&j] y [ku&A] 'm&ai&á&½*

o'khekj "kpy usviusthou ead'V vks vHkko dksvR; r djhc l sn[kk
Fkk tks mudh dfork ^n[k vks thou^ dh vxkfidr i fDr; ka ea nzV0; g&

pn[k dh ekjrh] n[k dk ckn#] n[k ds?kj ek; fcgjl h dS s
n[kqvkfn vlr dk l [kk feyk] ge n[k rs nrij cl h dS s
i sk gksrb [ku nfu; k ek] l crs ifgys n[k&nnz feyh]
dNqMB; u] pY; u] n[; u fpr; u] l c okj gok cnnz feyh
tc Cokyb yX; u tckusr} tks [kq h feyh] euqekfj feyh
jks s rs vEek nekqfnfgfu HkVds rs jksh nkfj feyhA
jemrb ftinxkuh dVfr tk;] chrh n[k&fcFkk dgh dS s
bPNk tfj&cq>ds jk[k Hkb} fQfj bPNk ubz jgh dS s²

"kpy th us l u-f<...^ ea thou dh tfVyrkva vks dfBukb; ka i j
i zdk'k Mkyrh gpzviuh dfork ^dk/vka dh ftinxh^ dh l tZk dhA ml dh dN
i fDr; k; bl idkj g&

pdkvu dh >fx; k] rfd; k] dByk] i gph cutha dkvu gh rA
dkvu dh dfu; k] nefu; k feyh] dkv l scky feyh l c ghrA
dkvu ek; cfl dksu dkvu] dkfV ds vqV xsdkv xyh rA
dkvu ds Mj dS s#dh tc] dkvu ek; fl xjsiu chrAA
dkvu rsf?kj k Hkfe vks ckn#] dkvuqdk ?k# Nlij VKVKA
vkoSc; kfj mMkofr dkvu] dkvu dk fnf'k }k# l ikvAA
dkvu ek; pfy dkfVr ftlnxh] dkv u l kegs ckekr QKvKA
jkou&jkou dkv fygsfQfj] xfYyu xfYyu dkfVr dkvAA³

'kpy th dk dfo eu i kf.kek= dsifr vR; fekd l onu"thy gA mudh
dfork ^vNir dh gkjh^ i xfroknh l kfgR; dk , d l xZgsftl dh mi yCekrk
vl; = ngyllk g&

hgea ; g gksjm >j l kbcA
[kr] cfut uk xks xS k; uk ?kj nok u i rA
eMbZ ijh xkp dsckgj l c tu dgs vNirAA
}kj dkbz >pbm uk vkobA
fBBjfr] ejfr tkMq l c dkfVr] ge vksnf[k; k tkbA
pkfj Vdk rc feysetjh] tc ftm Mkjh [kbbAA

nØ[k dkbZ uk c;vkobA
 ubZ Qfl y dfV jgh [kr ek] fpjbm djbj d;ysyA
 geð ogs egur ds nkuk] ugha ykuq uk rsyAA
 [ksyq gedk dbl s HkkobA
 xkp uxj l c gkjh [ksy] jak vchj mMk; A
 gejh vkrð tjð Hk[kr] ryQS vèkjh ek; AA
 ckr dkbZ i pNb uk vkobAA⁴

nØ; dk fp=.k djus ea "kðy th dk dkbZ l kuh ugha gð 'xjhch' ^Hk[kkfju'] ^Hk[kejh' bR; kfn , d h gh jpuk, j gðftuea ttj , oan[kh ekuork dsifr xgjh l ðnuk nf'Vxkpj gkrh gð ^Hk[kkfju' dh fuEufyf[kr i ðDr; k; m)j.kh; gð

p; g ogb d;yoèkw: iorh] tks ekfx jgh nØ nØ nkukA
 ; g jgh iV ek] jkuh dð jktk ds dfu; k ek] [kfyfl (e[key dsxíu dk jmfñfl] jruu ds i yuu ek] >fyfl A
 ; g c;yk rs c;ygjkr pyh] jfr jEHk rs vfBykfr jgh(
 ; g gks+fdfgfl pñjek rð Q;yu rsvl bfrjkr jghA
 ; g jruu rmyh xbZ vktj] tks ekx jgh nØ nØ nkuk(
 ; g ogb d;yoèkw: iorh] tks ekfx jgh nØ nØ nkukA⁵

oákhkj "kðy dh foHkè jpuvka; Fk ^cfg; k] ^vxygh' ^l [kk] ^i kFkj cj [kk] ^cn[kyh] ^Å tj [kj k] ^ngst dh H; k;v] ^vEek jk;h' bR; kfn eamudh ekuo ek= dsifr d#.kk ds n"ku gks s gð mudh jpuk ^vEek jk;h' eaft l izkj , d xjhc etnj dk c;v k jk;h ds VpM s dsfy, rjl jgk gð og ijræ Hkkjr dh vdfk dgkuh gð ^vEek jk;h' dh fuEufyf[kr i ðDr; k; mYy[kuh; gð

p;fi jgS i wq p; & p; p; & p;] Hojga cli k E; kyb tkb]
 Hkb; k dk dfu; k; ek; fcBkb] rhjFk e;gk c;Meh Y; kbA
 fQj pdbz vks# fgMekyk ij] gegw >fyok] Hkb; m >yh]
 Hkb; k cnj cnj ?kfegb] >ypk tc ml ij dk ÅyhA
 ge ukflg e;gV; k Hkb; k dh] yb; k xÍk rs Hkfj nck]
 Hkb; k gfl & gfl E; kyk ?kwh] ge vkf[ku ek; dkt# nckA
 Hk[kk cPpk fpðkkfj mBk] ^vEek jk;h' ^vEek jk;h'AS⁶

oá khékj "kðy dsekuorkokn ea ttj ekuork dsfp=.k dsvfrfjDr end
i "kqif{k; ka dk vkrZukn Hkh g&A mudh jpuk ^èkU; xk; ds i w^ ea i "kq/ka ds l kFk
mudh xgjh l ðnuk n'f'Vxkpj gkrh gS &

bcNjk] èkU; xk; ds i wA

rkjb pkjk NhfU&NhfU ds nfu; k Hkb etcwA

cNjk] èkU; xk; ds i wA

tyefr [ku rkjh vEek dk] nàkq ya l c NhfU

rè ^vEck vEck^ dfj jEHkm] ft; m ?kkl [k: chfuA

ih&ih nàkq eks/k; txr rè] l f[k gksn rkcarA

cNjk] èkU; xk; ds i wA

nàk eBk dk [kkj muk] dNq tBfu rødk nà]

ngh&ngh&f?km&el dk dfjd; txrq [kk; j l qys A

Vd#&Vd# rè n; k[km tx dh] ; g dfj; k djr wA

cNjk] èkU; xk; ds i wA

nàkq Nq/b ekrk dk fcNju] fir k u n[kb nà]

tkub dg; cpb] dg; i Bob] cfp epkQk ya A

l mnk cusfQjm nj&nj ek] dkkb [kfrgjdsl wA

cNjk] èkU; xk; ds i wAB⁷

i "kq/ka ds l kFk&l kFk "kðy th if{k; ka dh i hMk dks Hkh vR; r l at hnxh
ds l kFk egl w djrs g&A mudh dfork ^i ãNu dh vkg^ dh fuEufyf[kr
i ãDr; k; i f{k; ka dh 0; Fkk dks 0; Dr djrh g&

pge cu cdxu ds i ãNh gu] gedk ekj m rks dk ekj m\

Np gkM+ek] dh xij; u dk] Nij; u dkVsn rks dk dkVsn\

gedkS Hkxoku cukbfl g; èkjr h ij ft; S i Bkbfl g;

thou dh , d yyd nbd; thou Hkfj mMeqfl [kkbfl g;

l dyu ek] [kkyh Hksn eyk] vlr# nqk l qk Hkkouk , d(

Hk"kk] ckuh] cksyh] fofHké] eyq uhm] Hk[k pkguk , d(

viusvl eTtk #fekj tkfu] Hknt sn [kk; m rks dk [kk; mA

ge cu cdxu ds i ãNh gu] gedk ekj m rks dk ekj m AAB⁸

oá khékj "kðy dk ekuorkoknh n"ku ttj ekuo , oafucy i "k& i f{k; ka

rd gh l ektr ugha gkrk gſ ml dk foLrkj i M&i kſka rd gſ “kſy th dh
dfork ‘fcjou dh crdgh’ ea o{ k ijLi j okrkZ dj jgsgſfd ge rksl rr : i
l sekuo l ok ea yxsjgrsgſ ijUrqog gea vl e; dkV&ihV dj gekjsl kFk
vll;k; gh djrk jgrk gſ bl ds ckotm ge bſku ds : i ea ty&tydj
ml dsfy, Hkktu fuekZk ea viuk ; kxknku nrsjgrsgſ ‘fcjou dh crdgh’
dh dſi i ſDr; k; æ’V0; g&

pge ftudk ftm tMſkb] mb gejk ftm >jl kobA
fcjok fcjou rsjkob] l c dkgs geb; l rkobA
fpjbZ thou dh l ſ?kfu] gejsf<x fNu&fNu vkob]
?k# ?k#?kſqfga b cukob] vſMk cPpk ekfj L; kobA
tc pyh tkb; dgſpſub] ge mudk ?k# cpokb]
eubZ clnj l kji u rsuk rfudm Hkſq crkbA
tksgejsvſxu vkob ge ofgdk ftm tMſkb]
tc p<b ?kſeqvſi kuh rc cfudb <ky fNi kbA
rcgſ; fg nſu; k okys vſkfcjkb dkfV fxjkobA
fcjok fcjou rsjkob] l c dkgs geb; l rkobAſ?

oſkſekj “kſy dk iz-fr n”kſu cMſ 0; ki d gſ <k[k ¼ yk”k½ dk o{ k xh’e
__rſea iſir&iYyfor gksrk gſijUrqo’kkZ , oa”kjin __rſea dſgyk tkrk gſ
og <k[k l sdgrsgſfd rſ mnkl er gksvſ iſr%rſgkjk l e; vk, xk vſſ rſ
iſir vſſ iYyfor gksA <k[k dsifr “kſy th dh l gkuſſſr vſ}rh; gſ tks
mudh dfork ^<k[k rſ dh fuEufyf[kr i ſDr; ka l sLi ‘V g&

p<k[k ! rſ dkgs cnu eyhu] cgſjgb Hkb; k tBq rſgkjA
fl Uekq Qſid ty&fl yk gokbZ gfu&gfU [ki Mſ Qſſjfl]
rkfu vſſſj; k fctjgh yb yb ?kſj&?kſj >d>kſjfl A
cfg; k ckſjfl] nynyq?kſjfl] pgyk dhp# Fkſi fl]
ekugk rkfu cku cſu rsdbm ekl Hkſj jkſi fl A
rgſrſ jgſm rſfugs ikr u dmum dyxh fngſm mrkjA
<k[k ! rſ dkgs cnu eyhu] cgſjgb Hkb; k tBq rſgkjA
l jn&l kſuh gfl pſfxjnk ekſgd Qſy fcNkbfl]
jfc fdjuu dh dyk tBkuh ykb&ykb iy>kbfl A

fQfj gørq ikyk iFkju rs ngha >k># dhflglf l
 fl fl j l hr&cjQu ds >plu Mkj&ikr gfj yhfllgl A
 l cb _rq dhflglfu uax&ekMak] rgw rø cus jgm l dlekjA
 <k[k ! rø dkgscnu eyhu] cgtjgb Hkb; k tBq rlgkjAB¹⁰
 "køp y th dh l gkultkfr dey ds l kfk Hkh gA mudk ; g Hkko mudh
 dfork ^dey rø , d h C; fj; k f[kY; kS dsekè; e l sLi 'V fd; k tk l drk g&
 bdey rø vbl h cšj; k f[kym] rkyq tc tfj tfj fpVdb ykxA
 : i ! rø mb xjhc dk feym] nš[k txq tšg ij >#db ykxA
 tkMq?kVb tc xjeh vkob] l qZ rU; kub; | kgA
 , d h cšj; k dk _rqkeh] ukm ekfjfu _rupkgAA
 ydgh yb jfc fdjub; tkjb] fi ; bi vkmfV dS i kuhA
 , d s l e; rky ek; tyE; kš fygs ygygh TokuhAA
 rkyqdbl sijnk[kfr djb] Áku tc ofgdsm fudjb ykxA
 dey rø vbl h cšj; k f[kym] rkyq tc tfj tfj fpVdb ykxAB¹¹
 'køp y th ds ekuorkokn dk {ks= vR; fekð folrø gA og ekuo]
 i "kø&i f{k; kš i M&i kška l s Hkh vkxs tkdj feÍh l s cuh oLrø/ka ds i fr Hkh gA
 mudh dfork ^nøkjh ds ulgds fn; uk^ eamudh nhi d ds i fr l ønu" khyrk
 nš[krsgh curh gS &

pnøkjh ds ulgds fn; uk]
 rfud ped dh [kkfrfj] nšju; k; rlgð pgS NyukA
 nøkjh ds ulgds fn; uk
 yk; dgwrs fpduh ekVh] ; d j l xšek cuk;]
 ykškh Jeh dlgkj prj] ekfj fnfgfl pkd ij Hkk; A
 nhu dlgkfjfu xyh fotu rš fcuøyk dMk chfu]
 i dbfl vkok dh vkxh ek; Hkfrt yky dS nhuhA
 cšpfu fcD; kSctkj chp yš thou dk l i ukAAB¹²

oákhekj 'køp y dk dfo ân; d# .kk l svks&ikr gA 'køp y th dh dfork
 ^xkø dh vfygh^ ea xkø ea vxk yxus ds dkj .k fd l ku dh i Ruh] i ø-h] i ø-]
 l cdñ tyd j u'V gks tkus l smRi é ønu k dh i jkd k' Bk mudh dfork dh
 fuEufyf[kr i øDr; ka l s Li 'V g&

tjs l c Nijk pm[kfV tjh] cbfBxb dkBjh&Nfr QfV ijhA
 egfj; k tjha yfjfduh cjh [kkd Hkb nggha gMMh tjhA
 l f>fy; k tjh i s/ ek; gey] fxjh vkxu ek; gpdscdyA
 tjsmb i r fg; sds Vnd] dgfr [ku mBb djsts gw dA¹³

"kpy th ftl {ks= eafuokl djrsFlk; ogk; ck<+cgr vkrh Fkha ck<+dh
 Hk; kogrk ogh l e> l drk gSftl usml sHkksk gA "kpy th usviuh dfork
 ^cfg; k^ eack<+dk tks; Fkkor fp=.k fd; k gSog fdl h vU; ds }kjk l Hko ugha
 gA mudh dfork ^cfg; k^ dh dN i dRk; k; bl izdkj g&

bery fy[kk Hkfx dk gkb] i hNs l sudok vkokA
 Å idfj Vlx yfjdk dh vekchp ryd yb vkokAA
 ge ckg& idjs [kph] Å yhfy xok ek# vkokAA
 ge NkSM+fnfgu tc tkusu] gejm Ákuu dh ckekAA
 nd jk yfjdk yb Hkksu] vkS nkrh ij ykS vk; sA
 rc rM+l sfctyh rM+h] ge Qfj HkMdyk [kk; sAA
 udok fQfj i kNs > i Vkl ; dqckl cgrwik; uA
 Å tl l egsij vkok] rl ge egg ek ekfdvk; uAAB¹⁴

oákhkj 'kpy usjktkvka vks; tehnikja }kjk tu l keld; ij fd, x,
 vR; kpkjka dk l tho fp=.k fd; k gA "kpy th bl l eL; k dh vkj nf^Vikr
 djusokysfgnh , oavokh ds , d ek= dfo g& fdl h vU; dfo usbl l eL; k
 dh vkj è; ku ugh ugha fn; k gA bl l eak ea mudh dfork ^cn[kyh^ dh
 vekksyf[kr i dR; k; nzVO; g&

p; d fnu eq[k; k rsMjfr Mjfr] ; ruk egg [kksy cksy i k; u]
 vkl m; dkdfu dN Hkok ugh] cjekok cfp #i; k yk; uA
 tkM& dk efguk [ki Mh ij] yfjdok jkeeks uaxb gb]
 vcdh utjkuk ekQq djm] tkum ; gq, dqyQaxb gbA
 rc mb pijkl h rs cky&; fgds nl i ugh l gh djm]
 vc ; gm gp xok ckrwh] Hkks; rs fudjcq can djmA
 [kk; l kgc yb turk nmj} vufxUr ; kd nj ij ekfjfu]
 ?k# cp] yjfduh cpq pgb] vl dfg&dfg [kcb QVdkfjfuA
 l c ng l tu Hkb] jh<+VfV] df<yfr] djgfr ?kj dk vk; u]

nl fnu elj pks/b; l q Hkb} yfgyu ds [kr u cb ik; uA
ifjgy dh l fr[k m[kUuh xb] dNq Qksj&Qkfj ds cb ik; u]
ey rmum i kFkj l kQq fdfgfu ; Ddm nkuk u ?kjb yk; uAB¹⁵

oakh/kj 'kpy dk dk0; ijkekhu Hkkjr dsfdl ku dk ; FkkFKZ i Lrqrhdj.k
gA fdl ku dh vjth jpk eafdl ku dsnB; , oavl eFkZk dk mYy[k "kpy
th usbl izdkj fd; k g&

ptc Hkq[kh vkrb [kmyb; rc l jbz Hkqth [kkb]
Åij rfy; k dk rUkk ikuh MfVdb ih tkbA
egjh dk Hkq[k l rkob] og xYyj chub tkob]
Å egm; dj yfjdok] l kb fcfV; k xfj; kobA
xYyj gkFku rs Nhub Hkbfl u dk [koc [kokob]
tc egjh eg rsekb] rc Å dqrpk gbj kobA
og gpl# gpl# db jkob] fxfj&ifjds?kj dk vkob]
tc >jl b yxb djstkl rc ikuh l hnp tMkobA
gedk jksm uk vkob] l c efjxseDdk emy;
gedk uk nbm i Nn; kl c jEgm; gbj dkxn HkqyAB¹⁶

Li 'Vr%oakhekj 'kpy dk dk0; fdl ku dh 0; Fkk dFkk dh fojkV xkFkk gS
ftl si <dj dghad#.kk dk vH; m; gkrk gsvl\$ dghaeu vkQksk l shk j tkrk gA
, d fQj; kfn^ "kh'kd jpk eaHkh , d , d s "kks'kr fdl ku dh 0; Fkk dk
o.ku gA ml dh [ksh l sml scn[ky dj fn; k x; k g\$?kj [kkndj fxjk fn; k
x; k gsrFkk dghacBus dk Hkh fBdkuk ugha g&

p?k# [kqk fxfjLrh mtjh] cn[ky HkbZ l c [ksh(
cBS dk ugh fBdkuk] uk i Nn ukr u grhA
egjk: xSusbj dk tc] gpm; Bk\$ uk i kbfl (
Hkq[kh l; kl h gp fxfjd\$ dlp; k; ek; Åku xpkbfl AB¹⁷

xjhch dh fLFkr ea0; fDr dh dS h nqz'kk gksh gsrFkk xjhch fdruh
d'Vdj gksh g\$; g "kpy th dh jpk ^xjhch' eavR; Ur l at hnxh l sof.kz g&
pfnu Hkj gij gij dS nk\$ h] rcgw HkjSu i s/
eksh QVh u dqrkz Qrghh ckfek u ikb QVA
yfjdk yfjdj jks/h ekp\$ di Mk ekp\$ egjh(
egjh dk Hkq[k l rkob] og xYyj chub tkob]
Å egm; dj yfjdok] l kb fcfV; k xfj; kobA
xYyj gkFku rs Nhub Hkbfl u dk [koc [kokob]
tc egjh eg rsekb] rc Å dqrpk gbj kobA
og gpl# gpl# db jkob] fxfj&ifjds?kj dk vkob]
tc >jl b yxb djstkl rc ikuh l hnp tMkobA
gedk jksm uk vkob] l c efjxseDdk emy;
gedk uk nbm i Nn; kl c jEgm; gbj dkxn HkqyAB¹⁶

Nlij ppsu Bls fryks Hkfj] fxjh ijh l c Oc[kjha
 djh etjyh fnu Hkfj Hkjeh] jkfr ek; uhm u vko\$
 l jx ujd ek; ugha Bcdkuk] eks-ks [kk; u vkoA
 nf[kr l c ifgjs vks-s l c] [kk; fi a ScYgj k; (
 gejs yfjdk uaxs ?kne\$ Hkq[k Hkq[k fpYyka A
 gs bZoj dk dcmge ij] dfjgkS 'k) fuxkg(
 nsgkS gedk jksh di Mh] l fu gkSgejh vkgAB¹⁸

xjhch ds l kFk&l kFk bl nfu; k ea jguk cgr dfBu gA bl fLFkr dk
 o.ku viuh jpuK 'LokFkZ nfu; k^ ea djrs gq "kpy th dgrs g&
 PT; ruk nfu; k; ds rhj x; si] orub ; rjkb pyh nfu; k;
 ge nfu; k; ds cluku Nkj h] ey geb; c&kkb pyh nfu; kA
 ge nfu; k; ds vki w i k h] ey geb; j&okb pyh nfu; kA
 bz egk LokFkZ u nfu; k; ek] tcga d n q [k sy q fdgk p k g u A
 Ny di V tky rscfp cfpd\$ gfl ds d n q ey q fdgk p k g u A
 n [k ek; Mch Ach nfu; k d\$ dk v k l k Q q fdgk p k g u A
 j k s x f u n f [k f u b z n f u ; k ; d k] t c v f e j r ? k w f n g k p k g u A
 rc rc MMk yb ikxy dfg dfg] cm[kyk; nmjh nfu; k;
 gejh ckru ij ekij > k i d] ge ij [kmgk; ijh nfu; k; AB¹⁹

oakh/kj 'kpy dk l a w k z d k 0 ; d # . k k l s v k s & i k r g A viuh jpuK
 ^A tj [kj k^ eam t M h g b z c L r h d k s n f [k d j m l d s v r h r d k s ; k n d j d s "k p y
 th n [k h g k s j g s g A , d f n u t k s L F k k u l d [k , o a l k s n ; Z l s i f j i w k z F k k] v k t
 m l d h f d r u h n q z k k g k s x ; h g s &

pdcmgukp x<h x<+l t n j nfu; k ek; l juke]
 vktqMhgqvl ijk xfyu ek; Nik vpfEHkr ukeA
 dcmgjjgb l gkou uxjh egg rkdb; yyefu; k;
 gk;] vktqgpxk fMgMsyk] exrk dgb; dgfu; k; AB²⁰

bl izkj 'kpy th ds dk0; dk vkekj ekuorkokn gA ml ea dgha
 nhu&ghu ekuo dk d#.k Ønu g\$ dg hafd l ku dh 0; Fkk dFkk dk o.ku gsvk\$
 dg ha etnj dsmRi hM u dk ; FkkFkZ fp=.kA mudh ; FkkFkZ jd nf'V usvukpkjh
 "kkl d v\$ "kkskd dks dMk l n s k f n ; k g A "kpy th dgrs g&fd ; fn n&rk

euq; I s?k.kk djrsgārksosHkh ep̄svPNsughayxrsgh tc I Hkh euq; I eku
 gš rks fdl h I s?k.kk dk i' u gh ugha mBrkA "k̄y th dk ;g fof" k'V
 ekuorkoknh nf'Vdksk mlga l ok̄p f" k[kj ij ifr' Bkfir djrk g

I aHkZ

- 1- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 79
- 2- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 217
- 3- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 216
- 4- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 117
- 5- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 218
- 6- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 142
- 7- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 229
- 8- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 225
- 9- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 227
- 10- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 329
- 11- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 334]335
- 12- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 323
- 13- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 87
- 14- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 413] 414
- 15- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 99
- 16- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 84
- 17- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 417
- 18- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 121] 122
- 19- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 346
- 20- MKW "; ke I tñj feJ 'eekā ^ & oā'khekj "k̄y jpukoyh] i 'B 149

^xteh.k efgyk,i vls tul pkj ek/e**

jlfxuh f=iBh^u

cgr igyseDyngku us l puk ckskksxdh tfur vls ml ds rhoz cHkko l s mHkhj h nfu; k dsfy, fo'o xte¹ 'kCn dk c; kx fd; k Fkk vls ek/; e gh l ms k gS , d k gh pfp^r dFku Hkh fn; k Fkk | tul pkj ek/; e vls mudh Hkfredk dks ydij l dkjkRed vls udkjkRed -f"Vdksk jgs ga | QSDQVZ Ldny ds pfp^r fopkj d , Mka^{ka} us l edkyhu ifj-'; ea ehfM; k dks ydij i ; klr cgl tkjh gSLo; aehfM; k ds vni j Hkh ehfM; k dh l fO; rk dks ydij l dkjkRed vls udkjkRed cgl pyr h jgh gS | gea ; g l e>uk gksk fd l edkyhu nls l kky ehfM; k dk gS vls bl ea vHkO; fa ds vol j Hkh cgr vf/kd gS | fx i d³ us Hkh ek/; e dks gekjh eukofuk dksfof'k"V cdkj l s cHkkrfook djus dks Lohdkj fd; k gS l kekt d xrfok/k; ka vk/kkfjr gS | Hkl hu vls vxoky dks mn/kr djrsgg uhjk nd kbZ vls m"kk BDdj uscrk; k gSfd ehfM; k dk cR; {k cHkko l s T; knk vCR; {k cHkko Hk; Hkhr djrk gS | ehfM; k tuer o O; faxr fo'ok'k dks/khjs- /khj scukus vls ; gk rd fd turk ds vkReckk dks Hkh cukus fopkj/kkj o fopkj ka dks x<uso l ekthdj .k dh cfO; k l s cHkkrfor djrh gS | 4 ; gh dkj .k gSfd dEl; Wj bV/juV o vU; l pkj o l puk ds l k/ku vkt cR; d dsfy, ?kj j [kuk u dny mPp thou Lrj ds | rd gSoju-; g e/ ; eoxhZ vFkok fuEu e/; eoxhZ O; fa; ka dsfy, , d vko' ; d o jkst xkj ds l k/kuka ds : i ea Hkh egROI wKz cu x; s gA

budk mi ; kx vkt fl QZ O; ol k; ka o dkj [kkuka o m | kx ka ds {ks- ea gh ugha gks jgk gS cfYd , d vke xfg .kh dsfy, Hkh budk Kku gksuk o budh mi yC/krk , d vko' ; drk cu x; h gA

bl cdkj l edkyhu ifj-'; ea ehfM; k dh mi fLFkr gLr {ki tkx: drk QSykusea budh Hkfredk dks l gt gh Lohdkj fd; k tk l drk gS | cLr^r vkys [k fl=; ka ds l 'kfadj .k gsrqcuk; s x; sfofo/k cko/kkuka ds l mHkZ ea xteh.k efgykvadh tkx: drk ij dluar gS bl vkys [k dk vk/kkj ; g gSfd xteh.k fl=; k l puvka dsfy, fdu ek/; eka dk mi ; kx djrh gS] fdu cko/kkuka l si fjp^r gS vls ehfM; k fd Hkfredk D; k jgh gS] ; g tkuus dsfy, xteh.k {ks- dh Lukrd 80 efgykvai j , d c' ukoyh dk c; kx dj v/; ; u fd; k x; k gSft l ds ckr fooj .k bl cdkj g&

^u iDrk chachá, l á b. Vj dny st] iz kxjkt máia½

rkfydk I 1; k& 1

mÜkj nkrkvla dh mez I jþuk dk fooj.k		
mez ¼ o"K& ea ½	I 1; k	çfr'kr
20 & 25	52	65%
25 & 30	20	25%
30 & 35	08	10%
; k&	80	100%

mÜkj nkrkvla dh mez I jþuk dk v/; ; u djus I s Li "V gkrk gS 10% mÜkj nkrk 30&35 o"K& dh mez ds gS] 25% mÜkj nkrk 25 & 30 o"K& dh mez ds gS vk& 65% mÜkj nkrk 20 & 25 o"K& ds gS vr% rkfydk ea fn; s x; s fooj.k I s Li "V gkrk gS vf/kdk& mÜkj nkrk ¼ yxHkx I Hkh ½; þk gS tks I edkyhu Hkkj rh; I keftd I k&]; dh I jþuk ds vuq i gh g&

rkfydk I 1; k& 2

mÜkj nkrkvla dh 'k&{kd i "VHk&e		
Lrj	I 1; k	çfr'kr
Lukrd	62	77.5
Lukrd k&kj	16	20
i h0, pOMh0	&	&
u&@Ly&	2	2.5
; k&	80	100

I oçFke mÜkj nkrkvla dh 'k&{kd i "VHk&e dks tkuusdk ç; kl fd; k x; k& rkfydk ea fn; s x, fooj.k I s Li "V gS fd mÜkj nkrk Lukrd] Lukrd k&kj] i h0, pOMh0] u& @Ly& I s I æf/kr ; k& ; rk /k&j.k djrs g& 2.5% mÜkj nkrk u&@Ly& g& 20% mÜkj nkrk i jkLukrd f'k{k.k çklr dj pps g& 77.50% mÜkj nkrk Lukrd fd f'k{k& mÜkh.kz gS | dk&Z Hkh mÜkj nkrk MkDVj& dh mi kf/ k çklr ugh& dj ik; k g& vr% mi jk& fooj.k I s Li "V gS fd vf/kdk& mÜkj nkrk Lukrd gS] dN i jkLukrd gS] dN u&@Ly& gS, oa dN MkDVj& ds fy, ç; kl jr gS y&du mi kf/k çklr ugh& g&

I 4; k& 3

mÜkjnrk ds }kj ç; ä tul pkj ek;/e	
ek;/e	I 4; k
Vyhfo tu	71
j sM; ks	15
I ekpj	53
if=dk, a	47
bvjuv ¼ ekckby ½	62

mijkä rkfydk ds foj.k I s Li "V gkrk gS fd Vyhfo tu I ok/kd mÜkjnrkvka }kj mi ; kx fd; k tkusokyk ek;/e gA bvjuv ¼ ekckby ½ dk mi ; kx Hkh vkf/kdk k mÜkjnrkvka }kj fd; k tkrk gA

i =& if=dkvka dk mi ; kx Hkh vf/kdk k mÜkjnrkvka }kj fd; k tkrk gS | I kFk gh i =& if=dkvka Vyhfo tu , oa bvjuv fd fofo/krk ds cktm dN mÜkjnrk j sM; ka dk mi ; kx Hkh djrs gA tul pkj ek;/e ds mi ; kx eadN dkjd Åi Hkæäk dh oS fäd , oaf' kf{kd i "Bhkæe} #fp jmi ; kxrk , oarduhdh dtkyrk dk vk/kj rS kj djrs gA bl ds I kFk & I kFk I kelt d& I kl—frd i "Bhkæe , oa vknra Hkh 'kfä' kkyh gkrh gA I edkyhu I kelt d fLFkr tks I pkj Økär I smRi lu gPZ gSmI usy skææack tkjokn mi Hkæäkokn , oa oS' od çofr; ka I sy skææadk tkm+fn; k gS vkSj I pkj rdudh dh mi yC/krk Hkh xkeh.k I ekt gks x; h gA

rkfydk I 4; k&4

fofo/k çko/kuka I s mÜkjnrk ds ifjpr gks dk foj.k

çko/kku	I 4; k	çfr'kr
?kjywfg k vf/kfu;e 2005	46	57.5
fgUnw mÜkj kf/kdkj I äkksku vf/kfu;e 2005	28	35
Hkjr h; rykd I äkksku vf/kfu;e 2001	22	27.5
dk; LFky ij ; k mRi HMe	36	45
fyx ij h{k.k fu"ksk vf/kfu;e	42	52.5
efgyk gYQ ykbu	54	67.5

rkfydk I 4; k 4 ea mÜkjnrkvka I s; g tkus dk ç; kl fd; k x; k dh

efgykvka l sl æflu/kr l æðkkfud çko/kkuka dsçfr mudh tkudkj h dk Lrj D; k gð vf/kdkák efgyk, i 7-5% efgyk gð Qykbu ds ckjs ea tkurh gð | ?kjs yw fgá k vf/kfu; e 2005 tks, d Økkárdkj h dne Fkk efgykvka dh fLFkr ea l ðkkj , oa muea l 'kfädj.k ykus ea ml l s 57-5 çfr'kr efgyk, i i jfpr gð fyak i jh{k.k fu"kk vf/kfu; e l s 52-5 çfr'kr efgyk, i i jfpr gð dk; LFky ij ; kðu mRi hMæ l sl æflu/kr çko/kku ds ckjs ea 45 çfr'kr efgyk, i tkudkj j [krh gð fglunw mÜkj kf/kdkj l ákkku vf/kfu; e 2005 l s 35 çfr'kr efgyk, i i jfpr gð Hkkj rh; rykd l ákkku vf/kfu; e 2001 l s 27-5 çfr'kr efgyk, i i jfpr gð vr% mi jkæ fooj.k l s Li"V gkrk gð vf/kdkák efgyk, i tul þkj ds l k/kuka ds ç; kx ds ek/; e l s foðkku çko/kkuka ds ckjs ea tkudkj j [krh gð

rkydk l 4; k&5

mÜkjnrkvla }kj efgyk l 'kfädj.k l sl æflu/kr çko/kuka dk ç; kx

ç; kx	l 4; k	çfr'kr
gk	18	22-5
ugha	62	77-5
; kx	80	100

rkydk l 4; k 5 ea mÜkjnrkvla l sefgyk l 'kfädj.k l sl æflu/kr çko/kkuka dks ç; kx djus l ækh tkudkj h çkr dh x; h] çkr fooj.k l s Li"V gkrk gð fd 77-5 çfr'kr efgykvka usefgyk l 'kfädj.k l sl æflu/kr çko/kkuka dk ç; kx ugha fd; k Fkk | bl l s Li"V gkrk gð fd tul þkj ek/; eka ds ç; kx ds dkj.k mÜga efgyk l 'kfädj.k l sl æflu/kr çko/kkuka dh tkudkj h çkr djusea #fp T; knk Fkh vkj dN efgyk, a 22-5% 1/2 mudk ç; kx Hkh dj pph Fkh | yfdu vf/kdkák us l keftd ekU; rkvla , oa viuh vkjki r , oa vfti fLFkr dks ; Fkkor cuk; s j [kuk gh mfpr l e>k | tks l edkyhu l keftd 0; oLFkk ea xteh.k l ekt ea l gtrk l s n[kk tk l drk gð

rkydk l 4; k& 6

tul þkj ek/; eka dk ukj l 'kfädj.k ea Hkedk ds çfr -f"Vdksk		
Hkedk @mi; kxrk	l 4; k	çfr'kr
gk	54	67-5
ugha	20	25
dg ugha l drs	06	7-5
; kx	80	100

rkydk I 4; k 6 ds vaxzr mUkjnrkvka I s; g tkuusdk 4; kl fd; k x; k fd I 'kfädj.k ea tul pkj ek/; eka dh Hkfredk ; k mi ; kfxrk gS ; k ugha 2 4klr fooj.k I sLi"V gSfd vf/kdk k 1/67-5% 1/2 mUkjnrk ; g Lohdkj djrs gSfd tul pkj ek/; eka dk ukjh I 'kfädj.k ea ; ksnku gA tul pkj ek/; eka }kjk vk; a fnu I 'kfädj.k I sI æfu/kr dk; Øe jk; 'kækj h tkx: irk I ædkh tkudkj , oamudsçHko dk fo'ySk.k turk ds ek/; e I sfd; k trk gA 25 çfr'kr mUkjnrk efgyk I 'kfädj.k ea tul pkj ek/; eka dh Hkfredk dks vLohdkj djrs gS | rFkk 7-5 çfr'kr mUkjnrk vfu.kz dh fLFkr ea gA

rkydk I 4; k &7

tul pkj ek/; eka ea L=h mRi hMæ ds I EcU/k ea mUkjnrkvka ds nf"Vdsk dk fo'ySk.k A

-f"Vdsk	I 4; k	çfr'kr
gk	46	57-5
ugha	22	27-5
dg ugha I drs	12	15
; kx	80	100

rkydk I 4; k 7 ea tul pkj ek/; eka ea L=h mRi hMæ ds I Ecak ea mUkjnrk ds-f"Vdsk dk fooj.k fn; k x; k gS | 4klr fooj.k ds vuq kj 57-5 çfr'kr mUkjnrk ; g Lohdkj djrs gSfd tu I pkj ek/; e L=h mRi hMæ dks mtaxj djus ea viuh Hkfredk dk fuokz djrs gA 27-5 çfr'kr mUkjnrk tul pkj ek/; eka dh L=h mRi hMæ ds I Ecak ea Hkfredk dks vLohdkj djrs gA rFkk 15 çfr'kr mUkjnrk dñ Hkh dg I dus dh fLFkr ea ugha fks | vr%vf/kdk k mUkjnrk tul pkj ek/; eka dh L=h mRi hMæ ea Hkfredk dks Lohdkj djrs gS tks I gt , oa LokHkkfod Hkh gA

çLræ 'kksk vkys[k 20 & 35 o"kz mez I eug dh Lukrd rFkk mPp f'k{kk 4klr fookfgr xkeh.k efgykvka dk ukjh I 'kfädj.k I sI æfu/kr tkx: irk , oa mi ; kx I sI æfu/kr -f"Vdsk dk foopu fd; k x; k gA 'kksk v/; ; u dsfy, mUkjnrkvka dk p; u I kś; ; i wkz fun'kz fof/k ds ek/; e I sfd; k x; k gA oLræ%fd I h I ekt ea çFkk vks vks pkfjd çko/kkuka ea çk; % I dkj kRed I g I EcU/k ugha gk-kj I kekf td I j puk vks çFkk fofo/k foe'kka dks I dkj kRed vks udkj kRed <æ I s çHkfor djrh gA I keU; rks ij ge ; g I e{krsgsdh L=h I 'kfädj.k ds çfr yskka ea tkx#drk dk Lrj cgr Åpk ugha gA vkt tc okVt , li] Qd cpl] ; wîæ tS sI kśky ehfM; k ds I k/kuka dk 4; kx T; knkrj

yks dg jgs gş , d sea thou ds xhkij igyvkads çfr mudh tlx#drk dk
Lrj D; k gş çko/kkuka l s ifjfr gkus dh D; k fLFfr gş çko/kkuka l s ifjfr
gkus ds cktm ml ds çfr; ðkj D; k gA ; g l c egroi wL ç' u gA

I ekt'kkL= ds fo | kfkz gkus ds ukrs gea bu l c dk mükj LFkfr
l kekt'd l j'puk vş ifjofr' gkrh l kekt'd l j'puk esnkuk gkska 80
efgykvkads-f'Vdksk dk v/; ; u vş og Hkh l hfer ç' uka l s ; g vkyçk dh
l hek gA ij çkr çR; ðkj bl rF; dks l keusykrsgsf d tlx#drk eafu% Unç
l dkjkr'd ifjor' gksjgs | xkeh.k i "Bhk'ie fd efgykvka l çkkr mükj , d
fefJr rLohj çLrç djrk gA l kekt; r%ge ; g dg l drsgsf d fL=; k; vc
tlx: d gsvş L=h l 'kfädj.k dh fn'kk ea l dkjkr'd çofük; k; mhkj jgh gA

I aHkZ

- 1- *içpu fMDI ujh vkQ l k'sk; ksyktij içpu] 2006 i "B l ç; k&167*
- 2- *eçfeyu LVWV bul kbDyki hfM; k vkQ l k'sk; ksyktij eçfeyu 1987] i "B
l ç; k &05*
- 3- *fxì d , fkuh ½2002½ l k'sk; ksyktij prfkz l kdj.k i kfyVhçd i "B l ç; k & 452*
- 4- *uhjk nç kbZ, oam"kk BDdj ½2008½ Hkkjrh; l ekt , oaefgyk, auşkuy çpl VLV
fnYyh] i "B l ç; k&104*
- 5- *xksMç ky l çhrk , oa i çj; k xhrk ½2003½ l edkyhu Hkkjr ea l çuk Økr
l kekt'dh mükj çns k l ekt'kkL=h; ifj"kn i "B l ç; k &49&52*

mùkj inšk fouk fuxe }kjk __.k ol yh ds I mhZ ea

¼ X.k bdkb;ka dh c<rh l ǃ;k ,oa iqòkl l eL;k dk fo"ysk.k½

*/// vry dèkj flg **

I kjkàk

mRrj inšk forr fuxe dh LFkkiuk dk eǃ; mǃs; inšk eafo|eku ,oa uo LFkki r gkus okys y?kq ,oa e/; e m|kska dks __.k ds : lk ea forrh; l gk; rk inku djuk gā fuxe us m|kska dks __.k l gk; rk forfjr dh ijUrj __.k ol yh ea vl Oy jgk ftl ea , d ièǃk dñj.k : X.k bdkb;ka dh c<rh l ǃ;k ,oa iqòkl l eL;k ièǃk gšftl dk fo"ysk.k iLrǃ "kkàk i = ea gā

iLrkouk

: X.k vksj kšxd bdkbz¼ dy Lokfero@dEi uh½ dk rRi ; L, d h vksj kšxd bdkbz l gš tks chekj gš vFkkzr tks ykHk ugha dek jgh gš , oaf t l dk i at hdj .k gq de l s de 5 o'kz gks x; sgā rFkk bu 5 o'kkā ds vUr rd ftl dh l ñpr gkfu; k bl dh "kq) l Ei fRr dscjkj ; k vf/kd gks x; h gš vFkok , d h vksj kšxd bdkbz dks : X.k bdkbz dgk tkrk gšftl dh fdl h forrh; o'kz ds vUr ea l ñpr gkfu; k ml dā uh ds fi Nyspkj forrh; o'kkā dh vf/kdre "kq) l Ei fRr; ka ds 50 ifr"kr ; k bl l svf/kd gks x; h gš , oayunjka dh fyf[kr ekax ds ckn Hkh og bdkbz __.k dh fujUrj rhu frekgh fdLra nsus ea vl eFkz jgh gā

#X.k bdkb;ka dh c<rh l ǃ;k ,oa iqòkl l eL;k

vksj kšxd #X.krk , d , d h l eL;k gš tks vkt fo'o Hkj dh vFkD; oLFkkvka ea vkerkš ij ns[kus dks feyrh gā ; g l d kj ds l Hkh nska ea pks og fodfl r ; k fodkl 'kny gš ; g m|kska dh ièǃk l eL;k gā vksj kšxd #X.krk , d xEHkhj l eL;k gš D; kōd ; g m|fe; kō deǃkj; kō yunkjka vksj mRi kn dka vkfn dks i Hkkfor djrh gš forrh; l kFkkuka dk cgr vf/kd ek=k ea /ku bu chekj bdkb;ka ea Qā tks l su dōy l k/kuka dk vi 0; ; gkrk gš cfYd vksj kšxd fodkl ij Hkh cjk i Hkko i M-rk gā l keW; Hkk"kk ea #X.k bdkbz og gš tks LoLFk ugha gā fofu; ksd ūkkz ds fy , chekj bdkbz og gš tks ykHkka ugha rñj m|ks i fr ds fy , chekj bdkbz og gšftl sfujUrj gkfu gks jgh gš cālj ds fy , ; g og bdkbz gš tks __.k ij C; kt dk Hkqrku ns frfFk ij ugha dj jgh gā¹

_____ Hkkj rh; fj toz cā d svud kj ^#X.k bdkbz og bdkbz gš tks fi Nys , d

* 277] foukck uxj] xkq/kh xte] dkuig ¼māiā½

o"lz l s glfu mBk jgh gS rFkk pkyw o"lz vls vxys o"lz ea Hkh glfu gksus dh l EHkkouk gS bl dk foRrh; <kpk Hkh l rfyur ugha gS pkyw vuq kr 1% l s de gS vls bl dk __.k&l erk vuq kr Hkh [kjkc gsrk tk jgk gA**2

vls kfxd #X.kr k ds y{k.k³

vls kfxd #X.kr k ds y{k.k dh igpku djuk vR; Ur vko'; d gsrk gS D; kfd buds fcuk jks dk funku vl EHko gsrk gA y{k.k ds idV gsrk gh l e; jgrsmi pkj ds mik; Hkh fd; s tk l drs gA ; fn y{k.k dh tkudkj u gk l ds vFkok tkudkj gksus ds ckn Hkh mudh vogsyuk dh tk; s rks ckn ea fLFkr ykbykt gk l drh gA vr% l ko/kkuhi d d bu ij fuxkg j [kuk vko'; d gsrk gA vud ckj , d h fLFkr 0; ol k; l pkyu ds fl yfl ysea Lor% gh Bhd Hkh gk tkrh gA bl ds foijhr dN vl; n'kkvka ea ; s y{k.k xgjs gsrk gA rFkk vi \$kkd' r dN vf/kd l e; rd pyrs jgrs gA olr% , d sy{k.k gh flurk dk fo" k; cu tkr gA bu y{k.k ea i e[k y{k.k fuEufyf [kr g&

(i) **dk; Zky ijt h ds Lrj ea fxjkoV&** 0; ol k; ds pkyw vuq kr] rjy vuq kr ea 'ku&'kuSfujUrj fxjkoV] i kfr; ka ea of) rFkk nks'ki wkZ dky Oe l ph] l kexh vkorZ vuq kr ea fujUrj deh ft l ds dkj.k vflre jgfr; k %o'ks'kr; k r\$ kj eky% ea of) A

(ii) **jkM+ icWk dh dFbuk; k&** jkM&fuxZka ea fLFkr] fdUrq jkM+vkxeka ea fujUrj fxjkoVA QyLo: i jkM+dk Lrj vuphyre fclnq l s uhps jguk rFkk ; nk&dnk jkM+ghurk dh fLFkr gk tkukA

(iii) **oMfud nk; Roka dh i frZ ea =fV&** fucy jkM+ fLFkr ds dkj.k foHku idkj ds dkj k Hkfo"; fuf/k , oa xB; h dh dVkr; k depkjh jkT; chek dh dVkr; k ?kks"kr ykHkakka , oa __.kka ij ns ey , oa C; kt dh fd'rka dh vnk; xh ea vl kekl; foyEc , oa =fVA

%v% cbl xkgd l EcWka ea fxjkoV& vf/kfod "kka ij vf/kd fuHkj rk] jkM+ l k [k ds Hkkrku ea vf; ferrk,] foRrh; fLFkr ds ckjs ea vko'; d foj.kka ds i s'k.k ea =fV rFkk cbl }kjk vf/kd ekftZ , oamRre tekur dsfy, fujUrj vlxg vkfnA

%v% fcO h ea Oe'k% deh& chekj mi Oe }kjk udn NW rFkk 0; ki kfjd NW ea of) djds foO; c<kus ds vl Qy iz kl] mnkj m/kkj uhfr rFkk f'kFky ol w/h 'ku&'ku% ij kus xkgdka l s Vdjko , oa dkumh my>u; vkfnA

%v% l Ei frR < lps ds nks&LFkk; h l Ei frR; ka ds mfpr j [k&j [kko] ns[kj [k] ejEer] i frLFki u vkfn dh vogsyuk] nks'ki wkZ ak l uhfr] l Ei frR; ka

ds y[k&eW; ka dh ryuk ea muds okLrfod eW; ka ea fujlurj deh] dN de vko'; d fLFkj l Ei fRr; ka dh fcØh vkfnA

Wii½ ijt h < kps ds nsk & cktkj dh utjka ea mi Øe ds fo'kø eW; ka du ea fxjkoV] LVkØl , DI pat ea 'ks jka ds eW; ka ea deh rFkk bl idkj vfr ijt hdj.k dh fn'kk dh vkj 0; ol k; dh voufrA

Wiii½ vU; y{k.k & bueavud idkj ds y{k.k gks l drsgß tS svakka ds Lokfero ds < kps ea ifjorU] 0; ol k; dh icl/k 0; olFkk ea vpkud ifjorU vkfnA

#X.k bdkb; ka dh c<rh gßZ l ã; k& orëku l e; ea insk ds m | fe; ka ds l keus vud l eL; k; a gß ftuds fujkdj.k u gkus ds dkj.k vks] kfxd bdkb; ka ea #X.krk dh l ã; k c<rh tk jgh gß Lora-rk ds 66 o"kkä ds ckn Hkh nsk ea mRrj insk vks] kfxd : i l sfi NMs inskka ea vkrk gß bl dk i æf k dkj.k vks] kfxd bdkb; ka ea c<rh #X.krk dh l ã; k gSoS srks m | kxka ea #X.krk dh n"V l s dkbZ Hkh jkT; vNirk ugha gß fdUrq mRrj insk dh vks] kfxd bdkb; ka dh #X.krk fpUrktud fLFkr ea gß ; fn bl l eL; k dk l ek/kku ugha fd; k x; k rks bl dk cjk i Hkko insk dh vks] kfxd ufr ij Hkh ifrdw i Mækj insk dh y?q vks] kfxd #X.k bdkb; ka dh l ã; k bl idkj gß

insk ea #X.k y?q vks] kfxd bdkb; ka dh l ã; k , oa i qokl u

Ø0 l Ø	fooj .k	2009&10 20	10&11	2012&13
1-	#X.k ?kkf"kr djusgrq vkonu i =	427	367	234
2-	vkonu i = viwkZ gkus ij i =kofyr	187	118	92
3-	e.My Lrjh; l fevr dks l nfhkZ	240	158	192
4-	#X.k ?kkf"kr bdkb; k;	212	187	124
5-	#X.k ?kkf"kr gkus ds ckn fujLr	28	29	66
6-	i qokl u bdkb; ka dh l ã; k	93	96	34

l k& i æfr l eh{kk m | kx funskky;] mØi Ø ½2007&08] 2008&09] 2010&11] 2012&13] i st & 19½

Hkj r ea vksj ksd #X.krk ds vqMts

o"K	y?kq vksj ksd bdkb;ka	x\$ y?kq vksj ksd bdkb;ka	;ks		
	I ;k	ifr'kr	I ;k	ifr'kr	
1980	23149	94-29	1401	5-71	&
1990	218828	98-97	2269	1-03	24550
2000	304235	98-97	3164	1-03	221097
2003	167980	98-02	3396	1-98	307399
2007	114132	96-62	3992	3-38	171376
2008	85187	95-03	4454	4-97	118124
2011	990141	&	&	&	89641

I kr&0; ol kf; d okrkoj .k oh0d0 Xykcy i fcydsku] vkfKd I eh{kk 2011&12 ¼ st &215½
#X.k bdkb;ka dh iqokl I eL;k dks nj djus ds mik;

vksj ksd #X.krk dks nj djus ds fy, I jdkj rFkk cBka }kjk foFkkUu
 mik; fd;s x; sgftul sm | kska dks i qLFkkZi r fd;k tk I dA

I jdkj }kjk fd, x, mik;⁴

I jdkj }kjk #X.k bdkb;ka dh i qLFkkZ uk rFkk i q#) kj ds fy, dbZ
 dne mBk, x, gftksfuEu izkj I sg%

¼½ izUk dks vf/kdkj ea ysuk&; fn I jdkj dks ;g irhr gsrk gs
 fd vksj ksd #X.krk dk e[; dkj.k xyr izak gs vksj bdkbZ i qLFkkZi r gks
 I drh gsrks I jdkj , d h #X.k bdkbZ dk izUk vi us vf/kdkj ea ysyrh gA

½½ LoLFk bdkb;ka ds I kFk , dhj.k.&#X.k vksj ksd bdkb;ka dh
 i qLFkkZ uk ds fy, pKd I h I febr us bu #X.k bdkb;ka dks LoLFk bdkb;ka ds
 I kFk , dhj.k dk I pko fn; kA bl I febr us LoLFk bdkb;ka dks , d s, dhj.k
 ds i kRl kgu ds fy, djka ea NW/ka dk I pko fn; kj vFkkZ~tk LoLFk bdkbZ #X.k
 bdkbZ ds I kFk , dhj.k djs h] ml s dj I s NW nh tk; A I jdkj us pKd I h
 I febr ds bl I pko dks eku fy; kj rFkk vk; dj vf/kfu; e ea I akksku dj ds
 /kkjk 72 ds vlrXZ dj I s NW a n hA bl I s #X.k bdkbZ dk LoLFk bdkbZ ds I kFk
 , dhj.k dks c<kok feykA

¾½ mRiknu&dj I s I e/kr __.k&#X.k bdkb;ka dks foRrh; I gk; rk
 nus ds fy, I jdkj us #X.k bdkb;ka dks C; kt dh de nj ij __.k nus dh
 ;kstuk i kj EHk dh gA bl ;kstuk ds vuq kj #X.k bdkb;ka fi Nys 5 o"K ea
 Hkx rku fd;s x; smRiknu dj dk 50 ifr'kr rd __.k ds; i eays I drh gA

; g __.k #X.k bdkb; ka dks de C; kt nj ij fn; k tk; sxA

¼½ Hkkjrh; vks kfxd ofou; ks dh LFkki uk #X.k bdkb; ka dh i qLFkki uk rFkk i qxBu ds fy,] Hkkjrh; vks kfxd i qfuEkzk fuxe dh LFkki uk 1971 ea dh x; hA o"KZ 1984 ea vkbDvkjOl hOvkbD dks Hkkjrh; vks kfxd i qfuEkzk cfd d k uke fn; k x; kA 1995 ea vkbDvkjOchOvkbD dks foRrh; I LFkku dk Lrj i nku fd; k x; k] vks bl su; k uke Hkkjrh; vks kfxd ofou; ks cfd fn; k x; kA o"KZ 2006&07 ea us#X.k bdkb; ka dks: 0 11]184 djkm+ fj; k; rh __.k fn; A vkbDvkjOchOvkbD dse[; mnas; bl idkj g&

¼½ #X.k bdkb; ka dks foRrh; I gk; rk nsukA

¼ii½ #X.k bdkb; ka dks i zU/kdh; , oar duhdh I gk; rk nsukA

¼iii½ vU; foRrh; I LFkku rFkk I jdkjh , tSU ; ka }kjk bl fn'kk eafd; s x; s dk; ka ea l elo; ykukA

¼iv½ , dh dj .k] foy; u vkfn ds fy, 0; ki kfjd cfdak I ok; a i nku djukA

fu'd'KZ , oa I qko

: X.k bdkb; ka dh c<rh I [; k ea i zU/kdka dh vuttkoghurk , oai fj; kst ukvka dk I e; ij pkywu gks i kuk Hkh , d cMh I eL; k g] bl fy; s I jdkj dksuohu LFkfi r gks okyh bdkb; ka ds pkyw djus ij dkunh i fO; k de djuk pkfg; s , oa mOi D fuxe dks , d h : X.kk bdkb; ka dks fpflgr djds mlga nks Hkxka ea foHDr djuk pkfg, A ftl ea igyh , d h bdkb; ka tks : X.k g] i jUr qpy jgh g] , oanw jh tks : X.k gkdj cUn gks x; h g] tks : X.k bdkb; kapy jgh g] , oa __.k dk Hkqrku ugha dj i k jgh g] mu bdkb; ka ea l Qy m | fe; ka dks i zU/ku , oa I xBu eaeuksur djds mudsvuttko dk ykHk i nku dj : X.kRkk I sckgj ykus dk iz kl djuk pkfg,] nwh jh , d h : X.k bdkb; ka tks cUn gks x; h g] mudks , d s I Qy m | fe; ka dh bdkb; ka ea l ekfyr djds pykus g] rnsuk pkfg, rkfd osHkh : X.krk I sckgj vk I da , oav i us }kjk fy; s x; s __.kka dks oki I pppk I dA vxj bl dk; Zgrq I Qy m | fe; ka dks dN foRrh; I gk; rk dh t: jr gks rks fuxe mudks foRr dh i fir ZHkh dj A cMh i fj; kst ukvka ds fy; s I ykgdkj fu; Dr djuk pkfg,] i zU/kdka dks i f" k {k.k nsuk pkfg; } tks [kei wKZ i fj; kst ukvka ea l LFkxr I ykgdkj fu; Dr djuk pkfg, rFkk vad{k d dh fu; Dr , oam l gvkus ea foRrh; I LFkku dh I gefr Hkh yh tk, rkfd i wZ ea fn; s x; s __.k fuxe dks ol ny gks I da , oafuxe dks __.k ol nyh ea l Qyrk i ktr gks I dA

I UnHkZ

- 1- 0; ol kf; d okrkoj.k Vh0vkj0 t&ij epłsk =gku] oh0d0 Xykcy i fcyds'ku i k0
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- 2- 0; ol kf; d okrkoj.k Vh0vkj0 t&ij epłsk =gku] oh0d0 Xykcy i fcyds'ku i k0
fy0 4323@3 v& kjh jkMf ubzfnYyhj ¼ &dj.k 2013&14 ist u0 208½
- 3- 0; ol kf; d i ; k0j.k Mk00 , l 0d0 fl 0 l kfgR; Hkou i fcyds'ku] gkfl i Vy jkMf
vkxjk ¼ &dj.k 2009 ist u0 157½
- 4- 0; ol kf; d okrkoj.k Vh0vkj0 t&ij epłsk =gku] oh0d0 Xykcy i fcyds'ku i k0
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I xhrj?kqulhue~%jl rRo eV;ködu

#fp ik.Ms *

I xhrj?kqulhue-Hkfä fefJr Jäckj jl ç/kku dk0; gA jl fHk0; fä ea egkjkt fo'oukFk fl g tmo vR; r dqky gA Jäckj vkš Hkfä jl ds I kFk&l kFk dfo usvU; jl ka dksHkh çdV fd; k gA I xhrj?kqulnu dk0; eadfo ds }kjk ç; ä jl kfhkKfä dk v/; ; u djus dsfy, geajl dsLo: i dk v/ ; ; u djuk vko'; d gA vr, o çFker%ge jl dsLo: i dk v/; ; u djx&

jl D; k gA bl ç'u dk mükj nrsgg jl I Eçnk; ds vpkp; ZHkjrefu dgrs g& ^foHkkokutHkko0; fhkpkjh I a kxkn~jl fu"i fÜk%*1 vFkkzr foHkko] vutHkko rFkk I pkjh Hkkoka ds l a kx l s jl dh fu"i fÜk gkrh gA

jl dh ifjHkk"kk crkrsgg dk0; çdk'kd kj eEeV dgrs g&

foHkkok vutHkkoLrr~dF; Urs 0; fhkpkfj .kA

0; Dr% I rfoHkkok | % LFkk; h Hkkoks jl % Le~AA²

vFkkzr ykd eajfr vkfn LFkkbzHkkokads tksdkj .k] dk; ZrFkk I gdkjh Hkko gA mudk ; fn dk0; vkš ukVd ea o.kü fd; k tkrk gS rks os Øe'k% foHkko] vutHkko vkš 0; fhkpkjh Hkko dgs tkrsgA mu foHkkokfn ds }kjk 0; atuk l s0; ä fd; k gA LFkkbz Hkko jl dgk tkrk gA

I kfgR; niZkdj fo'oukFk dfojkt jl dks ifjHkkf"kr djrs gg dgrs g&

foHkkokutHkko 0; ä% I pkfj .kk rFkA

jLkrkefr jR; kn LFkkf; Hkko% I prl keAA³

vFkkzr foHkko] vutHkko vkš I pkjh Hkko ds l g; kx l s vfhk0; ä gA LFkk; h Hkko gh l ân; ka dsfy, jl cu tkrk gA

I ân; ka ds ân; ea okl uk : i ea fLFkr 'kk'or eukfodkj LFkkbz Hkko dgk tkrk gA jfr] gkl] 'kkcd] Økdk] mRl kg] Hk;] tçq] k vkš foLe; ; s LFkkbz Hkko gA⁴

LFkkbz Hkko ds míhi d dks foHkko dgrs gA ; s nks çdkj ds gkrsgA vkýEcu foHkko vkš míhi u foHkkoA uk; d] ukf; dkfn vkýæu gA uk; d&ukf; dkvka ds xqk] pSVk] vydkj] ol r __r] m | ku vkfn míhi u foHkko gA LFkk; hHkkoka dk vutHkko djkus okys Hkkoka dks ^vutHkko* dgk tkrk gA ; g

* 'Mok Nk=ij jk"V'; I kNir I ULFKku]xakulFk >k ifjI j] izkxjkt Mnáiä½

I kRrod] dlf; d vls okfpd Hkn I sdbzçdkj ds gkrs g& I kRrod Hkko vKB g& Lon] LrHk] jkekp] LojHka] oi Fkj ob.;] vJqvls i zy; A⁵ dV{k(k) Hkq: k{ki kfn] dlf; d] vutHko rFk e/kj opu vkfn okfpd vutHko g&

LFkrf; Hkko dh i q"V djus okys Hkko 0; fhkpkjh Hkko dgykrs g& budh I q̄; k rshl g& fuoh] Xykfu] 'kdk] g"q̄ n8;] mxrk fpark] =kl] bZ; k̄ ve"q̄ xo] Lefr] ej.k] en] I q̄r] fuæk] foos]] ohMk] vi kLekj] ekj] efr] vyl rk] vkox] rd] vofgRFk] 0; kf/k] mUekn] fo"kn] mRl q̄rk , oapiyrkA⁶

ji ka dh I q̄; k vKB ekuh xbZ g& Jækj] gkL;] d# .k] jkñ] ohj] Hk; kud] ohHkRl] vls vnHkq̄ ji A⁷ bl dsckn 'kkar ji Hkh ekuk x; k g&⁸ bl dsvfrfjâ Hkfâ ji Hkh ekuk tkrk gS tksfd 'kkar ji ds vxr vk tkrk g&

I xhr j?kpuu dk çeq̄k ji Jækj ji &

I l-r ds vf/kdkâk vkpk; kâ us Jækj ji dks I oçFke LFkku ndj bl s 'ji jkt* dsuke I svfhkgr fd; k g& vls Jækj dksgh I Hkh ji ka dk eyk/kkj dgk x; k g& bl dk LFkkbZ Hkko 'jfr* çR; çd çk.kh dh 'kk' or Hkkouk g& vkpk; kâ us Jækj dk ' ; ke o.kz ekuk gS fo".kq bl ds nørk g&

Jækj ji ds nks Hkn ekus x, g& I a lxx , oafocyEHkA⁹ I a lxx Jækj dk vko' ; d o.kz; fo"k; uk; d&ukf; dk dk I kñ; Zfp=.k g& T; kfr"kkkkL= vls dke'kkL= ds vuq kj vf/kdkâkr% ukf; dk dk I kñ; Zfp=.k fd; k tkrk g& I a lxx Jækj eaç.k; yhyk dk fo'kSk egro g& I a lxx ofÜk ds mñhi u ds : i eaç-fr dk Hkh o.kz fd; k tkrk g&

Lh; lxx Jækj

I l-r I kfgR; ea egkdfo dkfynkl I s Jækj ji dh tksvtlz /kkjk çokfgr gksjgh Fkh] og dfo t; n8 eaviuspje : i eafLFkr g& t; n8 dk xhrxkfoin Jækj ç/kku xhr dko; g& ml h i jâjk eajfpr I xhrj?kpuunu dko; ea Jh jke vls I hrk dk Jækfjd o.kz dfo usçLrq̄ fd; k g&

I j; wunh ds rV ij fLFkr Hkou dks jkl dk mi ; q̄â LFkku crkrs gq dgrs g&

I q̄knl ehjs I j; whjs foyl fr yfyrfuy; eA

dkpu'kkyae f.ke; tkyaell; aenuen; ueAA¹⁰

dfo us ol r __rq dk o.kz fd; k g& ol r __rq I g; kfx; kâ ds fy, ojnk u Lo: i g&

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djcdcdydrdhdkjodndnEcfodk'kAA¹¹

ol r __rq ds çHkko l s , oa l j ; wunh ds rV ij fLFkr l nj jkl Hkou
dksn[kdj Jhjde vks l hrk vks l Hkh l f[k; kajeklpr gksdj jkl eaexu gks
tkrh gA __f'k; ka dk eu Hkh dkeno dsen l smleknr gksjgk gA bl ol r
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efueul kfi enuenefnfu eknegknf/k ekyA

v'kdypæpfædkpnupfzfnxlrjkyAA¹²

ol r o.ku dsvrfj ä Hkh dfo Lora : i l sl f[k; ka ds l kFk jkl LFky
ij Jhjde dk o.ku djrsq dgrsg&

feFks n'kuLi 'kziyfdroi fozt ; rs i ul eA

LonLfyyd.kl fgronuefi lk; kuf/ktpæel eAA¹³

Lh; lxx Jækj eauf; dk dseku dk o.ku dfo; ka dk vR; r fç; fo"k; jgk
gA çLrç dk0; eaHkh dfo usJh l hrk dseku dk o.ku fd; k gA l a lxx Jækj
dk gh fo"k; uk; d ukf; dk ds l kñ; Z dk fp=.k Hkh dfo us l njrki wkzfd; k gA
: Bh gßZ ukf; dk l hrk dkseukus dsfy, l [kh Jhjde dsxqka dk c[kku djrs
gq dgrh g&

dkddydyukdtkyk?Yi dtYi fç; kuq kjhA

ekufoekpu! yyukykpul tke; dk; fcgkjAA¹⁴

bnf'k je.ksnXxkpj bg fdeqfcgjfr cjukjhA

fo'oukFkxhrs xhr?flfleyrç fongdçkjAA¹⁵

ukf; dk dsLo: i dk o.ku djrsq dfo usdkeno dh i Ruh jfr dsniZ
dk uk'k djus okyh l hrk dk o.ku fd; k g&

eknfodk'ks jkl foykl s j?kumufeFkys kufinuh

Loxqkxfoz'k xk; fr xhre- l dUni jfrni dUnuhAA

foiyEhk Jækj

tc jfr uked Hkko mRdV gkç fdrqfiz dh ikflr u gks og foiyEhk
Jækj dgk tkrk gA ; g Hkh ekueWkd vks idkl enyd : i l snksçdkj dk gkrk
gA

ifr Jhjde dks jkl eafylr n[kdj ifr dk vius ifr ç n'kkZus , oa

I f[k; ka dks fuEu fn[kkus dsfy, I hrk var/kku gks tkrh gA ft I I sjke n[ek kh
gksrs gq dgrs g&

jkl foykl I ekf/kl qkk; I elrj/kknfLeflidy dkyA
iyyki g ifr ck.kfç; red xrk Hkorh DouçkyAA¹⁶

jke ds var/kku gks tkus ij I f[k; ka I hrk dh fcjgkoLFkk dk o.ku djrs
gq dgrh g&

xfrfoxgo.kkz P; qreçko.kkzfrcf/kjd.kkz ro fiz ka

u j I k; uj{; k f/kD—frHkç; k Ro; ð y{; k xrfØ; kAA¹⁷

dfo usç—fr dsl ki çk Hkh fojg dsvR; r I qj fp= çLrç fd, gA tgl;
çk—frd oLrq a I a kx dh voLFkk ea ve'r rç; çrhr gsrh gA ogh oLrq a
fo; kx dh voLFkk ea fo" k rç; i rhr gsrh gA

ey; kpyi ouka fo" k/kjonuki jfprxeuks ngrç—'keA

dFke; eij dkjh thou/kkjh thougkjH HkofrHk" keAA¹⁸

bl çdkj dfo fo'oukFk usI çhrj?kumue-dk0; ea Jäckj jI dsl a kx
, oafoiyHk nksuka : i ka dk vR; r vkd"kd o.ku fd; k gA

Jäckj jI dsl kFk gh xdk eavU; jI kadsHkh dñ mnkgj.k çkI r gksrs gA

ohj jI

ohj jI dh ifjHkk"kk nrs gq n'k: iddkj vkpk; Z/kuat; us dgk g&

ohj% çrki fou; k/; ol k; I Roekgfo"kknu; foLe; foØ | SA

mRI kgHkk6 I p n; kj.knku; kskr~ =çkk fdyk=efrxozk'kzi g"kkAA¹⁹

vFkkzr çrki] fou;] v/; ol k;] I Ro] ekj] vfo"kn] u;] foLe;] ijkØe
bR; kfn foHkkoka ds }kjk gks okys mRI kg I sohj jI dh fu"i fUk gsrh gA

I kfgR; ni Zkdj vkpk; Z fo'oukFk ds vuq kj

mUkeç—frohj mRI kgLFkkf; Hkkod%A

egænorks geo.kk; a I epkâr%AA²⁰

vFkkzr mR—"V /khknkUk xqkka I s ; çä uk; d okyk] mR—"V mRI kg
LFkkf; Hkko okyk jI ohj gA ; g egæ nor k rFkk Lkø.kzo.kzokyk gsrk gA bl ds
nkuohj] /kebhj] ; ð ohj rFkk n; kohj pkj Hkn ekus x, gA

çLrç dk0; I çhrj?kumue-ey; lk I s Jäckj jI izkku dk0; gA rFkfi
dgh&dghabl ds vfrj ä vU; jI Hkh yfçkr gksrs gA mnkgj.kLo: i Hkxoku

ds vorkjka dk o.ku djrs l e; g; xy : lk dk o.ku djrs gq dgk g&
 l kxjl ejnkl jân; fonkj d!
 oñkn/kkj d! oul pkj d! A
 Jh j?køj! g; xy: lk!
 t; txnh'kir d AA

ohkri j l

ohkri j l dh ifjHkk"kk nrs gq n'k: iddkj /kuat; us dgk gSfd&
 ohkri % Ñfei firxfu/koeFkj k; st qçl dHk&
 : }sch #f/kj ku=dhd l ol keda kfnfHk% {kkk. k&
 oş kx; kT t?kuLrukfn"q ?k. kk' kq kşuHkkoş k
 ukl koD=fodwukfnfHkfj gkoskfrZ kadkn; %AA²¹
 vFkkz #f/kj] eka] usrd iru] vkfn ?kf.kr oLrçka dks nş[kdj ; k
 l qdj mRiUu gøZ ?k.kk ; k tçqçl k l sohkri j l çokfgr gkrk g&
 l kfgR; niZkdj vkpk; Z fo'oukFk ohkri j l dks ifjHkkf"kr djrs gq
 dgrs g&

tçqçl kLFkkf; HkkoolRq ohkri % dF; rs j l %
 uhyo.kk egdky; orkş; epkâr %AA
 nççl/kekka #f/kj Hknk; kyEcu a ereA
 r=ş Ñfei krk | epñhi uepkâneAA²²

vFkkz ohkri j l dk LFkkbZ Hkko tçqçl k] o.kz uhy vşş nørk egdky
 g& nççk; çä eka] #f/kj] pchZ vkfn vkyçu] vşş mUgha eadhiM+ i M+ tkuk vkfn
 mihi u foHkko gkrk g&

çLrç dk0; ea vU; j l ka dh Hkkfr egkjkt fo'oukFk fl ç usbl dk Li 'kz
 Hkh fd; k g& Jh jke ds var/kku gks tkus ij fojfg.kh l hrk vşş l f[k; ka mUga
 <ççh gøç] ou ea i M+ i ç i ka l sdgrh g&

dq çu [ksufonh.kz cgçkks Hkork ân;] f[k | fr foxr=kl !A
 jfgr=; a dkuus foyl fl] fojfgi yk'k! i yk'k! AA²³

j l & ; kstuk dh -f"V l sdgk tk l drk gSfd eyr% l çhrj?kqñue-, d
 Jækjh dk0; gS l i w kz dk0; ea dfo us l ç lç o foi yHk dh fofo/k n'kkvka dks
 gh fofo/k ek/; eka l smHkkjus dk ç; kl fd; k g& ; = r= dk0; eafclnq; i ea

vU; jI ka dk Hkh I qj n'kz gks tkrk g} fdUrqvrr%os I c J&kj jI dks gh
 ifjiV djrsg& J&kj ds ifji; eamlgkarsyxHkx I Hkh jI ka dh I qj >kadh
 çLrç dh g&

I UnHkZ

- 1- ukVî 'kkL=] e/kq mu 'kkL=h] I hÑr I kfgR; vuq U/kku I fejr] v/; k; &6] dk'kh
 fgUnwfo'ofok|ky;] I or-2028-
- 2- dk0; idk'k] mYykl &4] ofUk&28-
- 3- I kfgR; nizk] rrrh; ifjPNn] i"B&46] vkpk; Zfo'oukFk] tsFkkeI] of.V: V
 fe'ku id] dydUkk] 1851-
- 4- dk0; idk'k] mYykl &4] ofUk&30] vkpk; Zfo'o'sjÑr] I Eiknd MkW ujBn]
 Kkue.My fyfeVM] okj.k.kl hA
- 5- n'k: id] idk'k&4] dkfjdk&7] Jhfuokl 'kkL=h] I kfgR; Hk.Mkj] ejB 1965-
- 6- n'k: id] dkfjdk&7-
- 7- ukVî 'kkL=] Hkjrefud"r] e/kq mu 'kkL=hA
- 8- dk0; idk'k] mYykl &4] dkfjdk&35-
- 9- dk0; idk'k] 4@29] i"B&121-
- 10- I xhrj?kqUnue] 2@1@26] fo'oukFk] g tms] I Eiknd iHkr'kkL=h] dksKkEch
 idk'ku] iz kxjktA
- 11- I xhrj?kqUnue] 2@1@28-
- 12- I xhrj?kqUnue] 3@1@37-
- 13- I xhrj?kqUnue] 6@40-
- 14- I xhrj?kqUnue] 4@7@47-
- 15- I xhrj?kqUnue] 4@7]8@48-
- 16- I xhrj?kqUnue] 11@1@94-
- 17- I xhrj?kqUnue] 4@2@42-
- 18- I xhrj?kqUnue] 12@5@105-
- 19- I xhrj?kqUnue] 12@2@104-
- 20- n'k: id] idk'k&4@72-
- 21- I xhrj?kqUnue] 3@232@118-
- 22- I xhrj?kqUnue] 1@17@16-
- 23- n'k: id] idk'k&4@73@387-

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-MkK fnokdj f=iBh

- 11- eglohj pfjr ea iÑfr fp=.k 103&105

*-MkK jkt'sk dφkj**-eφ'sk plhZ*

- 12- 'iñMr nhu n;ky milè;k; %, dRe ekuo n"ku 106&112

rFkk vUR; ks; *

-MkK %lherh½ eerk ef.k f=iBh

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nšk dh včk.Mrk , oa l bñfr ds izk	
<i>- Mkw fnokdj f=iBh</i>	
<i>- ugk</i>	
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<i>- Mkw vgen vnhy</i>	
24- Hkjr ea ernku 0; ogkj % efgykva ds fo"ksk l mHl ea	188&194
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25- oākēj 'kpy ds dk0; ea ekuorkkn	195&204
<i>- Mkw vHk 'kpyk</i>	
26- ^xteh.k efgyk; i vlg tulpkj ek; e**	205&210
<i>- jkxuh f=iBh</i>	
27- mūkj inšk foūk fuxe }kj k __.k ol yh ds l mHl ea	211&216
^: X.k bdkb; k dh c<řh l č; k , oa iqđkl l eL; k	
dk fo"yšk.k**	
<i>- Mkw vry dęj fl g</i>	
28- l xhrj?kūhue~ % j l rRo eW; kōu	217&222
<i>- #fp ik.Ms</i>	

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10. **Mk&v fno&vj f=i&vBh**
I gk; d vlpk; j bfrgkl j I &Nfr , oa ijkrúo foMkx j Mk&vjkeulsj yk&g; k vo/k fo'ofok/ky; v; k& ; k &na&ia&½
11. **Mk&v jkt&sk d&vj**
, I k&l , v ik&vj , oa v/; {k I &d'r foMkx Qh&jkt xk&kh dkys&jk; c&jyh &no&i&½
12. **ep&sk plh**
"k&k Nk= j I &dr foMkx j Qh&jkt xk&kh dkys&j jk; c&jyh & m&oi&½
13. **Mk&v &v&er&½ eer&k ef.k f=i&vBh**
, I k&l , v ik&vj jkt&ulfr "k&l=½ c&ð Luk&l&vj Elg&fo/ky; d&v&huxj &na&ia&½
14. **Mk&v i&en fl g**
vfl LV&v ik&vj jkt&ulfr foKku Vh&, u&i&h&th&d&h&st V&k. Mk&v&ec&vd&j uxj&na&ia&½

- 15- ~~MMW~~ *ctšk Lo: i lkdj*
vflLVW ikQdj&jktufr foKku foHkx dðdð ihðtð dkyšt bvlok
ʔnáiã½
- 16- ~~MMW~~ *fnokdj f=ikBh*
lgk;d vpk;? bfrgkl] lã-fr ,oa ijkrø foHkx|MMW jke eukj ykq;k
vo/k fo'ofø/ky;]v; kš; kʔnáiã½
- 17- ~~ugk~~
'kškkfkh]ih ih&,p-Mh- dkl l od&2019]el; dkyhu ,oa vk/kud bfrgkl
bfrgkl] lã-fr ,oa ijkrø foHkx|MMW jke eukj ykq;k vo/k
fo'ofø/ky;]v; kš; kʔnáiã½
- 18- ~~vry døj fl g~~
vflLVW ikQdj& lãŃr foHkx] Vh,u-ihth dkyšt Vh.Mj vfcMdj uxj
máiã½
- 19- ~~M,ã vâkq ikMs~~
vflLVW ckQdj jktufr foKku foHkx n;kum xylz ihðtð d,yšt ʔnáiã½
- 20- ~~MMW~~ *jke iŃr ef.k f=ikBh*
, lãl, v ikQdj ʔŃr ikj½ ckck jk?ko nkl LukrdkŃj egko/ky;
noj;k ʔnáiã½
- 21- ~~MMW~~ *flerk vxokj*
'kšf.kd ijke'kãkrk m-izjkt'Ńz V.Mu epŃr fo'ofø/ky;] iz,kxjkt ʔnáiã½
- 22- ~~MMW~~ *vkKk ik.Mš*
vflLVW ikQdj& jktufr foKku foHkx] n;kuln xylz ihth dkyšt
dkuij ʔnáiã½
- 23- ~~MMW~~ *vf[kysoj iŃkn "kpy*
vflLVW ikQdj& lãŃr foHkx] vkouð nð fdiku ihðtð dkyšt]
chkuku&xksMk ʔnáiã½
- 24- ~~MMW~~ *ime ;kno*
172] Hkxð gkrkj iHkŃkmul] jk;cjyh ʔnáiã½
- 25- ~~MMW~~ *vgen vnhy*
xte o ik&V&FkyšMh ftyk&jk;cjyh ʔnáiã½
- 26- ~~ftrhñz døj feJ~~
vflLVsV ikQdj cð ihth dkyšt]dŃkhuxj ʔnáiã½
- 27- ~~MMW~~ *vkKk 'kpyk*
vflLVW ikQdj] fglh foHkx] ,lã Mhã ,lã ,uã flMxh dkyšt] Mkerh
uxj] y[kuÅ] ʔnáiã½
- 28- ~~jkxuh f=ikBh~~
idDrk chãhã,lã b.Vj dkyšt] iz,kxjkt ʔnáiã½
- 29- ~~MMW~~ *vry døj fl g*
277] foukck uxj] xkqkh xte] dkuij ʔnáiã½
- 30- ~~#fp ik.Mš~~
'kšk Nk=kj jkr'V? lãŃr lUlFku]xakukf >k ifj]j] iz,kxjkt ʔnáiã½

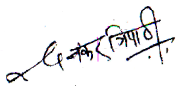
I Eikndh;

I Eikndh I d kj xr o"KZ 2019&20 I s dKjksuk egkekjh ds Hk; kog I U=kl I stwark jgk gA I jdkjka dh I gkr; k , oamRI kg I s I Eijsjr oSkfudka us fo'o Lrj ij I rr iz kl djrs gq vUrr% dKjksuk dh oDI hu dk vUoSk.k dj fy; kA ekoo tkfr dh vc rd dh oDI hu vuq akku dh ; g vnHkq miyfc/k dgh tk I drh gA fo'o Hkj ds iR; d fodfl r vFkok fodkl 'khy ns kka ds oSkfudka dk vgfuzk vuq fu/kRI k iwKz iz kl ekuo thou j{kk ds {ks= ea iwKz; k I Qy jgk gA : I] vefjDk] Hkkjr] Yka] xW fcVsu] vKVVfy; k vKj phu vkfn I Hkh ns kka ea dKjksuk oDI hu ij xgure xoSk.kk dk;Z pyrK jgk(ftI ea : I] Yka] xW fcVsu , oa vefjDk ds vfrfjDr Hkkjr; oSkfudka us oDI hu dk vUoSk.k dj fy; kA I Hkh ns kka us viuh&viuh oDI hu ds I Qy ij h{k.k vKj iz ksc dh ?kSk.kk; a Hkh fd; kA Hkkjr ds oSkfudka dk dKjksuk oDI hu vius I Qy iz ksc ea vf}rh; fl) gkdj fo'o ea viuh dhfrZ dk foLrkj dj fy; k gA ifj.kker%WHO us Hkh Hkkjr; oDI hu dh eDr Loj ea iz ka k dhA Hkkjr; oDI hu ds iz kscxr ifj.kkeh ykHka dks tu&tu ds thou dh j{kk dh mi; Drk ea ns[kk x; k gA Hkkjr I jdkj I s vuq fonSkh I jdkjka us vius ns k ds ukxfjDka ds fy, dKjksuk oDI hu ikr djus dh ekx dh gA Hkkjr I jdkj mu mu ns kka ea viuh dKjksuk oDI hu dh vki firZ dj jgh gA fonSkka us Hkkjr; oDI hu ds iz ksc ea gkfudkjD iHko dk iwKz-% vHko ik; k x; k gA ftI ea gekjs ns k ds oSkfud miyfc/k dk fMe&fMe ?kSk I Eikndh I d kj ea bl I e; I qkbZ ns jgk gA iR; d Hkkjr; ds an; ea vkRexlso , oa jk"V" I Eeku dh vHkurimZ Hkkouk 0; klr gks jgh gA gekjh oSkfud miyfc/k dk I Eeku I kjk I d kj dj jgk gA

LerD; rF; gS fd Hkkjr; oDI hu dh xqkoUkkiwKz [kkst ds fy, tgk , d vKj oSkfudka dh eskk vKj I rr iz kl dh I jguk gks jgh gS ogha nu jh vKj gekjs vkstLoh i?kkuea=h Jh ujbnz eksnh th }kj k oSkfudka dks inUk gj I EHko I gk; rk] I g; ksc] I eal kg vKj vkRefo'okl dh Hkkouk dh iz ka k ns k ds gj ukxfjD dseDrd.B I s vkt I qh tk jgh gA ijs fo'o ea ifr; kSxrk iwKz Hkkouk I s ; Dr gekjs foKkfu; ka us tks vuq U/kku dk;Z djds iFke iDr ea Hkkjr jk"V" dks LFkku fnyk; k gS og I nk LrR; , oa 'yk/; jgsxA

Hkkjr ljdkj dh oržeku ea dkskusuk oDI husku dh tks 0; oLFkk
ijnsk Hkj ea LFkkfir dh gš og Hkkjr ts sfo'kky jk"V^a ds fy,
vf}rh; dgh tk l drh gš dkskusuk egkekjh l s j{kk djus okys
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dks iFker% oDI hu dk batD'ku egš; k dj; k tk ppk gš bl ds
vulrj 60o"lz ds vf/kd mez ds Hkkjrh; ukxfjdka dks fu'kq d%
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tks 40&45 l s Åij dh mez ds chekj ykx gš vkxs dk Øe Hkh
Hkkjr ljdkj dh uhfr ds vuphyrk ea l Ei jeku jgskA bl 0; oLFkk
l s Hkkjrh; ukxfjdka ea dkskusuk egkekjh l s vc Hk; eDrrk dh Hkkouk
mRiUk gks pph gš bl l Riz kl dh l Qyrk dsfy, gekjs iekku eah
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