

^vÜk nhi ks Hko* OKW I v kND CQ k

DL(S)-01/3190/2009-11

R.N.I. No. 68180/98

eV; % ikp : i ; s

i skd % MKND mfnr jkt ½jke jkt½ ps jeü & tflVI i fcydska] ch&113] I okh; , UDyp] ubZ fnYyh&17] Qku % 26960022] VsyhQDI % 26534559

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o"KZ % 12

vad 9

ikf{kd

f}Hkk"kh

16 I s 31 ekp] 2009

, d 'kke oru ds uke , oa vEcMdj us kuy vokMZ dk; bæ I Ei Uu

^, d 'kke oru ds uke* I kldfrd dk; Døe 15 ekp] 2009 dks I k; a6 I s 11 ctsrd gá eöfu fFk; Vj] ixfr eñku] ubZ fnYyh ea cQ k , tpsku QkmMS ku ds rRokoekku ea I Ei Uu gqkA dk; Døe dk mn?kVv jk"Vh; vè; {k] MKND mfnr jkt }kj k fd; k x; kA eQ; vfrffk ds: i ea dñh; ea-h]

Jh jke foykl ikl oku , oa fof"K"V vfrffk ds: i ea fjifcydu iKVZ vkND bñM; k ds Jh jke nkl vkBoys mi fLFkr jgA vU; x.keU; vfrffk; ka ea rtdLrku ds , Ecd Mj I ñox I ñko FkA dk; Døe ds i'pr- jk"Vh; , oa vñjkVh; Lrj ij [; kfr i ktr dykdjka tS s & ik'oz xk; d &

vQjst [kku

I Cchj dëkj] Hksti gh xkf; dk & dYi uk] jkst k , oafci u cgkj] ik'oz xkf; dk & I kcjh Hkëpk; k] ik'oz xk; d & vQjst [kku] I e'kn [kku] ckydykdj jkgy xkñf- fQYe Mk; jDvj vkun dëkj] LokLF; I ok I s tM; ih, u- vjkmk] 0; ol k; h , -ds 'kek] vkulñ pkëkj]

uñrk nkl] MKND I kuy ekuf] g] jktCej] I kjæk E; ftdy xij ds dykdjka o xij ds vlxLkbtj bdcy efyd vkfn dks MKND mfnr

dykdjka dks Hkh Hkjh&Hkj de jkf'k egg'sk dj; h tkrh gA tc bl dk; Døe dh : i jëkk fnYyh in'sk bñM; u tflVI i KVZ ds vè; {k & Jh

To,



, d 'kke oru ds uke dk; Døe ea ck, a I s jkenkl vkBoys jke foykl ikl oku] 'kCchj dëkj] MKND mfnr jkt] I ñox I ño] vkun pkëkj] dYi uk] vQjst [kku] jkst k , oa fci u cgkj o vU;



dk; Døe 'kkfey yxskA dk tul eöA vxyh i ñDr ea ck, a I s I koj h] I hek jkt] MKND mfnr jkt] jke foykl ikl oku o jkenkl vkBoys

I j'sk nhoku o egkl fpo & vQjst [kku] ch-ds fl g] in'sk i Hkjh & ckcw yky] I j'sk nhf{kr} ekLVj blñtñr] fot; dëkj] I fork i jñk] enk xLj h] I kfdk pkëkj] eks Oghe] jktñz [KVhd] I j'sk plñj ekO dkl e vkfn us jk"Vh; vè; {k I sppkZ djds cuk; h rks vk'kk dh tk jgh Fkh fd dk; Døe ds vk; kst u ea vkus okys [kpZ dks fudkyus ds ckn tks 'kSk èku cpsk og cQ k , tpsku QkmMS ku }kj k pykZ tk jgh 'kS{kd xfrfok; ka ds I pkyu ij [kpZ dh tk, xh fdUr q vk; kst dka dks i ; kñr vuñko dh deh vLj fnYyh in'sk ds yxskA I s vi f{kr I g; kx u feyus ds dkj .k dk; Døe dh 0; oLFk djuk Hkh eQ' dy gksx; kA

jkt us ^vEcMdj us kuy vokMZ 2009* I s I Eekfur fd; kA

MKND mfnr jkt us dykdjka dks I Eekfur djrs gq dgk fd vkt tks Hkh Nks&Cms dykdj ; gla ij mi fLFkr gq gá os fdl h ykñk&ykyp ea ugha cfyd muea ekuork dh I Pph I ok djus dk cgr cMk fny gA bl izkj dh Hkkouk ; fn nsk ds 10 ifr'kr vius & vius {k- dh tkuh&ekuh gflr; ka ea i ñk gsk tk, rks ml h fñu de I s de nsk ea I Hkh oñprka ds LokLF; , oa f'k'kk dh 0; oLFk gks tk, xñA

; rks cgr I kjs I kldfrd dk; Døe jktëkkh ea vk; kstr gkrsgh jgrsg ijUr q; g dk; Døe dñ gVdj jgA vke rLj ij bl izkj ds dk; Døe vkt dy èku mxlgh ds fy, gh vk; kstr fd, tkrs gá vLj Hkx yus okys

dk; Døe dh I Qyrk ds fy, yxHkx , d ekg rd fnYyh in'sk batik ds egkl fpo vQjst [kku , oa ; fñ YV QW tflVI ds vè; {k & Jh fot; dëkj us jkr&fnu dk; Z fd; kA vQjst [kku ij dk; Døe dh 0; oLFk ds I kfk&I kfk E; ftd , oa Mka dk i n'kZ djus okys xij dh rS kjh dh Hkh ftEenkjh jghA bu yxskA dh egur dk gh urhtk jgk gS väre I e; rd fFk; Vj ijh rjg I s Hkj x; kA bñM; u tflVI i KVZ ds yxskA I svlxg fd; k x; k Fk fd tks yxsk I keftd , oa jktuñrd I xBuka ea I fD; Hkxñkj fuHk I drs gk muds fy, ikl dh 0; oLFk dh tk jgh gA ckn ea i rk pyk fd fvdV I s vfekd I ; k ikl èkkj dka dh gks x; hA ; fn dk; Døe ea Hkx yus okys



i k'oZ xk; d 'kCchj d'ekj dks I Eekfur djrs gq jkefoykl i kl oku] MKND mfnr jkt o jkenkl vkBoys



ep ij mi fLFkr ck, a l s cknyky] MKND ch-ds fl g] MKND mfnr jkt] I jšk nhoku] dYi uk o vQjkt [kku



I kjæk E; wtdy xij dh vkj I s vEcMdj uskuy vokMZ i klr djrs gq ekO bdky o i hNs [kM\$ Jh fot; enku

¼ "B 1 dk 'ksk½

, d 'kke oru
ds uke , oa
vEcMdj - - -

I Hkh ykxka usek= 100 : i ; s Hkh fn; k gkrk rksdk; Døe ds vk; kst dkacl Hkj gYdk gkuseal gk; rk feyrhA

vQjkt [kku bM; u tflVI i kvhZ ds insk egkl fpo gñ vkj dyk dseke; e l s i kvhZ dks etcrh i nku dj jgs gñ buea LokHkfof dyk gñ gky ea , d fQYe 'l tuk rkgjsgks x, ge* eak; d dh Hkiedk vnk dh gñ ; s , DVj ds l kfk&l kfk fl æj Hkh gñ cpi u l s gh gh bluga l æhr dks 'kkid jgk vkj dMh egur , oayxu l svkt fQYe bMLVh ea vi uk LFku cuk jgs gñ gky eafjyht gku tk jgh fQYe 'l tuk rkgjsgks x, ge* dsfy, i kBDka l svujk'k gSfd bl fQYe dksvo'; nscA

budh Vhe ea cgr gh vPNs dykdj gñ & tS s efnjk dkbjkyk] I e'kn [kku] dkl e [kku] fufru i MMr] tps v[rj] ekO jgku] i ou Jhokl] I yhe epts] ekO bejku vkfn gñ

Hkars l ækfi z jkggy
bat i k ds jk"Vh;
egkl fpo fu; Ør

tku&ekus ck) fHk{kq Hkars l ækfi z jkggy dh I fØ; rk o vutkoka dks nEkrsgq jk"Vh; vè; {k] MKND mfnr jkt th us bM; u tflVI i kvhZ dk jk"Vh; egkl fpo fu; Ør fd; k gñ Hkars l ækfi z dks xqtjkr ea xkekjk dkm ds i'pkr- l keftd l kgnz dk; e djus ds fy, Hkst x; k FkA rHkh l s os xqtjkr ea l fØ; gñ mlgkaus jk"Vh; vè; {k dks fo'okl fnyk; k gSfd ykcl l Hk papkoka ea bM; u tflVI i kvhZ dk i n'ku xqtjkr ea cgr vPNk jgska ; s eyr% fl) kfkz uxj] mO iD ds fuokl h gñ ogka ds ykxka ds vxsg ij Mefj; k

i fjl æk , oa bM; u tflVI i kvhZ dk
i rk cnyk

i fjl æk , oa bM; u tflVI i kvhZ dk i rk ch&113] l okh; , UDyø] ubZ fnYyh&110017 l s cnydj Vh&22] vry xto jkM] dukW lys] ubZ fnYyh gks x; k gñ vkxs l s i=kpkj , oa l Ei dZ Vh&22] vry xto jkM] dukW lys] ubZ fnYyh ij gh djA

& MKND mfnr jkt] jkO vè; {k

ykd I Hkk ds papko ds i R; kf' k; ka dh i Fke I pph

eku] tfr vlg ekeZ turæ- ij bruk gkch gksx; k gSfd fodkl , oafopkj dh ckr djuk tS scækuA 1997 I sydj vHkh rd ds tks I kFkh gekjs vlnkyu Is tMæ; k ijfjpr gS bu ijfjLFkr; ka ea mudh fo'ksk ftEenkjh curh gSfd os turæ ds cpk, A nfyv gla; k fi NMs; k 'kksk.k dsf[kykQ jktuhfr djus okys eku vlg tfr dk gh I gkjk ysjgsG; gh otg gSfd ftu vfedkjkæ dksydyj I æ'k'zfd; k tk jgk gS ge mlGægkfl y ughadj ik jgsGæ bM; u tflVI iKVZ }kjk tkjh dh xbz igyh I pph & Øe I d; k ykd I Hkk fks= i R; k' kh dk uke

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1- | Orgij | mO i O |
| 2- | Mefj; kxatjkggy Hkkjrh | MND mfr jkt |
| 3- | plnkSyh | yYyu id kn plnkjh |
| 4- | >kd h | euekgu xprk |
| 5- | y[kuÅ | elrkd [kku |
| 6- | fetkij | f=ykd fl g |
| 7- | dqkhuxj | t; xkfm id kn |
| 8- | vejkgk | dey fl g [kMeloakh |
| 9- | Qyij | I rh'k plnz; kno |
| 10- | bykgkcn | jkekdr |
| 11- | okjk.kl h | plnkjh fdl u yk |
| 12- | tkuig | cgknj I kudj |
| 13- | cknk | v'kkcd dpej; kno |
| 14- | gehij | f'kodpej iztkifr |
| 15- | xkj [ki j | jktcgknj |
| 16- | ckskach | xgk I kudj |
| 17- | Qstckn | vHk; jkt; kno |
| 18- | uxhuk | MND mfr jkt |
| 19- | cym'kgj | 'kgy iæku |
| 20- | vkojk | i FohukFk I kudj |
| 21- | xkft; kcknvtlht [kku | |
| 22- | djkuk | jktcgknj dS |
| 23- | cxir | [kthjke |
| | | fcgkj |

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------------|
| 24- | ckYehfd uxj | jek'kadj id kn |
| 25- | if'peh pa kj.k | rkdsoj iz ddkokg |
| 26- | f'kogj | okl no 'kkg |
| 27- | I kl kje | Hkkyk id kn jtd |
| 28- | i whzpa kj.k | I jsk jtd |
| 29- | dkjkdV | ekO I Ukkj |
| 30- | njHkxk | ekOfutkeqhu mQZfutke |
| 31- | I qisy | eatwnoh egrk |
| 32- | easj | jkey[ku egrks |
| 33- | i Vuk 'kkggy | fodkl; kno |
| 34- | I eLrhij | jesk jtd |
| 35- | i kVyhie | i HkukFk; kno |
| 36- | oskkyh | kydukFk I kguh |
| 37- | fl oku | MND vf'ouh dpej oekz |
| 38- | tgkukcn | ekusoj Bkdj |
| 39- | cxil jk; | ekujkt; kno |
| 40- | Hkstij | fuej dpej vks>k |
| | | eO i O |
| 41- | ejduk | vt; rkej |
| 42- | Xokfy; j | jesk 'kekz |
| 43- | tcyij | jktwplnkjh |
| 44- | [kMok | ujfxl |
| 45- | I ruk | I nj yky |
| 46- | jhok | -- |
| 47- | [ktjkgks | tehj [kku |
| | | fnYyh |
| 48- | fnYyh | dyhjke rkej |
| | | t Eew, oa d' ehj |
| 49- | vullrukx | ukftj yku |
| | | egkj k"V" |
| 50- | vejkorh | yku i kns |
| 51- | cnkz | , MoksV f'kns |
| | | i f' pe cakx |
| 52- | I kmFk dkydcrk | yhygd |

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 53- | ukFkZ dkydcrk | vk- vuoj HkkLdj |
| 54- | ; knoig | thrujk; .k fl g |
| 55- | [kMxi j | ----- |
| 56- | fenuhij | I prkscry |
| 57- | ?kVy | 'k[k et: y blyke |
| | | xqt jkr |
| 58- | i kcnj | tMstkuFk Hkkbz thokHkkbz |
| 59- | tukx<+ | v[kn egsk thokHkkbz |
| 60- | dPN | epsk Hkkbz, e- i jekj |
| 61- | nkgr | fnus kHkkbz ukx th Hkkbz i jekj |
| 62- | vMn | egem ox cPpox fetkz |
| 63- | cMknjk | egem efyd] jghe Hkkbz gkth |
| | | dukVd |
| 64- | cakxg I svy | tsMh- bylakou |
| 65- | xgycxlz | 'kadj vlik |
| | | jkt LFkku |
| 66- | t; ij 'kgj | ; ksk 'kekz |
| 67- | t; ij xteh.k | I x u pln eks z |
| 68- | tkkij | mxejkje Hkhy |
| 69- | pn | vej fl g cks |
| 70- | 'kkcd I okbz ekokoj | ul hzyky |
| 71- | nkS k | d"zk vork ehuk |
| 72- | HkhyokMk | I hrjkje [kbbky |
| 73- | djkyh | I jskpln dkyh |
| 74- | ckMej & tS yej | nkns [kku |
| 75- | ckvk | dj jh yky i gkfm+ k |
| | | gfj; k. kk |
| 76- | fHkokuh&eglnx<+ | t; fl g dVkfj; k |
| 77- | fgl kj | jksku yky cakM+ |
| 78- | jkgrd | Jherh ek; k |
| | | >kj [k. M |
| 79- | I qhy dpej | ckckjks |
| | | mRrjk [kM |
| 80- | gfj }kj | , p- vlg- jfo |
| | | *** |

vi "B 3 dk 'kskz

i fj I æk }kjk 7 o 8 ekpl

dke; kch ea folkh; ; kxnku o l g; kx dh Hkiedk ij vius egROIwz o i Hkkodkjh fopkj j [kA

3- vEcMdjokn o I æBu dh fopkj/kjk fo'k; ij Mkw mfr jkt us dgk fd Hkjr gekj nsk gA I Hkh Hkjr; gekjs Hkbz vlg cg u gA vius nsk o vius ykxka ds ifr ge viuh ifrc)rk , oe-yXku'khyrk dh ifrkk djrs gA mudh I ef) o ixfr eagh gekjh [kqkh fufgr gA ckck I kgc o gekjs vud egki # "ka dk fe'ku& I ekurk] LorU=rk] Hkbzplkj o U; k; ij vk/fjr ekuoh; eV; ka ds I erkeyd I ekt dh ge LFkki uk djuk pgrs gA ckck I kgc ds usRo ea rS kj fd, gekjs I fo/ku dh mif'kd ea Hkh bl h vo/kj .kk dh ?kksk.kk dh xbz g&

ge Hkjr ds ykx Hkjr dks ,d I Ei wZ i Hkro I Ei Uu] I ektokh] i kfuji [k] ykdru=Red x.kjkt; cukus ds fy,] ml ds I elr ukxfjda dks I keftd] vkfkd vlg jktuSrd U; k;] fopkj vHko; fDr] fo'okl] /keZ vlg mikl uk dh LorU=rk] ifr"bk vlg volj dh I erk i ktr djkus ds fy, , oe- mu I cea O; fDr dh xfjek vlg jk"V dh , drk o v [kMrk I fuf'pr djus dh ifrkk djrs gA**

ckck I kgc us dgk Fk fd - My message is struggle and

more struggle, sacrifice and more sacrifice. It is struggle, more struggle without counting the sacrifices or sufferings that will bring their emancipation (Dalits'). Nothing else will.... The dalits must develop a collective will to rise, resist and must believe in the greatness of their task and develop a common determination to achieve their goal. Their task is so great and the purpose so noble that all of them should commit themselves to the following - Blessed are they who are alive to the duty of raising those among them they are born. Blessed are they vow to give the flower of their days, their strength of bow, body and then might to further the campaign of resistance to slavery. Blessed are they who resolve: come good, come evil, come sunshine, come tempest, come honour, come dishonour but not to stop untill untouchables have fully recovered their manhood.

MND I kgc us vius I æBuka ds ekæ; e I s I fo/ku dks ml dh i wZ vo/kj .kkvka ds I kfk ykxw djkus ds I æYi dks nkjkrS gq dgk fd gekjs jkLrsea vkt Hkh vud i dzkj dh ck/kk, a o vojksk gæ ijUrqge mudk n<rk I s

epkcyk djrs gq] , d fnu vi usy{; dks i ktr djds jgæA ; gh vEcMdjokn gS ; gh gekjh fopkj/kjk gS vlg ; gh gekj y{; gA

4- vkl Uu ykd I Hkk papko 2009 fo'k; ij ckyrs gq i /ku egkl fpo i ks bñjk th o dbz vU; oDrkvka us I ekt ds ykxka fo'kskdj dk; Zdrkvka dk vlgoku fd; k fd jktuSrd I Ukk i ktr ds fy, geus bM; u tflVI i KVZ dk xBu fd; k gA i KVZ ds jk"Vh; vè; {k Mkw mfr jkt o mudh Vhe] i KVZ dks i jnsk ea e tar cukus ds fy, fnu&jkr vius xEHkj iz kl ka ea tps gq gA 15oha ykd I Hkk ds xBu dh papko i fO; k 'kæ# gks pph gA ykdru= ea papko I cl s fu.kkz d Hkiedk vnk djrk gA vkt nsk ea jktuSrd gkykr cn I scnrj gkrs tk jgs gA I Hkh jktuSrd ny vius futh LokFkæ ijfokjokn] tkfrokn] I Ein; okn] /keZo {ks-okn dh jktuhfr dj jgs gS ftul snsk o I ekt dk cgr vf/d upl ku gsjgk gA geabu I c I s Åij mB dj , d I kQ&l qkjh , oe- I E; d fopkj/kjk dks ydj papko ea mrjuk gA gekj I æYi gSfd vc dh dkj gea vius jk"Vh; vè; {k Mkw mfr jkt o dbz vU; I kfk; ka dks ykd I Hkk ea Hkstuk vR; r vfuok; ZgA bl dsfy, gea vHk I srS kjh 'kq dj nsh pfg, A bl I æYi dks i jk djus dsfy, vf/kd I svf/kd /ku dh vko'; drk gkxh vlg dk; Zdrkvka dks Vhe Hkkouk ds I kfk dMh egur djuh gkxhA

i fj I æk o i KVZ ds iæ[k i nkf/kdkfj; ka us vk'okl u fn; k fd papko yMæus ds fy, /ku dh deh vMæ ugha vkus nh tk, xhA bl ds fy, ge fnu&jkr , d djds I Hkh izdkj ds I kku tMkus ea I efkz gkxv vlg gekjh i KVZ jktuSrd xfy; kja ea , d egROIwZ Hkiedk vnk djs xhA i fjppz ea Hkx yrs gq ekU; oj vkj- oh- fl g us vius vfr egROIwZ , oa i Hkkodkjh I Eckku ea Plan-DO-check and Act (PDCA) fl) kur ij bækunjh o egur I s dke djus dk vlgoku fd; ka mlGkaus tkj nclj dgk fd vxj ge bl fl) kur ij yXu'khyrk , oe- ifrc)rk ds I kfk dk; Z djrs gæ rks gekjs i kl I k/kuka dh dkbz deh ughajgsxh vlg fQj ge vius fe'ku ea vfuok; Fk I s I Qyrk i ktr djæA

vUr ea f'kfoj dk; Øe ds I eki u ij jk"Vh; vè; {k Mkw mfr jkt us dgk fd ge I cdlS bl ckr ij fopkj djuk gkxk fd geus I ekt dks D; k fn; k gS u fd I ekt us gea D; k fn; k gS I fn; ka I s I ekt dh gkyr n; uh; gA ckck I kgc ds I æ'k'z ds dkj.k I ekt ds dQ ykxka dh gkyr cnyh gS vlg os vxj fu'p; dj yars I ekt dh Hkh n'kk cny I drh gA ijUrq vi Ql kl gS fd ; g i < s fy [k vlg vius dks cQ] thoh dgykus okys ykx vHk Hkh vius futh ykyp ea Qd s gq gA vlg muds LokFkZ dh dkbz I hek ugha gA mlGkaus dgk fd nfu; k ea dkbz

Hkh pht] efr ea ugha feyrhA gj oLrq dh dher gksh gS vlg geaml dh dher vnk djds gh] ml s i ktr djuk gkxhA gea futh LokFkæ dks i hNs NkMedj fnu jkr egur djds gh I i Qyrk i ktr gkxhA vxj vki fe'kujh gS rks vki dh I eL; k, a de gkxhA dke dk rjhok I gh gkuk pfg, A nus okyk cMk gkxk gS vlg geSk ykus okyk fHk [kjh cuk jgrk gA geabl i dzkj dh ekuf drk NkMedh gkxh vlg y{; i ktr dsfy, R; kx dh Hkkouk I s I keftd o jktuSrd {ks- ea dke djuk I MæKA

jk"Vh; vè; {k us , d i Lrko Hkh i Lrqr fd; k] ftl ea mlGkaus dgk fd I ekt ea I ok&fuok I kFkh dk Qh I d; k ea gA muds i kl Kku gS vutko gS I e; gS vlg /ku Hkh gA ; s ykx I ekt dk ekxh'ku cgr gh vPNs <æ I s I i Qyrk i wZ dj I drs gA bl fy, I ok fuok I kfk; ka dk , d I æBu gks tks i fj I æk ds , d egROIwZ Off Shoot wing ds: i eadk; Zdjæ ; g i Lrko eofuer I s i kfr dj fn; k x; kA i fj I æk ea vxys vf/košku dk vk; kst u tu ; k tgybz ds elg ea gkxhA bl dh ?kksk.kk Hkh jk"Vh; vè; {k us dhA

vUr ea jk"Vh; vè; {k us I Hkh dk gkfnZrk I s /U; okn fd; ka vk; kst d I kfk; ka dks f'kfoj ds I i Qy vk; kst u dsfy, c/kbznh vlg bl i dzkj , d y{; i ktr dsfy, I æBu o usRo fuekZk ij bl nks fnoI h; f'kfoj dk djry eofu ds I kfk I eki u gq'kA

[kfVd I ekt MKWDHkhej ko vEcMdj dks D; ka ugha v i uk I dk\

bDahl oha l nh ea ge bl vR; Ur egRroi wZ fo'k; ij ppkZ dj jgs gđ tks fu% ng bl vko'; d fo'k; ds fopkj l s dQh foyEc gđ bl dk Jš ge fdl h vKš ij ugha NkMxs fuf'pr : i l s; g ge l Hkh i <f>[ks l kelftd yxska dh vuns[kh ; k yki jokgh gđ ftl i dKj l s gekjs vU; nfyrl epk; ds HkKbz ka us cck l kgc dh Økãrdkj fopkj/kjk dks rsth l s viuk; k vKš vi uk fodkl fd; k gSml vuq kr ea ge dkQh i hNs gđ fuf'pr : i l s bl egRroi wZ fo'k; ij geade l s de 30&40 l ky igys ppkZ djuh pKfg, Fkh bl ds l kFk&l kFk cck l kgc MKWD Hkhejko vEcMdj }kjk l ekt ea fd, x; s dk; kã dks vi us l ekt ds l e{ k j [kuk pKfg, FkA cck l kgc ds i f j fuokZ k ds 50 o'kã ckn Hkh muds }kjk fd, x; s dk; kã dks [kfVd l ekt dscgr de yxska us vKrel kn fd; k gS tks vR; Ur [kn dk fo'k; gđ gekjh i xfr dh j r k j /kheh gkus dk ; g , d i æ [k dkj . k gđ

cck l kgc dh fopkj/kjk dk l Hkh nfyrl tkr; ka dks vKrel kr- djuk pKfg, rFk cck l kgc ds thou l æ'kz rFk egRroi wZ igyq/ka ij fpru gkus pKfg, A D; k [kfVd l ekt ds yxska us cck l kgc dh fopkj/kjk dks tkuus dk iz kl fd; k\ bl l s tMš dbZ egRroi wZ i gyp/ka ij l kpuk gsk fd D; ka bl fn'k ea ge i hNs jg x; A [kfVd l ekt cck l kgc dks D; ka ugha vi uk l dk\ ; k ; Wdga fd [kfVd tkr MKWD vEcMdj dh fopkj /kjk l s i wZ % D; ka ugh tMš i kbZ bl i dKj ds dbZ , d s i zu gđ tks dkQh o'kã l s [kn l s i zu djrs jgđ fopkja ds dkQh eBku ds ckn dñ fu'd'kz fudy dj vk; k fd D; ka [kfVd l epk; vEcMdjokn l snj jgk----\ bl ys[k ds i wZ fnl Ecj 1999 ea ys[kd us vi us 0; fDrxr vuhkoka ds vk/kj ij , d ys[k&^ [kfVdka dk fi NMki u&fn'k vKš n'k'k' ukxi j dh , d fgluh if=dk 'fi iy i koj QkZ Z ea Nik Fk ftl s Jh vkj-Mh- l kudj] l fgr dkQh yxska us iz kãl r fd; k FkA vkbZ , d utj Mkyrs gđ dh D; ka [kfVd tkr MKWD vEcMdj dks ugha vi uk l dsrFk bl xBkhj fo'k; ij fpru djA

i) vui <rk/ l gh f'k{k% ; fn [kfVd l ekt dk fi Nys 40&50 o'kã dk bfrgkl nškk tk; rks [kfVd l ekt ea f'k{k dk ik; % vHko gh jgA vkt Hkh 'kgjk nj&njkt] ngkrka ea jgus okys dkQh yxska dks ; fn muds gh l epk; dk dkbZ f'k{k'kr ; k l kelftd dk; Zkriz MKWD vEcMdj ds ckjs ea dñ crkus yxs rks dbZ ckj yxs ml l kelftd dk; Zkriz ij gh vi us iz uka ds rhj nkx nrs gđ vki dh tkr D; k gS D; k vki pekj tkr l s gđ MKWD vEcMdj rks pekj tkr l s Fks--\ [kfVdka ea , d h vo/kj . k muea l gh f'k{k@vui <rk ds i Hko dks i nf'kã djrh gđ dkQh f'k{k'kr gkus ds ckn Hkh dkQh yxska ea ; g Hkz jgrk gS dh mudh i xfr ds i hNs fdl h vKš dk l æ'kz jgk gđ ; g tkuus dh dks'k'k ugha djrs dh mudk bfrgkl D; k gS vkj {k . k dk tle dš sgq/k gS\ muds l Ppsgrškh dks gđ

dk ek/; e vii) [kfVdka dk MKWD vEcMdj ds i fr Hkz viii) tkrxr l kp , oa bfrgkl ix) vãk fo'okl x) nfyrl kfgR; dk v/; ; u u gkus

ii) dđ ky jktuhfrd] l kelftd usRo dk vHko% [kfVd l ekt dk ; g nškk; gh jgk gS fd mlga dkbZ Hkh l ekt fgrškh jktuhfrd@ kelftd usk ugha feyA vKurk ds dkj . k l ekt ds usrvka dk MKWD vEcMdj ds ckjs ea i wZ Kku u gkus Hkh , d i æ [k dkj . k cukA cck l kgc MKWD Hkhejko vEcMdj }kjk pykbz xBz nfyrl LokHkeku txr* dh ygj l s i Hkfor gkclj vU; nfyrl epk; ds yxska }kjk f'k{k o vEcMdjokn dks viuk; s tks ij muea vk; s l kelftd i jorZ dks nškk [kfVd l ekt Hkh /khj&/khs f'k{k dh vKš vxZ j gkus yxkA f'k{k i kfr ds mijkUr dñ [kfVd l jdkjh l okvka ea mPp in Hkh ik x; s i jUrq vf/kdka l ekt ds yxska us bl dk Jš dks d , oa xkãkth }kjk pyk; s x; sgjtukRFku efige dks gh fn; kA tks [kfVd l ekt ds yxs f'k{k xg . k djds l jdkjh ukãkh o i fr" Bk ik x; s os vi us l ekt l s dVdj , d vyx iãDr ea vi us vki dks l e>us yxã mlugaus dHkh eMlej ugha nškk vKš u gh l ekt dks vEcMdjokn ds ckjs ea txr fd; k ; glard fd [kfVd l ekt ds f'k{k'kr o vPNh i fr" Bk dks i kus okys dñ yxs vU; nfyrl epk; ds yxska dh rjg [kfVd l ekt ?k . kr o vekuoh; dR; ka ds dkj . k l ekt ea

MKWD vkj OdO l kudj

?k . kk dk ik= cuus ds dkj . k mPp Jskh ds yxska ea o vPNh dkykfu; ka ea vi uh tkr dks Nqk dj jgus yxã nfyrl l ekt ds mYyš [kr dk; kã l s nškh gkclj MKWD vEcMdj th us vxjk eavk; kš tr , d l Eesy dks l Eckš/kr djrs gq dgk ^cgr nškk dh ckr gSfd eus cgr gh iz Ruka l s nl nfyrl dks fonska ea nl vEcMdj cukus ds mnas ; l s f'k{k xg . k djus Hkš k i jUrq vR; Ur [kn dh ckr gSfd nl nfyrl ea l s , d us Hkh ejs l i us dks i jk ugha fd; kA yxHkx ; gh n'k [kfVd l ekt ds usrvka dh jgA dbZ jktuhfrd nyka us [kfVd l ekt ds 0; fDr; ka dks l ekt dk i fruf/kRo l kã k tks l ekt dh ckr de vi uh i kVZ , oa 0; fDrxr dh ckr T; knk djrs jgA vr% Li "V : i l s dgk tk l drk gS dh fo/kku l Hk , oa ykcl Hk ea l ekt ds i fruf/k; ka dks i gpus ds ckn Hkh [kfVd l ekt dks dkbZ l {e jktuhfrd@ kelftd usk ugha fey tks vEcMdjokn dh ckr l ekt ea djA

iii) xkãkth ds' k f x nã dh dñ uhr % cck l kgc MKWD vEcMdj us gj nfyrl l eL; k dks nsk ds jktuhfrd i vy ij tkj & kš l s mBk; k i jUrq xkãkth us MKWD vEcMdj dh ykclz rk dks de djus ds mnas ; l s dñ uhr ds rgr ^gjtukRFku* uked efige pykbA bl fopkj/kjk dks Hkh dbZ [kfVd l ekt ds yxska us; g eku fy; k dh mudk fodkl Hkh gjtukRFku ds rgr gh gqk gđ ; g ckr fdl h jktuhfrd@ kelftd dk; Zkriz us ugha fnekx ea Mkyk dh vU; nfyrl tkr; ka dh rjg gh [kfVdka dk Hkh mRFku MKWD vEcMdj ds l æ'kz l s gqk gđ

iv) fgluh l dKj , oa jhfrfjokt % fgluh l ekt ea LFku i kus ds fy; s MKWD vEcMdj us vi uk i jk iz kl fd; k rFk mlga gj iz kl ea vl Qyrk gkFk yxã cck l kgc us tkr i Fk ds fo:) vkthou l æ'kz fd; kA og tkrfogh l ekt ds l eFkZ FkA l ekt ds vUnj l erk] Lokrãrk vKš cãkpo pgrs Fks mlugaus vUr ea ik; k fd fgluh l ekt ea tkr&0; oLFk ugha cny l drh vKš bl 0; oLFk dh dfe; ka o cjkBZ ka Hkh ugha tk l drh rks mlugaus cKš /kel xg . k fd; k ftl ds vnj tkr&i kãr] Åp&uhp vkfr HknHko ugha ik; s tkrã os dgk djrs Fks ^ep s xoz gSfd eš 'knz i f j o k j ea i š k gq / k vKš xoz gS dh eš egkj tkr ea

tleka vxys tle ea Hkh eš egkj tkr ea gh tle ysk pgrk gđ ftl l s dh nfyrla dk tks dke djus dks jg x; k] ml s eš vxys tle ea i jk dj l dñA ml h dk i f j . kke gS fd cck l kgc vEcMdj dks l ekt o nsk ea tks l Eeku feyk gS og vkt rd fdl h vU; jkturk dks ugha feyA ftl ds fu'd'kz ds ckn cck l kgc us {kr&fo'kr l kelftd 0; oLFk l s nj djrs gq gea cKš /Ee dh oKkud thou 'kš dh ekz iz kLr fd; kA l ekt dh , d h glyr , oa orZku 0; oLFk dks gh nškr gq MKWD vEcMdj us dgk Fk ^Hindus are the sickness of India and their sickness is causing danger to the health and happiness of other Indians** vFkz % fgluh Hkjr ds jskh yxs gđ vKš mudh chekj vU; Hkjr h; ka dh rUnq Lrh] l d k & k f u r o [k k g y h ds fy, [krjk i š k dj jgh gđ buds vrfjDr onka ea Hkh dkQh vuxZ , oa vFkzhu ckrka dks LFku fn; k x; k gS ftl ij cck l kgc fy [krs gđ "Vedas contained nothing but tomfoolery" vFkz onka ea e [kãk ds fl ok vKš dñ gSgh ugha

tš kfd vkt Hkh [kfVd l ekt ea vf/kd'kr % cpi u l s fl QZ fgluh l dKj gh cPka dks fn, tkrsg mlga cck l kgc ds l æ'kz ds ckjs ea muds ; kxnu ds ckjs ea cPka dks fcYdy ugha crk; k tkr ftl l sogh cPp cMk gkclj vius vki dks vEcMdjokn dgus ea 'keZ egl i djrk gđ i jkuh i jEijk , oa jhfr & f j o k t k a u s H k h g e a v E c M d j o k n l s n j j [k k g s l k j s f g l u h R ; k š k j k d e & d k . M k a d k s l f n ; k a l s g e k j s y s x e u k r s v k j g s g b l f y , g e H k h e u k j g s g d ; k d H k h g e u s ; s c k r a / ; k u l s l k p k g s f d t k s H k h R ; k š k j ; k j h r f j o k t g e v i u k j g s g m l d k b f r g k l D ; k g S m l s g e D ; k a e u k ; š b u r e k e l o k y k a d k t o k t k u u s d s c k n g h g e l P p k b z l s v o x r g k s i k ; a k A t š k f d c c k l k g c d h f o p k j / k j k d k s i j h r j g l s e g k j k v e a g e k j s e g k j H k k b z k a u s v i u k ; k g s v k t o s l H k h : f < o k n h 0 ; o L F k l s n j g k c l j o K k f u d r k l s i f j i w z r F k x r x k š e c d d s c r k ; s e k z i j g h p y u s d k i z k l d j j g s g š r F k d k Q h g n r d o s b l e s l Q y H k h g d ; f n [k f V d t k r # < h o k n h 0 ; o L F k d k s u d k j r s g q c d) T ; d s e k z i j p y s r k s f u l l n g m u d h l k e l f t d i x f r d k s d k b z r k d r u g h a j k c l l d r h A b l f n ' k e a [k f V d

tkr ds gh , d l kelftd , oa jktuhfrd dk; Zkriz MKWD mfnr jkt us l jkuh; dk; Z fd; k gS ftUgkaus dbZ yk [k yxska dks cKš] /kel vi ukus l s Økãrdkj h iz kl fd; k gđ fuf'pr : i l s [kfVd tkr ds yxska dks mul s l h [k yuh pKfg, A

v) 'kjk [kšh % 'kjk [kšh [kfVd tkr ea vKš r l s T; knk gđ , d i jkuh i j j k b l tkr ea jgh gS dh 'kjk i huokys dks ; fn 'kjk ugha fi yk; k x; k rks ml dk l gh Lokxr ugha gq/ka , d ykclšDr gS dh ^ftl l ekt dks cck dh djuk gS ml s u'kk [kšj cuk nšk* ; g iãDr dkQh gn rd [kfVdka ds Åij yxw gkrh gS bl l ekt dh cjknh dk dkj . k u'kk [kšh dkQh gn rd ftEenkj gđ l u-1932 ea xwkhth vKš MKWD vEcMdj ds gjt u l d k j vKš vNrkš] k j vknksy l s i Hkfor gkclj [kfVd l ekt l oh Jh f'koeky jke oš] us l u-1935 ea vf [ky Hkjr h; [kfVd egkl Hk ds cšj ds uhps u'kefDr vknksy Hkh 'kš fd; k x; k i jUrq u'kk [kš] [kfVd tkr ds yxska i j bl dk cgr gh de i Hko i Mka vknksy pyk vKš cñ gks x; k A

vi) f'k{k dk ek/; e % vEcMdjokn dks u l e>us ea ; k i hNs jgus ea f'k{k dk ek/; e fgluh gkus Hkh , d egRroi wZ dkj . k gđ i jkš k ; k v i j k š k : i l s f g l u h e k / ; e l s i < e s d s c k n v i u s e k u f l d l r j l s g e o g k a r d u g h i g p i k r s t g l a r d g e a i g p u k p k f g , A f o p k j k a d k [k y k i u ; k l k e l f t d u t f j ; k l a w z n f y r l e k t d s i f r , d u g k u s l s d f B r f o p k j / k j k t l e y r h g d l u - 1 9 6 0 d s n ' k d e a v a x t h g v k u s d k v k u n k s y u p y k r k s c g r l k j s n f y r k a u s H k h v a x t h i < e u k N k h + f n ; k F k A r c n f y r k a d k s ; g u g h a e k y e F k f d c c k l k g c M K W D v E c M d j u s v a x t h d k s ' k š u h d k n w k d g k F k v k š v a x t h i < e s d h o d k y r d h F k A v c f u l l n g n f y r v a x t h i < e u k p k r s g s m l u g s e k y e g k s x ; k g S f d f t u y x s k a d s i j [k k a u s n f y r k s d k s l d r u g h a i < e s n h] m l u g h d s o a k t u g h a p k r s f d n f y r v a x t h i < a v k b z , d u t j M k y r s g d f d D ; k [k f V d l e k t d k N k = ; f n v a x t h e k / ; e l s f ' k { k i k r d j r k g s r k s D ; k o g l c t h d s N k s 0 ; o l k ; l s t M š k ; k d k b z v y x d k ; k d k s N k s l r j i j d j s x k f u l l n g b l d k t o k u g h g k s k A v a x t h e k / ; e l s i < e g q N k = d k s g j p h t d s n š k u s d k v i u k v y x u t f j ; k g k s k ¼ k š i " B 6 i j ½

vā "B 5 dk 'kš'kz

[kfVd I ekt MkWDHkhejko vEcMdj

I kelftd -f"Vdksk gksk] vf/kdkj dh ckr I e>usdh rkdrc c<sch rc viusbfrgkl dksge vo'; i<skA vii) [kfVdka dk MkWD vEcMdj ds ifr Hkæ % ; fn ge viusbfrgkl ij utj Mkya rks nš[kæ] ftl I e; cick I kgc vEcMdj vuq'pr tkr; ka ea LokfHkeku dk e- Qm] jgsFksrksml I e; mudh ok.kh us , d k peRdkj fd; k fd nfyrika ea LokfHkeku dh ckr us , d I kelftd vknksyu dk : i ysfy; ka igysgekjssegkj tkr ds Hkæbz I Hkæfor gq] mUgkaus egkj'k"V" ea vius i'p'rh xfejkefogu dk; ka dks NkM+ fn; ka ckn ea nfyrl LokfHkeku dh tkxfr dh ygj mRrjh Hkæjr rFkk nsk ds vU; Hkæxka dh vU; c<h rks peBdkj Hkæbz ka us Hkh er i 'kq/ka dks mBkuk] mudk pemk mrkjuk vU; jaxuk can dj fn; ka bl tkr [kfVd] us dōy nj I sgh nš'kk fd peBdkj yx vius ?k'kr dk; ka dks NkM+ jgs gā vU; bl ds ij . kL=kr cck I kgc MkWDHkhejko vEcMdj gh gā ckn ea ; gh n"V muea bl vo/kk].kk dks i šk dj xbz fd MkWD vEcMdj peBdkj FkA [kfVdka ea ; g vo/kk].kk [kM]r gks I drh Fkh y'fdu [kM]r u gkaus ds i hNs vU; tkr; kM , oa gekjh fi NkM ekufi drk Fkh ftl us [kfVdka ds bl Hkæ dks vU; etar dj fn; k fd MkWD vEcMdj mUgha dh tkr ds Fks vU; mUgh ds usrk FkA

dk'k-----vU; nfyrl vU; muds vEcMdjoknh dk; Zkrk [kfVd I ekt dks vi us gh I epk; dk vax ekurs bl ea [kfVdka dh Hkæjh Hkæy jgh dh mUgkaus cck I kgc dks peBdkj I e>us dh xyrQgeh dj fy; ka bl ds vfrjDr [kfVdka dh ; g ekufi drk fd os vU; tkr; ka I s Åij gā us cck I kgc ds ifr I kpus I s i hNs fd; ka oržeku ea gekjs dN usk gea cck I kgc dh fopkj/kkj I srksugha i f'p'rdjk jgs gācfYd geamudh I o.kZekufi drk ds dkj.k [kfVdka dks jke plnz dk i nžt crk jga gā tks fuLl ang mudk , d cjxykus okyk I kpuh; dne gā ge dgka tk jgs gā gekjh vkus okyh i hNs dks ge D; k ns ik; s' bR; kfn crka I s bl izdkj ds yskks dk dkbz I jkdj ugh gā gekjs gh , d [kfVd usk [kfVd fejkjh dks jke ds mRrkf/kdkjh ; k muds oakt crkus dk "kM; æ dj jgs gā , d [kfVd I ekt I oh Jh ekepln fjokM+ k us Hkh fy [kk gS fd ^ [kfVd j'kpa kh" gS vFkz jkepnz ds oakt gā cgjgky I Ppkbz D; k gS bfrgkl fdruk I gh gS jkek; .k dh

I kFkZdrk fdruh gS \ i kphu bfrgkl dks u nš'krs gq gea vk/kfud i f'j'LFkr dks /; ku es j [kdj I kp fodfl r djuk gkskA ge vkt dh oržeku i f'j'LFkr ea th jgs gā bl izdkj ds xyr nš'Vdksk rFkk , srgkfl d i "B Hkæ gea D; k I ans k ns I drh gS \ bl dk fu/kk].k ges djuk gkskA dN Hkh gks bl izdkj dh c; kuckth Hkæjr; j'k'Vh; rk dh xfejke dks /k'ey gh djrh gā de I s de oržeku i f'j'LFkr; ka ea vuq'pr tkr cudj I k'ok i klr djus okya dks vlxkg djuk gS fd rFkdfFkr fgUnoknh I kEi nš; drk ds I Ee [k >pluk fuf'pr #i I s dkbz fodYi ugha gā ; g I k'ok cgr cMk yMkbs ds ckn feyh gS vU; gea ; g dnkfi ugha Hkæyuk pkfg; s dh bl es fl QZcck I kgc dk I k'k'Z Fk ftl dh otg I s vkt I Hkh nfyrl tkr; W vktkn Hkæjr ea [k'oh I bl ys jgh gā rFkk vius vU; vf/kdkjka ds fy; s I k'ok/ku ea cuk; s; s dkuu ds rgr yMkbs yM+ jgh gā tc ij'kjke us 21 ckj {k'f=; ka dk I gkj dj fn; k ; gka rd dh xHkZrh {k'f=; ukfj; ka dk Hkh o/k bl h vk'k; I s dj Mkky dh xHkZ ds vUj ds {k'f=; Hkh thfor u cpA rksfQj ; su; s {k'f=; dgka I s vk; s \ bl izu dk mRrj d'fBu gā

viii) tkrxr I kp , oa bfrgkl % [kfVd vius vki dks I Eektud tkr uke nus vU; [kfVd ds LFku ij vius dks {k'f=;] oš;] xMfj; k] ?kuxj vkfn tkr dgus ds pDj ea [kfVd tkr vl gt fLFkr ea vkdj dN Hkæf gkaus yxh ; gka rd dh I Eektud tkr uke nus okys [kfVd usk vU; y'kd Lo; a ij Lij fojksk'k gks x; A fojksk LokHkæfod gS t'cd , d oxz vius dks {k'f=; dgrs gā nš'jk oxz oš; vU; I k'gwdgrk gā rhl jk oxz vius dks i ky] xMfj; k dgrk gS vU; ; srhuka oxz 'k'k vU; [kfVd I svi us dks J s B I e>rs gā nš'js 'k'k'ka ea buds }kj k [kfVd tkr ds vUj 'fgUnw o.k&O; oLFk' mri Uu dj nh xbz gā vUj dōy bruk gS dh fdl h us ; g ugha dgk dh [kfVd ckEg.kka ds i nžt gā ugh rks pkjka o.kkā dk I ekosk gks tkrkA ; fn [kfVdka ds bfrgkl ij utj Mkys rks os 20 oha I nh ds i nžt Z ea i f'peh vU; mRrjh Hkæjr ea vk; I ekt dks tks vknksyu pyk ml ds i Hkæ ea vkdj [kfVd i frufk; ka us I jdkj dks ; g i R; konu fn; k fd vc os nfyrl ugha jgs vr% mUgs vuq'pr ea u j [kk tk; i f'j.kke Lo: i I u 1950 ea mRrj insk dh I ph I s [kfVdka dks

fudky fn; k x; ka ftl ds i f'j.kke ea [kfVd Nk=ka dh QhI ekQh vU; Nk=ofRr dh I k'ok/ku; a cUn gks xBA I jdkjh ukš'jh ea vkj {k.k cUn gks x; ka dkQh I k'f; k ea Nk=ka dk Hkæfor; vU/kdkj ea Muc x; ka rc I Hkh LFkuka I s jdkj dks bl vk'k; I s i R; konu , oarkj Hkæsx; s dh m-iz dh [kfVd tkr dks vuq'pr dh I ph ea i p'rh 'k'k'z 'k'k'ey fd; k tk; A I u-1952 ea dkdk dkysdj dh v/; {krk ea fi NkM oxz vk; kx x'fBr fd; k x; k] ftl us viuh f'j'k'z I u-1954 ea I jdkj dks i Lr'p' dh vU; vUrr% 1954 ea m-iz ds [kfVd vuq'pr dh I ph ea 'k'k'ey fd, x; A I Lr'p' ds ckn 1956 I s vkj {k.k dk yHk [kfVd I ekt dks feyuk 'k'k' g'v'k] bu nks I kyka es I ekt dk dkQh upl ku g'v'k FkA bl ds igys dk Hkh bfrgkl tks Hkh jgk gks i j'Uq; fn [kfVd vkj {k.k ds nk; js ea gā rks fuf'pr : i I s mUga MkWD vEcMdj ds ifr J) k j [kuk pkfg, D; k'rd oržeku vkj {k.k dk t'le cck I kgc vEcMdj us gh dkQh I k'k'z ds ckn fn; k FkA egkj'k"V" ds [kfVd Hkh vius egkj Hkæbz ka I s vius vki dks Åij I e>us ds dkj.k cck I kgc dh fopkj/kkj I s dkQh nj jgs ftl dk urhtk mudh vkt dh izxfr nš'kdj yxrk gā ; gka rd dh vU; jkT; ka I s egkj'k"V" ea vk; s gq dN [kfVdka us viuh tkr Nij kdj Hkh jguk 'k'k' dj fn; k rFkk vius vki dks ; kno tkr Hkh 'k'k'kr dj fn; k vkt mudh gkyr vkj {k.k u feyus ds dkj.k cnrj gks xbz gā ; s [kfVd m-iz, oae-iz I s; gka vkdj cl s gā MkWD vEcMdj I s cMk nfyrika dk dkbz fgrskh u dkbz igys jgk gS vU; 'kk; n Hkæfor"; ea dkbz r'kri ; Z gS dh tks Hkh Hkæfor"; ea dkbz Ql y gksch og ml h cht dh nu gksch tks vkt c<+jgh gā

ix) v'k' fo'okl % vU; nfyrl tkr; ka dh vi'k'k [kfVd tkr ea v'k'&fo'okl vU; r I s T; knk gā v'k'&fo'okl u dōy I ekt dh izxfr jkd'rk gā cfYd gekjh I kp ea cnyko ykrk gS ge viuh vkus okyh i hNs dks I gh ekxh'k'z ugha ns I drs ; g I oz fofnr gā dh [kfVd tkr ea fo'k'k : i I s i nžt mRrj insk ds ftyka ea Hkæ i ar] vks-kbz t'š h d'fjfr; ka vkt Hkh ekš'm gā y'kd dk , d dMek vuq'pr gā , d ckj noplunij] xkthij ds xkō ea , d f'j'rnkj ds ; gka Hkæ dh f'kdk; r Fkh tks y'kd ds i f'jokj dh yMeth ds ; gka I svk; k Fk , d k crk; k tk jgk FkA i f'jokj ds , d cMš Hkæbz tks ogka Hkæ yxus ds fy,

x; s Fks f'k'k' gkaus ds dkj.k mudk bl ij feYdy fo'okl ugha FkA mUgkaus ykš ds : i ea fn; s x; s Hkæ dks eg ea MkYdj pckdj [kk x; s vU; cksysvc ^r'k'gkj Hkæ gejsi v' ea py x; y' dgdj oki I pys vk; A ; g ckr vkt Hkh vke gS tks ykš Bhd I s dke&ku/kk ugha djrs i <k'k'f'f' [kkbz Bhd I sughagsi krh rks os gekjs nš'js Hkæbz ka dks tks vi uk thou ; ki u v'Pn rjg I spyk jgs gS mudh izxfr ea c'k'k I g'p'kus ds fy, bl rjg ds g'kd. Ms vi ukrš gā rFkk vuska "kM; æ jprs gā tgka v'k'fo'okl gS ogka vEcMdjokn ds fy, dkbz txg ugha g'k'k' c<h f'k'k' ds I k'k'&I k'k' vkt gekjs I ekt ds dkQh ykš ftUgkaus I gh f'k'k' ikbz gS cck I kgc dh fopkj/kkj dks vi uk jgs gā ; gh ek= , d fodYi gS tks ges vkt dh oržeku fLFkr I s Åij mBkus ea ennxkj I k'cr gkskA reke d'jrh; ka rFkk v'k'fo'okl I s epkcyk djus ea fl QZ vEcMdjokn gh I Qy gks I drk gā D; k'rd cck I kgc MkWD Hkæjko vEcMdj us bl {k'f= ea dkQh v/; ; u fd; k Fk muds fy [k x; s y'k] oDr0; , oa fdrka fuf'pr : i I s [kfVd I ekt dks Hkh mudh fopkj /kkj dks cnyus ea I Qy gkskA

ix) nfyrl I kfgR; dk v/; ; u u gkaus [kfVd I ekt ea cgr de ykš gā tks nfyrl I kfgR; ua: fp j [krs gā tc rd ge nfyrl I kfgR; dk v/; ; u ugha d'j'os rcrd vius vki dks I gh : i ea ugha tku ik; s nfyrl I kfgR; ij bu fnuka cgl py jgh gā MkWD ; k'kt fl g' p'k'ku ^cp'ku dk dguk gS fd ftl I kfgR; dks i <&I p'dj

dI kbz dh v'k'ka ea Hkh v'k' w vk tk; } ogh nfyrl I kfgR; gā oržeku I kfgR; dkj fuf'pr #i I s cck I kgc MkWD Hkæjko vEcMdj ds fopkjka I s Åtkz i k'rdjrk gā [kfVd Hkh nfyrl I ekt dk gh , d fgLl k gS ; g gea ugha Hkæyuk pkfg, A v/; ; u I s gekjh f'p'ru 'k'fDr oš fDrd fodkl , oa rd&fordz dh rkd' c<h gā tgka , d rjQ cfu; knh f'k'k' ; k 0; kol k'f; d fo'k'; gea vi us {k'f= ea fo}ku cukrs gā ogka nš'jh rjQ ; snfyrl I kfgR; gekjs thou ea , d rhoz Åtkz dk I p'kj djrs gā ftl I s gea vi us vki dks I 'k'Dr : i I s igpkuus ea enn feyrh gā Hkæjr; nfyrl I kfgR; fuf'pr : i I s cck I kgc MkWD vEcMdj dh fopkj /kkj I s vks&i'k' gS bl ckr I s igys Hkh] vkt Hkh , oa Hkæfor"; ea budkj ugha fd; k tk I drkA dkQh gn rd ge dg I drs gā fd nfyrl I kfgR; dk v/; ; u u gkaus I s Hkh [kfVd I ekt cck I kgc vEcMdj dh fopkj /kkj I s nj jgā cck I kgc vkt gekjs chp thfor ugha gā i j'Uq muds nš'Vdksk rFkk mudh Øk'f'rdkjh fopkj/kkj gekjs chp I nš' thfor jgskA muds }kj k fy [kk x; k fo'k'ky I kfgR; Hkæj I nš' gekjs I ekt dk ekxh'k'z djrk jgskA

bl y'k' ij i frf0; k ; k bl I s I Ee'kr fopkj j [kuk pkgrs gā rks y'kd ds I k'k'&I k'k' i k'k' j jke xki ky I kudj 109918111107% I s I Ei d'z dj I drsgā I Ei d'z & 51] ekyrh vi k'v'v' vkfnokl h yskmV] okMh] ukxi j & 440023 ekQ 09423404415



i kBdka I s vi hy

^okW I vno cō k* ds I Hkh i kBdka I sfuonu gS fd ftUgkaus vHkh rd ok'k'z 'k'k' d'k'k' tek ugha fd; k gS os 'k'k'z gh MkWD ; k euhv'k'k' }kj k ^t'f'v' I f'cyd'k' ds uke I s ch&113] I okh; , UDyp] vkbz/kbz/h xv' ds I keu'j v'f'cnks ekx] ubz fnYy'h&110017 dks Hkæ'k' di ; k ^okW I vno cō k* ds uke MkWD ; k i s k u Hkæ'k' ftu ykška ds i k ^okW I vno cō k* ugha i g'p' jgk gS os I nL; rk I k'f; k I fgr fy [k d'gh&d'gha ij eupknh ekufi drk ds ykš bl s i kBdka rd i g'p'kus ea c'k'k' i g'p'k'rs gā ogka I ko/kkuh c'j'ra v'k'f'k'z fLFkr n; uh; gS vr% bl vknksyu dks I g; kx nus ds fy, [k'gdj nku ; k pnk nA

I nL; rk 'k'k'

i kp o'k'z	% 400 #i ,
rhu o'k'z	% 250 #i ,
, d o'k'z	% 100 #i ,

"Think what you have contributed to the society" (Leadership Building Programme held on 7th & 8th March 2009)

"Think what you have contributed to the society" said Dr.Udit Raj, the Chairman with a strong emphasis on "don't think about what society has given you but think what you have done and contributed for the well being of the society".

Sixteen states' representatives were present in this important conference. In this conference, Dr.Udit Raj focused on the different issues such as 'what is mission, globalization, privatization & liberalization'. He too focused on 'how to build an organization, and the concept of Ambedkarism. He distinctly elaborated all these important issues and topics in his address.

The Confederation has strong faith that without the core study of any problem and issue, the battle can't be fought with full strength and vitality. So, all the leaders from various states got training from our Dr. Udit Raj, the visionary National President. While explaining the topic 'what is mission', Udit Raj told leaders to change the old pattern of thinking and be self critics. He said that it is very easy to blame the situation but it is very difficult to take the responsibility of failures that come in the way of work. In his key words he said to all the leaders present: 'Don't waste your energy in fighting within the organization. Trust your subordinate leaders, give them task and target and observe fifty percent targets must be

achieved within time. We are Ambedkarite people and philosophy of Dr.Ambedkar is the root of organization. To strengthen organization, this base is crucial. Be clear, in accounting or expenditure. This is going to mar the organization. Keep you record updated. And multiply the members of the organization every month. People have developed phobia of flattering ancestors. It is not enough to change society as per Dr.Ambedkar's vision but it too needs constant and dedicated work. Be open minded. Sort out each and every problem. Criticize your own work and you must always be ready for work. Dr.Udit Raj had questioned the work of the state leaders and told very strictly that the central body of the organization depends upon the states in natural course but what you have given to it? Think honestly once in a year. Minimum amount contributed in the work of organization is not at all enough. If you do consistent honest effort to strengthen organization in Districts and States then indeed the central organization will become strong. Dr.Udit Raj too shared a history of organization with the leaders and made them aware of the fact that he started confederation in 1997 only for the interest of employees who were in trouble as a result of the wrong policy of the government to synchronized reservation. In those days the crowds of

Indira Athawale

people got attracted towards Confederation and after getting their interests fulfilled, they disappeared afterwards. Dr.Udit Raj talking about them said 'don't care about such people'. Then he added 'I want my leaders to be strong enough to handle the situation. Every time you have to fight to establish social justice and equality in society. We are there to bring a social change as Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar had dreamed. We have to fight against exploitation at different levels. So it is a dire need of the society that we have to put the pressure of organization in every field of the country. The whole society is in crisis and searching a better alternative and you have capacity that people will choose you. So, be attentive and don't be in confusion that only talking will support you to reach at the top. You have to do consistent efforts with fixed ideology of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and generate literature and provide it to your secondary leadership. The construction of organization is always like pyramid. Gradually your existence will be submitted in organization and then your own identity will be an organization. When ideology will be the center place of your personality, your ego will be demolished totally." Finally, Dr. Udit Raj added and said: "I am unhappy for not getting enough funds to run office and activities."

Talking about the Reservation Law, he said, "We had launched a huge rally but still it was not a grand success to compel the existing government to pass the Reservation Law in the Parliament."

Dr. Indira Athawale talked about the political power which is the key of the total change in the society. In democracy, we have to center on political confederation that is constantly against every area of exploitation but it is we who have limited ourselves in the social field in past but now it is high time to change the weapon and carry out expansion of our work in political field also. She gave the example of history that BAMCEF has developed. And now we have decided as citizens that we will strengthen the hands of our revolutionary leader Dr. Udit Raj and his newly located Indian Justice Party (I.J.P.). Dr.Indira Athawale also brought attention of the leaders towards the self help group of women and youth for Economic Development.

Dr.Sam Paul, in his speech, focused on Co-ordination and Economic Empowerment. He talked about the service given to the society by AICC in economic and educational fields. AICC is basically working for spiritual Work but now they have started eighty two schools for dalits and educated fourteen thousand students with the co-ordination of AICC and

Confederation. While taking about Dalit Freedom Network, he said that it is functioning at the International level for the welfare of dalits. He too spoke about the small saving group.

In the speech, Jairam Suman highlighted on the economic empowerment and the share of dalits in the Budget.

R.B.Singh talked about 'how to raise land confederation in economic crisis. He too emphasized on raising funds for the Confederation. He suggested the future planning for raising funds by identifying ten thousand members who can donate thousand rupees in a year. He further stated that all the state leaders must have to workout this plan.

Bhavananath Paswan (U.P.), Rahmani Kum (Tamilnadu), Tarapad Biswas (W.B.), Jasbinder Singh (Haryana), Panchamrajn (Rajasthan), Dinesh Kumar (Jarkhand), Dr. Deviprasad (Bihar), Brahamprakash, Lalit Kumar, Net Ram Thagela (Delhi), Uday Kumar (Chattisgarh), Paramhans Prasad (M.P.), Subodh, R.V. Singh (Uttarakhand), S. U. Gadpayale (Maharashtra), Dinesh Kumar, Virenkumar, Drahmprakhsh, Suman, Raghavir Singh, Satyawan, K.K.Joshi, Dinesh Kumar, Sunilkumar Janman singh, Kartarsing, Phool Singh and State leaders have given their commitment to give funds and they have to fulfill their promises as early as possible.

oržeku jktuhfrd i fjn'; vks bfm; u tflvi i kvhz

nsk ea oržeku jktuhfrd mBki Vd vks HkzVkpj vkt viuh pje lhek ij gA l Hkh jktuhfrd i kvz; ka tkfr /keZ l E ink; dsuke ij viuh jkV; ka l d jgh gSektmk fl ; kl h nks ea fl ; kl rnkaykska dh djuh l s ; g ekVh bruk dyidr gksh tk jgh gSfd mRj insk dk vkneh ml js inskka rd ea 'kd dh utj l s nsk tkus yxk gA bl insk ds HkzHkx ea jg jga vke yksks dh ftUnxh cn-l scnrj gksh tk jgh gA xjhc dk ikrky vks vejih dk vkdk'kh; nk; jk c<fk tk jgk gA fujk'kk] dHbK dschp vHko o 'kksk.k ds ekgsy ea thus dks etcj gS vkneh /keZ fuLi.k k gS jktuhfr dyghA epfyl h l s t>rh bui kfu; r etcjh ea gBkfu; r dh vks vxj j gA ekuork fl l fd; ka ysjgh gS vks nkuork ?kuHkwr gksh tk jgh gA vkt l cl s cMk [krjk

eyd dh tEgij; r okyh 0; oLFk ij gA ekStmk nks ea vke ykska dk fo'okl jktuhfr vks jktuhfr l s tHs ykska l s mBrk tk jgk gA gkykd l p gS fd vkt Hkh vPNs yks T; knk gA l ekt dh dkbZ l &Fk dks ; Fk /kfeZ] 'ks[kd] jktuhfr ; k vU; {s-ka dh ml l s vPNs yks vkt Hkh tHs gA yfdu [kjkch ; g gS fd fcxMfs ekgsy l s vPNs yks rVLFk gkrs tk jgsg vks [kjk yks gj l &Fk ij gkch gkrs tk jgsgA t#jr bl ckr dh gSfd vPNs yks vPNh l kp o l e> ds yks l fO; gk cjs dks cjk dgus okyka dh rknkr c<A tye 'kksk.k] vU; k;] vR; kpkj] vukpkj] HkzVkpj dsf[kykQ ; Fk mi fLFkr o ; Fk dncr vkokt mBA tkfy vks tye rc rd c<sk tc rd tye l gus okys yks c<skA fofHku rjg

dkerk i d kn fo'odekz

ds eksg cu/ku ea Qd dj] oS fDrd etcj; ka ds o'kuHkwr gkcdj vkneh l p dks dgus l s cp jgk gA LokfZ fyll k ds dkj.k l gh vkneh Hkh xy r gkcdj >B dks l p cukdj i Lr; djuseayxk gA egxkb] HkzVkpj] vijj[k] Hkz[k] ccl h vkfn tkfgj rjs ij fn[kus okyh l eL; k, a l Hkh tku jgs gA ij l okZ/kd cMh l eL; k tEgij; r ij [krjs dh gA jktuhfr ds ve; knr pyu l s vke vkneh dk jktuhfr l s VWrk fo'okl] mi trh ?k.kk v'kpk l d r gA gkyr ; g gSfd vxj fl ; kl h ny dks'k'k dj ykska dks i s jr u djs rks 'kk; n 10 ; k 15 ifr'kr ernku u gka nsk dh tEgij; r okyh 0; oLFk ds l kfk gh jk'vH; v[k.Mrk] , drk o etarh dsfy, Hkh ; g fLFkr ?kkrd

gA fo'o ds vuud HkzHkx es fl ; kl r l s vke yks dh Acu l s D; k&D; k eat j yksks dksfn [kk; s ; g dbz nskka dh gky; k ?kVukvka l s tkuk tk l drk gA fQygy bfm; u tflvi i kvhz dk xBu gh ogrj m} s ; o y{; l keus j [kdj fd; k x; k gA l cdk l eku , oa vfuok; Z f'k[kk] l cdk dke ds fcuk l erk eyd l ekt dh LFki uk ugh gks l drhA Hkxoku xks'e cD , oa egkekuo Mkw vEcMdj ds crk; s jkLrs ij pyus oky] mPp f'k[kk ikr] vk; dj dfe'uj tS k vksnk R; kx dj Mkw mfnr jkt nfy 'kks'kr l ekt , oa vyi l ; dks dsfgr dh yMkbz yM+jgs gA mPp oru eku o l fo/kk okyk l jdkjh ukdkjh R; kx dj ds Fki Ms [kkus fudy i Ms MND mfnr jkt th ds eu ea l ek; k

ba kfu; r dh l ok vc u; k bfrgk jpxka bl ea dkbZ l Ung ugh gA ykd r=; 0; oLFk ea vke ykska dks feys vL= ^okv^ ds gd dk l gh bLreky dj nkuoh jktuhfr gBkuh 0; oLFk] jk[kl h i dfr ij , d k igkj dja ft l l s fujk'k euka ea vk'kk l pfjr gka djkmks djkm+yks dHbK l smcs vks fodkl dh nkm+ea l fO; dka jksku egyka ea gks jgk vVvkl de gks >ks Mh ea Hkh eLdku dk nks 'k# gka l ; k dh rirh /ni vks n[k ds vdkdj ea Mch ftUnxh; ka ds chp vkdk'k vks ikrky l snjh de gka /keZ tkfr oxZ l E ink; ds uke ij pkmh gksh uQjr dh [kzb i kvh tk; s rY[kh l kgnz ea cny] fo[kjko , dtvkr dh vks vxj j gka ***

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THE REAL PROBLEM STILL REMAINS UNTOUCHED BY INDIAN POLITY

Dr. Udit Raj

By the time India got freedom, the British Government had laid the foundation of a democratic form of Government in the country. Parliamentary form of Government, Judiciary, Executive and other related institutions had come into existence. Thus the necessary infrastructure had already been put in place for a democratic form of Government and there was hardly any scope for an alternative form of Government. Democracy cannot function without political parties. The modern democratic concept is basically a European model where there is no caste system. We just adopted this form of Government we could not mould it to suit our conditions.

All the political parties can be put into three categories. Parties like Congress and Bhartiya Janata Party can be called progressive and forward-looking and their politics is limited to resolving the country's problems to economic and political issues. These parties could be more relevant in the context of American and European political scenario. Even after 62 years of Independence, solution to our problems is nowhere in sight. People have been voted for different parties at different times in the last 62 years in the fond hope that Government of the parties in power will successfully address their day-to-day problems. In fact, what is actually required is a change in the mind-set of the people. Unless and until, people do not urge the political class to resolve their social issues, polity will also not understand the social problems facing the country. The real problem facing the country is social i.e. caste structure. Who will resolve this social problem? Can the voluntary organizations tackle this problem? Can the writers or intellectuals address this problem? The most powerful instrument of change in a democracy is a political party. If the political parties do not address the social problems, no worthwhile change can be brought about in the society. In that case, people will just get fed up with the party in power and bring another party and this process will go on and on.

Communism is another system of politics in our country. According to them, the society is

divided into two categories viz. the rich and the poor but this is a very simplistic view of the Indian society. Communists call upon all the poor people to unite. Somehow, people just cannot unite on this basis. A poor Brahmin could be more casteist and communal because of his feudal past. On the other hand, a rich and educated Brahmin influenced by modern thoughts does not mind mixing and socializing with Dalits. Even Dalits are mired in intra-caste prejudices and bias due to which a poor Dalit belonging to one caste keeps distance from a Dalit belonging to another caste among Dalits. In this context, can the Communist ideology cater to the needs of the Indian society? Karl Marx urged the working classes all over the world to unite. Had he been born in India, he would have urged the Indian people to end the caste system.

The third political system claims to work for social welfare but ends in individual or family advancement, favouritism, nepotism and corruption. DMK and AIDMK ushered in this type of politics in Tamil Nadu but in the end, these also could not rise above the petty caste politics. Of course, they parties have brought about some radical changes in Tamil Nadu society. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who founded the Republican Party of India did not only think of resolving economic and political issues but also the social problems facing the country. Similarly Kanshi Ram Ji floated Bahujan Samaj Party where the main focus was on the social problems. These parties have at least social problem in their center of things.

Very often, we link the development of the country with the economic growth in the GDP. We should remember that there are other yardsticks or norms for determining the growth of a developing nation. From the development that has taken place in the Metros like Delhi, Bangalore, Mumbai and Kolkata, we come to the conclusion that the country is on the path of progress. Last year, when a survey was conducted on the conditions of people belonging to the unorganized sector, it was found that the average monthly income of 77% people of our country is Rs. 20/- or even less. Even the criterion for determining the number of people living

below the poverty line is 2100 calories per person in the urban area and 2400 calories per person in the rural areas. These norms have already become outdated. In fact, more than 80% of the people in the country are still living in abject poverty. How has the democratic form of Government helped the people to raise their standard of living. The country is surviving because of the sheer determination of the people to survive under very difficult conditions and not because the Government or the political parties are implementing any India-specific policies to bring the country out of abject poverty and backwardness. Had the political parties adopted India-specific policies in the backdrop of its social problems, the country would have made strides in its development.

Somehow the people have been made to think that the job of the Government is to address the economic and political issues. Thus the voters' expectations from the political parties are also limited to these issues. When the people have no expectations from the political parties or the Government on issues like social discrimination and disparities, then it really does not matter as to which party forms the Government. Presently the greatest challenge is that awareness should be created among the people for putting pressure on the political parties so that they form policies and programmes for India-specific issues. This is, of course, a Herculean task for changing the mind-set of the people controlling the existing political parties. Thus the need of the hour is to create new parties which can address the basic problems facing the people and the country but before launching such parties, the electorate has to be educated about the new approach to our real problems.

Ever since Dalits and other backward classes have started sharing power, the people belonging to different castes have started organizing themselves on these lines. Some people think that is communalism but in reality this is a very simplistic and naive view of the situation. In the early decades of post-independent India, most of the political parties were controlled and

managed by the upper caste people and Dalits and the Backwards used to be their voters. Now that Dalits and Backwards have formed their own political parties controlled and managed by Dalit leaders, it is but natural that votes and communities will be divided on these lines. Had we made sincere efforts to find political solution of this social problem from the very beginning, then by now there would not have been much of a scope for formation of political parties on communal lines.

Parties which believed in bringing about revolutionary changes in the political life of the country did take notice of this grave social problem but could not find any solution. Rather, leaders of Dalits and Backwards became very aggressive in raising organizations on communal and caste lines. In the manifestoes of these organizations, the main focus was on social discrimination besides economic and political issues. The atrocities committed by the perpetrators of social discrimination for thousands of years were virulently highlighted with a sense of

vengeance and hatred by these organizations. It can very well be said that they explained the problem in great depth and detail but did not make any effort to offer a solution. Solution to this problem can be found by a democratic party which believes in equal and compulsory education for all in a society where everybody is treated as an equal. Indian Justice Party has made a small beginning in this direction and wants solutions and nor merely harping on the problems. Our initiative is a befitting reply to those parties who claim to bring about revolutionary changes in this society. Now our agenda should be to bring this social problem in the political agenda. If this does not happen then whatever political and economic development takes place in the country will be negated by the scourge of casteism. This approach will take care of the problem of communalism also. Communities which adopt unfair means to somehow grab power, the same very people do not hesitate to play the communal card for political ends.

Change of Address

Friends,

Address of IJP and Confederation at B-113, Sarvodaya Enclave, New Delhi-110017 has now been changed to T-22, Atul Grove Road, Connaught Place, New Delhi. Now onwards, the correspondence should be made at new address.

-Dr. Udit Raj, National President

APPEAL TO THE READERS

It is good news for you that the Voice of Buddha will now be published both in Hindi and English so that brothers and sisters who cannot read Hindi find no problem in reading our message. I appeal to the readers to send the subscription amount either through draft or money order in favour of 'Justice Publications' at B-113, Sarvodaya Enclave, Opp. IIT Gate, Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi-110017. Sometimes, it might happen that you don't receive the Voice of Buddha. In that case kindly write to us and check up with the post office also. As we are facing financial crisis to run it you all are requested to send the subscription.

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