

# okw I vkwD cq k

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R.N.I. No. 68180/98

eV; % ikp : i ; s

i s'kd % MKD mfnr jkt 1/2 ke jkt 1/2 ps jeſu & tflVI i fcydska ] Vh&22] vry xto jkm] dukv lys ] ubz fnYyh&110001] Qku % 23354841&42

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o"KZ % 12

vad 13

i kf{kd

f}Hkk"kh

16 l s 31 eb] 2009

## u, vknsyu vkj urRo dh t: jr

gky ds ykd I Hkk papkoka ea ijsnsk dsLrj ij nfyv vknsyu vkj urRo detkj gqk gA mO iD ea igyh kj cl ik dk 3 ifr'kr okV ?kVk gS vkj iKViz ek= 100 foekku I Hkk I hVka ij gh vkxsjgh gS tcfD 2007 ea 200 l s T; knk I hVa thrh , d kj tc turk dk : >ku f[kykQ ea 'kq gks tk, rks cgr gh eif'dy gS fd bl s vkxs fxjus l s jkcdk tk, A l ph ek; korh dh uhfr; ka dh otg l smO iD eagh ugha cfd ijs nsk ea u dpy cl ik detkj gpbz gS cfd ijs nsk ea nfyv vknsyu detkj gqk gA l oztu dk ukjk nclj vEcMjdokn] 'kks'kr] l oZkj , oa cgrtuka dh yMkbz dks detkj fd; k x; k gA ; g l hko ugha gS fd , d l kfk 'kks'krka o 'kks'kd] dejk vkj yVjk dh yMkbz yMh tk l dA l oztu ds ukj s dk eryc ; gh

gA cgrtu l ekt iKViz us l kpk fd 'kks'kdka dks 'kkl u&iZkkl u ea As vksgns nclj buds l ekt dk okV fy; k tk l drk gS og feF; k l kfcr gqkA nfyv vkj fiNM s Hkh nclj Fks bl ckr dsfy, fd cl ik l jdkj ea mudh l pkbz ugha gS bl fy, cgr l kjs ykx okV nus ds fy, ?kj l s fudys gh ugha vkj dN ykxka us dks gh okV fn; ka vk'p; Z dh ckr gSfd nfyv tkxfr dh ekj dN gks pph gA ijs papko ea dks us nfyvka ds fy, dN [kkl dgk ugha fQj Hkh nfyvka us okV fn; ka bl dk igyk dkj .k ; g yxrk gS fd dkbz fodYi ugha fn [kka ehfm; k us Hkh , d k ekgsy i s k dj fn; k Fk fd ft l s ykx Hkfer gkdj okV fn, A Jh jke foykl i kl oku l d n ea, d vkokt gqk djsr Fk mUga Hkh gjk fn; k x; ka mekj egkj k'V ea Jh jkenl vkBoys

MKD mfnr jkt] jko v/; {k

gkjs rks l ektokn i KViz ds cM s nfyv urk jketh yky l pu Hkh gkjA Jh cWk fl g papko yMs Fks i jUrq mUga Hkh gjk; k x; ka vdkyh ny dh vkj l s nfyv urk Jh pjuthr vroky] tks l d n ea vkokt mBk; k djsr Fk Hkh gkj x, A bl rjg l s bl l d n ea nfyvka dh vkokt mBkusokysT; knkrj urk papko gjk x, A l # ; g Hkh crkrs gS fd nfyv vknsyu dks en djus ds fy, 0; oLFk ea l kft'ku nfyv urk vka dks gjk; ka

vc vko'; drk gSfd fQj l s l kjs nfyv l xBu , oa cf] thoh , d u; k urRo papka vxj , d k ugha gkrk rks l e> s nfyv fQj l s gkl , ij igp tk, xavk mudh flFkr l u-50 o 60 ds n'kd tS h gks tk, xhA bl papko eafdl h Hkh ny us nfyvka

dh vkokt i e[krk l s ugha mBk; hA bl l s l e> yuk pfg, fd vc dkbz ny nfyvka ds fgrka dh ijokg ugha dj jgk gA vc , d gh fodYi jg x; k gS fd fQj l s l Hkh nfyv

utjnt u djA fdl h , d urk ; k l xBu dh Bclnkh ugha gS l ekt dk Hkyk djus dk] bl fy, nll js ; g u l e> cBaf d ; g ckr dkbz vkj mBk jgk gA bl l e; l kjs vgdkj]

To,

cf] thoh] depljh] l kelftd , oa jktu s rd dk; ZUkZ , d ep ij vk, A bl l s, d u; k urRo] ft l dh cgr gh vko'; drk bl l e; gS [kV k gks tk, xkA nll js nyka ij Hkh ncko cusx fd os nfyvka ds fgrka dks

i nklz] erHkn vkj ykkl&yky p R; kxdj l Hkh , d u, vknsyu dk l tu djA tks ykx bl fn'kk ea dN djuk pgrsg os l Ei dZ Hkh djA

nsud HkkLdj ea i d k f' kr ys[ k

## /ku] tkfr] /keZ o i fjokj ds fcuk jkt uhfr

papakoh jktuhfr ea eku] tkfr] ekeZ , oa ifjokj dh vge- Hkfedk gA vk'p; Z bl ckr dk gSfd l ekt dk dkbz Hkh rcdk bl ij [kydj bZekunkjh l s ckr ugha djuk pgrka vKkurk Hkh , d dkj .k gks l drh gA i jUrq 'krepkZ dh uhfr ij T; knkrj ykx py jgs gA tc [krjk fl j ij gks rks 'krepkZ viuk eog tehu ea xkM+yrk gS bl l s [krjk rks ugha Vyrka jktu s rd ykx vxj 'krepkZ dh pky pya rks ckr l e> ea vrh gS yfdu ee; eoxZ , oa cf] thfo; ka ds l keus D; k etcjgh gS

eku ds cars papko ea mrjrs gh gA xkMh] [kuk] tS [kp] 'kjc vkj dN 0; fDrx- LokFZ ds ek; e l s u, & i gkus dk; ZUkZ teuk 'kq gks tkrs gA bl dk vl j i Mxk LokHk f od gA vxj dkys eku dk l g; kx u fy; k tk, rks l xBu dh 'kfr] fopkj ekj k] vdsys papkoh jktuhfr dh cM k dks i j ugha dj l drA papko vk; kx dh dMkbz dh otg l s ckA : i l s tks eku dk 0; ; gkrk Fk ml ij jkd rks yx x; h gA i gys i kVj] l tkov] ep] eofu folrkd ; a-] eukjatu] mi gjk ckvuk] xkM+ ka dk dkfQyk vkfn ij [kydj [kpZ gkrk FkA bl ij jkd rks yx x; h yfdu Hkhrjh : i l s [kpZ c<+ x; k gA i gys dh rgyuk ea vc dbz xpk dkys eku dk mi; kx gkus yk gS D; krd jktuhfr v) D; kol kf; d gks pph gA rFkdfkr l kelftd U; k; dh , d iKViz & cl ik }kj [kydj fvdV foZ dh trh gA foekku l Hkk ds fy, vkj ru i s kyhl l s i pl yk [k : i ; s , d fvdV dh dher gA bruk gh i s k yxkdj papko yMh tk, xkA ; fn l Qyrk feyrh gS rks bl i s dh Hkji kbz fodkl dk eku] Lo; adh fufek

MKD mfnr jkt] jko v/; {k

vkj vU; rjhd s tS s & vijkek] deh'ku [kjh vkfn l s gh dh tk l drh gA l d n dk papko vc vkj ru dj kMh ea gh pyk x; k gA , d s ea D; k dkbz bZekunkj vkj fopkj ekj k dh rkd ds l gkjs papko yM+ l drk gS

ppkZ/ka ea; g gSfd nsk dh nks cMh i fVZ; ka us dpy ehfm; k ij gh yxHkx nks nks gt kj dj kM+ : i ; s [kpZ fd, A ; gh dkj .k gSfd dN pS y vkj ehfm; k ; i r h, dh c< f fn [k jgs g rks dN , uMh, dhA bl l s l kQ gks tkrk gSfd Hkjh yu&nu gqk gA yxHkx l Hkh v [kckjka , oa pS yka us i R; d ftys l s i R; k'k; ka l sfdrk foKki u vkuk gS ml dk y{; fuekZjr dj fn; k gA , d cM+v [kckj us mO iD ea viuh uhfr r; dj nh Fk fd i R; d ftys l s 80 yk [k l s ydj , d dj kM+ rd dk foKki u vkuk gh gA tS foKki u ugha nsk] ml dh [kckj Nki xA ugha vkj Nki xA Hkh rks ml ds fojkek ea papko vk; kx D; k dj jgk gS vejh i R; k'kh i jk v [kckjka ds ist [kjh fy, ] , d s ea bZekunkj i R; k'kh

brus de l e; ea viuh vkokt vke ykxard ds sigpk, \

LFkkuh; i = dkjka l s ydj ftys ds i = dkj foKki u nus dk ncko cukrs gh jgs gA es uxhuk ykd l Hkk {k= l s Lo; a papko yM+ jgk FkA , dnu dh ckr gSfd l g yxHkx 8 cts ejs dejs dk njokt i = dkjka us [kV [kV; k] es l kdj mBk gh Fk vkj mul svkxg fd; k fd FkMh nj ckn es ckj vkdj ckrphr dj ykka ek= nk&pkj feuV chrs gksa fd fQj l s njokt [kV [kVrs gq ?k] vnj ?k] vk, A ckrphr ds nsk foKki u nus dsfy, cgr ncko cuk; ka bl dnj papko ds l e; foKki u dsfy, ncko cuk; k tkrk gS fd ft l dk vnk tk yxkuk eif'dy gA , d s ea bZekunkj , oa tul ?k'Z djus oky 0; fDr D; k papko yM+ l drk gS bl l srks i gys gh vPNk gqk djrk Fk tc ernku dshka ij dC tk gqk djrk Fk vkj ckA : i l s eku dk uak&ukpA papko vk; kx dh dMkbz l s ; s phita # dha rks gA yfdu nll jh cjk; kabruh gks x; h gS fd vc dkbz bZekunkj , oa uEcj ou dh dekbz l smudk epkcyk ugha dj l drkA

; g fo'k; vius vki ea cgr 0; ki d gS tS k fd 'kq ea gh mYy[ k dj fn; k x; k gA l Hkh i e[k i {kka dks foLrkjr rks ugha fd; k tk l drkA eku ds ckn tkfr dk i Hko rks bruk gS fd ekeZ Hkh nll js ; k rhl js ucj dh Hkfedk ea gA ; g l kelftd l Ppkbz gSfd ekeZ rks cnyk tk l drk gS yfdu tkfr dk caku ugha VMrka bl papko ea dks 'k'k rks dh x; h fd ekeZ ds vlekj ij ekphclj .k gks i jUrq mruk gqk ugha yfdu o'kka sekeZ dh jktuhfr djus okyka dks bl dk ykHk feys fcuk ugha jg l drkA tkfr dk vl j bruk gSfd ; fn fdl h i fjokj ds 0; fDr dks fdrh Hkh cMh enn ns nh tk, ] ; gka rd fd l jdkjh ukZj h yxok nh tk, ] fQj Hkh xkj h ugha gS fd og ?kj enn djus okysny dks okV nsx gh] vxj og trh; l ehclj .k ea fQV ugha cBrka ; gh dkj .k gS fd tu&vknsyu djus okys ykx papkoh jktuhfr l s ckj gks jgs gA 'k#vkr rks ug; th ds gh l e; l sgls x; h Fk yfdu ml l e; i rk ugha yxrk FkA i Fke ykd l Hkk papko ea 50 ifr'kr l s T; knk ckA .k papko thrdj l d n

# MKND vEcMdj vksj etnij oxl

vts dplj

MKND Hkhejko vEcMdj dk uke vEcMdjokfn; ka vksj muds fojksfek; ka }kjk l eku : i l s tkr i Fkk mUeyu ds l eak eamudsfojpkja vksj buls l eak vknksyuka ds fl yfl ys ea fy; k tkrk jgk gA vk'p; l gsrk gs fd MKND vEcMdj ftUgkaus etnij oxl ds uke ij vi uh igyh jktuhfrd i kVhZ cukbz ds }kjk bl {ks= eafn, x, ; ksnku dsckjsea dkbz ckr ugha gsrkA 1937 ea MKND vEcMdj us og i kVhZ cukbz Fkh) uke Fkk ^bMmI Mm/ ycj i kVhZA fji fcydu i kVhZ vKd bMm; k rksckn ea 1948 ea cuh) ftl dk ?kks'kr mfs; vuq fpr tkr; ka o tu tkr; ka ds fgrka l s l eak eafn ea dks mBkuk FkA 1943 ea mUgkaus , Vd 1/4 fky Hkjr; VM ; fu; u dkacl 1/2 tks ml oDr dE; fuLVka }kjk l pkyr vdsyh VM ; fu; u Fkh) ds l Eeyu ds l eak eafn fd; k FkA fo'k; Fk) ^etnij vksj ykdra= "A vKfFkd uhr dsifr mudk jos k ekuorkoknh Fk) [kkl dj etnijka vksj vfr xjhc ykska dsifrA vKfFkd fodkl ; kstuk vksj [kkl dj tkfri Fk ds jktuhfrd vKfFkd= l s l eak eafn muds dbz ysk "MKND vEcMdj l a wZ okk; \* ea l eafy gA

MKND vEcMdj dk fopkj Fk fd jkt; dks etnijka ds fy, dke dh i fjl fLfr; ka dks gh cgrj ugha cukuk gs cfyd etnijka ds thou ea Hkh l eak ykuk gA ^Je uhr deyh ds ve; {k gkaus ds ukrs mUgkaus bl ij cy fn; k fd Jfedka dh mRi kndrk ea c<k&kjh ykus ds fy, dbz dne mBkus dh t: jr gA mUgkaus Jfedka dks dN t: jh l foekk, a eqr ; k fj; k; rh njka ij nus dk l eko fn; ka buea plkg o"lz rd dh vk; q ds etnijka ds cPpka dks eqr f'k{k} fctyh&i kuh fj; k; rh njka ij nus vksj vU; l foekvka dh ckr igyh dj MKND vEcMdj us dhA mudk ekuuk Fk fd bu dneka l s Jfedka dk LokLF; cgrj gksk vksj os vfedk fui qrk l s dke dj l dsk etnijh) i l fir) ykHk) Nfe; ka vksj chek gkaus ij fpdfRI k l foekk, a nus dh ckr Hkh MKND vEcMdj us dhA

NqkNir vksj tkr i Fk fdl rjg etnijka ds thou dks i Hkfor djrh gs bl dk cgrjhu ve; ; u gea MKND vEcMdj ds dbz ysk eafeyrk gA vkt Hk Hkjr ds dbz jkt; ka ea NqkNir dk ipyu gA dbz txg xk ea ckyehfd vkr nek vksj l cth o nky ugha cp l drhA vxj ml snik cpuk gsrk vi us xk l snij ml js xk ; k 'kgj ea tkrh gs tgka ml s dkbz igpku u l da phA <kus ea tks [kpl ml sogu djuk i Mfrk gA ml l sml dk epuk Qk de gks tkrk gA di M m | kx ea dbz txg vkt Hk tgka ekkxs dks vi us gkka ea nckuk

i Mfrk gs ogka , d ckyehfd dks ugha j [kk tkrk] D; kkd ekkxk vifo= gks tkrk gA dbz jkst xkj , d sgg tgamPp tkr; ka ds ysk dke ugha djra mUga vefjdk ds gky ea crU l l Q djus ea dkbz ijgst ugha yfdu ; gka tkr&fcjknjh ds Mj l s os ; g dke dHkh ugha djra MKND vEcMdj us bl s ^LoSPNd cjkst xkj" dgk gA

dbz ckj ulph tkr ds yskka dks gkFk ij gkFk j [kcl] cBuk i Mfrk gStcfd dke eksem gs ij og doy mPp tkr ds fy, vkf{kr gA MKND vEcMdj us bl s ^vLoSPNd cjkst xkj" dgk gA 'kksk.k ds xj&vKfFkd dkj dka ij vEcMdj us cgr fy [kk gs vksj bl s nfu; k ds etnijka , d gks ds ukjs dh tehu gdhdr l s tMk gA HkrRo dh Hkrouk ea deh ds dkj.k etnij , drk i Hkfor gsrh gA fi Nys fruks ^l Mj Qkly nfy LVMht\* us vkmh'kkl egkj k"v" l er plj jkt; ka ea vius ve; ; u ea ik; k fd ?kjsy w dkeka ij vkneh j [kus ea Hkh ; g nsk tkrk gs fd tkr D; k gA xk; &Hk nguk] l cth dkVuk vkfn dke fupyh tkr ds yskka ds ugha fn, tkrA

mPp tkr dk vkneh vi uh xk; ; k Hk fupyh tkr ds 0; fDr dks ugha cprka dN dke fupyh tkr ds yskka l s tcnLrh djok, tkrsgA euk djus ij Mjk; k&ekedk; k tkrk gs gR; k rd dj nh tkrh gA er i 'kq'ka dh pelm mekmus ds dke dks dkbz mPp tkr dk 0; fDr gkFk ugha yxkrka bl rjg ds dke dks tc doy fupyh tkr ds cPps djrs gA rks tkfgj gs os gh u&Hkrouk dk f'kdj gsrh gA vxj mPp tkr ds cPps Hkh og dke l kfk ea feydj dja rks vupeku yxk; k tk l drk gsfd bl l s vki l h HkrRo ea fdrh c<k&kjh gksch\ Je dh xjek l s ^etnij , drk" dk ukj fny dh ekMeluka dks Nq xka MKND vEcMdj us bl vksj VM ; fu; uka dk e; ku fnyk; ka 'kksk.k ds dkj.k doy vKfFkd ugha l kelftd Hkh gA vksj os ^etnij , drk" dks i Hkfor djrs gA

gmfrky djus ds vfedkj ij MKND vEcMdj dh jk; gea vksj ksd fookn foeks d ij gbl cgl eafeyrh gA bl foeks d ds i oekuka ij fVli.kh djrs gq mUgkaus dgk] gmfrky djus dk vfedkj fl QZ Lorark ds vfedkj dk ml jk uke gA bl h cgl ea vks os gmfrky ea ekfydka }kjk i fyl cy ds blreky ij fVli.kh djrs gA % ^i mch vksj Je ds chp dkbz l ekrk ugha gD; kkd dkbz fookn gkaus ij l jdkj ekfyd dk i {k yrh gA ; g ckr gmfrky ds fruka ea l jdkj }kjk blreky fd, x, i fyl cy l s l i "v gks tkrh gA turk ds pans vksj dj l s ftl s ge l c ogu djrs

gs i fyl cy pyk; k tkrk gA ; g l cds Qk; ns ds fy, fd; k tkrk gA fu l mng] fdl h Hkh l jdkj dks fl QZ bl fy, i fyl cy dk blreky djus dk vfedkj ugha gD fd etnijka }kjk dh xbl gmfrky dk i fj.kke 'kkr dk mYyaku gkska ; g fn [kkuk Hkh vko'; d gs fd m | kx ds fdl h , d oxl fo'kks' }kjk 'kkr Hkx dh xbl gA vxj etnijka dh fdl h vuqpr ekx }kjk 'kkr Hkx gsrh gs rksvki dks muds fo: ) i fyl cy dk iz kx djuk U; k; l x r gkska vxj ml jh vksj ekfyd ds fdl h c&plj vU; k; i wZ vksj l ekrk dh Hkrouk ds ifrdy dr; l s 'kkr Hkx gsrh gk] rks l jdkj dks etnijka ds f [kyk Q i fyl cy blreky djus dk dkbz vfedkj ugha gA bu nkaus 0; oLFk vka dks feykj gh ekfyd vksj depjkh ds chp l gh l ekrk ykbz tk l drh gA\*

njvl y] os i fyl dks , dne fu"i {k Hkfedk fuHkks nus ds i {k ekj FkA i fyl o l suk jktl Ukk ds vx gA vksj ik; % budk mi ; kx oxh; l Ukk dks cuk, j [kus vksj l a fuk ds vfedkj dh j {k djus eaf; k tkrk gs bl s os yxHkx vutku irhr gsrh gA njvl y] tc vki dk ; g fo'okl gksfd l foekku vksj dkuu l s l cdl Nhd gks tk, xk rksvki dk fny c&k l gh txg ij gks vki l gh urhtka ij ugha gp l drA

MKND vEcMdj vksj kschdj.k ds i {k ekj FkA ml oDr dkacl ds vU; urk vksj kschdj.k dks doy jk"Vh; vk; ea c<k&kjh ds : i ea nskrs Fk} ij vEcMdj dk fopkj Fk fd bl jk"Vh; vk; dks tu l kkkj.k ea forfjr fd; k tkuk plkg, A xjhch l s vke tu dh eqr ds fy, os vksj kschdj.k dks , d vge vkskij ds : i ea nskrs FkA MKND vEcMdj us ^jkt; & l ektokn\* dk fopkj Hkh fn; ka osef; m | kskat s & chek] cbl vkfn ds jk"Vh; dj.k ds i {k ea FkA l kelgd [krh dh ckr mUgkaus dhA tc mul s i nk x; k fd jk"Vh; dj.k ds ctk; vxj futh {ks= dks vksj kschdj.k ea igy djus fn; k tk, rks D; k gkska mudk tok Fk fd igys rks futh {ks= mruk l {ke ugha fd og dj l d} vxj djxk Hkh rks turk ea eku vksj l Ei fuk dh o h gh vl ekrk, a gea nskus dks feyxka tks ; jk} eafeyrh gA mudk ekuuk Fk fd ; jk} ds mnkgj.k l s Hkjr dks l h [kuk plkg, A ; g , dne l gh vkdyu FkA

MKND vEcMdj us i mchokn dks l e>us vksj ml s fo'ys'kr djus ds fy, ekDI l dk Hkh l gkjk fy; k] exj mudh i wZ vKfFk ekDI bkn ea u gks l dhA ekDI l dk ve; ; u djus ds ckn os ekDI bkn dks vi us <k l s

0; k [; kf; r djrs gA mUgkaus ekDI l ds vius ve; ; u ds ckn vi us fu" d"lz ea plj ckrka ij cy fn; k % , d] n'ku dk dk; l fo'o dk i pfuekZk djuk gs fo'o dh mRi fuk dk Li "Vhdj.k nus; k l e>kuseavius l e; dks u"V djuk ugha nksj , d oxl dk ml js oxl ds l kfk LokfZk vksj fgr dk Vdjko vksj muea l a"lz dk gkska rhu) l Ei fuk ds 0; fDrxr- Lokfero l s , d oxl dks 'kDr i ktr gsrh gs vksj ml js oxl dks 'kksk.k ds }kjk nqk igp; k tkrk gA plj] l ekt dh Hkybz ds fy, ; g vko'; d gs fd 0; fDrxr l a fuk dk mUeyu u djds nqk dk fujkdj.k fd; k tk, A

futh l a fuk vksj nqk ds fujkdj.k ds chp var l eakka dks MKND vEcMdj nqk ugha ik, A i mchokn 0; oLFk ea fdl rjg vKfFkd rdr jktuhfrd rkr eacny tkrh gs vksj fdl rjg l Ukk ds gj vx ij vi uk opLo dk; e dj yrh gA MKND vEcMdj bl dh rg rd ugha igp ik, A MKND vEcMdj ds eprkcd] ^ge dg l drs gA fd nks l a fuk dk ugha gs cfyd forj.k dk gA ts } ftuds i kl l a fuk gs gh ugha os ml s i kus ds fy, mu yskka dh vi ekk dgha vfedk

foeak djus ds fy, rrij jgs } ftuds i kl l a fuk gA vkefud ; q dk vksj ksd fookn bl dk , d vksj mnkgj.k gA mDr fVli.f.k; ka dks e; ku ea j [kcl gh ; g l e>k tk l drk gS fd gmfrky ds nksku ekfydka dh vi ekk etnij dgha vfedk fgd d gks tkrsgA\* l Ei fuk dks ydj vEcMdj , dne fuf'pr FkA 'kk; n bl hfy, l a fuk ds vfedkj dks nsk ds l foekku ea eny vfedkjka ea LFkku fn; k x; k gs tcd fodkl ds l eku vol j\* dk vfedkj l foekku ds ^fun'kd fl ) kark ea j [kk x; k gA ; gha ; g l oky i shk gsrk gsfd , d , d setnij dks ftl ds i kl l a fuk ukeek= dh gs D; k f'k{k} jgu&l gu) vkokl t s c&fu; knh eika ij ^fodkl ds l eku vol j\* fey l drs gA ; gha ij MKND vEcMdj ds l kfk ekDI bkn; ka ds erHkn mHkjdj l keus vkrs gA yfdu ; serHkn , d s ugha ftul sfui Vk u tk l da vkt VM ; fu; uka dks MKND vEcMdj ds mu rele ve; ; uka l sykHk mBkuk plkg, ] ftl ea mUgkaus 'kksk.k ds xj&vKfFkd dkj dka ij tkj Mkyk gA tkr i Fk ds mUeyu ds l kfk gh l Pph etnij , drk dk; e gks l ds chA

1/4 "B 1 dk 'kksk' /ku] tkr] /kel o i fjokj - - - - -  
ea i gps FkA nfy vksj fi NMs jktuhfrd Hkxhkhjh dh Hkfedk ea ugha Fks vksj u gh muds vanj txfr Fkh) bl fy, okv dkacl dks ns fn; k djrs FkA ml l e; yxrk Fk fd tkr&i kar ugha gA ; g rc fn [kk tc nfy&fi NMs i ja jk l sgVdj vi usny cuk fy, A

i fjokjokn dh Hkh cgr vge-Hkfedk Hkjr; jktuhfr eaga tc xk&h&ug: i fjokj dN fruka ds fy, jktuhfrd : l s dkacl ea l fo; ugha jgk rks i kVhZ dh fLfr [kjc gkaus yxhA 0; fDr&i mch i ekkku nsk jgk gs vksj vkt ; g jktuhfr ea, d l kFk ds : i ea LFkfr i r gks pkl gA igys dkacl ds Aj r kger yxk; k tkrk Fk) vc rks {ks=h; ny Hkh i hNs ugha jg x, gA vi us c&v&c&v; ka dks vi uk mUkj fkedkjkh cukusea yxHkx l Hkh urk iz kl jr gA eku] eke] tkr , oa i fjokj dh puokh jktuhfr ea bruh T; knk Hkfedk c<x; h gsfd fopkj ekkj] dk; D e] b&ekunjh vkfn dk i Hkko nl i fr'kr l s vfedk 'kk; n ugha jg x; k gA gekj c&f) thoh , oa ehfm; kdelz bl l Ppkbz dks u fn [kkrsgA u gh bl ij ysk djrs gs cfyd osog fn [kkrsg] tks Lo; a l kprsgA ; gh dkj.k gsfd turk bu c&kb; ka ds i fr vxkxg ugha gks i k jgh gA ee; e oxl dh ftEenkh curh gsfd yskka dks bu vHk'kka ka ds ckjs ea crk, A ernrk dk Hkh nkgjk pfj= l keusrc vk tkrk gs tc og b&ekunjh l kkkj.k , oa l hfer l k&eka okys mEehnokj dh l jkguk rks djrk gs yfdu okv ugha nskA

**i kBdka l s vi hy**

^okw l vKd CQ k" ds l Hkh i kBdka l sfuonu gsfd ftUgkaus vHkh rd okf'kd 'kyd@kyd tek ugha fd; k gs os 'kh?k gh MmMv ; k euhvKmj }kjk ^tflvi l fcyds ka \* dsuke l sch&113 l okh; , UDyp] vkb&vkb&h x'v ds l keuj vjfcnksex] ubz fnYyh&110017 dks HstA di ; k ^okw l vKd CQ k" dsuke MmMv ; k i s k u HkstaA ftu yskka ds i kl ^okw l vKd CQ k" ugha igp jgk gs os l nL; rk l e; k l fgr fy [ka dgh&dgha ij eupkn ekufi drk ds ysk bl s i kBdka rd igpkus ea c&ek igpkrsgA ogka l ko/kkuh cjrA vKfFkd fLfr n; uh; gs vr% bl vknksyuka dks l g; kx nus ds fy, [kydj nku ; k pnk nA

l nL; rk 'kyd

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

# jk"Vh; , drk ds fy, l kōp] dFkuh o djuh , d cukuh gksxh

ge jkst l kēftd l eji rk ds xqk c?kjrsgjrs gā vls jk"Vh; , drk dk ukj k cym djrs jgrsgā l kēftd U; k; dsfy, Hkh l kēftd djrsnh[krs gā Hkktik ds 'kēftd' usk Jh vVy fcgkj h okti s h th dk vkt r okD; & "l kēftd U; k; ds fcuk Lorark vekjh gā\*\* i jUrq gdhdr bu l c ukjka ds foijhr gā {f.kd , drk rks; nk dnk n[kus dks feyrh gā xā l k, ryl h nkl th us dgk Hkh gS & "Hk; fcuk gls u i hr xā kbā\* ; gh fd tc dkbz vki nk gsrh gS rks l c , d gks tkrs gā fdUrq vutlko ; g crkrk gS fd vki nk ea Hkh tks l kp igys Fkh] ogh cuh jgrh gā fi Nys l e; ea xā jkr dh Hk; xā j Hkēā =kl nh vls l ukeh =kl fn; ka ds l e; Hkh vyxkooknh l kp dk; e FkA jkgr dā ka ea nfyria dks LFkku ughafeyk Fk] ; gkard fd muds 'kōpky; Hkh vyx gh FkA , d h ekufi drk D; ka Fkh tēfd vkt vefjdk ea u'yHkn vls jkHkn dks udkjrs gq vksckek ogka ds jk"Vā fr gā rks; gā , d h D; k eq hcr gS fd , d 'kmz 'vōlōmZ Dykl ½ tkV usk pōkōjh pj.k fl g us , d vU; vfr'kmz usk txt hou jke th ds i zkkueā h p; fur gkus ds l e; dg fn; k fd eā pekj i zkkueā h ds uhpms mi i zkkueā h jguk ugha pōgriA l Hkh tkrs gā fd Jh txt hou jke , d i zkj jkt usk Fks ftuds j {kk ea h dky ea i vōl i kfd Lrku ds , d yk [k l sūd dā dj fy, x, Fks vls i vōl i kfd Lrku dks ckāyknsk ea i jofrē dj fn; k FkA , d s usk us tc okjk.kl h ea Jh l Eiwkōlūm th dh eā rēz d vukoj .k fd; k rks ml eā rēz dks xaktly vls nēk l s ēks k x; k FkA ; gkard fd Hkjr ds i Fke jk"Vā fr jktōnz i d kn ds jk"Vā fr pōp tkus ij pōd os JhokLro dk; LFk Fk] tks 'kmz Jskh ea vkrsgā dks i jke'kz fn; k x; k Fk fd vki jkt dkt djus l s igys 2001 cā .kka ds dk'kh ea ix i {vkyu 'ā j ēkkēj ½ djds vlvkA ; g dkr ifl ) l ektoknh usk MKD jke eukg ykfg; k us vius, d yk ea dgk FkA vc vki gh l kōp, ; g jk"Vh; , drk ds l l kō gsk i k, xh\

Hkjr; tuel dh , d h fodr l kp ds s gā bl ij fopkj djuk gkskA ; g l kp gekjs rFk d fkr ēkēzkl = dgs tkus okys xā k QSyks gā eufēfr ] ; kōYd Lefr vkn ea fy [kk gS fd ; fn , d 'kmz fdl h 'kkl = dk 'ykēd l q Hk] ys rks ml ds d kua ea l h l k fi ?kykdj Mk y nks vls ; fn og dkbz 'kkl = dk 'ykēd cky ns rks ml ds eg ea uk vax yack ykgs dk yky rik; k gqyk

dh yk Bā fn; k tk, A tc , d s vekuoh; dkuu ykxka ds tgu ea gksā rks jk"Vh; , drk D; k pit cu dj jg tk, xh\ ek = , d 'kcnkofyA l u-2001 ea tc Hkjr ea , uMh, dk 'kkl u FkA , d [k j i < k Fkh fd dk'kh ea dkbz fglu ēkēz l d n uke l s xā Bā gōz Fkh] ftl ea l Hkh nf {k.k i ēkh ykx 'kēfey Fks vls ftl ea i Pphl xā u; l = ikl fd, x, Fks vls dgk x; k Fk fd bu l Hkh l = ka dks , l l hē, l Vh tuka l s xā j [kk tk, A eā bl dh ryk'k ea FkA mu fnuka eā Hkjr; nfyrl fgr; vdkneh dk jk"Vh; egkēā h FkA ep s egkj "V l s , d i = feyk vls ml ds l Fk os 25 xā u; i Lrko 'm'kk dh igyh fdj .k\* uke dh i f = dk ea Nis FkA ml 25 jk"Vh; fopNā kyk ds l = ka us ep s cMh ekufi d i Hk i gōpōbz D; kōd e jk rks ekuorkoknh fl ) ka FkA

cō] egkōh] dk nknw dchj dk] , drk dk i kō geus vkt rd i < k ughā fglu wēd yekacus i k j l h bā kbz Hkh] ij vknēh dks vknēh l k vkt ?Mk ughā\*\* mu i Pphl l = h xā u;

nLrkostka ea i gyk Fk fd ; fn nfyrtu vius m)kj ds fy, dkbz vknksy pykrs gā rks ml ea QM Mk y nks vls mudh , drk l ekr dj nka 2- nfyrtu i < & fy [kdj furkar l H; l ekt u cu tk, A vr% vls {k.k l ekr djus dk i R; d mik; fd; k tk, A vōj l ekt ea l eji rk ds s vk, xh\ vā 3- l fōekku dh l eh {kk, a dj djds ml s vl xē l k cuk nks ckn ea fglu wēd kuu vēuēfr vkn ½ dks ykxw dj nka vrc rks i kōp gōk j l y i gkus ; q ea i gōp tk, xā nfyrtu vā 4- jke eānjka dk fuekz tkxg & txg dj nks vā tēfd eānjka ea 16-5 ifr'kr nfyrtu vls 8-5 ifr'kr vknokl h dh i gōp gh ugha gā ukFk }kj k eānj l s kkuh tēy fl g tks ml l e; Hkjr ds jk"Vā fr Fks fcuk n'kz fd, yk v, Fks rks vke nfyrtu dh D; k etky] exj etsdh ckr ; g gS fd ukFk }kj k ds cYyHkōp; l ds l ā nk; ea v"VNki ds vkb dfo Fks ftueā , d Jh d"knkl vfekdkjh 'kmz Fks ftu gā eFk jk ds eānj dk izēkd cuk; k FkA t: jr i Meus ij rks xēs dks Hkh cki cuk; k tkrk gā ½ , d s jke eānjka l s Hkjr dh , d pōkōbz vknēh eg: e gh jg tk, xh\ vā 5- l eku f'k {kk i fō; k l ekr dj nh tk, A ¼ kus vl ekrk i ui kbz tk, rks fōj jk"Vh; , drk

fo | kōkfjēkh vpk; l xq i d kn

dgka l Hko gksxh vā 6- vāfo'okl ka dks [kō QSyk; k tk, ¼ kus ykxka dks l Ppkōz l s HkVdk; k tk, vls mUgā eufēfr l s eufēfr cuk; k tk, vā 7- egk'koj k f = ij d kōpōm; ka dh ck + yk nks v t l l s; krk; kr l e l; k vls c < + tk, & yMkōz > xM; gā vls vāfo'okl htū yMējdj dky dofyr gks tk, vā 8- l Hkh l jdkjh o xā l jdkjh fglu htū viuh vknēh dk 25 ifr'kr fglu wēd y; k.k dk; kē eānku nā vōl h Hkōuk l s cōp k jk Qkōk vōl j i jkōgr Qd x; k u tky eā 9- fglu wēd ka dh fxurh T; knk fn [k kus ds fy, ofj "B tul ā; k vfekdkj; ka dks i kōl k fgr fd; k tk, A 10- Hkktik l jdkj vkus ij cō] kō nfyrtu eā yekua vls bā kb; ka ij dgj < k; k tk, A 11- Hkktik l jdkj vkus ij igyk > vdk cō] ēkēz j gkskA cō] nēk l s; gā ds cō] ifr "Bkua ds fy, eku tēkōdj l k jk eku fglu wēd eānjka ij yxk; k tk, xā 12- nfyrtu dks oh-vkj-, l - nēdj ukōfj; ka l sgV; k tk, xā 13- vāfo'okl ka dks [kō QSyk; k tk, ] [kkl dj nfyrtu eā 14- tks Hkh u, eānj cus ml ij i kphu 'kōn t: j fy [kk tk, A 15 Hkjr; ekyka dks u; k : i nēdj i ; v dka dks v k d f'kz

fd; k tk, A 16- l e; & l e; ij nfyrtu cgy {k = ka ea dhr lū tkxj .k vls i pōpka dk izēk fd; k tk, A 17- cā .kka i M rka dks l o kēkd vāfo'okl h tkr; ka rFk j s j] [kVhd] d f g j] f'kyi dkj] ; kno] eky] l s h] cō] ok] eh.kk] guok] okYēfd] pekj] eYykg] jfonk] h] tyk g k] rst h vkn ftueā vāfo'okl i uirk gō mUgā vls vāfo'okl h cuk; k tk, A fōYeh xh rdkjka vkn dks j kēj T; l s l ēkēkr xh v fēkd l s v fēkd fy [kk, a tk, a rFk i p k j r fd, tk, A 19- nēk ds l Hkh dk; kō; ka ea xā e cō] v cō] M d j] t x t h o j k e] i s j ; k j] Q y s f o j l k e q M k] j k e n o] l r d c h j] l r j f o n k l v s j k g y l k d r ; k ; u d k n f i p k j d j a H k j r d h d j d h l s t k s v'kēd Lrkh dk fōl g gō ml s Nk v k d j d s , d f n u g v k f n ; k t k , A 21 Jherh l kō; k xā kēh dks fōns kh ekuk tk, v g y k ā d v k t d h r k j h [k e a v e h j p l n l ; k j s y k t s u Q e l e a , d H k k b z l o j k t i k y u f l Q z o g k a y k M Z g ā c f y d y k M k e d h l H k d s v e ; { k g ā b ā y M o k y s r k s H k j r h ; d g d j m u d h H k r l z u k u g h a d j r a 22- f g l u w ē k e z d s 0 ; k i d i p k j d s f y , c k s ] f l D [ k ] t s u ] b ā k b z v l s b l y k e d h l H k h v P n h f'k { k v k a d k s f g l u w ē k e z u h r c r k b z t k , A 23- c k s ] ē k e z d s

c < r s i p k j d k s n s k r s g q & ; n k ; n k f g ē k e l ; ] X y k f u H k b f r H k j r d s r g r v e k e h z v e c M d j ] i k l o k u ] e k ; k o r h ] m f n r j k t ½ j k e j k t ½ d s c k s ] ē k e z d s i p i k z k v ; d k s c v l j d j u k g k s k A 24- d n v e k e h z u r t x . k f g l u w e k e z d k s r k M e u s d s f y , ē k e z i f j o r l u d j k r s g ā v c u b l e f l t n k j x e # } k j k a v l s c k s ] f o g k j k a d k f u e k z k t c r d x g e a k y ; u d g j u g h a c u u s n ā 25- g e k j k v ā r e i z k l ; g g k s k f d g e v u d f i p r t k f r v u d f i p r t u t k f r v l s f i N M s o x z d s d y ; k . k , o a f o d k l d h ; k s t u k v k a d k s l e k r d j d s c s t p k u f g l u w v h ; k x r t k u o j k a d s m U k e j g u l g u d s f y , ] j [ k & j ] k k o d s f y , r F k m u d h l j { k k d s f y , [ k p z d j x a v l s n s k e a , d x k s { k k v k ; k x d h L F k h u k d j x a

m i j k d r 25 l = h d k ; D e l s v k i d k s d s k e g l i g k s k \ m l d k v k i L o ; a f p r u d j a o s s ; s f g l u w o d s v y E c j n k j n f y r k a v l s f i N M k a d k s v i u k e k u r s g h u g h a g ā b l d s j k " V h ; , d r k d s u k j j l k e f t d U ; k ; d s f c u k L o r a r k v e k j h g s d k v k l r o k D ; l e r k l e j l r k d s h i r h r g k r h g ā i k b d l e > A v k i d k s ; s 25 l = d s s y x \ b u i j b u v y E c j n k j k a l s i f n , A

## bykgkckn gkbz dksVZ us cgknj l kudj dh gr; k dh l hchvkbz tkp , oa l j {kk ds vkn's k fn,

ubzfnYyh] 19 eb] 09- bāM; u tflVI i kvhZ ds jk"Vh; vē; {k] MKD mfnr jkt] us vkt tkjh iā oDrC; dseke; e l s crk; k fd bykgkckn gkbz dksVZ us cgknj l kudj] tks bāM; u tflVI i kvhZ ds tkūi j l s i R; k'kh Fk] dh gr; k dsekeys eā mō i D l jdkj dks vkn's k fn; k gS fd xg l fpo bl ekeys dh tkp l hchvkbz l s , d ekg ds vānj djok, ā cgl ea ; g dgk x; k fd mō i D l jdkj l s bā kō i kus dh dkbz mEehn ugha gō blūgha rF; ka dks nēk rks gq gkbz dksVZ us , d k vkn's k fn; k A Kkr jgs fd xr- 13 vi s y dks cgknj l kudj dh gr; k cl i k i R; k'kh ēkūat; fl g ds b'kōjs ij dh x; k FkA gr; k ea l hēks : i l s fe; k ā j d s p k s h b p k t ] F k k u k e ; { k , o a l h v k s ' k k f e y g ā b l u g k a u s 8 v i s y ] 2009 dks nco cuk; k fd cgknj l kudj ukēdu oki l y s y ā u y u s ij mudh gr; k dj nh x; h vls i R; k'k; ka dks Hkh tēju cBk; k x; k]

mueā l s , d l kbzjke vki js; kno dks tēju m i j k d r i f y l o k y k a u s c h l g t k j : i ; s n e d j c B k f n ; k F k A m U g k a u s 18 v i s y d k s e q ; p a p k o v k ; p r , o a f t y k f u o k p u v f e k d j h d k s f y f [ k r : i l s f'k d k ; r d h A c g k n j l k u d j d h g r ; k d s c k n f o 'k s k : i l s p k s h b p k t ] l ā t ; j k ; ] u s b u i j n c o c u k j [ k k g s f d f'k d k ; r o k f i l y s y a o j u k b u d k H k h g k y c g k n j l k u d j t s k g h g s k a v k t b y k g k c k n g k b z d k s V Z e a c g k n j l k u d j d s H k k b z c k M w l k u d j v l s b ā M ; u t f l V I i k v h z d h v l s l s d h n k f [ k y ; k f p d k d s o f j " B , M o k e d v i h , e , u - f l g , o a t e k y [ k k u u s c g l d h A l j d k j d h v l s l s M h - v k j - p k s h ] l h c h v k b z l s t h , l - g t s y k , o a p a p k o v k ; k x l s c h , u - f l g m i f l F k r g q A c g l d s c k n b y k g k c k n g k b z d k s V Z d s t t ] u k f g n v k j k e a p h ' k , o a j o h u n z f l g ] u s v k n s k f n ; k f d m o i D l j d k j , d e k g d s v ā n j l h c h v k b z t k p d s v k n s k n e d j l f i p r d j a U ; k ; e ā r z

ukfgn vki eāp'h'k , o a j o h u n z f l g u s v k t ; g H k h v k n s k f n ; k f d c g k n j l k u d j d s H k k b z c k M w l k u d j t k s b l e k e y s d h i j o h d j j g s g ā d k s l j d k j l j { k k e g s k d j k , A M K D m f n r j k t u s d g k f d v k t d s g k b z d k s V Z d s Q S y s l s m E e h n t x h g s f d c g k n j l k u d j d s g r ; k j s i d M s t k , x ā v H k h r d m o i D l j d k j b l e k e y s d k s Q k & n Q k d j u s i j r g y h g b z g ā m o i D d h e q ; e ā h ] l q h e k ; k o r h ] f d l h H k h r j g l s b ā M ; u t f l V I i k v h z d k s c < r s g q u g h a n s k u k p k g r h A m u d s i k l x g e a k y ; H k h g s f t l u s l c l s T ; k n k y h i k i k r h d j d s ; g i z e f . k r d j u k p k g f d ; g v k r e g r ; k d k e k e y k g ā m o i D d s M k ; j d v j t u j y i f y l ] v f m ' k u y M h t h l h c h v k b z l s t s v f e k d j h c l i k d s d k ; z l ū k z d h r j g d k e d j j g s g ā u f d , d f u ' i { k v f e k d j h d s : i e ā M K D m f n r j k t u s d g k f d m o i D l j d k j l s U ; ; o l j { k k d h d k b z m E e h n u g h a g ā b l h f y , b y k g k c k n g k b z d k s V Z d k n j o k t k [ k v [ k v k ; k x ; k A

# gfj ; k. kk i ns k bat i k }kjk cgknj l kudj dh gr; k dh funk

14 vi&y] 2009 dks vtij uxj] dky eabM; u tFLVI i kvhZ ds insk; {k Qy fl g xkfe dh ve; {krk ea, d fo'ksk l Hk gpA bl l Hk ea i kvhZ ds vud i nkfedkj o dk; ZlUkz 'kkfey gq A gr; k ij xgjh l onuk 0; Dr dh xba dk; ZlUkz/ka dks l Eckfkr djrs gq insk; {k usdgd fd mO iD dh jktuhr ea vki jkfed ekfQ; k dk ckyckyk gS vls ; g 'keLkd ?Kvuk mUgA dh l ftk'k dk urhtk gA ge l c bl ?Kvuk dh dMs'kCnkaeafullnk djrs gA mUgA us dgk fd cgq u l ekt i kvhZ dk ; g vjki fd gr; k ea l ektokh i kvhZ ds yskca dk gkfk gS eafduh l Ppkbz gA bl dk irk rls tkp ds ckn gh yxskA i jUrq; g ckr rls r; gS fd nksuks i kvz; ka ea

t; fd'ku oekz

vijkek; ka o ckgpfy; ka dk ijk ncnck gA mudh ethz ds cxj jkT; eadkbz dke ughagkrA

l kudj dks dbz fnuka l s cl ik ds ckgpyh usk l j ehu l s gvus dh] ekefd; ka fey jgh Fkh] i jUrq cgknj l kudj ehu ea MVs jgdj ykdrk=d rjhds l s viuk puko ipkj djrk jgkA l kudj dks mfr l j {kk inku djus dk fuonu Hkh fd; k x; ka i jUrq l jdkj us bl vls e; ku ugha fn; k vls vijkek; ka usbl ?Kvuk dks vki kuh l svake ns fn; ka bl l syxrk gSfd mO iD ea dkuu o 0; oLFk dh fLFkr l jdkj ds fu; a.k l s ckj gS xbz gS vls , d h fLFkr eaek; korh dk eq; ea-h

dh dq hz ij cus jgus dk dkbz vkspr; ughagA

ge le>rs gA fd bl jkT; ea MKND mfr jkt o bM; u tFLVI i kvhZ dh c<rh ykdfiz rk l s cl ik o vU; i kvz; ka cks[kyk x; h gA vls vki jkfed xrfofek; ka ea'kkfey gkdj insk ea ng'kr dk ekgSy insk dj jgh gA ge ekax djrs gSfd bl ?Kvuk dh tkp l hcvkz l s djokbz tk, vls nks'k; ka dks rjar fxj rjkj djds mUgA l r l s l r l tk nh tk, A ge puko vk; ks l s Hkh ekax djrs gSfd i kvhZ ds vU; i R; kf'k; ka dh tku o eky dh l j {kk ds dMs izak fd, tk, A ehvax dks i kvhZ ds dky gYdk i eku t; fd'ku oekj l kenok cksMh] cychj rnoj o l qkhy dpej us l Eckfkr fd; ka

# tft; k dj ol nyuk bLyke ds fo: )

bl jkj mYyk fl nahdh

bM; u tFLVI i kvhZ ds insk egkl fpo bl jkj mYyk fl nahdh us, d i d foKflr tkjh djrs gq dgk gS fd rkycku i kfdLrku ea fl [ks o vU; /keks ds vuq kf; ; ka l s tft; k dj tcju ol ny jgsgA

bLyke ea tft; k dj ol nyus dk dgha Hkh i to/kku ugha gS bLyke ea tft; k dk eryc Fk fd bLykeh gphar ea xj eq yekuka l s tft; k fy; k tk; j ft l s mUg l ekftd l j {kk nh tk l dA bLyke ds ekuus okyaka ds telr nuk t#jh yfdu nit js /keZ ds ekuus okyaks dks telr nuk t#jh ugh gA i kfdLrku dks pkfg; s fd ogla jgus okys vYil [a d fl [kka rFk bLyke dks u ekuus okys ds l kfk vPnk l ynd dja rFk muds l keftd mRFku, oa l j {kk dh o; oLFk dja bLyke ; gh f'k {kk nsk gA i kfdLrku rkycku dh estk gjdrka dks jkds nit js /keZ ds ekuus okyaks dks Hkh gd gnd fnyk; s rHkh, d bLykeh jk'v cu l drk gA fglunrku ds 18 djkm+ eq yeku tks bLyke dsekursgSog rkycku dh estk gjdrka dk fojksk djrs gA

Jh fl nahdh us dgk fd ; kskpk; l Lokeh ckck jke no Hxoku cudj vk; s fnu puyks ds ek; e l s jktufnd ny ds urkvka dks ul hgr nrs jgrs gA rFk dgrs jgrs gS fd tu vknysu djds turk dks tkx#d djskA vxj mudks urkxjh dk 'kked gS rks i kvhZ cukdj urkxjh dja

; ks dk egro ; kskpkj Lokeh jke no l s l h[kus dh t#jr ugh gA vxj Hkjr ds l Hkh ukxfjd viuh /kfeZd vLFk ds rgr /keZ dk l gh vuqkj .k djarks bLyke ea i kp le; dh uekt t#jh dh x; h gS ; g i kpls le; dh uekt gh ; ksx gS vxj euq; i kpls le; dh uekt i <+ysrksd Hkh chekj ughagks l drk] u dHkh >B Qj; gh dj l drk bLyke ea l pg l j t fudyus l s igys Qta dh uekt vnk djus dks dgk x; k gA

1/4 1/2 Qta dh uekt l pg 4/36 ctsij gsrh gS Qta dh uekt es 4 jdkragkrh gA  
1/2 tkgj dh uekt nki gj 12/30 ctsgrh gS tkgj dh uekt es 12 jdkragkrh gA  
1/3 1/2 vlz dh uekt l j t <yus ds rhl js igj dks 4/55 cts grh gS vlz dh uekt es 8 jdkra gsrh gA

1/4 1/2 exjhc dh uekt l j t <yus ds pkfs igj dks 6/45 ctsgrh gS exjhc dh uekt ea 7 jdkragkrh gA

1/5 1/2 b'kk dh uekt jkr 8/30 ctsgrh gS b'kk dh uekt es 17 jdkragkrh gA

bl h izkj fglunw /keZ ds ekuus okys l pg l j t fudyus l s igys i vkt vpuk djrs gA bl kbz /keZ ds ekuus okys Hkh l j t fudyus ds igys i kfkZuk djrs gA rFk l j t Mius ds ckn i kfkZuk djrs gS ; g ; ksx ugha rks D; k gS vius dks Hxoku dgykus ds fy; s puyks ea i j k cckh dj jgs gS vxj l ekt dks ; gh fn'kk nuk gS rks gea vius i kphu xkks dks n[kuk gkskA vQl kd gS fd ckck jke no vxj ekuo fgr ds dk; l djuk pkgrs gS rks jkek; .k] dj vku] ckbcy dks i pfyur Hk'kk ea Ni okdj turk ds chip es cks i kphu xkks ea ; g l Hkh ckra fy [kh gS rc ; ksx dh t#jr ugh i MxhA

Jh fl nahdh us dgk fd l phi ek; korh mO iD dh eq; ea-h vius l ekt dk Hkyk pkgrh ga rks mudks Hkh ckck l kgc vEcMdj ds cryk; s jkLrs ij pyuk gksk ckck l kgc us vlokgu fd; k Fk fd l Hkh yks f'kf {kr gka vls l a fBr gka rHkh rEgjk fodkl gks l drk gS vls ; g ckr dh Fkh fd bl nsk dk nfyur vls eq yeku, d gks tk; s rks, d u; s fodflr Hkjr dh 'kq#vkr gks tk; xhA vkt cgu l phi ek; korh eupknh rkdra ds pakg ea Qd dj ckck l kgc ds fl ) karks ds foijhr dk; l dj jgh gA i rFkjs dh efrz o i kdZ cuok nus l s nfyurka dk fodkl ugha gks l drk mudks f'kf {kr, oa jkstxj ndj gh fodkl gks l drk gA ckck l kgc ds fl ) krka ds foijhr pydj l Rrk gl fy dj cgu l phi ek; korh o muds l g; kxh ea-h viuk Hkyk dj jgs gS yfdu nfyur l ekt dk Hkyk ugh gks l drkA

Jh fl nahdh us dgk fd l phi ek; korh Hkhejko vEcMdj ds uke dk n#i; ksx dj jgh gA fd mudk vEcMdj ds fl ) kurka o uhr; ka l s dkbz yuk nuk ugh gA ckck l kgc dgrs Fks fd nfyurka dks l keU; l Hkka l s puko yMej vls thrdj tkr&i kr ds cku dks rkmek pkfg; A bl h l s l ekt tkr&i kar vls Np&k&Nur dh djhr; ka l s epr gks l drk gS rFk l ekt ea l ol /keZ l EHko LFkfi r gkskA

# njksk dh fi Vkbz l s nfyur dh ekf] ekeyk ntz

jk; cjsyh] 12 ebj 2009A njksk dh fi Vkbz l s, d nfyur dh ekf gks xba f'kox<+Fkkus ea rskr bl njksk vls i hvkjMh toku ds f[kykQ eplnek ntz djk fn; k x; k gA vjki h njksk i fyi dh fxj r ea ugha vk l dka og i hvkjMh toku ds l kfk Qjkj gA

fi Nys l keokj dks nki gj ckn rhu cts f'kox<+Fkkuk {k= ds xko xakxat etjs vki kg dk jgus oky f'ko cgknj jnk l vkeh ea fxjk egq dk i M+dkV jgk FkA i M+dkVus ea ml h dh fcjknjh dk jke l; kjs l g; ksx dj jgk FkA ekds ij f'ko cgknj dh i Ruh f'kodkarh Hkh FkA ml h le; gyds dk njksk xqMh fl g vius gejkgh i hvkjMh toku ds l kfk clx ea igp x; ka f'ko cgknj dh i Ruh f'kodkarh dk dguk gSfd njksk us ml ds ifr dks cgykdj tkfr l pd xky; kanh vls dYgkMh ds gRfks l s ml dks ekjuk 'kq dj fn; ka njksk us f'ko cgknj ds l husij Hkh okj fd; k] ft l l sog

ml h le; cgyk gkdj fxj i MhA f'kodkarh dk dguk gS fd tc og vius ifr ds ikl i gph rks ml us n[k fd ml ds ifr cgyk dh gkyr ea tehu ij i M+gS vls mudse g l s [ku fudy jgk gA ml s yxk fd ml dk ifr ej x; k gS rks og crgk'kk jks&fpykus yxhA bl ij njksk xqMh fl g us u jkus dh fgnk; r nh vls f'kocgknj dks ?kj ys tkus dk gpe fn; ka exj f'kodkarh dh fpYykv l pdj xko ds yks nMaj ml vls vkus yxsrks njksk vius gejkgh ds l kfk ekds l s Hkx x; ka

erd dh i Ruh dh rgjh ds vkekkj ij njksk xqMh fl g vls vkr i hvkjMh toku ds f[kykQ Fkkuk f'kox<+ ds rgr eplnek dk; e dj fy; k x; k gA ekeys dh tkp ds fy, egjkt xat ds {k=kfedkj dks tkp vfedkj fu; pr fd; k x; k gA 'ko dk i pukek egjkt xat ds miftykfedkj l s dj; k x; ka

i k.VekVz ds fy, MKNDVjka dk fo'ksk i s y cuk; k x; k gA i k.V eVz dh dkj dbz dh ohfM; kskQh djkus ds funk fn, x, gA

?Kvuk dh l puk i kdj i fyi vekh {kd r# .k xkck ?Kvuk LFky ij igpA mUgA us i R; {k'kz jke l; kjs l s i Nrkn dha jke l; kjs dk dguk Fk fd egq ds ml l vls i M+dk f'kocgknj us [kjh fy; k FkA bl hfy, og i M+ dh ydMh dkVdj ?kj ys tkuk pkgrk FkA njksk ds vkus ij og muds ikl x; k FkA ml dk dguk gS fd f'ko cgknj njksk l s ckr dj gh jgk Fk fd vpkud fxj i M+ vls njksk us fpYykdj dgk fd n[kks bl s D; k gks x; k gS bl s ?kj ys tkvka i fyi vekh {kd dk dguk gS fd fu"i {k tkp gksx vls nskh dks c'kk ugha tk, xhA

& tul Ukk 1/13 @ 09% l s l HkKj

i fj l ak , oa bM; u tFLVI i kvhZ dk  
i rk cnyk  
i fj l ak , oabM; u tFLVI i kvhZ dk i rk ch&113] l okh; , UDyo] ubz fnYyh&110017 l scnydj Vh&22] vrgy xko jkM] dukW lys ] ubz fnYyh gks x; k gA vkxs l s i=kpkj , oa l Ei dZ Vh&22] vrgy xko jkM] dukW lys ] ubz fnYyh ij gh dja  
& MKND mfr jkt] jkO ve; {k

# fl j i s fcBk; k v kš fi v j gs

20 fnl eij] 2008-  
vixjk ds Orngij l hcljh Fkkus ds  
pkšjed[kh xkø dh rhu cPpka dh eka  
všj jke ckw dh foekok jkeorh  
Fkkus ds l keus cæ l feyhA mudh  
f'kdk; r Fkh fd xkø dk vkeš i mR-  
ml dh FkkMh l h tehu gffk; kuk  
pkgrk gš ij i fyl us ml s Hkxk  
fn; kA ckn ea irk pyk fd jkT; ds  
Åtzl e-eh jkeohj mi ke; k; vi uh  
i Ruh dksogka l s puko yMkuk pkgrs  
gš všj vkeš i mR mudk l e fcl  
gš fygktk i fyl us ekeyk ntz  
ugha fd; kA

22 fnl eij] 2008-  
l o.kæds, d fxjkg us dkuuj ngkr  
ea xtuj Fkkus ds j: vk xkø dh  
nfyrcLrh ea vkræd epkdj  
nfyrcLrh ds ?kjka dks rgl &ugl dj  
fn; k všj l Ei fuk yw yh rFkk fojkek  
djus okyh dN všj rka dh vLer  
yWus ds ckn 20 yxska dks ?kk; y  
djds Hkx x, A geykoj i Mcl h  
eærk xkø ds Bkdj crk, tkrsgA  
nfyrcLrh dk vijkek % mlugkaus Bkdj ds  
tyl kr l s vius [krka dh fl pkbz  
dh FkA Fkkus ea mudh Qfj; kn ugha  
l qh x; hA gkykfd i fyl vèkh{k d  
, u- johlnz us ekeys dh tkp dk  
vkns k fn; kA

27 fnl eij] 2008 %  
l o.kæds, d xw us vixjk  
ea [knkšy Fkkuk ds varxZr ygyj  
xkø ea dškonø dh fi Vkbz dj  
mudh dQV; k Qæd nhA u rks i fyl  
us ml dh Qfj; kn l qh všj u gh  
MkVvj h l gk; rk egš k djkbA

17 fnl eij] 2008- eÅ  
ftys ds cgjhij ds uonhi Kku  
eñj dh fi fli y ekegh i kMš us  
xg fokku dh iz kxkRed i jh{k k ds  
nšjku nfyrcLrh=kvka uhrj vafy  
všj plnzdkrk ds yk, x, i dokuka  
dks; g dgdj p[kus l sbudkj dj  
fn; k fd ^e-š vi uk ekež ugha  
fcxMkuk gA\*\* gkykfd i kMš us  
nfyrcLrh=kvka ds l kfk Hkshkko l s  
budkj fd; kA ckn ea i fyl  
vèkh{k d us ekeys dh tkp dk  
vkns k fn; kA

1 vxLr] 2008- xš  
l jdkjh l æBu Mk; ufed , ð'ku  
xi ds vuq kj nfyrcLrh=kvka  
pØ l u dh irki x<+ ea bl fy,  
gr; k dj nh x; h fd ml us , d  
LFkkuh; batifu; fjæ dkyt ea  
chvcl dkl z ea nkf[kyk yus dk  
l kgl fd; k FkA

vixjk ea pge[kh xkø dh  
nfyrcLrh=kvka dh FkkMh l h  
tehu gffk; kus dk ekeyk gš ; k  
ygyj xkø dh dškonø dh fi Vkbz  
dk] dkuuj eaj: vk xkø dh nfyrcLrh=kvka

clrh ij geyk gš ; k eÅ ea  
cgjhij dh nfyrcLrh=kvka l s  
NqvkNv vFkok irki x<+ ds nfyrcLrh=kvka  
ukstoku dh batifu; fjæ dkyt ea  
nkf[kyk yus ij gr; kA mUkj i nš k ds  
tkfr; ka ea cæ l l ekt ea , d h  
?kvukvka dh dkbz fxurh ugha gš  
yfdu tc l ik us bl jkT; dks  
nfyrcLrh=kvka okys cge tu l ekt l s  
l o.kæfu; æ.k okys l oztu l ekt ea  
cnydj l kelftd jktu šrd Økkr

## Ojta vgen

tk jgk gA , ul hvkjch dh fjikšZ l s  
igys jk"Vh; vuq špr tkfr , oa  
tutkfr vk; kx ds vè; {k MKND cWk  
fl g us vkjki yxk, Fks fd nfyrcLrh=kvka  
ij vR; kpkj ds ekeys ea mO i D  
dk cnrjhu fjdkMZ gA cWk fl g dk  
dguk Fk] , d s l cl s v fkd ekeys  
mO i D ea gq gA 2006 ds fy,  
mi yček vkdMka ds epkfc d jkT; ea

nfyrcLrh=kvka ds tfj, mUkj i nš k dh  
eč; e-eh cuh ek; korh ds jkt ea nfyrcLrh=kvka  
mRi hMæ ds c<fs ekeyka l s mudh l kš ky  
batifu; fjæ ij mBs l oky

yk nh gA bl hfy, eč; e-eh  
ek; korh nok dj jgh gš fd mudh  
l jdkj dketkj oxka dks i jš kku  
djus všj mluga i rkmf djus dh  
?kvukvka dks jkæds ds i fr ij h rjg  
pkš l gA mudk dguk gš fd  
tgk&tgka , d h ?kvuk, a l keus vkbz  
l jdkj us rRdky dkjxj dkj bkbz  
dhA

fQj Hkh jk"Vh; vijkek  
vfhkyš k C; jks ¼ ul hvkjch½ dh  
rktk fjikšZ ds vuq kj nfyrcLrh=kvka  
vuq špr tkfr; ka ds fo: ) vijkek  
ds ekeys ea mUkj i nš k l okš fj gA  
l u-2007 ea vijkek fjikšZ l s irk  
pyrk gš fd vuq špr tkfr; ka všj  
tu tkfr; ka ds fo: ) vR; kpkj ds  
9819 ekeyka ea l s 2113 mO i D  
ea gq A ; s ekeys 1989 ds  
vuq špr tkfr , oa tu tkfr  
¼ vR; kpkj fuokj. k½ dkuu ds rgr  
ntz fd, x, A gkykfd fjikšZ ea; g  
ugha crk; k x; k gš fd ebl 2007  
ea l jdkj ds cny tkus l s D; k  
vR; kpkj ds #>ku ea dkbz cnyko  
vk; k yfdu ^dkuu ds rgr  
vuq špr tkfr; ka o tutkfr; ka ds  
fo: ) vijkek ea fi Nys l ky ds  
epkcy s 2007 ea 14-4 i fr'kr  
of) gš všj mUkj i nš k ea; g of)  
21-5 i fr'kr jghA

fjikšZ ea; g Hkh ik; k x; k  
gš fd 1989 ds dkuu ds rgr ntz  
vijkekka ds vykok vuq špr  
tkfr; ka ds fo: ) dgy feyk dj  
vijkek dh nj 2007 ea 10-2  
i fr'kr ik; k x; k gA Hkš tik i oDrk  
an; ukjk; .k nhf[cr dgrs gš  
ek; korh [kp dks nfyrcLrh=kvka el h gk  
dgrh gš všj foMEcuk gš fd muds  
'kkl r jkT; ea nfyrcLrh=kvka l rk; k

, d s 52827 ekeys ntz gq] muds  
epkfc d jkT; ea fi NMš oxkæ dks fl js  
rd ædšy fn; k x; k gš D; kkd ogka  
dk iz kkl u muds i fr fu"Bg gš všj  
ml ds eu ea detkj oxkæ ds fy,  
fd, x, l oš k fud i koekuka ds i fr  
tjk Hkh l Eeku ugha gA bl l s  
nfyrcLrh=kvka ds mš; ds i fr ek; korh dh  
?kkr fu" Bk l ng ds ?kj s e gA

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vuq špr tkfr , oa tu tkfr  
vk; kx l oš k fud l æ Fk gš všj ml s  
jktu šrd mi; kx l s igjst djuk  
pkfj, A mlugkaus cWk fl g dks l ø-ko  
fn; k Fk fd ; fn os mu jkT; ka ea  
T; knk oDr na tgka vuq špr  
tkfr; ka , oa tu tkfr; ka dks l rkus  
dh ?kvuk, a v fkd l æ; k ea gš rks  
mu oxkæ dk ykHk fey l drk gA

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dguk gš fd mi yček rF; fhkku  
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dkæd us dgk gš fd fi Nys l ky  
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cykrdkj fd; k x; k tçd fp=dW  
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ekeys ik, x, A buea gr; k]  
cykrdkj všj Hkš fookn l s mBh  
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mRi hMæ gš vka foi {kh us kvka dk  
dguk gš fd ek; korh l jdkj us  
fi Nys o"z pkj h Nqš iz kkl fud  
vkns kka ds tfj, vuq špr tkfr , oa  
tu tkfr vR; kpkj fujkæd dkuu  
ea l æ kkuu djus všj ml s uje  
cukus dh dks' k' k dh Fkh] ft l l s  
i fyl všj ukš j' kkgka ds gš y  
cgy n gš x, A ek; korh ds l Ukk  
l bkkyus ds rjar ckn l jdkj us  
funš k tkjh fd, fd l kkkj .k ekeyka  
ea vuq špr tkfr , oa tu tkfr  
¼ vR; kpkj fuokj. k½ v fkd fu; e ds  
rgr ekeys ntz u fd, tk, A fl QZ  
gr; k všj cykrdkj tš s vijkekka ea  
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mfnr jkt ek; korh ds bl nfyrcLrh=kvka  
i æ všj mRi hMæ dks pkkš h Hkh nš jgs  
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i kl oku us ek; korh ds tlefnu  
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Hkh , syku fd; kA mfnr jkt dgrs  
gš ^ ek; k jkt ea nfyrcLrh=kvka dk gky  
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vkus ds ckn ml ij eupkfn; ka dk  
dç tk gš x; k gA\*\*

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ykus dk iz kl djus okys , d vl;  
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# Playing God in caste-crazy Bihar

Ruchira Hoon

If many childless parents in Bihar had their way, they would want vaults at sperm banks with clear labels: "Brahmin". "Bhumihar". "Yadav".

Couples opting for sperm donations in Bihar are demanding to know the donor's caste before they go ahead — and often getting their answers as well.

"Neither features nor height nor even IQ concerned us as much," says Anuradha Rai (36), an Internet marketing manager from the Bhumihar community. "My husband felt if the sperm donor was from a different caste, the baby would not get the right genes."

It is a stunning statement of how even

young, urban, educated Indians, their lives transformed by the emerging India, have been unable to unshackle themselves from the centuries-old caste consciousness despite their desperation to have a child.

And it could have deep political meanings in a national election that will perhaps have caste as a far stronger factor than ever before, and likely throw up a government glued largely on the basis of caste politics.

After all, in a nation of more than 1 billion people, every fourth Indian is from a scheduled caste or scheduled tribe, the name given to lower castes in the Hindu social ladder. And at least 40 per cent belong to Other

Backward Castes.

In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are India's biggest theatre of caste politics, every caste chieftain has realised the importance of reaching out to other castes also. For the first time, a Dalit politician — UP chief minister Mayawati — is being billed as a possible contender for the prime minister's job and caste politics champions like Lalu Yadav, Mulayam Singh Yadav and Ram Vilas Paswan are joining forces.

That's because caste, which has long divided India, is also seen by many as the biggest uniting force. "Many couples feel if they know the caste, they know a lot about

the person," says R.N. Sharma, sociologist, Patna College.

Political churning is underway. In UP, Mayawati is trying to woo voters from other castes. And in Bihar, the intermediary Kurmi community is seen as having broken away from their longtime leader Lalu Yadav, and are allying with Nitish Kumar's Janata Dal (United) and the BJP.

Dr Himanshu Roy, a gynaecologist, says most couples ask about the educational and background of the sperm provider. "But the most common questions are about culture, health... and caste," says Roy.

Sharma calls it's the purity factor. "They want to

ensure the bloodline stays pure," he says.

Smriti Singh (34), a Rajput, says her family insisted on knowing the caste of the donor. "The argument was that the right caste would ensure healthy blood grouping," she says.

"Name, address and contact details are kept anonymous, but people are insistent, almost fanatical, about caste," says Dr Savanth Kumar, who owns sperm bank Frozen Cell. "We can't give it on paper, but we find we have to tell them."

(With inputs from Vikas Pathak, New Delhi)

[http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/Print.aspx?Id=36796b57-3614-49f6-b031-9a9cbdbcf1fMyIndiamyvote2009\\_Special](http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/Print.aspx?Id=36796b57-3614-49f6-b031-9a9cbdbcf1fMyIndiamyvote2009_Special)

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yfdu bu l okyka dk dkbzeryc ugha gñ okLro ea tñ k fd vFkz kL=ka ea Mh, e fnokdj b'kkjk djrs gñ fd brus l kjs nfyrrka usrk gñ x, gñ fd os vi u&vi us l xBuka ds l kFk njvl y nfyrrka dks ckv us dk gh dke dj jgs gñ bl h otg l smO iD ea nfyrrka ds m) kj dh t: jr gñ tgka 3-51 djkm+ nfyrrka jgrs gñ tks fd nsk ea nfyrrka dh l okfkd vkcnh gñ nfyrrka ds uke ij [kms fd, x, l xBuka ea jke foykl ikl oku dh ykcl tu'kDr i kvhZ %ykst i kñ, l -vkj- nkjki gh dk nfyrrka epDr ekpñ Mkd mfnr jkt dh bñM; u tflVI i kvhZ gñ h'kpUnz dh jk'vh; tuokh i kvhZ vkj-ds pñkj dh ch, l & 4 vkj vEcMdj ekDI bknh i kvhZ 'kkfey gñ tkfgj gñ ek; korh dh cl ik rc rd nfyrrka ds fnyk&fnekx ij jkt djrh jgh tc rd fd ml us l oztu i kvhZ dk pkyk ugha igu fy; k] ftl ea cka. kka dk opLo gñ

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yfdu , d h rofjr dkj bkbz 'kk; n gh dgta vkj utj vk, A vkxjk ds [knyh iñyl Fkus ds vxñr vkusokys xkñ rgyj ea gñz ; g ?kVuk bl dh iñV djrh gñ chrs l ky 27 fnl ñj dks l o.kk= us u døy , d nfyrrka ds ko nñ dh fi vkbz dh cfYd ml dh dñV; k dks Hkh Qnd fn; kA vi us iñytuka ds l kFk tc og iñyl Fkus i gñk rc u rks ml dh f'kdk; r ntZ dh x; h vkj u gh ml s fdl h rjg dh eñMdy l ñokk eegs k dj; h xbA

; gh otg gñ fd nfyrrka usrk Hkh eku jgs gñ fd cnyh gñz l kelftd jkt ulfrd l Ppkb; ka l s nfyrrka dk] tks fd cl ik ds vflRo vkj ml dh rkd= dsfygt ea vge ?kVd gñ ekgHkx gñ jgk gñ vkxjk ds , d l kelftd dk; ZlUKZ rñbz jktkjk dgrs gñ fd nfyrrka; eñh ek; korh ds jkt eanfyrrka ds mri hMte dh ?kVukvka us l kjs fjdñMZ rñkñ+ Mky gñ yfdu gchdr l keus ugha vk i krh D; kñd foi {k Hkh dkbz vyx ugha gñ iñyl vi us vdkvka dks [kñk djus ds fy, f'kdk; ra Hkh ntZ ugha dj jgh gñ , d s gkykr ea fl ok, nfyrrka ds l cdk Hkyk gñ jgk gñ os dgrs gñ ^, d k yxrk gñ fd mO iD ea ^nfyrrka dh cñh\* ugha cfYd nfyrrka fojkñh l kerh rkd=gh jkt dj jgh gñ

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## Change of Address

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

# Masters (People) Rendered Miserable

R. L. Khanna

India is a Sovereign Democratic Republic and a welfare State. Sovereignty rests with the people in equal measure which literally means that the people are real masers. The sovereign people gave themselves a written Constitution and created four important pillars for conducting fairly, objectively and impartially the affairs of the State and simultaneously working for the welfare of the people. The whole edifice of our Republic is built on four pillars. These pillars are Legislature, Executive, Judiciary and the Press. For this purpose, the people have put in place a vast number of public servants, either through the process of election or selection, to carry out the mandate of the masters viz. the people. It is in this sense, a former Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri called himself the first servant of the people. The number of public servants working in different areas in various capacities is mind-boggling but the service being rendered by them to the people is minimal or even negative. A former bureaucrat and a Minister in the outgoing Ministry at the Centre, while he was in the opposition, had put these figures in the ratio of 1:100 i.e. for every 100 people there is one public servant. This gentleman was at that time very critical of the poor/non-performance of these public servants and had all along been advocating the pruning and down-sizing it, but after coming into power, this issue was put on a back burner. The poor people of India, who are the real masters, are paying hefty salaries and perks to these public servants so that their families can live in comfort, their children can go to the best of schools, get the best of medical aid and tolerably good accommodation in posh areas, in return for discharging their assigned duties towards their masters, the poor people of India.

Let us first see the performance of the legislative pillar of our democracy. A general review of the performance of the elected representatives would reveal that the situation has gone from bad to worse and the three-fourth of the majority of the people are living in the throes of abject poverty, social discrimination and degradation. As regards the stature and standing of our legislators, the downslide has reached its nadir. Phulpur parliamentary constituency in Uttar Pradesh was once represented by a man of great

standing and stature with a clean public image, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, and this seat is now being contested by a candidate who has several criminal cases against him including murder. A stalwart like Dr. B.C. Roy when he was the Chief Minister of West Bengal ushered in an era of prosperity and development in the State for the good of his masters i.e. the people of West Bengal and in the same very recently, we came across a State sponsored widespread blitz of loot, arson, murder and rape of the poor people of Nandigram. In the late fifties, the State of Bihar was ranked as the second best administered State in India by an independent international agency but the during the 15-year misrule of the husband-wife duo Chief Ministership, the State became the worst nearly on all fronts even though this very State have a unique distinction of having produced people of the stature of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Jayprakash Narayan and Shri Jagjivan Ram. These are only some classical illustrative examples of how the present-day legislators are addressing people's problems. The situation in other States is not very different. Had the legislators at the Centre and in the States devoted even 10% of their time in the service of the people, the situation would have been very different. Most of the elected representatives have no vision and no tenacity of purpose to give a definite direction so as to bring the country out of the present mess and get it a pride of place in the comity of developed and developing nations by improving the living standards of its people. Undoubtedly we have the potential and wherewithal to do it. All that is lacking is the commitment and spirit of public service. A former Prime Minister had once told the people that only 10% of the plan money is spent on the targeted groups with the result that the poverty alleviation programmes launched by the Government had come to a naught. Where is remaining 90% of the plan money going? The answer is not far to seek. Most important thing is to know why it is happening and how it can be curbed. It is happening because of the total lack of moral and social values in public life. Laws alone will not and cannot curb this steep downslide. Some public spirited persons and leaders have to lead the people by their own examples of honesty, integrity and the spirit of service in public life. DMRC Chief Sreedharan is an outstanding

example of what can be achieved if the leader of an organization is a man of integrity and commitment. The results in the case of Delhi Metro are there for anybody to see. The legislative pillar of our democracy has been so much hijacked by vested interests, unscrupulous people, money-bags and muscle-lobby that the people have lost their faith in our leaders and political parties. In the two phases of the ensuing general elections, according to an independent survey, 21% of the polled votes have been purchased with money power while the total number of voted polled has been around 55%. This is a shocking state of affairs. In this background, some political pundits have started advocating or the Italian proportional system of voting where the votes vote for parties and not their candidates and depending on the votes polled by different parties, the parties nominate their candidates and depending on the votes polled by different parties, the parties nominate their candidates from the list announced before the elections. The system is fraught with more complications and has not been very successful Italy. There is nothing wrong with the British model of parliamentary elections which is being followed in India. Actually the fault lies not with the system but with the faulty operation of the system by vested interests. If right type of public spirited people come forward to contest elections and the role of money and muscle power is reduced to the minimum, the British model is time-tested and working successfully in Britain and there is no reason why it can be made to work in India.

Politicians of all hues are exploiting the caste card to the hilt to gain political mileage as if caste carrot is panacea for the ills of the people. It is true that the caste system has played havoc particularly in the rural and semi-urban areas of the country where roughly 85% of our people live who are abysmally poor and majority of these 85% people are Dalits, OBCs and Adivasis. Their poverty has brought in its trail denial of human rights and humiliation because of caste discrimination and economic and social depravation. However, the issue of caste discrimination has been addressed to a great extent through of number of affirmative steps and anti-caste laws promulgated by the Government which need to

beexpanded and implemented more stringently. These steps coupled with greater social awareness expansion of literacy and improved living standards among Dalits, OBCs and Adivasis will gradually demolish and banish caste system from the country. It is really unfortunate that some persons or organizations who are highly critical of the caste system as practised by Manuvadis are themselves rabidly practising caste system by dividing and sub dividing the lower caste people for forming separate political outfits by flexing their political muscle for their individual gains. This division and sub-division of people on caste lines will not only further spread the venom of caste system but will undermine the very unity of the country. Division on caste and sub caste lines is much more dangerous for the society than division on religious lines. Sidetracking the real issues facing the country, yet another former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has declared that if voted to power, his party will abolish English from the school. This is a short-term political gimmick for catching votes and diverting people's attention from the main issues of sustained development, compulsory universal education for all, health care, employment, safety and security of the people. Punjab, Bihar and some other States banished English from schools curriculum but after some time, the decision was reversed. Learning in one's mother tongue is a very good idea but the study of English particularly and some other foreign languages in general enables one to interact effectively at national and international levels besides increasing job opportunities and exposing us instantly to the latest developments in Science, Technology, Art and Literature.

Executive, the second pillar of democracy has two main wings, bureaucracy, the brain arm and the police, the muscle arm of the Government in power which are a legacy of the British rule. Both have outlived their utility. These wings were created by the British masters for their subjects for the suppression and oppression of the masses. Somehow, these wings continue to follow the policy of the British rule but for their own selfish ends and to cater to the needs of the new political regime. In independent India which is a welfare state, they are supposed to be servants of the people with the mandate to work for the welfare of the

people in accordance with their aspirations. In reality, however, both the bureaucracy and the police are the most corrupt and totally non-committal to the cause of the people. A former High Court Judge and Rajya Sabha Member, Justice Anand Narain Mulla, way back in late sixties, had said that the Indian Police are an organized gang of robbers committing broad daylight robberies and since then the situation has gone from bad to worse. Most of the policemen are like beasts on the prowl in police uniform in a civil society. They are not only indulging in corruption but are directly involved in many heinous crimes and human rights violations. The Bhagalpur incident in which an alleged accused was tied to the motorcycle of a police sub inspector who himself was riding on the motorbike without a helmet and was wearing bathroom slippers and dragged him to the police station through main streets of the town as if the accused was a dead dog, is still fresh in the minds of the people. The latest example of a complainant going to the police station in Delhi for lodging an FIR about the murder of his father. The complainant was snubbed and threatened that a case will be registered against him for registering a false case. Finally, the complainant traced the accused himself with the help of his own people and took to the police station and with the media exposure, the police came into action. In yet another case, the Delhi High Court reprimanded Delhi Police for demanding Rs. 20,000/- from a married couple who were expressing love towards each other by way of kissing in a public place as the Hon'ble High Court did not find anything indecent in this act. It would not be surprising if next time a mother and son duo is found guilty by members of our great police force for a mother kissing her son in a public place. Only the other day, a CRPF IG has been arrested for his involvement in a multi-crore recruitment scam. Keeping in view the widespread and rampant corruption and deep nexus between the police force and underworld, it is being argued in certain quarters that if the police forced in its present form is dismantled in its present form and modus operandi, 50% of the crime rate will come down in the country and for curbing the remaining 50% crime, we will have to devise a new model for effective and people-friendly policing.

(To be continued)

# VOICE OF BUDDHA

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## Need For A New Movement and Leadership

During the recent Lok Sabha elections, the Dalit Movement and its leaders have got a severe set-back all over the country. For the first time in Uttar Pradesh, vote bank of the Bahujan Samaj Party has gone down by three per cent and the party has been leading only in 100 Vidhan Sabha seats whereas in 2007, they had won more than 200 Vidhan Sabha seats. Once there is a downward swing against a particular party, it is difficult to arrest this downward slide. Because of the faulty policies of Ms Mayawati, BSP has not only suffered a set-back in Uttar Pradesh but Dalit Movement, as a whole, has been put on a back-burner. By raising the slogan of welfare of all the Ambedkeites, the exploited and the poor people in the lowest

strata of the society have been left in the lurch. It is contradictory in itself that a struggle may be launched simultaneously for the oppressor and the oppressed and employer and the employed. The slogan of the welfare of all precisely has got this connotation. The Bahujan Samaj Party was under the impression that by giving higher posts in administration to people belonging to upper castes, it could win a sizeable number of votes of these people but it has proved to be a myth. Dalits and OBCs in general were much agitated that they had no say in the BSP Government. Thus, a large number of Dalit and OBC voters did not come out of their houses to cast their votes and some of them even cast their votes for the Congress.

Dr. Udit Raj

It is surprising that the Dalit awareness movement has become blunt. In the entire campaign of the Congress during the elections, even though the party did not give any particular assurances to Dalits, yet they voted for Congress in large numbers. Media also created such a hype that people were misled. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan was a voice to be reckoned with in the Parliament. Even he has been defeated. In Maharashtra, not only Ram Das Athavale but the Socialist Party Dalit leader Ramji Lal Sumam lost the election. Shri Buta Singh had also contested the election but was defeated. Akali Dal Dalit leader, Shri Charanjit Singh Atwal who used to take up Dalit cause

forcefully in the Parliament, has also lost the election. Thus, most of the Dalit leaders who were taking up the cause of Dalits in the Parliament have been defeated. Reliable sources also point out to the fact that the Establishment had conspired to work for the defeat of Dalit candidates with a view to weaken the cause of Dalit movement.

It is high time that different Dalit organizations and intellectuals should look for an effective leadership. If it does not happen, it should be taken for granted that Dalits will once again be marginalized and their position will become the same as prevalent in the decades of 1950s and 1960s. In the recent Lok Sabha elections, not a single party raised the issues

concerning Dalits prominently. This only option now that all intellectuals, employees, social and political workers among Dalits should come under one umbrella.. This will create a new leadership among Dalits and will also send strong signals to other parties to take up the cause of Dalits.

It is not the prerogative of a particular leader or organization to take up the social causes. Nobody should think that others cannot take up their cause. At this point of time, all the Dalit leaders and organizations should shun their ego, differences, individual mind-sets and selfish motives and build up a new movement. People who want to work in this direction may kindly contact us.

## CD Of Bahadur Sonkar's Statement Before His Murder And Petition For CBI Enquiry Filed in Allahabad High Court

New Delhi, May 15, 2009. Indian Justice Party candidate, Shri Bahadur Sonkar for the Jaunpur Lok Sabha seat, has been a victim of political murder. When pressure tactics of the UP Police and the BSP candidate failed in persuading Shri Bahadur from not contesting the Jaunpur seat, they hatched a conspiracy to murder him. On the 8th April, 2009, the Chauki Incharge and the Circle Officer of the area contacted him on the telephone several times and repeatedly told him to withdraw his candidature. On the 9th April, Shri Bahadur Sonkar, called a Press conference and told that his life was in danger. A CD of this Press statement is being released today. Murders are a commonplace happening under normal circumstances but in a democratic set-up a murder of this type is most shameful. The information to this effect was duly given to Director General of Police, Chief Secretary and the Home Secretary, UP, time and again, but no efforts were made to save his life. On the 13th of April, 2009, he was murdered and his dead body was hung on a tree.

Ms Mayawati holds the Home portfolio also. She has deliberately asked the C.B.C.I.D. to hold an enquiry into the matter with a view to hush up the matter

and ensure that no action is taken against the guilty persons. In our Petition before the Allahabad High Court, Ms Mayawati has been personally made a party in this case. This case is being represented by a Senior Advocate, Shri P.M.N. Singh along with his Junior colleague, Shri Jamal Khan (Mobile 9839471964). The CBCID in connivance with the State Government has termed it as a case of suicide. Under these circumstances, we cannot expect any fair-play from the State Government. A Petition in this regard has been filed in the Allahabad High Court on the 14th May 2009. Through this Petition, we have sought a CBI enquiry, countermanding the Jaunpur Lok Sabha poll, security for the dependants of late Bahadur Sonkar and a suitable security cover for the National President and the UP State President of the Indian Justice Party. On the day, the murder of Shri Bahadur Sonkar took place, UP Minister, Shri Babu Singh Kushwara had said that Samajwadi Party workers could be involved in the murder of Shri Bahadur Sonkar. Keeping this fact in view, it is all the more essential that Ms Mayawati herself orders for a CBI enquiry into the case. Shri Bahadur Sonkar had not been provided any security cover by the UP Police due to which his brutal murder took place but on

the other hand, UP Police provided security cover to the BSP candidates contesting Lok Sabha elections from Delhi. Ms Mayawati has made widespread misuse of the UP General Police and Traffic Police by deploying them in Delhi Office of BSP. Lives

of the people like Shri Bahadur Sonkar who are engaged in the service of the society, are in great danger, in the absence of any security cover. The whole matter has been exposed on the website tiranganews.com and can be viewed on a video.

Dr. Raj said that the culprits have not been nabbed so far, due to which Dalits, particularly Khatiks are very much agitated. If the culprits are not caught immediately, a strong movement will be launched.

## Fake Caste Certificates amount to rape of statue: High Court

Obtaining SC/ST community certificate by fraudulent means would amount to raping the Constitution, the Madras High Court has observed. A division bench comprising Justice Elipha Dharma Rao and Justice S. Tamilavan made the observation while dismissing a writ petition from TR Vijayandan, who joined the LIC by producing a bogus community certificate challenging his dismissal from service. Producing a certificate showing that he belonged to 'Konda Reddy' community, an ST, he joined the LIC. Later, it was found that he belonged to 'Reddy' community, a forward class, and was removed from service, in 2001. Hence the present petition. Dismissing the petition, the Bench pointed out

that the Constitution has guaranteed equal rights and afforded reservations for the communities oppressed for generations together. Persons like Vijayanandan, were falsely claiming the benefits extended to the oppressed communities solely with a view to reaping the benefits extended to the underprivileged at the cost of the welfare of such people. The strength of the evidence available on record would show that the cultural characteristic of the petitioner's family had similarities only with the Reddy community and not with the Konda Reddy community. Further, the material available on record clearly showed that the petitioner and his deceased father had attempted to play a fraud on the Constitution, taking advantage of similarities

between the words 'Reddy' and 'Konda Reddy' and if people of this type were let out freely without being prosecuted and punished, the same would amount to raping the constitution and further shaking the people's confidence, the judges said. The State Level Scrutiny Committee had considered all the facts and circumstances of the case in their proper perspective and correctly arrived at their conclusion, rejecting the petitioner's claim and ordering an initiation of criminal proceedings against him. "We find no illegality or irregularity whatsoever and we find no merits in the petition", the bench said and dismissed the same.

- Courtesy : Neddhi Chakkaram Suzhalgirathu