

ISSN: 2348-1390

NEW MAN

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

VOL. 3 ISSUE 6 JUNE 2016

A REFEREED AND INDEXED E-JOURNAL

IMPACT FACTOR: 3.012 (IIJIF)

Editor in Chief
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NEW MAN PUBLICATION
PARBHANI (MAHARASHTRA)

Contact: +91 9420079975 +91 9730721393 nmpublication@gmail.com

VOL. 3 ISSUE 6 JUNE 2016

www.newmanpublication.com

Full Journal Title:	NEW MAN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDIES
FREQUENCY:	MONTHLY
Language:	ENGLISH, HINDI, MARATHI
Journal Country/Territory:	INDIA
Publisher:	NEW MAN PUBLICATION
Publisher Address:	A/108, Brahma Apt., Near Dattadham, Parbhani - 431401
Subject Categories:	LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, HUMANITIES , SOCIAL SCIENCES & OTHER RELATED SUBJECTS
Start Year:	2014
Online ISSN:	2348-1390
International Impact Factor:	3.012 (IIJIF)
Indexing:	Currently the journal is indexed in: Directory of Research Journal Indexing (DRJI), International Impact Factor Services (IIFS) Google Scholar

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MAOIST INSURGENCY IN NEPAL: A STUDY OF IDEOLOGICAL CHANGE AND TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY

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Abstract:

Nepal, a country of 27 million inhabitants and squeezed in between India and China, was engulfed in a civil war between 1996 and 2006 that cost the lives of over 13000 people. In February 2005 King Gyanendra took over full power in a coup, and vowed to restore peace. The response was an alliance between the Maoists and the political parties that along with popular protests in April 2006 forced Gyanendra to step down and restore parliament. This paper is trying to look into the developments in the civil war that made this alliance and the following peace process possible and argue that several interconnected factors made the alliance possible. The change in ideology on the part of the Maoists made possible a compromise with the political parties (Seven Party Alliance). Something that earlier would have been seen as revisionism. The term 'tactical flexibility' was used to explain these actions within the Maoist ideological framework. This paper looks into the reasons for the Nepali Maoists' decision to join the peace process.

Introduction

Nepal, situated between India and China, suffers from extreme poverty, economic stagnation, social oppression, and a legacy of political turmoil (the absence of an elected government and continuous power struggle between king and the major political parties)ⁱ. Ethnic and linguistic divisions separate the country into three distinct cultural (*Pahari*, *Parbatiya* and *Teraï*)ⁱⁱ areas with approximately 32 languages. The broken economy of Nepal is a major source of dissatisfaction among the people. To illustrate the dire state of Nepal's economy, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) provides a variety of statistics that compose the human development index (HDI), a measure of how well the people in a given nation live. In 2002, six years into the insurgency, Nepal had the lowest HDI in South Asia. Nepal's HDI currently rates 142d out of 177 countries for which the UNDP maintains data. Such a state of poverty made governance difficult. An unstable political environment paved the way for insurgency.ⁱⁱⁱ

This question has become the subject of discussion and debate throughout the world, ever since the Maoists in Nepal signed an agreement in 2006 to end their 10-year old people's war. Over the years of the people's war, the revolutionary forces had inspired people the world over, winning wave upon wave of victories and building both guerrilla zones and liberated areas which were beginning the work of a new society. The Peoples War in Nepal,

it must be said, rekindled the spirit and hopes of revolution around the world. Their successes, winning nearly 80% of the territory of Nepal, had drawn such attention and acclaim that ending of the people's war with the peace agreements of 2006 came as a great surprise and shock to many. This paper sets out to provide some insights into the Nepalese Maoists's strategic and ideological thinking. More specifically, this paper wants to investigate the reasons behind the party's change of tactics and goals and describe the process in which these changes materialized.

History of Communist Movement in Nepal

The Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) was founded in Calcutta (India) in 1949.^{iv} Since its beginning, it has experienced many ups and downs; personality clashes, splits, reunion and mergers. At present the mainstream left is represented by the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxists—Leninist)—UCPN (UML). At the same time, there are nearly half a dozen other communist political parties that take part in the active politics of Nepal. Outside this grouping stands the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) or CPN (Maoist), with an ideological stance that is furthest left.^v

The main root of the present Maoist party can be traced back to 1974, when the Maoists had sought to form a viable political party based on sustainable unity. Under the leadership of Mohan Bikram Singh and Nirmal Lama, Maoists formed a party called the Communist Party of Nepal (Fourth Convention or Fourth Congress).^{vi} They had planned to launch an armed struggle against the Monarchy at that time. However, the king announced a referendum in 1979 for a transition to multiparty democracy; their plan for an insurgency got diverted to supporting other political parties for victory against the Monarch.^{vii}

Mohan Bikram Singh, in 1983, splintered away from the Communist Party of Nepal (Fourth Convention or Fourth Congress) and formed a separate wing of the communist party, identified as the Communist Party of Nepal (Masal), or CPN (Masal). Under Mohan Bikram Singh, CPN (Masal) became a founding member of the Revolutionary International Movement (RIM). Most members of CPN (Masal) can be considered as the main group of people that later on emerged as CPN (Maoist) leaders. CPN (Masal), in 1985, yet again split into two. The original Masal was led by Mohan Bikram Singh. The splinter group, which also named itself CPN (Mashal) added "h" to its name to sound different, was led by Mohan Vaidya (a.k.a. Kiran), who is also considered as the present CPN (Maoist) ideologue and hardliner. The leaders of the Mashal faction are the main initiators of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal. In 1986, just after one year, present chairman of the UCPN (Maoist), Pushpa Kamal Dahal, replaced Mohan Vaidya as head of the CPN (Mashal).^{viii}

In 1990, to fight against the *Panchayet System* (King's rule), the radical communists, CPN (Fourth Convention), CPN (Mashal), Bhattarai faction of CPN (Masal), and Communist Party of Nepal (Peasants' Organization) united to form the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre), or CPN (Unity Centre), and adopted Maoism and People's War as the party's ideology. Prachanda became the General Secretary of this Unity Centre. Mahendra Lawoti (2010) argues that the Unity Centre brought together the radical/Maoist strains of

the original CPN. CPN (Unity Centre) participated in the 1991 election under the banner of the United People's Movement (UNPM) and won nine seats with 352,000 votes.^{ix}

The split in CPN (Unity Centre) in 1994 gave birth to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), led by Prachanda. In 1992 CPN (Unity Centre) had promoted a violent general strike in Nepal, but the Nepali Congress Party's government suppressed the strike. The repression by the ruling party triggered inner-party debate over the appropriate political strategy of CPN (Unity Centre). A faction supported participation in the parliamentary election; radicals stuck to the line of People's War. These differences led to a further split and gave rise to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), led by Prachanda. The rest of CPN (Unity Centre) remained under the leadership of Nirmal Lama.^x

In Nepal, the communist parties have a long-standing history of splitting when and if some ideological differences or opportunities arise. Since the establishment of Communist Party of Nepal, there have been more than a dozen splits in the party.^{xi} Disregarding their historical trends of splitting, Prachanda chose to accept the costs of a party split and go ahead with his agenda based on communist ideology and later *Prachanda Path*.

Apart, however, from the results, which not only surprised many observers but also the Maoists themselves, the actual participation of the former insurgents in democratic multiparty elections was a remarkable event in its own right. Although they had briefly joined parliamentary politics in the early 1990s, the Maoists started a bloody war in 1996 to overthrow "bourgeois democracy," defeat "imperialism," abolish the "feudal monarchy," and establish a communist "people's republic." A decade later, however, after 13,000 people had lost their lives, the Maoist leadership signed a peace agreement, joined parliament and an interim government, and participated in the 2008 democratic multiparty elections.^{xii}

Ideology

The leaders of CPN-M were influenced more by Mao than by Marx and Lenin, because Mao's theoretical premises were based on the peasantry, whereas Marx and Lenin spoke in the context of European conditions. Mao's Cultural Revolution had inspired mainly the younger generation of communists and the masses in Nepal. However, after much deliberation they settled for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) as their ideology in 1996. They were also inspired by the Naxalite left wing extremist movement in India in the 1980s and greatly influenced by Peru's left-wing movements elsewhere.^{xiii} In 2000, the leader of the CPN-M, Prachanda, acknowledged this:

"In the whole process of this final preparation...there was consistent international involvement. First and foremost, there was the RIM Committee (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement). There was important ideological and political exchange. From the RIM Committee, we got the experience of the PCP (Communist Party of Peru), the two-line struggle there, and also the experience in Turkey, the experience in Iran, and the experience in the Philippines."^{xiv}

Maoist Strategy and Armed Struggle

According to Mao, a 'protracted armed struggle' passes through three phases: *Strategic defensive, strategic stalemate or equilibrium, and strategic offensive*. In the strategic defensive phase, people begin fighting with the formidable 'reactionary state' virtually with bare hands, under the leadership of the revolutionary party. The 'grievance guerrillas', who are equipped politically and ideologically with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, seize weapons from the security forces and lead the guerrilla fighters to build a People Liberation Army and attain political and military strength enables it to lead the war to create a base area as the centre of the revolution and people's political power.^{xv} The renowned scholars on Maoist insurgency, Thomas A. Marks, would argue that 'the Maoist movement advances along five lines of operation, that is, *mass line, united front, violence of various sorts, political warfare, and seeking international attention to strengthen the domestic struggle*. He would even argue that revolutionary movement is on the defensive, and then it achieves a stalemate and finally goes on the offensive. In the strategic defensive phase, terror and guerrilla actions dominate.^{xvi}

With giving references of Maoist literature Nihar Nayak says 'the people war will triumph after going through cycles of victory and defeat and gain and loss. Keeping this in mind and by factoring in the changes that have come about in the world today, the Nepalese Maoists adopted Prachanda Path (PP) in 2001. Prachanda Path was an amalgamation of the Chinese model of protracted people's war and the Russian model of urban insurrection. The aim of the Prachanda Path was to use the people's war in order to expand the Maoists' base in rural areas and to use these as a platform from which to invoke a mass uprising at the urban areas in order to overthrow the government. Despite the new line of people's war, the CPN-M did not succeed to mobilize enough people's support in urban areas, particularly in the district headquarters and Kathmandu.^{xvii}

Their Aim and Strategic Operation

The basic aim of the CPN-M armed struggle is to capture state power and establish "new people's democracy" (*naulo janbad*). The concept of "new democracy" is inherited from the thoughts of Mao Zedong, which in turn built on the views of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. The "new democratic revolution" marks the transition from the classical Marxist stages of bourgeois hegemony ("old democracy") to proletarian hegemony ("new democracy").^{xviii} Therefore they adopted the five line of operation to achieve their aim.

Mass line: Organizing an alternative society through the construction of clandestine infrastructure. Local socio-economic grievances and aspirations are to be addressed by cadres, who then connect solutions to the political mechanism of the party. As its principal targets, the Maoist Party worked in the hill tribe areas, especially in the mid-western region, and amongst *dalits* (untouchables), the lowest caste in the Hindu system.

United Front: Making common cause with those individuals and groups who shared concerns but not necessarily goals of the Party. Issues of education, for instance, allowed mobilization of students who, though apparently not formally CPN-M members, nevertheless acted as virtual wings of the party. Tribal fronts, ostensibly seeking more equitable treatment, were also very active. The Maoists allied with other factions of the communist party and leveraged the grievances of different groups, not all of which were communist. Ethnic, regional, and tribal groups as well as those concerned with educational and class issues mobilized under the CPN-M. Prior to initiating People's War, the communists disbanded the United People's Front and replaced it with a "revolutionary united front." Prachanda, in a 1998 issue of *The Worker*, pronounced that through the People's War, "oppressed nationalities," such as the Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Newars, Tharus, Rais, Limbus, and Madhesis were fighting for their own rights. He also championed the rebellion of *dalits* against the "feudal state of high caste Hindus." In this respect, the Maoist insurgency took on a populist tone through the united front based on diverse socio-cultural interests. The grievances of these groups fit somewhat naturally with the aims of the communists. The common enemy was a self-serving state apparatus that had perpetuated an unjust caste system and had failed to bring development or freedom to the population.^{xix}

Violence: The new alternative society, existing as it does illegally and clandestinely, necessarily relies upon armed action to maintain its security within and without. The 'liberation struggle' progresses through three strategic phases, which are quite logical. Initially, the revolutionary movement will be on the defensive, then achieve stalemate and finally go on the offensive. During each phase, a particular form of warfare will drive the dynamic, though not necessarily quantitatively. During the strategic defensive, terror and guerrilla actions will lead. During the strategic stalemate, mobile warfare (also called manoeuvre warfare) will be dominant. This will see insurgent 'main force' units, equivalents of Government formations, take the field but not seek to hold territory. The final phase, the strategic offensive, will see such seizure of ground, the so-called 'war of position.' The CPN-M felt it was entering Phase-II with its general offensive in November 2001. This was then solidified through the actions, which led to Government reverses.^{xx}

At the Second National Conference of the CPN (M) in February 2001, the Maoists announced "Prachanda Path." Prachanda Path, borrowing from *Sendero Luminoso* in Peru, deviated from communist fundamentalism and the Maoist construct in order to adapt to the Nepali context. With the government declaration of emergency in 2001, the Maoists increased direct attacks against the RNA. The insurgency escalated in scale and violence as the government began to treat the Maoists as a terrorist threat rather than a law enforcement challenge. The Maoists also realized that in strict adherence to People's War, the CPN-M had missed opportunities for shortening the insurgency through political engagement. The new strategy included engaging in peace talks. Between 2001 and 2005, the Maoists conducted their most violent and large scale attacks while engaging in several rounds of negotiation. The strategic stalemate phase ended in 2005 with a political agreement rather than with a transition to strategic offensive. While both the Nepali Army and the People's Liberation Army (PLA), now officially named as the military arm of the CPN(M), can subsequently claim victory if they arrange the facts to serve their respective

arguments, the ultimate result of the 2006 political agreement was a big Maoist win in the 2008 elections to the Constituent Assembly.^{xxi}

Political Warfare: According to Thomas A. Marks, “Using non-violent methods, such as participation in legal political activity or negotiations, as an adjunct to violence. The CPN-M has emphasized that it favors a ‘political solution’ to the issues in dispute, by which it appears to mean it is open to negotiating the terms whereby the old-order will disassemble itself. The Maoists used their earlier participation in ‘peace talks’ as a cover for military preparations prior to launching their November 2001 general offensive. There exists a possibility that the current cease-fire is being used in a like-manner, but this is unlikely, since the Maoists see themselves as negotiating from a position of strength.”^{xxii} The CPN-M was successful in manipulating the government and taking advantage of natural rifts. By concentrating action against the police for the first half of the insurgency from 1996 until 2001, the Maoists exacerbated the perceived separation between the police forces who were connected to the political parties in parliament and the Royal Nepali Army which served the King. The tension between the parliamentary parties and the King was another leverage point for the Maoists, particularly after the 2001 massacre of the royal family and Gyanendra’s subsequent takeover of executive power. The Maoists also targeted the political parties unequally, attacking members of the NC while leaving the opposition parties relatively untouched. On a local level, political mobilization was a major component to solidifying Maoist control of local areas in the countryside. The CPN-M established People’s Governments where the insurgents had pushed the state out. They created a system of economic self-sustainability, small farm cooperatives, taxation, and land redistribution. They also pushed for socio-cultural changes, replacing the old order with a new communist culture. The Maoists repeatedly stated their desire to resolve the conflict with a political solution. But, as Thomas A. Marks describes, such statements could be deceptive since the Maoist aim was to “negotiate the terms whereby the old order will disassemble itself.” The CPN-M twice followed negotiations in the name of “peace” with major offensives. And it was through negotiations with the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) in 2005 that the Maoists eventually achieved much of what they had sought. The old order essentially disassembled itself by allowing the CPN-M to join the government as a legal entity and eventually win majority rule.^{xxiii}

International Action: Though not a prominent element during the Chinese Civil War itself, this had become ever more prominent as the ‘people’s war’ has developed. In conflicts such as the war of liberation in Algeria by the National Liberation Front or the FLN and the insurgency of the Viet Cong in the Vietnam War, international pressure on the counter-insurgents played a decisive role. The CPN-M recognized early that, in South Asia and within Western society, it had allies: Maoist bodies that remain committed, whatever the outcome of the Cold War, to radical restructuring along the lines advocated by the so-called ‘Gang of Four,’ the key adherents to radical Maoism. To that end, regular co-ordination was affected in the West with the constituent members of the Maoist umbrella group, Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM); they provided a variety of services, such as seeking to block assistance to the Nepalese Government. Closer home, a Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) was created in

July 2001 after a meeting of nine South Asian Maoist parties in the Indian State of West Bengal.^{xxiv}

Shifting of Nepalese Maoist's Ideology and Tactics

The Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist embarked on a pragmatic path only after its second National Conference in Bhatinda, Punjab, in February 2001.^{xxv} The decisions of the conference were crucial because they empowered the party chairman tremendously by declaring that the “guiding thought of the party from now onwards will be Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path.” The paper “The Great Leap Forward: The Inevitable Necessity of History” presented by Prachanda during the conference not only clarified the party's position and policies towards various groups of the society such as women, student, workers, and peasants, but the paper also proposed a way to begin a dialogue with different sections of society. The dialogue would be held as a “conference of all political parties, organization, and representatives of mass organizations, elections of an interim government by such a conference; and guarantee of people's constitution under the leadership of the interim government.” The CPN-M justified the various rounds of negotiation and the three key demands as the keys to achieving the objectives. Adoption of the Prachanda Path provided the CPN-M an avenue to escape unrealistic classical methods of Maoism. The Prachanda Path was to assume a kind of revolution that would be a fusion of the Chinese model of protracted war (taken up in the beginning) and the Russian model of general armed insurrection but in reality it was a modification of the overall Maoist idea of the continuation and conclusion of the revolution.^{xxvi}

This was a major change in the approach of the CPN-M, which had previously vehemently opposed partial reforms or reaching a compromise with the reactionary classes. This was important because it not only publicized the demands of the CPN-M clearly, paving the way for future negotiations and peaceful resolution of the conflict, but it also indicated a shift in its ideological dogma of waging a protracted people's war in purely military terms.^{xxvii}

The CPN-M arrived at some major decisions during the meeting of its Central Committee held in the Chungwang village of the Rukum district in the Midwestern region of Nepal during September and October of 2005. Amidst growing debate between the senior leadership about whether to join with the parliamentary parties against the monarchy for the establishment of a federal republic or to join with the nationalist forces led by the monarchy, the party decided to work with the political parties. This decision was crucial in polarizing the Nepalese political forces and resulted in the elimination of the monarchy, which was one of Nepal's oldest and key centers of power. This is a very good example of CPN-M grasping political opportunity. While the Shining Path continued to reject any alliances with the legal left in Peru, the CPN-M in Nepal not only joined hands with its revisionary comrades but also with the liberal parties who it used to consider the “enemy” in the past.

The Maoist drew their lessons from Maoist movements worldwide. From the Peruvian Maoist experiment, they must have learnt that the shining Path failed because it prolonged the strategic equilibrium phase and that the movement lost steam after its leader, Abimael

Guzman (President Gonzalo) ,was arrested in 1992. As Prachanda himself had suggested in his interview with Li Onesto, the Nepalese Maoist wanted to take the Maoist revolution forward from where Peruvian Maoist had left it and wanted to make the movement a success by adopting Maoist principles to Nepalese conditions. ^{xxviii}

Apart from military imbalance, the CPN-M had a very poor support base in urban areas. Maoist spokesperson Krishna Prasad Mahara said, “We have a controlling presence in the rural areas across Nepal, except for the district headquarters, market town and the strip running along the highways’. For the Maoist, the support of the people is essential to sustain the movement and to spread to new areas. There was also fear of a reaction from India and the US once the Maoist tried to achieve their goal militarily. Since they had been adopting new tactical moves from August 2004, including ceasefire, negotiations with the political parties of the country and UN mediation; they considered it prudent to forge a united front against the monarchy. The Maoist concluded that they could not capture Kathmandu by force. The 12-point letter of agreement about multi-party democracy was one thing, but their ultimate goal was to establish a communist state. The Maoist change in tactics could have come about due to the absence of Mohan Vaidya, who was arrested in India in March 2004.^{xxix}

It was clear that even if the Maoist were willing to participate in mainstream politics, they had a hidden agenda to accomplish the revolution through sudden insurrection at an appropriate time by gradually degenerating the RNA and setting up a base area for world proletariat revolution. It is believed that their alliance with the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) through India’s possible actions against them^{xxx}. Prachanda acknowledged:

“We have not dropped our demand for a democratic republic. But to achieve that minimum political slogan, we have said we are prepared to go through free and fair election to a constituent assembly. Earlier, we were saying people’s democratic republic but this does not mean we have dropped that goal either. We will go for the goal of the people’s democracy through peaceful means.”^{xxxi}

The CPN-M leadership has emphasized the need to not “cling to dogma and rather try to apply Marxism to the concrete situation of Nepal.” The Balaju (a place in Kathmandu) plenum in August 2007 demonstrated the amount of flexibility the party and the leadership were ready to exercise. At this plenum there was heated debate between the hardliners and the moderates about whether to strive for a “people’s republic” as outlined in the classic Communist sense or a “democratic republic” of a parliamentary nature. The party adopted the letter in favor of the peace process and the writing of a new democratic constitution in which it indicated its ideological flexibility. The CPN-M came to the conclusion that a bourgeois democratic revolution was first needed to install a bourgeois democratic republic as the political superstructure in Nepal. This was needed in order to replace the feudal structure represented by the monarchy before a “new proletarian democracy” could be achieved.^{xxxii}

Maoist leadership sometimes claims that it has not deviated from the people's war strategy and considers this shift to be a part of the strategy, but it is difficult to perceive the Maoist's going back to the battlefield. Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, the deputy chairman of the party, in an interview later claimed that although the CPN-M made certain changes in its tactical line after 2006, these changes should not be confused with abandoning protracted people's war forever and the adoption of a peaceful path of social development. He argues that "People's war is a multifaceted war where both the armed and political form of struggle needs to be combined. He highlights the need for taking note of the existing balance of forces, both politically and militarily in the country and outside the country because this balance will have implications. First, it will be difficult to capture the state power, and second, even after capturing the state power it will be difficult to sustain it.^{xxxiii} His comments reflect the CPN-M objective view of the domestic as well as regional and global context, which is a key to understanding the shift in the CPN-M both in terms of ideology and strategy.

Although it is not completely clear what factors prompted the CPN-M to adopt a flexible approach, the changed global context and intraparty debate that favored preserving the achievements of the party gained by the people's war are speculated to be the primary reasons. Thomas A. Marks believes "knowing that CPN-M could not defeat the state, international actors (including India) were initially willing to aid the state" to an extent that the Maoist would be defeated.^{xxxiv} It was, however, clever on the part of the Maoists to see that while prolonged people's war would have benefited them, its continuation would be futile for the movement's future. It was this reality that drove the Maoist shift in emphasis between its lines of operation. The party meanwhile remained in active debate throughout 2002 and 2003 over whether to join the multiparty politics or not. The negotiations that followed failed for the various reasons. It is difficult to ascertain whether the CPN-M was sincere about resolving the issue through negotiation, but it can be implied that the CPN-M appears to be cautious of the pitfalls of becoming mired in traditional communist fundamentalism, hence, it chose to change as the socio-economic and political context of Nepal and the world changed.

Conclusion

Based on the observations it can be explained what made the peace process possible. By the peace process the ceasefires signed between the Maoists and the Seven Party Alliance, which made possible the popular triumph over the King in April 2006, and converted into the peace agreement of November 2006. The alliance between the political parties and the Maoists were crucial, and why and how the two found together. It can be said that the Maoists willingness to join with the parties has to do with their new analysis of the "objective conditions" for their struggle for power in Nepal. The political parties joined the Maoists to fight the king, which by increasing his power in relation to the democratic system was a threat to the privileged position of the parties. Apart from this the royal coup of February 2005 was decisive in bringing together the Maoists and the political parties, but also for India's view on the conflict as well. The coup also made the political line in the Maoist party win forth that argued for an alliance with the politicians against the King. Furthermore, the international situation also played a significant role, and the policy

towards Nepal of powers like India, the US, China and the UK should not be overlooked in understanding the developments in Nepali politics during the civil war.

The strategic and tactical change gave the Maoists larger room for political maneuvering, and justified the politics of negotiations in the context of their Maoist ideology. The ideology went from a focus on the need for an armed uprising and describing compromising with the reactionary classes as revisionism, to an ideology where the nature of imperialism had changed, and that this change made it necessary to compromise with reformist forces in Nepal to achieve some of their goals. The change in ideology justified a more pragmatic course of action, and would later serve as a justification of the compromise with the Seven Party Alliance. The Maoists themselves consider their new strategy as being flexible in the short run, while at the same time keeping an eye on their long-term goals. Thus, it referred to as mixing strategic with tactical flexibility.

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FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN INDIAN TEXTILE SECTOR

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Introduction

Since Independence rapid economic development resulted in formulation of many industrial policies by the government of India. Foreign capital was assigned an important place and viewed as a solution to meet inadequate domestic capital. Thus FDI has brought many sweeping changes in Indian textile sector. This paper analyses the contribution of FDI sector in India in general and the issue of FDI in textile sector in particular.

Indian textile Industry at a Glance

India's textiles sector is one of the oldest industries in Indian economy dating back several centuries. Even today, textiles sector is one of the largest contributors to India's exports with approximately 11 per cent of total exports. The textiles industry is also labour intensive and is one of the largest employers. The industry realised export earnings worth US\$ 41.4 billion in 2014-15, a growth of 5.4 per cent, as per The Cotton Textiles Export Promotion Council.

The textile industry in India has two broad segments. First, the unorganised sector consists of handloom, handicrafts and sericulture, which are operated on a small scale and through traditional tools and methods. The second is the organised sector consisting of spinning, apparel and garments segment which apply modern machinery and techniques such as economies of scale.

The Indian textiles industry is extremely varied, with the hand-spun and hand-woven textiles sectors at one end of the spectrum, while the capital intensive sophisticated mills sector at the other end of the spectrum. The decentralized power looms/ hosiery and knitting sector form the largest component of the textiles sector. The close linkage of the textile industry to agriculture and the ancient culture and traditions of the country in terms of textiles make the Indian textiles sector unique in comparison to the industries of other countries. The Indian textile industry has the capacity to produce a wide variety of products suitable to different market segments, both within India and across the world.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Foreign direct investment is defined as investment made to acquire lasting interest in enterprises operating outside of the economy of the investor. Right from the introduction of new economic policy (1991), government is insisting on the importance of foreign direct investment (FDI) and

foreign port folio investment (FPI). FDI is a controlling ownership in a business enterprise in one country by an entity based in another country. Foreign Direct Investment includes merger and acquisitions, building new facilities, reinvesting profits earned from overseas operations and intra company loans. In a narrow sense, it refers just building new facilities.

Government Reforms

At the time of independence, the attitude of the government towards foreign capital was one of fear because of British rulers. But slowly and steadily government encouraged foreign investment in India.

Since 1991, the government has adopted various reform measures to liberalize trade and attract foreign direct investment (FDI) in India considering its direct as well as indirect effects as a part of globalization policy.

As a first step the government announced in 1991 a list of industries in which FDI would be automatically allowed up to 51 percent. These industries ranged from the capital goods and metallurgical sector to entertainment, electronic, food processing and service sector with significant export potential hotel and tourist related areas were also allowed foreign equity holdings by international trading companies of up to 51 percent.

In order to accelerate the progress of the power sector, 100 percent equity participation was allowed for setting up power plants. Existing companies with foreign equity could raise it to 51 percent subject to certain prescribed guidelines. FDI was also allowed in exploration, production and refining of oil and marketing of gas. NRIs and overseas corporate bodies (OCBS) predominantly owned by them were permitted to invest up to 100 percent equity to high priority industries. NRI investment up to 100 percent was also allowed in hospitals, sick industries, hotels and tourism related industries, computer software and hardware, telecommunication construction, power, automobile industries, drugs and chemical.

Foreign investment inflows

As per data provided by the government of India, during 1991-92 to 2012-13, total foreign investments flows were of the order of \$456.9 billion, out of which about \$270.2 billion (59.1 percent) were in the form of port folio investment. Moreover, out of the total direct foreign investment of the order of \$270.2 billion, nearly 45 percent (\$120.7 billion) was contributed by non-resident Indians NRI. Thus the net contribution of foreign firms in direct investment was about 55 percent of foreign investment flows.

FDI in the Textile Sector

FDI in the textile sector is believed to propel the export growth. In the era 1970-1998, exports have grown over 11 per cent p.a while the GDP growth is about 5 percent. Since 1990, FDI has been rising continuously, making India the 9th largest recipient among the developing third world countries. Although FDI has been a major success story of the east and south Asian nations, its role cannot be generalized to India, considering the infrastructural lags. However, export performance majorly depends on the nature of FDI.

The role now played by textile and clothing production in the industrialization process of India is far more differentiated than it was a generation ago. While low wages can still India a

competitive edge in world markets, quick turnaround times now play a far more important role in determining international competitiveness in the fashion –oriented and ever more time-sensitive textile and clothing markets. The comparative advantage of developing countries in the assembly process, i.e, low-wage sewing, does not necessarily translate into a comparative advantage in the management of the entire supply chain when all services-linked dimensions are considered. India should develop expertise in the higher value-added segments of a supply chain. This can be done by the upgrading domestic skills in design, material sourcing, quality control, logistics and retail distribution. On the other hand, textile and clothing suppliers of the developed countries is now exposed to greater competitive pressures. Retail group in developed countries have greater liberty to source products globally and to accelerate the expansion of the distribution networks worldwide which is better served by an open and liberal multilateral trading environment. Although firms themselves have to play the critical roles of adjustment in the new scenario, Governments play a supporting role with a balanced policy regulatory framework.

The textiles sector has witnessed a spurt in investment during the last five years. The industry attracted Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) worth US\$ 1.77 billion during April 2000 to September 2015. Some of the major investments in the Indian textiles industry are as follows:

- Reliance Industries Ltd (RIL) plans to enter into a joint venture (JV) with China-based Shandong Ruyi Science and Technology Group Co. The JV will leverage RIL's existing textile business and distribution network in India and Ruyi's state-of-the-art technology and its global reach.
- Giving Indian sarees a 'green' touch, Dupont has joined hands with RIL and Vipul Sarees for use of its renewable fibre product Sorona to make an 'environment-friendly' version of this ethnic ladies wear.
- Grasim Industries has invested Rs 100 crore (US\$ 15 million) to develop its first fabric brand, 'Liva', which it will distribute through 1,000 outlets as part of a plan to stay in sync with changing consumer behaviour.
- Snapdeal has partnered with India Post to jointly work on bringing thousands of weavers and artisans from Varanasi through its website. "This is an endeavour by Snapdeal and India Post to empower local artisans, small and medium entrepreneurs to sustain their livelihood by providing a platform to popularise their indigenous products," said Mr Kunal Bahl, CEO and Co-Founder, Snapdeal.
- Welspun India Ltd (WIL), part of the Welspun Group has unveiled its new spinning facility at Anjar, Gujarat - the largest under one roof in India. The expansion project reflects the ethos of the Government of Gujarat's recent 'Farm-Factory-Fabric-Fashion-Foreign' Textile Policy, which is aimed at strengthening the entire textile value-chain.
- American casual fashion retailer Aéropostale, Inc. has inked a licensing agreement with Arvind Lifestyle Brands Ltd to open standalone stores in the country. Aéropostale will open 30 stores and 25 shop-in-shop locations over the next three years.

MERITS OF FDI IN TEXTILE SECTOR

1. Capital infusion/Capital inflow:

This would provide an opportunity for cash-deficient domestic textile to bridge the gap between capital required and raised. In fact FDI is one of the major sources of investment for a developing country like India.

2. Boost healthy competition and check inflation:

Healthy competition between the different companies offering their brands in a particular product market and this will result in availability of many varieties, reduced prices and convenient distribution to the marketing offers.

3. Improvement in supply chain:

Improvement of supply chain/distribution efficiencies, coupled with capacity building and introduction of modern technology will help arrest wastages.

4. Improvement in Returns:

Flexible return on direct investment is a great advantage as compared with rigid interest and amortization requirements associated with public foreign loans.

5. Improved Technology:

Direct investment by foreign companies introduces, in the developing country, new technology, modern skills, innovations and new ideas. This is a great gain because the developing country is backward in technology and skills.

6. Portfolio Investment:

The profit is ploughed back into business and is not drained off from the country as it happens in the case of portfolio investment. The profits are invested either in modernization and expansion of existing concerns or for establishing ancillary or subsidiary concerns in related fields.

7. Improvement in Infrastructural Investment:

Another important advantage of direct foreign capital is that it can be induced to be invested in infrastructure such as power, telecom, and development of ports which is an obstacle to accelerating economic growth in the developing countries.

DEMERITS

1. Domination of Developed Countries:

Many developing countries or at least countries with a history of colonialism, fear that foreign direct investment may result in a form of modern day economic colonialism, exposing host countries and leaving them and their resources vulnerable to the exploitations of the foreign company.

2. Increased Aggregate Demand:

FDIs may increase the aggregate demand of the host economy in the short run, via productivity improvements and technological transfers, critics have also raised concerns over the efficacy of purported benefits of direct investments.

3. Jeopardized Capital Returns:

The long-run balance of payment position of the host economy is jeopardized when the investor manages to recover its initial outlay. Once the initial investment starts to turn profitable, it is inevitable that capital returns from the host country to where it originated from, that is the home country.

4. Affect Net Capital Flow:

The levels of FDI tend to be resilient during periods of economic uncertainty; it has the potential of adversely affecting the net capital flow of a developing economy especially if it does not have a healthy and sustainable FDI schedule.

5. Effect in Labour Market:

FDIs generate negative externalities in the labour market of the host economy.

6. Favours MNC's

Multinational companies do pay a slight premium over local-term wages, but does this really not benefit the host economy

Conclusion

The future for the Indian textile industry looks promising, sustained by both strong domestic consumption as well as export demand. With consumerism on the rise, the retail sector has experienced a rapid growth in the past decade with the entry of several international players like Marks & Spencer, Guess and Next into the Indian market. The organised apparel segment is expected to grow at a Compound Annual Growth of more than 13 per cent over a 10-year period. This will give a way forward for textile industries in India.

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ELECTION CAIMPAIGN MANAGEMENT SERVICES– A START OF NEW ERA IN INDIAN POLITICS

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ABSTRACT

With the emergence of young and smart voters' especially important segments of youths using social media and the economically lower sections aspiring for better life through their use of ballots, the major political parties nowadays have roped in professional consulting firms giving some of the party offices corporate-like feels. Managing Election in India is the toughest and fastest management ever, it doesn't give time to correct mistakes or make mistakes. Strategies and Planning are very crucial part for any election because if there is a mistake by taking wrong decision then there is waiting for next 5 year to correct it. This research paper study the services of professional election campaign management services and their impact on the results of recent elections of India.

Keywords: election, management, service, voters, prashant kishor, rajat sethi, etc.

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays election campaign management services have been a key concern for the political parties in India. Politics in India is regarded as a social service but now it becomes an industry and a source of carrier. Everybody loves to talk about it; whether they understand politics or not, very little is known about how things actually work. The professional ways of working, which are found in business, science and slowly in government, are least visible in politics. In particular, the crucible of politics the election campaign is just black art. In the last 20 years, family businesses get shaken up, professionalise, and embrace technology and process engineering. Even some parts of government do the same. There has been transformation of some parts of academics. The one place which has seen the least change is politics in general and election campaigns in particular.

Elsewhere in the world, election campaigns are run through scientific management. In the US, both the Democratic and Republican parties have voter databases, where one can search for any voter by name. Through a variety of analytical methods, campaigns know fairly well which voters are likely to vote for them, and which ones are marginal, and on which groups of voters, no resources should be expended. Starting with such databases, every voter contact is recorded (a volunteer knock, a telephone call, a letter sent, an email, or a tweet) in the same way companies

manage customer services through a CRM system. It took a decade of work for the machinery of election campaigns in the US to get to this stage, to transplant ideas which were well developed in the world of business.

When thinking about election campaigns in India in a professional way, there are many challenges. There are multiple parties, many races are multi-cornered, and with first-past-the-post elections, a candidate can win with as few as 20-30% of the votes. The voter lists are very poor in quality, with every possible error of inclusion and exclusion. They do not capture the large scale of urban migration and are often tampered with. Although the Election Commission of India has made great strides in conducting free and fair elections over the last several decades, much more remains to be done, and the quality of the voter list is perhaps the weakest link in Indian democracy today.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT

Every election has three natural phases:

1. Registration
2. Persuasion
3. Turnout.

A campaign should start 6-12 months before voting date, by registering voters. Three months before the election, voters need to know the candidate and be persuaded, and finally the last week is focussed on "Get The Vote Out", or Turnout. At each stage of the campaign, one has to focus on the message and mobilisation. The message is all about what the candidate says and does, and mobilisation is about execution on the ground, in the digital sphere and in the media. Each stage as a distinct methodology for scientific management, and the problems faced can be quite surprising. As an example, it is not uncommon for 2 to 3% of the *population* of a constituency to be working for all the candidates, put together, in the last 2-3 weeks. This calls for the processes of large-scale management.

There are tools and technologies for different parts of the campaign, starting with coalition dynamics, seat selection, analysis of past elections, formulation and testing of messages, calculating the reach of every channel (hoardings, TV, radio, print, etc.), managing call centres, and a control room for the turnout operation and voting day. There is utilization of data, analytics, and technology at every stage of a campaign to aid decision making and efficient deployment of resources. An incumbent who has a good chance of getting the ticket has a head start as he is able to do preparatory work for the campaign well ahead of time. As emphasised above, the campaign should really start 6-12 months before the voting. All too often, in India, candidate selection is left to the last minute. This makes it impossible to mount a serious campaign, and generally plays in favour of the incumbent. Once somebody start thinking of an election campaign as a systematic project, this induces the discipline of a minimum time period that is required to execute all the steps, just as is the case with all well planned projects.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

As per the ASSOCHAM recent estimates, In India, there are nearly around 150 political consultants, big and small, charging nearly around from Rs 1 lakh to Rs 50 lakh for each constituency (for 543 seats). The services on offer include managing media, planning campaigns, marketing policies, designing promotional material, website and social media page and weighing the prospects of rival candidates. Voters' profiling and sending right kind of message to the right kind of voters is the key. It is not just national parties such as the Congress, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) but also smaller regional parties that are using political agencies this year. It's not limited to larger metros like Mumbai, Delhi, Bangalore, Ahmadabad, Kolkata but also in tier- II and tier-III cities, political parties are betting on specialist to manage their campaigns, points out the ASSOCHAM paper.

CAG AND THE GENERAL-ELECTION CAMPAIGN 2014

For the 2014 general-election campaign, Prashant Kishor a well known election campaigner worked out of then Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi's official residence.

As the May 2014 general election approached, Kishor conceptualized Citizens for Accountable Governance (CAG) in 2013- A non-profit organisation, it drew in elite young professionals educated at institutions such as the IITs and IIMs, and working in multinational corporations such as JPMorgan Chase, Goldman Sachs and McKinsey. Most of CAG's 60 full-time members did not come from a political background. CAG positioned itself as an independent, policy advocacy group, and claimed to have no involvement with Modi, even though he spent upwards of eight hours at each of the two youth events organised by them in June and October 2013. At the time, CAG aimed to enroll 5,00,000 volunteers ahead to help Modi's campaign, which would give the BJP's prime-ministerial candidate "a potent youth force on the ground that is independent of the BJP and is functional, unlike the dysfunctional youth wings of mainstream political parties", according to the *Economic Times*.

CAG at its peak comprised 15 state chapters, more than a thousand full time members, and over one lakh volunteers. They were organized by Kishor across five domains: Data & Analytics, Media & External Communications, Research, Digital Communication, and Field Operations.

The group has been credited with conceptualizing and executing the most successful components of Modi campaign - Manthan brought together 7,000 students from India's leading colleges, following a nationwide contest for policy ideas that ran for three months, through which Modi himself sat for an upwards of 8 hours straight. The Statue of Unity movement – Modi's pledge to build the world's tallest statue of Sardar Patel by collecting 700 tonnes of iron from five lakh villages which aimed to set half a dozen Guinness world records was driven by CAG. "CAG ran a research wing that produced talking points for Modi as he crisscrossed the country. It organized the Run for Unity, which now claims the world record for the largest number of people running and walking at the same time..."

When Congress leader Mani Shankar Aiyer took a dig at Modi's background selling tea at railway stations, the folks at CAG quickly conceptualized an event they called Chai pe Charcha

(a conversation over tea), a video conference spread across 1,000 tea stalls, turning the critical remark into political capital. In Uttar Pradesh, the CAG implemented the Modi Aane Wala Hai (Modi's arrival is imminent) campaign, in which some 400 video vans took Modi's speeches to thousands of villages that are deemed to be part of a so-called dark zone, where mass-media penetration is poor. It also planned the schedule of the final thrust, the Bharat Vijay rallies, during which Modi spoke at three or four venues in a single day, and was projected by 3D holographic image to 100 locations simultaneously". Young Leader's Conclave, parallel Modi for PM fund, Modi's digital and social media platforms – all were driven by CAG. Additionally the group took on the task of digitization of the entire electoral data and ran analytical algorithms on them for targeted campaigns. The group also sought to brand Modi as a vikas purush (man of progress), highlighting his achievements as Gujarat chief minister, to make him more palatable outside of his traditional hardline-Hindutva constituency

Nilanjan Mukhopadhyay, author of 'Narendra Modi: The Man, The Times' said Kishor was one of the most important people in Modi's team driving strategies for months before 2014 elections. "The strategies by him and his group galvanised the middle class and upper middle class to vote for BJP. It was their efforts that sold Modi as a moderate leader focussed on development, a 'Vikas Purush', thereby shedding his image of an aggressive Hindu right wing leader."

Shedding light on the aftermath of Lok Sabha Elections 2014 and the parting of ways between Narendra Modi and Prashant Kishor, Piyush Tripathi wrote for The Telegraph, "shortly after Prime Minister Narendra Modi's stunning electoral victory in 2014, working as poll strategist with Modi, Kishor had explored the idea of setting up of a parallel policy advisory unit attached to the PMO. The idea was to convert the Citizens for Accountable Governance (CAG), which crafted the Modi campaign, into a specialist policy outfit called I-PACE to counsel the Prime Minister on development. The abortion of Kishor's proposal eventually led him to break with Modi and set up camp on the Nitish precincts. Over the following few months, Kishor recast I-PACE as I-PAC, an electioneering agency and set out the campaign and alliance strategies that saw the Grand Alliance trounce the BJP in the race for power in Bihar".

I-PAC AND THE 2015 BIHAR ASSEMBLY ELECTION CAMPAIGN

In 2015, some of the erstwhile CAG members regrouped as I-PAC (Indian Political Action Committee) under Kishor's mentorship and started working with Nitish Kumar, the two-time Chief Minister of Bihar who was seeking a third term in Assembly Elections 2015. Prior to a formal announcement or launch of the election campaign, media was buzzing with speculation. Vasudha Gopal in her article for The Economic Times was the one of the first journalists who broke "Prashant Kishor: Man pivot of PM Narendra Modi campaign in talks to help steer JD(U) in Bihar election". Calling him "a man of technology and strategy", Venugopal wrote, "Kishor, 37, one of the prime movers of Citizens for Accountable Governance, an outfit modelled on the US-style political action committees that act as force multipliers to political campaigns in that country, is all set to project and define Kumar as an antithesis of Modi in the upcoming Bihar elections, possibly using the very tools used to build up the former Gujarat chief minister to try and knock him down. His entry into the Bihar political arena could also herald a new form of

campaigning replete with its strong reliance on data analytics, branding and communication strategies hitherto unseen in a state known more for complicated caste arithmetic and use of muscle to win elections". Speaking on the Bihar elections itself, she continues "The upcoming elections in Bihar, political analysts reckon, are crucial and personal for both Kumar and Modi. For Modi, the Bihar elections, coming as they do after BJP's loss in the Delhi assembly poll, will mark a re-test of the 'Modi wave'. For Kumar, who broke off his party's long-term alliance with BJP in 2013 after the saffron party moved to project Modi as its PM candidate, a victory in the Bihar elections is essential for political survival. A victory could catapult Kumar as a possible national figure around whom all non-BJP, non-Congress parties could coalesce." He has been hired by the Indian national Congress to fight the crucial state elections of 2016 and 2017, such as Punjab, Uttar Pradesh etc.

In his article *Backroom Boy who changed the rules*, journalist Sankarshan Thakur writes, "When Kishor arrived to formally join the Nitish establishment this summer, very little was in place other than Nitish Kumar who had resumed as chief minister. Conventional wisdom afloat across Bihar was that the Modi team would do an encore, sweep Bihar. There was no strategy, no resources, no alliance... That changed dramatically..."

"The [I-PAC] team was structured to serve a dual purpose, in the central war room and in the field; in addition two-three team members were assigned to each district to work alongside 250 locally hired employees, or Central Resource Mobilisers (CRM). Based on door-to-door campaigning, a panchayat level, then block level, and finally district level list of prospective voters was created." "[Kishor] telescoped the focus on Nitish, and rallied his practised tools behind him - multiple platforms on Internet, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp, print and telescreens; colonial raids on skylines to capture billboard space; an armada of LED-mounted trucks despatched to far corners statewide; a 500-strong army of researchers, data crunchers, copy writers and publicists hunkered at work 24/7 in prefab tenements." "About the only thing he did not do in this campaign was to board a chopper and go from dais to dais addressing public meetings. Every place else on the Mahagathbandhan's winner plot lies the footprint of Prashant Kishor, now surely accredited master of the election game. A doubly proven one-man political consultancy that few would now dare take lightly".

"During the election campaign, Kishor also played key interlocutor between Nitish and RJD boss Lalu Prasad. It is a fair guess his continued presence in Patna [for BVM] will extend the lease on his political liaisoning between the two big alliance heads. The JDU-RJD alliance, fledgling though it is, is no stranger to personality and policy strains, and Kishor may well be called upon to run rescue errands when required to keep the boat steady".

Bihar Vikas Mission 2016

In January 2016, Bihar Cabinet "cleared the proposal for setting up a new body called the Bihar Vikas Mission to implement the five-year programmes of good governance and development in the state."

"The Mission will be steered by Kishor - who crafted Nitish's electoral strategy - and will be turned into a parallel secretariat of technocrats and field experts. The Mission will draw upon some 1,500 policy and tech experts who will drive Nitish's development imperatives." "This effectively means Nitish is arming himself with a personal secretariat of technocrats and field experts, broadly after the manner chief executives in presidential governments possess, to push pressing development imperatives."

A separate unit, consisting of professionals and technical experts, would assess the implementation of projects and collect feedback from the people by visiting the ground. The unit would report to the governing body, which would use its input for fine-tuning policies and projects and would direct the implementing agencies to work accordingly. As reported by a government official, The Mission is by, of and for Prashant Kishor". "Once the Bihar Vikas Mission becomes effective in early April, it will be Kishor's task to devise a development blueprint echoing the lofty policy and manifesto promises made by Nitish during the Bihar election. An essential - and uphill - objective will also be to attract substantive investment for industry and employment. Bihar has lagged consistently as an investment destination owing to poor infrastructure, law and order and living conditions. The effort of the Bihar Vikas Mission will be to alter that".

TYPES OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT SERVICES

1. Political PR
2. Media Relations
3. Voters Relations
4. Analyst Relations
5. Bloggers Relations
6. Social Media Advertising
7. Political Campaign Advertising
8. Media Buying
9. Political Strategy Workshops
10. Social Media for Politicians
11. Political survey, opinion poll and exit poll Management
12. Constituency Management, Booth Management etc.

CONCLUSION

There is huge opportunity for professional election campaigning in India. Low cost & expertise are key competitive advantages for India. India is having advance technology and is capable of managing all kind of elections related issues. The political parties are increasingly focusing on specialists to manage their campaigns during the election polls. Currently, the political consultancy is a flourishing business not just in cities but also in small towns and rural areas. The speed, agility, and scale required in political campaigns in India are something unique when compared with the worlds of business, science and government in India. To some extent, we are witnessing innovations in the field of election campaigns that can usefully inform, and sometimes get directly transplanted, into the other three worlds. These election campaigners

should learn how our democracy works. The soul of our constitution must not get hurt by these professionally driven election campaigns, since choosing the right candidate or casting vote to a candidate of their choice is the right of Indian voter.

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VIEWING ENGLISH AS A PERSPECTIVE OF MARGINALIZATION IN CHETAN BHAGAT'S *HALF GIRLFRIEND*

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Abstract:

At present, the persons who are aware of globalization have become English-maniac. No other language, except English has become the only source of communication for them. Those who do not know English are either overlooked or given a hurting-look. They are invisible like the protagonist in the novel Invisible Man by Ralf Ellison. They are known as “the non-English type” persons, as Bhagat worded it in his dedication of the present fiction. Their identity and presence is skillfully denied by the so called English-speakers. These speakers feel pride for their speaking-ability and so unconsciously create a circle in which they found themselves at the centre and “the non-English types” at the peripheral of it. This mentality has given birth to a new perspective to marginalize people. They are mostly affluent persons who reared up their offspring in English-medium schools and given lot of English exposure. Knowing English has become the standard for achieving high-class grade. Bhagat has stressed this division in the Indian communities. He also described how persons strive to be at the centre of the above circle. Once you get the centre, there are more chances of becoming egotistic and looking down upon other “non-English types” from where you had come. However, Madhav Jha, the protagonist of Half Girlfriend does not change even after becoming a good English-speaker.

Key Words: marginalization, English speaking ability, acquisition of English,

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, “to marginalize” means “to make somebody feel as if they are not important and cannot influence decisions or events”. Chetan Bhagat, the novelist of popular fictions, has used two narrators to explain the plot of *Half Girlfriend*. He tries to make-feel fiction real. The voice of Madhav is his mouthpiece. The journey of Madhav from the village in Bihar called Dumraon to Delhi, to Patana, to New York is the dream-journey of every educated Indian. However, they cannot achieve it; not because they have less talent, but because they do not have so called fluent English-speaking ability. In the words of Chetan Bhagat the fiction “is also a story about a person who doesn't speak good English and how he copes in India. It also talks about the state of primary rural education in the country. Hopefully, the book will make people . . . more sensitive and less judgmental towards people who may not have the best language skills.” (<http://www.chetanbhagat.com/books/half-girlfriend/qa/>)

In the very first chapter of the novel, Madhav is shown a naive from a village to the most famous college in Delhi, St. Stephen's College, where students prefer English (to their mother-tongues) in the campus at least. They butt and look down upon others who are not comfortable with English. When Madhav comes across at the beginning with them, his English "was 90 per cent Bihari Hindi mixed with 10 per cent really bad English. . . . 'Comty room . . . batlaiega zara? Hamara interview hai na wahan . . . Mera khel ka kota hai. Kis taraf hai?'" (8, *Half Girlfriend*) Here he actually wants to ask for 'committee room' /kəmˌtɪ ru:m/, but cannot pronounce properly. In addition, he cannot construct even a small correct sentence in English. However, acquiring a language is the matter of exposure and practice of it. It can be acquired at any age, if proper surrounding and exposure created. The influence of mother-tongue on pronunciation is identifiable even in the speeches of so-called English scholars, though one can get rid of it to a certain extent by imitating proper models. However, this has become a new kind of marginalizing of persons on the basis of English-speaking ability.

The professors of St. Stephen's also prefer to speak in English. For them, using other language is like going against moral values or doing something debased work. In the interview of admissions from sport's quota, the dialogues and thoughts of Madhav go like this:

"Prof. Gupta smirked, 'that is some response. And why is St. Stephen's a good college?'

I switched to Hindi. Answering in English would require pauses make me come across as stupid. May be I was stupid, but I did not want them to know that.

'Your college has a big name. It is famous in Bihar also.' I said.

'Can you please answer in English?' Prof. Gupta said.

'Why? You don't know Hindi?' I said in reflex, and in Hindi.

I saw my blunder in their horrified faces. I had not said it in defiance; I really wanted to know why they had to interview me in English when I was more comfortable in Hindi. Of course, I did not know then that Stephen's professors didn't like being asked to speak in Hindi." (10, *Half Girlfriend*)

Madhav was comfortable in Hindi, but he was made to interact in English. This kind of marginalization is from professors of a higher institution provokes others to spread it in the society.

However, right from the beginning, Madhav, who is actually from a Maharaja-family of the pre-Independence India, strives to get rid of this new kind of marginalization. It is Hindi which is the only so-called standard language that he knows. So, it constantly interferes with his use of English at syntactic, semantic, phonetic and other levels. He tries his best to translate from Hindi, but failed at so many times, particularly, while composing complex structures. The difficulty and fear in pronunciation has already seen in above examples. His translation-habit also makes blunders at syntactic and semantic levels, for instance, in the campus interview Madhav greets "Good morning sir, sir and sir." (9, *Half Girlfriend*) and "Myself Madhav Jha." (19, *Half Girlfriend*)

Madhav struggled hard to overcome this marginalization by practicing various methods of acquiring the language. First, he had been the student of a reputed college where English is the exclusive medium of instructions. Later he had joined coaching-classes to learn it. He also purchased a bazar-book at railway station. He also practiced speeches. However, he acquired it only after spending few months in New York, America, a place where he gets real exposure to the language. Here, he had no alternative to express himself in. If such an atmosphere is created in the schools, the up-coming generation will not face the problem of marginalization in future. But for this, the schools need funds from government. The government of Maharashtra, likewise the government of Bihar in the fiction, is not able to provide it; and the persons like Mr. Bill Gates cannot come frequently to Indian rural schools to brighten their futures by showering funds.

Therefore, the condition of schools in rural India is worst as depicted in the fiction is one of the root cause of failure in acquiring English and consequently of marginalization. They do not have sufficient equipment to create the atmosphere of the target language. The buildings are not well-repaired but too old, 'grey-and-black'. The staff is not up-to-date prepared. The well-qualified persons do not accept the job of teaching. Let alone the language laboratory, the schools do not even have the CD / DVD and DVD Players. Students learn in such a clumsy atmosphere without any enthusiasm in them. The condition of government rural schools is like the condition of school in the fiction. It is:

“Tell him (MLA) to make one for the girls. One girls’ toilet, Tara ji,’ my mother said. ‘Don’t embarrass me, Rani Sahiba. I tried. We need money for so many other things too. We need to plaster the roofs, make more rooms and whitewash the building. SMDC said they have nothing.’ Noises came from the corridor. Kids had assembled outside.”(105, *Half Girlfriend*) In such condition how can one expect good output from the rural schools? However, the rich send their children to private English school by paying lot of money. There, they get every kind of facility available in the field of academics.

The persons from villages are also a kind of hindrance in the progress of the child-education. They rather send their children in the field for work and not in the school. They think what a person can do after learning upto eighth or tenth standards. If a child has to work in the field after completing tenth, then why the child did not work there since the beginning instead of going to school and wasting ten years there. They are so poor that they cannot live for a few days without work. Moreover, they are not aware of the small but essential benefits of education in their lives. And the educated ones are helpless to combat their logical refusing of the schooling and pursuing them for it. This is what the protagonist Madhav faces in the village when he tried his best to school village-children. (107, 108 *Half Girlfriend*)

Chetan Bhagat has given remedy to overcome the problem from the dialogues of Riya Somani, the central female character in the fiction. She tells to focus on three things: “English, public speaking and, the most important, the actual content of the speech.” (147, *Half Girlfriend*) Further she gives a full action plan to give a fluent speech. The same is applicable to learn fluent speaking of English. The action plan is:

“Objective: Ten-minute speech in fluent English to a live American audience.

10 minutes =approximately 600 words.

Focus Areas:

1. Delivery: confidence, style, accent, flow, pauses eye contact.
2. Content: rational points, emotional moments, call for aid. . . .

Top Ten Tools:

1. YouTube videos of famous speeches.
2. Watching English movies with subtitles.
3. English-only days – no Hindi conversation allowed.
4. Working on speech content in Hindi first.
5. Recording an English voice diary on the phone through the day.
6. Thinking in English.
7. Watching television news debates in English.
8. Calling call centres and choosing the English option.
9. Reading out English advertisements on street hoardings.
10. Reading simple English novels.”

The important thing of the marginalization is the superiority and the inferiority complexes in both the fluent-speakers and the amateur of English respectively. Former makes the latter to realize their disability to be fluent and accurate; while the latter, when realizes his disability, feels uncomfortable and ashamed of it. He rather avoids practicing the language. To avoid this marginalization, one must be sympathetic towards the new-speakers. He / she must be given chance to express more and more in the target language without realizing them their incapacity. Hindi is the mother-tongue of Riya Somani. She speaks Hindi at her home, but when in the college, she prefers English. When Madhav knows it, cannot stop from asking if he could use Hindi for their interaction. A beautiful reply over this is from Riya: “What you say matters, not the language.” (22, *Half Girlfriend*) Perhaps this is the medication to rid out the newly growing marginalization in the society.

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LOVE AS A DOMINANT THEME IN THE POETRY OF KAMALA DAS

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Kamala Das is one of the leading female poets of Modern Indian Poetry in the English language. She is considered mainly as a poet of love. Generally it is considered that love is the main theme in her poetry. On surface level it seems that her poetry has sex and lust as important themes, but a serious and a sincere analysis of her poems, shows clearly that she is a poet of love, not of sex and lust. She is always in search of true and ideal love. This idea is manifested through the voice of the woman persona who desires for love in the poem 'Love':

Until I found you,
I wrote verse, drew pictures,
And, went out with friends.
For walks...
Now that I love you,
Curled like an old mongrel
My life lies, content,
In you.... (*Summer in Calcutta*, 30)

The life of the speaker was totally different before she met the lover. Earlier she was involved in unimportant and trivial things and spent her time in doing meaningless things. Her life changed completely, once she met her lover. She got fulfilment in his arms. For her, it was a journey from the outer world to inner world to find bliss in her lover's love. Her passionate desire is expressed in the voice of her woman protagonist who says:

I met a man, loved him. Call
Him not by any name, he is every man
Who wants woman, just as I am every
Woman who seeks love.

(*Summer in Calcutta*, 63)

She seems to be least concerned about the lover's needs. She knows very well that the man has the desire of her female body only. He is not emotionally involved, still she expresses her deep desire to be loved by her man.

She does not confine herself to the boundaries of emotional aspect of love. She asserts boldly her female desire for sexual intimacy with her lover. She rejects the concept of traditional morality. She is the first woman poet in Indian English Literature who has talked about female sexuality openly, boldly and without any hesitation at all. She seems to be a feminist to the core

who defies the patriarchal norms of society that imposes certain restrictions on women's sexual freedom and choices. She supports both, the physical aspects as well as the emotional and mental aspects of love.

This may be the reason why we come across the detailed description of female physical organs in one of her most famous poems, 'The Looking Glass':

Gift him what makes you woman, the scent of Long hair, the
musk of sweat between the breasts, the warm shock of
menstrual blood, and all your endless female hungers.

(Only the Soul Knows How to Sing, 68)

Kamala Das very frankly advises the woman to offer her lover each and everything that is associated with her femininity. It clearly includes all her sexual organs and each and every part of her physical body. She believes that it is absolutely necessary to gift her physical self to her lover, to obtain fulfilment in their love relationship. The complete and unconditional surrendering of selves is important to taste the feeling of oneness.

..... When he
And I were one, we were neither
Male nor female. There were no more
Words left, all words lay imprisoned.
In the ageing arms of night.

(Only the Soul Knows How to Sing, 69)

During this moment of deep and intense love between the lover and his beloved, their biological differences that separate them into a male and a female, vanishes. Now, they have entered into each other's existence and thus have become one body, one soul. They do not need words any more to express their feelings.

Kamala Das seems to have an obsession for love. For her:

The only truth that matters is
That all this love is mine to give
It does not matter that I seek
For it a container, as alms
Seek a begging bowl....

*(Tonight This Savage Rite: The Love Poems of Kamala Das and
Pritish Nandy, 12)*

Here the poet is desperately willing to gift all her love and searches for a suitable container that is large enough to hold her deep and sincere emotions of love. The unconditional love is the only important thing for her in her whole life. She can not dream of a life, devoid of love. A loveless life has no charm for her. She would prefer death instead:

I want to be loved
And
If love is not to be had,
I want to be dead, just dead.

(Only the Soul Knows How to Sing, 108)

In another important poem entitled "The Gulmohur", Kamala Das celebrates the deepest and the most sincere emotions of love and the everlasting impact it has on her entire personality.

She finds that her present condition has gone through a great change than her past condition and that is only because she has got true love now. Love has transformed her personality completely.

.... my hands before I met him were cold as
though they had reached out and touched
a corpse. I was so uneasy with them but in
his room against his body summered my
hands grew warm....

(*Tonight This Savage Rite: The Love Poems of Kamala Das
and Pritish Nandy*, 43)

Earlier, the persona of the beloved was similar to a dead body; cold and dead. But now the love of her lover has given her new hope for a happy life. She finds herself rejuvenated to lead a blissful life in the company of her lover.

Kamala Das's autobiography, *My Story*, published in 1976, created great controversy in literary world. Some people thought that it was hinted there, that the relationship between Kamala Das and her husband was not quite normal. However, she has depicted her deep love for her husband in some of her poems.

A famous poem, "The Last Act" is one such poem that hints clearly of the deep and sincere love that she has for her husband:

....Back home,
He stumbled into the woman's arms, that
Little one who used to talk of love and
Tire him. I was waiting for you, she said,
I thought you would need me today.

(*Only the Soul Knows How to Sing*, 106)

The poet and her husband both seem to enjoy their marital bliss without any doubt. They both comfort each other and provide emotional and mental security.

At another place, she says:

..... My beloved is armed with winning and
violent hate and mistrust but he comes to
my arms unarmed and when the last of
strengths in drops is shed I call him my
baby I hold him to my breast....

(*Only the Soul Knows How to Sing*, 36)

Here Kamala Das not only expresses wifely love towards her husband but she also expresses motherly love towards her husband.

Sometimes it seems that frustration is the chief characteristic of Kamala Das's poetry. In her most poems the protagonist has felt the deep pain of love along with severe sufferings. It may be because of the fact that she has never attained fulfilment in his love relationship. She hints at the unhappy and sour relationship that she has with her husband:

There are no memories that enthrall,
No fond phrase capsuled in thought,
It was never a husband and wife bond.
We were such a mismatched pair,....

(*Only the Soul Knows How to Sing*, 141)

The mismatch between the wife and the husband seems to be because of unreciprocated love between them which compels the wife to search for love desperately out side their wedlock. When her husband is not around, she goes to others in search of true love. She says:

"When you leave, I drive my blue battered
Car/Along the bluer sea. I run up the forty/
Noisy steps to knock at another's door"

(The Old Playhouse and Other Poems, 57)

The poet's wish to find love outside her marriage has brought nothing but disillusionment that paved the way for further pain in her life. For her the true love proves to be only a distant dream which she can never really get.

She utters : "who can/help us who have lived so long/ And have failed in love?". There is complete silence in their love- relationship. They have shared much time together but they do not have any emotional attachment toward each other. Their hearts are empty and they do not have any emotion left there.

The mere physical attraction that they have has brought only disillusionment along with some painful experiences:

Yes, I was thinking, lying beside him
That I loved, and was much loved.
It is a physical thing, he said suddenly,
End it, I cried, end it, and let us be free.

(Only the Soul Knows How to Sing, 66)

Thus, this is the ending of their love relationship. The physical aspect of the lover's love ignored the fine feminine sensibilities of the beloved and she feels utterly dejected and cheated.

In the poem "A Losing Battle", she compares the loss of her love with the loss in a battle. She always feels insecure in her love relationships. She has a fear that some other woman can snatch her lover from her. When she feels defeated in this love triangle, she utters frustratingly:

Men are worthless, to trap them
Use the cheapest bait of all, but never
Love, which in a woman must mean tears
And a silence in the blood.

(Only the Soul Knows How to Sing, 59)

The poet here expresses her hatred and dislike for those men who do not give any importance to the true and sincere feelings attached with love. She has come to believe that for a man love is nothing but lust. She accepts this bitter truth that for a man sexual love is more important than emotional love.

The woman persona in Kamala Das's poetry has been time and again deserted by her lovers. She has seen repeated failures in establishing an immortal bond with her lover and that feeling of defeat and despair has created a vacuum in her heart and life.

This seems to be the reason why she has remained preoccupied with the theme of insecurity in love. The famous poem, "My Predecessor" is composed keeping this theme in mind.

In Kamala Das's poems, the woman protagonist bring out male betrayal along with the callousness and indifference of a cruel husband towards his wife. The beloved in the poem. "The sunshine cat" utters pathetically:

They did this to her, the man who knew her
 She loved, who loved her not enough, being selfish
 And a coward, the husband who neither loved nor
 Used her, but was a ruthless watches...

(*Summer in Calcutta*, 51)

It is clear that the man whom the woman loved proved to be a coward and selfish who could not understand her emotions and feelings. He could not provide her any stability and support that she needed.

Kamala Das could never get the emotional and mental fulfilment in the love relationship with her husband. She did not get it from her other lovers, as well. This feeling of loss of true love was somewhat compensated by the unconditional love and affection that the poet's grand mother always showed towards her.

The poem, "My grandmother's House" shows the unconditional love that the poet received from her grandmother:

There is a house not far away where once
 I received love. That woman died
 The house withdrew into silence, snakes moved
 Among books

(*Only the Soul Knows How to Sing*, 150)

The above lines show the pure and genuine love of Das's grandmother for her grand daughter Kamala Das's grandmother was a constant source of unconditional love for the poet. At another place the poet says:

"My grandmother, she was/the first I loved, trunks, when opened, after/she died, contained only dolls" (*Only the Soul Knows How to Sing*, 113).

Kamala Das remembers lovingly that when her grandmother died; her trunk was found full of dolls for the poet. This sincere and true love of her grandmother was of utmost significance for the poet.

Besides her grandmother, Kamala Das was deeply in love with her father, also.

She felt sorry that her father died, without saying any parting words. At one place she shows her feelings towards her father:

Should I have loved you, father
 More than I did
 That wasn't so easy to do
 If I have loved others, father,
 I swear I have loved you the most.

(*Only the Soul Knows How to Sing*, 49)

It was during the period of twelve days when Das's father was in coma, that she realised that there was a bond of true love between the father and the daughter.

Sometimes in the past, she might not have cordial relations with her father who was a patriarch but now, when he is in coma, she has a different feeling. She says:

Only in a coma
 Did he seem close to me, and
 I whispered into his ears that
 I loved him although I was bad,

a bad Daughter...

(*Only the Soul Knows How to Sing*, 147)

The grief caused by the death of Kamala Das's father created a vacuum in her life that was not easy to fill up.

Thus, we see that throughout her long poetic career, Kamala Das has kept herself preoccupied with the theme of love. Love not lust is the central theme of her poetry. Love proves to be an ideal concept that she always searches for, but never attains.

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सम्प्रेषण की गांधीयन शैली

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“मेरा जीवन ही मेरा सन्देश है”

—महात्मा गांधी

“संचार लोगों और मीडिया के बीच विचारों का साझा कर उनके सुनने, बोलने तथा सोचने के दृष्टिकोण को बदल देता है.”

— नरेंद्र निगम, मॉस मीडिया एंड पोलिटिकल परसेप्शन, 2004

“संसार वैसा ही है जैसा हमने इसे बनाया है. यदि यह आज निर्मम है तो इसलिए क्योंकि हमने अपने नजरिये से इसे निर्मम बनाया है. यदि हम स्वयं को बदल सकते हैं, हम संसार को बदल सकते हैं. हमें अपने बदलने की शुरुआत अपनी भाषा और संचार की विधि को बदलने से करनी पड़ेगी.”

— अरुण गांधी

दक्षिण अफ्रीका तथा भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में गांधी जी की सम्प्रेषण नीति/विधि (जिसे हम तकनीक भी कह सकते हैं) बहुत प्रभावकारी सिद्ध हुई. हालांकि वर्तमान समय में बहुत से विद्वानों जैसे— मार्शल मक्लुहन दृढ़ मीडियम इज द मैसेज, हेरोल्ड इन्सिस— ‘टाइम एंड स्पेस एज आस्पेक्ट ऑफ़ कम्प्युनिकेशन सिस्टम’, अन्थोनी गिडेंस— ‘स्ट्रक्चरेशन’ तथा हैबरमास— ‘पब्लिक स्फीयर’ की बात करते हैं. गांधी जी के संचार में यह सब बहुत पहले से ही समाहित था, परन्तु सैद्धांतिक तरीके से नहीं.

गांधी जी का मानना था कि संचार का आधार खुलापन, पारदर्शिता और सच्चाई है. जन संचार ने भारत की स्वतंत्रता में काफी भूमिका निभाई. महात्मा गांधी जी के संचार के तरीके ने अंग्रेज सरकार के राष्ट्रीय चरित्र के खिलाफ भारत की जनता के अन्दर एक बहुत बड़ा आक्रोश पैदा कर दिया. इसके लिए

गांधी जी ने यंग इण्डिया— 1919, नवजीवन—गुजराती (साप्ताहिक)— 1933, हरिजन साप्ताहिक— 1933, नाम से अखबार और पत्र—पत्रिकाएं भी निकालीं।

महात्मा गांधी जी ने 1896 में कलकत्ता में दक्षिण अफ्रीका में हो रहे अत्याचारों (गिरमिटिया लोगों पर) के प्रचार—प्रसार के लिए ग्रीन पम्फलेट (हरी पोथी) छपवा कर बंटवाया। यह भी संचार का एक तरीका था।

गांधी जी ने मनुष्य को एक एजेंसी के रूप में महत्व दिया। वे बोअर युद्ध के दौरान (1902) टाइम्स ऑफ इण्डिया की तरफ से पत्रकार की हैसियत से गए थे। गांधी जी प्रत्यक्ष संवाद में विश्वास करते थे और यही कारण था कि वह पत्रों के माध्यम से महारानी के सदन में भी पैठ रखते थे। इसका एक कारण यह भी था कि किसी भी मुद्दे पर वे सन्दर्भ के साथ पत्र लिखते थे। वे संवाद करने में इसलिए भी सफल हुए क्योंकि उन्होंने अपनी पढ़ाई भी लन्दन से की थी जिससे बहुत लोगों से संपर्क भी था जो सदन में काम करते थे।

गांधी जी को शायद जन संचार के इन तरीकों के कारण ही संसार का ग्रेट मास कम्युनिकेटर कहा जाता है। उनका अहिंसा का दर्शन तथा संचार की जो रणनीति वह अपनाते थे वह भारतीय समाज में एक धुन की तरह व्याप्त हो गयी थी। गांधी जी की संचार प्रक्रिया दो तरफ़ा थी जो जन संपर्क पर आधारित थी। यही दो तरफ़ा जन संचार नीति ही आधुनिक भारतीय जन संपर्क की मजबूत नींव बनी। शायद यही कारण था कि इंडियन पी आर प्रोफेशनल जर्नल "पब्लिक रिलेशन वौइस" ने अपने पहले ही अंक में गांधी जी को फादर ऑफ इंडियन पब्लिक रिलेशन कहकर संबोधित किया था। वह अंग्रेजों तक अपनी बात इसलिए भी आसानी से पहुंचा सकते थे क्योंकि वह अंग्रेजों का इंस्टीट्यूशनल कम्युनिकेशन जानते थे अर्थात् किस विषय को लेकर किस अधिकारी को पत्र लिखा जाय तथा किससे सीधे संवाद किया जा सकता है। एक प्रकार से यह कहा जा सकता है कि वह अंग्रेजों के दिमाग को जानते थे। गांधी जी ने पत्रों का इतना अधिक उपयोग किया था कि शायद ही किसी राजनीतिज्ञ ने उतना कभी किया हो। गांधी जी एक ऐसे समय में जब जन संचार के आधुनिक साधन नहीं थे और आल इण्डिया रेडिओ जो कि अंग्रेजों के नियंत्रण में था तब करोड़ों निरक्षर लोगों तक अपना सन्देश पहुंचाने में सफल हुए तो यह उनकी संचार रणनीति का ही परिणाम थी। जिसे हम जनसंचार के गांधीवादी (गांधियन) तरीके या आई. टी. एम. सिद्धांत के नाम से जानते हैं जो कि संचार की दोतरफा प्रणाली थी।

आई टी एम सिद्धांत

हम इसे विस्तार पूर्वक समझने का प्रयास इस तरह से करते हैं।

आई अर्थात् इंटरपर्सनल मीडिया— इसके अंतर्गत प्रार्थना सभा, जन सभा, पद यात्रा तथा सड़क सभा(रोड साइड इंटरैक्शन) आदि आते हैं।

टी अर्थात् ट्रेडीशनल फोक मीडिया— इसके अंतर्गत भजन, कीर्तन, भक्ति संगीत आदि आते हैं।

एम अर्थात् मॉस मीडिया— इसके अंतर्गत नेशनलिस्ट प्रेस आते हैं।

गांधी जी ने इन तीनों रूपों को समाहित कर शहरी और ग्रामीण, अमीर और गरीब तथा शिक्षित और अशिक्षित सभी को संचार के एक सूत्र में बांध दिया। स्वतंत्रता के बाद सरकार ने कुछ सीमा तक संचार के गांधियन तरीकों का अनुसरण किया जो आज भी तर्कसंगत हैं। गांधी जी जहाँ एक तरफ इंस्टीट्यूशनल कम्युनिकेशन और सीधे संवाद से संचार स्थापित करते थे तो वहीं दूसरी तरफ आम जनता लिए दूसरे माध्यम से संचार स्थापित करते थे या सम्प्रेषण की क्रिया करते थे।

गांधी जी अपने देश के लोगों से संवाद करने में धार्मिक और सांस्कृतिक कहावतों का भी प्रयोग करते थे जो कि जनसंचार के भारतीय परम्परा का अभिन्न अंग थीं जैसे— भगवद गीता, उपनिषद, बाइबल, जींद आवेस्ता आदि साथ ही साथ लोक संस्कृति (folk culture), समानता, अलग तरह के सामाजिक कार्य तथा सबको पहचान देना शामिल था।

गांधीजी ने शब्दों के साथ-साथ संचार के लिए प्रतीकों (symbol) का भी प्रयोग किया जैसे—
चरखा— श्रम की प्रतिष्ठा तथा देशज उत्पादन जो भारतीय संस्कृति की पहचान है।

खादी— कपड़ों के मामलों में समानता होगी, तथा अधिक से अधिक लोगों को रोजगार की सम्भावना, खादी को विचार के रूप में मान्यता मिली।

स्वराज— हम स्वयं पर शासन करें। इसने आत्म निर्भरता के मूल्य को प्रसारित किया।

स्वदेशी— पूंजीवाद/उद्योगवाद को बढ़ावा न देना, स्थानीय वस्तुओं का प्रयोग जिससे आत्म सम्मान बढ़ेगा।

दरिद्र नारायण— अस्पृश्यता छोटा-बड़ा, ऊंच-नीच, छुआछूत आदि का समापन। इसके लिए गांधी जी ने स्वयं भी दरिद्र का सा वेश धारण किया।

राम राज — राम राज की स्थापना जहाँ सब चौन से रह सकें, राजा भी प्रजा के सामान रहे।

बाद में Marshal McLuhan ने अपनी पुस्तक 'Understanding Media (1964)' में media की श्रंखला की एक सूची दी है जिसके अंतर्गत बोले गए शब्द, लिखित शब्द, पहनावा, रहन-सहन, धन, घड़ी, प्रिंट, कॉमिक्स, छपे गए शब्द, चरखा, सायकल, मोटर-कार, खेल, टाइप राइटर, टेलीग्राफ, फोनोग्राफ, सिनेमा, रेडियो, टेलीविजन आदि को शामिल किया गया है।

संचार के गांधियन उपकरण (Gandhian tools of communication)

- 1— Establishing rapport
- 2— Generating confidence
- 3— Getting acceptance
- 4— व्यक्ति, समूह, समुदाय, संगठन, स्थान या सम्पूर्ण समुदाय तथा प्रतिनिधि के साथ Relationship building-
- 5— अंतर्सामूहिक बैठकें (Intergroup meetings)
- 6— Homevisit
- 7— Recreational and cultural activities

के. डी. गंगराडे ने अपनी पुस्तक 'Gandhian approach to Development and Social Work' में संचार को प्रभावी बनाने के लिए निम्न कारक बताये जो एक सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता के लिए आवश्यक हैं। जिसकी सहायता से वह आसानी से समाज में संवाद स्थापित कर सकता है—

- 1— सन्देश की विषय वस्तु
- 2— संचार के चौनल

- 3— राजनीतिज्ञों और नौकरशाहों की समाज में सहभागिता
- 4— चमत्त हतवनच का समावेश (involvement) और समन्वय (co-ordination)
- 5— संसाधनों के प्रति जागरूकता
- 6— संसाधनों की उपलब्धता और पहुँच
- 7— लोगों के लिए योजना बनाने और लागू करने का अंतिम निर्णय
- 8— स्वीकृति
- 9— संचार कर्ता की विश्वसनीयता

सम्प्रेषण की गांधियन तकनीक (Technique of Gandhian Communication)

गांधीजी ने संचार के लिए निम्न तकनीकों को अपनाया—

- 1— सीधा संवाद, जिसे व्यक्ति से व्यक्ति में संचार या face to face communication कह सकते हैं.
- 2— गांधी जी प्रायः अंतिम जन से ही बात शुरू करते थे या उसे ही ध्यान में रखकर बात करते थे.
- 3— Interpersonal] Traditional folk and Mass Media तकनीक.

अहिंसा और संचार

गांधी जी अहिंसा के जितने भी तरीके अपनाते थे 'संचार' प्रायः उन सब के केंद्र में रहता था. चाहे वह प्रतीक के रूप में ही क्यों न रहा हो. इससे संचार और भी आसान हो जाता था क्योंकि प्रतीक में तो शब्द की भी जरूरत नहीं पड़ती और प्रतीक जिस तरह से लोगों के मन मस्तिस्क पर प्रभाव छोड़ते हैं बोले गए या लिखे गए शब्द भी वैसा प्रभाव नहीं छोड़ पाते. जैसे— भीड़ में किसी का खादी पहने होना.

यदि कोई भी अहिंसक क्रिया अपनाई जाती है तो उसकी सफलता के लिए संचार का होना बहुत आवश्यक है. हिंसक और अहिंसक क्रिया दोनों के कार्यों में भिन्नता होती है जैसे यदि हम किसी व्यक्ति को जान से मार देते हैं तो यह तीसरे व्यक्ति या भीड़ के लिए संचार का काम कर सकता है कि मैं शक्तिशाली हूँ और लोग मुझसे डरने लगे परन्तु प्रतिपक्षी (मृत व्यक्ति) के घरवालों से संचार (संवाद) के सारे रास्ते बंद हो जाते हैं. जैसेदृ क्रान्तिकारी और नक्सली, परन्तु अहिंसक क्रिया में संचार के सारे रास्ते खुले रहते हैं.

गांधीजी कहते थे कि सत्य प्रत्यक्ष रूप से दमनकर्ता के हृदय से संवाद करता है (सत्याग्रह का सार ही संचार है). जबकि हिंसा संचार के रूप में एकतरफा संचार है. अहिंसा संघर्ष की स्थिति में भी बात-चीत की कोशिश करता है (Ramanamurti, 1968).

संचार और अहिंसक क्रिया सत्याग्रह की केवल एक व्याख्या है जो संचार और अहिंसा के बीच घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध पर प्रकाश डालती है (Bode, 1994).

नामक सत्याग्रह के दौरान गांधी जी को जहाँ भी रुकना होता था पहले ही किसी साथी को गांव में भेज देते थे जिससे कि वहाँ के स्थानीय लोगों की जरूरतों पर आधारित बात-चीत की योजना बना सके. वह स्वयं भी लिखते रहे तथा पत्रकारों को साक्षात्कार भी देते रहे. साथ ही साथ रास्ते में खड़े लोगों से भी बातें करते चलते थे. गांधी जी का बहुभाषी होना भी उनके सम्प्रेषण की सफलता थी, जिसके कारण वह विभिन्न स्थानों के लोगों से उनकी भाषा में संवाद स्थापित कर सके.

सुभाष चंद्र बोस ने नमक सत्याग्रह की तुलना नेपोलियन के पेरिस मार्च से की थी. डांडी मार्च के बाद पहली बार लोगों में यह विश्वास आ गया था कि हम ब्रिटिश क़ानून से अहिंसक ढंग से टक्कर ले सकते हैं. इसमें महिलाओं ने भी बढ़-चढ़ कर भागेदारी ली थी. इसने लोगों के दिलोदिमाग पर बहुत प्रभावशाली छाप छोड़ी, न केवल इतना ही अपितु अंग्रेजों में भी भय का संचार संप्रेषित हो गया.

संचार के गांधियन सिद्धांत (Gandhian Principle of Communication)

- 1— अहिंसा प्रेम के रूप में.
- 2— परिणाम का सामना करने के लिए साहस
- 3— दूसरों की मानवता के लिए अपील
- 4— दूसरों की मानवता को देखें
- 5— समाधान ऐसा हो जो सभी के लिए काम करे
- 6— विपक्षी के दृष्टिकोण से भी देखें
- 7— अहिंसा स्वयं के भीतरी व्यक्तित्व से शुरू होता है.

एक सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता को सम्प्रेषण या संचार के कौशल का ज्ञान अवश्य होना चाहिए, तथा जिस समुदाय में वह काम करने के लिए जाता है तो वहां उसके बोले गए शब्दों या उसके द्वारा प्रयोग किये गए प्रतीकों का भी प्रभाव रहता है. गांधी जी भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन के दौरान बैरियर एल्विन का सहारा लेते हैं कि वह अपनी एजेंसी के जरिये लिखें, इस माध्यम से वह मुख्य मीडिया और सरकार दोनों से जुड़ गए क्योंकि गांधी की गिरफ्तारी की खबर जंगल में आग की तरह फैल गयी.

गांधी जी ने उस समय राष्ट्रवादी प्रतीकों का भी इस्तेमाल किया, वह अपनी बात जार्ज बर्नार्ड शा तथा चार्ली चौपलिन जैसे लोगों भी से कहलवाने में कामयाब रहे.

इस प्रकार सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता को उस समुदाय या स्थान पर ऐसे व्यक्ति के जरिये अपनी बात कहलवाने का तरीका खोजना होगा जिसकी पहुँच उन सब में हो. गांधी जी के समय में संचार की Glasswell Theory भी काम कर रही थी कि वह किससे कह रहे हैं, कौन कह रहा है, और किस माध्यम से कह रहा है.

गांधी जी इस लिए भी सफल हुए क्योंकि उनके संचार में a semantic noise कम होता था. परन्तु आज के समय में कार्यकर्ता के लिए इससे बच पाना बहुत मुश्किल होगा क्योंकि अब तो खबर ही अधिकांशतः एजेंसी/एजेंसियों से ही ली जाती है जिस पर सरकार का पूर्ण नियंत्रण और दबाव होता है.

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स्वास्थ्य प्रणाली और गांधी की प्रासंगिकता

निलामे गजानन सूर्यकांत
जोगदंड शिवाजी रघुनाथराव
शोध छात्र (पी-एच.डी.)

महात्मा गांधी अंतर्राष्ट्रीय हिन्दी विश्वाविद्यालय, वर्धा |

“अस्पतालों पाप की जड़ हैं। इनके कारण लोग शरीर का जतन कम करते हैं और अनीति को बढ़ाते हैं।”

—हिन्द स्वराज

गांधी ने हिन्द स्वराज में जिन तीन व्यवसायों की आलोचना की थी उनमें से एक व्यवसाय डॉक्टर का भी है, जो आज सौ साल के बाद भी शक के दायरे में है। आज तक हम जिसे देवता का दूसरा रूप मानते आये हैं उसी को जनता ने धीरे-धीरे कटघरे में डालना शुरू कर दिया है। इस बदलाव को भारतीय परिदृश्य में समझने एवं गांधीवादी-समाजशास्त्रिय दृष्टिकोण से जांचने की यह महज कोशिश है।

बी. एम. हेगड़े जो स्वयं एक डॉक्टर है वे अपने आलेख में लिखते हैं कि आज भारत की जमीन पर शैक्षिक सुधार हेतु बहुतेरे सेमिनार हो रहे हैं। यह सब किस लिए? और जवाब में लिखते हैं कि यह सब केवल निहित स्वार्थ के कारण ही किया जा रहा है। दवाइयाँ एवं मेडिकल उपकरण उद्योग यथास्थिति बनाए रखना चाहते हैं और वे यह कर सकते हैं, क्यों नहीं? मेडिकल के क्षेत्र में जिस तरह उस के स्टार कलाकार (डॉक्टर) अपना प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं उससे एक सत्ता का निर्माण हो रहा है, इसी के आधार पर वे स्थितियाँ बनाए रखने में समर्थ हैं। मेडिकल से जुड़े हम में से ज्यादातर लोग पैसों के चक्कर में आकर इसे एक ऐसा व्यवसाय बना लेते हैं, जिसमें यह मान लिया है कि यहाँ प्रगति के बारे में सोचना नहीं चाहिए। इसके लिए एक सामान्य तर्क हमारे पास है, जैसे— हम इसी व्यवस्था से जुड़े हैं; हम जो कुछ कर रहे हैं वह ठीक है; तब बदलाव किस लिए? उन्हें यह पता नहीं है कि वे जो कर रहे हैं वो ठीक नहीं है और जिस व्यवस्था से वे जुड़े हैं उससे भ्रष्टाचार, कुनबापरस्ती, अक्षमता, उदासीनता की बदबू आ रही है और एक मात्र पैसा कमाने के चक्कर में वे अवैज्ञानिक विधियों को प्रचालन में लाए जा रहे हैं। मेडिकल शिक्षा के चल रहे प्रयास से सारी मानवता के लिए अच्छे प्रशिक्षित मानवीय, मानव-सौच, दक्षता और भले चिकित्सक जैसा यहाँ कौन है? (*The Reality of Medical Education in India: पृ. 01*)

गांधी भी हिन्द स्वराज में इस सवाल को उठाते हैं कि हम डॉक्टर क्यों बनते हैं, यह भी सोचने की बात है और जवाब में लिखते हैं कि उसका सच्चा कारण तो आबरूदार और पैसा कमाने का धंधा करने की इच्छा है। उसमें परोपकार की बात नहीं है। उस धंधे में परोपकार नहीं है, यह तो मैं बता चुका। उससे लोगों को नुकसान होता है।

रोग और रोगी के सम्बन्ध में शुरू से दो धारणाएं चली आ रही है। पहली रोग का उपचार और दूसरा है रोगी का उपचार दोनों का साध्य एक ही है किन्तु साधन अलग-अलग है। इसे मनोविज्ञान के भाषा में मन-शरीर समस्या के रूप में व्याख्यायित किया जाता रहा है। गांधीजी की माने तो उनके अनुसार शुद्ध साधन से ही शुद्ध साध्य पाया जा सकता है। आज देखते हैं कि होमेयोपथी, एलोपैथी, प्राकृतिक

चिकित्सा, योगा आदि साधनों से स्वास्थ्य प्राप्त करने की कोशिश की जा रही हैं। साधन अलग-अलग हैं लेकिन साध्य एक है, अच्छा स्वास्थ्य। गांधीजी ने 'हरिजन' में १९४६ में लिखा है कि "चिकित्सा व्यवसाय से मेरा सामान्यता झगड़ा यह है कि वह आत्मा की पूर्णतः उपेक्षा करता है और शरीर जैसे भंगुर साधन की टोक-पीट का कोई प्रयास नहीं छोड़ता। आत्मा की उपेक्षा करके चिकित्सा व्यवसाय लोगों को अपनी दया पर निर्भर बना देता है और मानव गरिमा तथा आत्मनियंत्रण के ह्रास में योगदान करता है।" (प्रभु – राव, १९६४) आधुनिक युग में यह पादरी या भारतीय समाजों के संत दोनों धीरे-धीरे गायब होते नजर आते हैं। आज यह समय है कि केवल डॉक्टर को ही ऐसी एथोरिटी प्राप्त है कि वह रोगी का इलाज कर सके। इस प्रक्रिया को फ्रांसीसी विद्वान मिशेल फूको अपनी किताब 'बर्थ ऑफ़ क्लिनिक' में संस्थानीकरण के रूप में परिभाषित करते हैं।

वर्ष 2001-03 में की गई मिलियन डेथ स्टडी (Million Death Study) के अनुसार भारत में मृत्यु के कारणों की खोज की गई थी जिसमें यह दिखाया गया है कि 38 प्रतिशत लोग संचारित बीमारियों के शिकार हुए, 42 प्रतिशत लोग असंचारित-बीमारियों के शिकार हुए, 10 प्रतिशत लोग चोटिल या घायल होने के कारण मरे तथा बाकी 10 प्रतिशत लोग अन्य कारकों के कारण मृत हुए। सोचने वाली बात है कि आज हम मृत्यु को कैसे नापते हैं और प्रत्येक मृत्यु में आज मेडिकल सायन्स और डॉक्टर का हस्तक्षेप आना ही आना है? आम तौर पर हम समाज में देखते हैं कि आज बहुत सारी मृत्यु कारणों की खोज और निदान तक पहुँचने से पहले ही हो रही हैं। बीमार के मरने तक डाक्टरों को इस बात का पता नहीं चल पाता है कि रोगी को क्या हुआ है?

साधारणतः जब कोई व्यक्ति अस्वस्थता के कारण डॉक्टर के पास जाता है तो पहली बार में डॉक्टर उसे केवल कुछ दवाइयाँ और इंजेक्शन देकर फीस वसूलता है। इस दौरान बहुत सारे मामलों में मरीज को यह भी पता नहीं होता है कि उसे क्या? क्यों? और कैसे हो रहा है। बावजूद इसके वह उन औषधियों का सेवन करता है। अगर फिर भी रोगी खुद को स्वस्थ महसूस नहीं कर रहा है तो वह फिर से डॉक्टर के पास जाएगा। इस बार डॉक्टर मरीज को सीधे कुछ टेस्ट करने के लिए कहेगा जो आम तौर पर उसे पहले ही कर लेनी चाहिए होती है क्योंकि उनके निदान की प्रक्रिया में यह निहित होता है। किन्तु अवैज्ञानिक ढंग से वह पहली बार निदान करने की बजाय दूसरी बार इसको उपयोग में लाता है, यह अमानवीय है। इस बीच 15 से 20 दिन गुजर जाते हैं। इन दिनों में, जिन परीक्षणों से वह मरीज गुजरता है उसका असर मरीज के मानसिक स्वास्थ्य पर पड़ने लगता है। कभी-कभी कुछ रोगियों को तो इन परीक्षणों के दौरान ही अपनी जान से हाथ धोना पड़ता है।

दूसरी ओर गांधीजी की बात सुने तो वे इस पूरी प्रक्रिया से बचने का एक अच्छा तरीका वे प्राकृतिक चिकित्सा के रूप में बताते हैं "मेरा विश्वास है कि मनुष्य को दवाइयाँ लेने की कोई विशेष आवश्यकता नहीं पड़नी चाहिए। हजार में से 999 मामलों सुनियमित आहार, पानी तथा मिट्टी के उपचार और इसी तरह के घरेलू उपायों से ठीक किए जा सकते हैं" (महात्मा गांधी के विचार: पृ. 377)। गांधीजी लिखते हैं बीमारी क्या है "बीमारी प्रकृति के नियमों को अज्ञानतावश या जान-बूझकर भंग करने से पैदा होती है।" बीमारी बहुत ही प्राकृतिक चीज है जो प्रकृति से ही प्राप्त की जा सकती है उसे खरीदा नहीं जा सकता और न ही बेचा जा सकता है। किन्तु आज नींद, पानी, सेक्स, भोजन (विटामिन, मिनरल आदि) खरीदे जा रहे हैं जिसमें बड़ी-बड़ी कंपनियाँ कार्यरत हैं। डॉक्टर सिर्फ आडंबर दिखाकर ही लोगों से बड़ी फिस वसूल करते हैं और अपनी एक पैसे की दवा के कई रूपए लेते हैं। यों विश्वास में और चंगे हो जाने की आशा में लोग डॉक्टरों से उगे जाते हैं। जब ऐसा ही है तब भलाई का दिखावा करनेवाले डॉक्टरों से खुले टग-वैद्य (नीम हकाम) ज्यादा अच्छे।

भारत के गांवों में जब स्वयं ही औषधियों का अक्षय भंडार पैदा होता है तो हमें पश्चिम से दवाइयाँ मांगने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। लेकिन दवाइयाँ से ज्यादा जरूरी यह है कि डॉक्टर लोग ग्राम वासियों को

जीने का सही ढंग सिखाए(मेरे सपनों का भारत: पृ. 149)। आज कल यह जुमला बन गया है कि Prevention Better Than Cure लेकिन इसमें भी केवल घिसे-पिटे आधुनिक पश्चिमी चिकित्सा के प्रति लोगों को जागरूक किया जाता है। दूसरे शब्दों में कहें तो लोगों को बीमारी से अवगत कर उन्हें यह बताया जाता है कि फलां-फलां रोग पर फलां-फलां दवाई काम कर जाएगी। ऐसे कई सारे मामले मिलेंगे जिनको ऐसी अनचाही, अनावश्यक जानकारी के कारण अस्वस्था महसूस होती है। क्योंकि आम तौर पर बीमारियों के लक्षण पढ़ते, देखते, सुनते समय व्यक्ति को सोचने पर मजबूर कर देते हैं और अंतः वह व्यक्ति इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचता है कि क्या? मुझे भी यह रोग हुआ है? आज कल जीतने भी प्रचार-प्रसार हो रहे हैं उनका यही एकमात्र उद्देश्य है कि इस सवाल को खड़ा करें और लोगों को डराएँ। इन सवालों के जवाब किसके पास है? यकीनन जवाब पाने के लिए डॉक्टर के पास ही जाना पड़ेगा और तब शुरू होगा एक चक्र जिसमें धीरे-धीरे व्यक्ति फँसता जाता है। इसके कई सारे उदाहरण रोजमर्रा में हम देखते हैं कि बहुत सारे स्वस्थ दिखने वाले लोग भी डॉक्टर के पास हफ्ते-महीने में जांच करवाते रहते हैं। जिसके पास ऐसे लोग जाते हैं उन्हें एक खास नाम 'फॅमिली डॉक्टर' से जाना जाता है। आज कल यह स्टेटस का मामला है कि आपका कोई फॅमिली डॉक्टर नहीं है तो आप अपने स्वास्थ्य के प्रति जागरूक नहीं है या आप निम्न आय वर्ग के हैं।

वर्तमान समय में काफी कुछ परिवर्तन आये हैं, गांधीजी का समय और आज का समय दोनों में काफी अंतर है। बावजूद इसके गांधीजी ने उस समय में ही सचेत किया था कि डॉक्टर समाज के लिए खतरनाक है। बावजूद इसके भारत जैसे देश में इसके प्रतिरोध में कोई तगड़ा आंदोलन नहीं दिखता है। बी. एम. हेगड़े जैसे चिकित्सक हाल-फिलहाल में इन मामलों पर बौद्धिक पृष्ठभूमि तैयार कर रहे हैं। उनका रास्ता भी कुछ हद तक गांधीयन विचारों से होकर गुजरता है। इसलिए यह कहा जा सकता है कि गांधी के चिकित्सकों के बारे में विचार उस समय में ही नहीं बल्कि आज भी प्रासंगिक है। इससे हमें सीख लेनी चाहिए और समाज को बेहतर बनाने में इसका उपयोग भी करना चाहिए।

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वेब साहित्य

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एक साहित्यिक राजनेता – माननीय अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी

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अटल जी ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जो जन्म से ही महान हैं, वे अपने चरित्र की दृढ़ता के बल पर वे महानता के उच्च शिखर पर विराजमान हुये हैं। वे एक सच्चे देशभक्त और राजनेता हैं। वह साहसी, निडर, बहादुर एवं निर्भीक व्यक्तित्व के धनी हैं।

माननीय अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी जी का जन्म 25 दिसम्बर 1924 में ग्वालियर के सुप्रसिद्ध कवि श्री कृष्ण बिहारी बाजपेयी के यहाँ हुआ। उनकी माता जी श्रीमती कृष्णा धार्मिक स्वभाव की गृहस्थ महिला थी। अटल जी ने अपनी बी.ए. तक की शिक्षा ग्वालियर के लक्ष्मीबाई महाविद्यालय से प्राप्त की।

परिवार का विशुद्ध वातावरण बाजपेयी जी की रग-रग में रच बस गया, उनका परिवार राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के प्रति निष्ठावान था अतः आपका झुकाव भी उसी ओर हुआ और वे संघ के स्वयं सेवक बन गये। वंशानुक्रम और वातावरण दोनों ने ही आपको बाल्यावस्था से ही प्रखर राष्ट्रभक्त बना दिया। आपकी राष्ट्रप्रेम से संबंधित कुछ पंक्तियाँ दृष्टव्य हैं –

कोटि-दीप जल रहे, तमिसा चीर-चीर कर।

कोटि-चरण बढ़ रहे, ध्येय की ओर निरंतर।।

(मेरी इक्यावन कविताएँ पृ. 65)

आँखों में वैभव के सपने, पग में तूफानों की गति हो।

राष्ट्रभक्ति का ज्वार न रुकता, आए जिस-जिस की हिम्मत हो।

(मेरी इक्यावन कविताएँ पृ. 81)

अटल जी ने साहित्य और राजनीति को कभी अलग नहीं देखा उनका मत है कि यदि कोई साहित्यिकार राजनीति में जाता है, तो राजनीति अधिक-परिष्कृत होगी और वह जन सामान्य के दुःख-दर्द को भली-भाँति समझ सकता है क्योंकि साहित्यिकार का सबसे बड़ा धर्म है "मानवता"। इस संबंध में उनका यह कथन दृष्टव्य है –

“यदि कोई साहित्यिकार राजनीति करेगा तो वह अधिक परिष्कृत होगी यदि राजनेता की पृष्ठभूमि साहित्यिक है, तो वह मानवीय संवेदना को नकार नहीं सकता है कहीं कोई कवि यदि डिक्टेटर बन जाए तो वह निर्दोषों के खून से अपने हाथ नहीं रंगेगा वस्तुतः एक कवि डिक्टेटर बनेगा ही नहीं।।”

(राजनीति की रपटीली राहें पृ. संख्या 17)

अटल जी वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति से संतुष्ट नहीं है उनके विचार से वर्तमान शिक्षा देश के युवकों को सही दिशा की ओर नहीं ले जा रही है उनके चरित्र का विकास नहीं कर पा रही है वह देश की माटी से संभूत संस्कृति से पीछे चली गई है यह शिक्षा चरित्र निर्माण नहीं करती है। श्रम की प्रतिष्ठा नहीं करती है, यह शिक्षा देशभक्त उत्पन्न नहीं करती है और साथ ही यह रोजगार मूलक भी नहीं है। शिक्षा के संबंध में अटल जी के कुछ विचार बिन्दु दृष्टव्य है –

“मोटेतौर पर शिक्षा रोजगार या धंधे से जुड़ी होनी चाहिए। वह राष्ट्रीय चरित्र के निर्माण में सहायक हो और व्यक्ति को सुसंगठित करें।”

(राजनीति की रपटीली राहें पृ. संख्या 78)

मेरी दृष्टि में बाजपेयी जी पहले कवि हैं, बाद में राजनेता क्योंकि उनका कवि ही तो उनके राजनेता को गौरव मण्डित किए हुए है। उन्होंने 'ऊँचाई' शीर्षक कविता से जनमानस के हृदय पर अपनी अमिट छाप छोड़ी इस कविता में वे कहते हैं –

“ ऊँचे पहाड़ों पर,
पेड़ नहीं लगते,
पौधे नहीं उगते,
न घास जमती है,
जमती है सिर्फ बर्फ,
जो कफन की तरह सफेद है,
मौत की तरह ठंडी होती है,
मेरे प्रभु,
मुझे इतनी ऊँचाई कभी मत देना,
गैरों को गले न लगा सकूं,
इतनी रूखाई,
कभी मत देना।,

(मेरी इक्यावन कविताएँ पृ. 26)

आपका हृदय मानवीय संवेदनाओं से परिपूरित है, ऐसे ही राजनेता देश को ऊँचाईयों के शिखर तक ले जा सकते हैं। जो गरीबों के मसीहा हों। जिनका हृदय मानवीय संवेदनाओं से परिपूर्ण हो। अटल जी अपने आदर्शों और मूल्यों के प्रति सदा ही अटल रहे उनकी दृष्टि में वहाँ समझौते की गुजांइश नहीं होती। उनके लिए राष्ट्रहित ही सर्वोपरि है, उन्होंने अपनी बुद्धिबल से पाकिस्तान के मनोबल को धराशायी कर दिया था। अटल जी स्वाभाव से विरागी नहीं है, रागी है किंतु उनकी रागी भावना अपने परिजनो की सीमा को लाँघकर समूचे देशवासियों तक फैल गई और शनैः शनैः विध्वोन्मुखी होती गई।

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी राष्ट्र और समाज को अपना जीवन समर्पित करने वाले रहे हैं। साहित्य और पत्रकारिता उनके प्रिय विषय है। वे भारत के पहले ऐसे नागरिक हैं जिन्होंने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में अपने

विचारों को हिंदी में प्रकट करके भारतीय गणतंत्र के प्रति अपनी निष्ठा व्यक्त की थी। आपके हिंदी के प्रति प्रेम को व्यक्त करने वाले कुछ उदाहरण दृष्टव्य हैं –

“ हिन्दी वालों को चाहिए की हिन्दी प्रदेशों में हिन्दी को पूरी तरह जीवन के सभी क्षेत्रों में प्रतिष्ठित करें। ”

(कुछ लेख कुछ भाषण पृ. 68)

“ मुगलों और अंग्रेजों के राज्य में जब हिंदी सिंहासन से कोसों दूर थी, तब भी वह पनपी फली-फूली और राष्ट्रीय एकता का सबल माध्यम सिद्ध हुई। ”

(कुछ लेख कुछ भाषण पृ. 88)

कह कैदी कविराय,
विश्व की चिंता छोड़ो,
पहले घर में
अंग्रेजी के गढ़ को तोड़ो।”

(कैदी कविराय की कुंडलियाँ पृ. 1115)

एक नव उन्मेषिनी प्रतिभा सम्पन्न, प्रखर राष्ट्रवादी चिंतक और संपादक के रूप में आपकी कीर्ति फैली है। आपने राष्ट्रधर्म, पञ्चजन्य, दैनिक स्वदेश और चेतना पत्र का सम्पादन कार्य बड़ी सफलता पूर्वक किया जिसकी भूरी-भूरी प्रशंसा चारों ओर हुई। अटल जी तो हिन्दु- हिन्दी- हिन्दुस्तान के लिए अपना जीवन दान दे दिया था उनके लिए पैसों से ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण मातृभूमि की एक मुट्ठी रज थी। कहा भी गया है कि मातृभूमि का सेवक-प्रहरी कभी चाकर नहीं बन सकता है। सम्पादन के संबंध में आपके कुछ उदाहरण दृष्टव्य हैं –

“प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता हमारे लोकतंत्र की धरोहर है।”

(कुछ लेख कुछ भाषण पृ. 153)

प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता को बनाए रखने से लोकतंत्र मजबूत होगा।

(एक भाषण)

आज अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी जी राष्ट्रीय क्षितिज के एक स्वच्छ छवि वाले राजनेता हैं इसका पूरा श्रेय उनके ईमानदार, कर्तव्यनिष्ठ, एवं चरित्रवान व्यक्तित्व को ही जाता है। वे वाक्संयम के मंत्र को सिद्ध कर चुके हैं, उनकी वाणी से च्युत संस्कृति का एक भी शब्द नहीं निकल सकता है। वे अपने राजनैतिक भाषणों में कात्यात्मक शैली में भूमिका प्रस्तुत करते हुए अकाट्य तर्क पिरोते हैं और सरलतम शब्दों में व्यंग्य और विनोद के बुलबुले उछाल देते हैं तथा सरसता के साथ समापन कर देते हैं। यदि सही अर्थों में पड़ताल की जाये, तो यह कहना पड़ेगा कि अटल जी का राजनेता- रूप उनके कवि -रूप का चिरऋणी रहेगा।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ सूची –

1. कैदी कविराय की कुण्डलियां
2. संसद में तीन दशक
3. कुछ लेख कुछ भाषण
4. राजनीति की रपटीली राहें
5. बिन्दु-बिन्दु विचार
6. मेरी इक्यावन कवितायें



मानवी मूल्यों की शिक्षा वर्तमान परिदृश्य में

सपकाल कमलेश दगडू
शोधछात्र विद्यावाचस्पति
उ.म.वि.जलगाँव

समूचे विश्व में भारत एक ऐसा महान एवं गौरवशाली देश है, जिसकी संस्कृतिक विरासत सर्वत्र गौरव पा रही है। धर्म और संस्कृति की विशाल परंपरा भारत में प्रस्थापित हैं। भारतीय सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति भारत देश की गौरवशाली विधि हैं। शिक्षा पध्दतिके संबध मे देखा जाए तो भारत के प्राचिन इतिहास में दिखाई देतो है कि राजाओ के बेटे गुरु के आश्रम में पढा करते थे भारत के प्राचिन इतिहास में ऐसे विद्यालयों को महत्व था। ओर इन आश्रमों को चलनेवाले प्रसिध्द आचार्य हुवा करते थे। दशरथ पुत्र राम ने ऋषि व शिष्ट क यहाँ रह कर शिक्षा प्राप्त कि थी। इसप्रकार माहाभारतके पांडवो ने आपनी शिक्षा ऋषि द्रोन के आश्रम में रहकर प्राप्त कि थी। प्राचिन भारत में तिन प्रकारकी शिक्षा संस्थाएँ हुआ करती थी। इनमें प्रथम है गुरुकुल। गुरुकुल में विद्यार्थी आश्रम में गुरु के साथ रहकर विद्याध्यान करते थे। दुसरी शिक्ष संस्था थी परिषद। परिषदने विशेषज्ञों द्वारा शिक्षा दी जाती थी। और उस प्राचिन समय कि तिसरी शिक्षा संस्था है तपस्थली। तपस्थली में विद्जनों के सभाओ का आयोजन किया जाता था। और इन सभा, प्रवचनो से ज्ञानार्जन किया जाता था।

गुरुकुल शिक्षा पध्दती के बाद भारत देश के शिक्षा पध्दती कि काफी बिकट अवस्था होती चली गई। विविध शासकों के राज में शिक्षा निती पर यथा योग्य ध्यान न देने के कारण शिक्षा यह विषय उपेक्षित बन गया। साम्राज्यविस्तार कि लालसा में राजा ओं ने न तो आपणे परिवार कि शिक्षा के बारेमें सोचा ना हि प्रजा के। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ती के पुर्व तक लगभग २००० वर्षी के काल में शिक्षा सिर्फ घोडे चालान, तलवार चलाना, भाला चलाना, पर्नुधर निष्णात होना याहाँ तक सिमीत थी। परंतु अंग्रेजों के भारत आगमन के बाद भारतीय समाज को शिक्षा का महत्व समजने लगा। अंग्रेजो के शासन काल में लॉर्ड टी.बी.मैकाले (१८००-१८५९) अंग्रेजी शिक्षा पध्दती का भारत में जन्मदाता कहा जा सकता है। इन्होंने ७ मार्च १८३५ को एक विवरण पत्र में अपनी अंग्रेजी शिक्षा प्रणाली को सहमती ली और यह शिक्षा प्रणाली भारतीयो पर लाद दि। इस पध्दती उद्देश मात्र अंग्रेजो के लिये कार्यालयिन कामकाज कारणे वाले कारकुन निर्माण करना था। इसके बाद चार्ल्स वुड ने आपने घोषणा पत्रा द्वारा स्कुलो को अनुदान देकर प्रात्साहित किया। स्टेनलेने शिक्षा प्रसार के कार्य किया तो १८८२-८३ में आए हंटर शिक्षा आयोग ने स्थानिय निकाय बनाकर प्रथमीक शिक्षा का अधिकार उन्हें सोप दिया। १९३६-३७ में एबडबुड की रिपोर्ट में शिक्षा को सुलभ बनाने के लिये उसने मातृ भाषा का अंतरभाव किया।

भारतीय शिक्षा विद्वानों ने भारतीय शिक्षा पध्दती में काफी कार्य किया और अपने सूजाव प्रस्तुत किए हैं। राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी कृतिशील शिक्षण पध्दती के पक्षधर रहे हैं। केवल किताबी ज्ञान के विरोधी थे। उनके शिक्षा पध्दती विषयक विचार को प्रस्तुत करते हुए श्री. जे.सी.अग्रवाल लिखते हैं कि "अब तक केवल बालको के मस्तिष्क में उनके विकास या प्रेरणा को न सोचते हुये प्रत्येक प्रकार का ज्ञान भरने के लिए ही ध्यान देते रहे हैं और हमे अब यह बंद कर देना उचीत होगा।" १ इस प्रकार महात्मा गांधी कृतिशील शिक्षा को महत्व देते हैं। इनके साथ ही रविन्द्रनाथ टागोर भी शिक्षा पध्दति में नैसर्गिकता तथा निसर्ग का सादृश्य लाने के पक्षधर हैं। शांती निकेतन किस्सा काफी प्रसिध्द है। जब रविन्द्रनाथ जी अपने छात्रों के साथ एक पेड के निचे बैठे थे तब एक पुरुष आकर वहाँ की परिस्थिति देखता है जो कूछ इस प्रकार थी। कुल ११-१२ बच्चों में से ९ छात्र पेड के उपर चढ गये थे। और कावल दो तीन छात्र पेड के निचे छाव में बैठकर कीताब पढ रहे थे। इस दृश्य को देखकर वह पुरुष रविन्द्रनाथ जी को पुछता है कि यह कैसी शिक्षा चल रही है यह बच्चे पढाई छोडकर पेड पर क्या कर रहे हैं? तब रविन्द्रनाथ जी ने बडे प्यार से जवाब दिया था कि वह बच्चे तो अपना विकास पढाई कर लेंगे लेकिन मुझे इन नीचे बैठे छात्रों की चिंता सता रही है, कि यह अपना विकास नैसर्गिक रुप से कर पाएंगे इस किस्से द्वारा रविन्द्रनाथ जी के नैसर्गिकता पुर्ण शिक्षा पध्दती के संबध में विचार उद्घाटित होते हैं।

शिक्षा पध्दति का मूल उद्देश्य देश को ऐसी पीढी निर्माण करना जो मानवी मूल्यों से परिपूर्ण हो यह होना चाहिए। पढाई के बाद छात्र चाहे इंजिनियर बने, डॉक्टर बने, वकिल बने, लेकिन सबसे महत्व पूर्ण बात यह होगी की वह बात प्रथमता एक मानव बन क्यों की डॉ बाबासाहब आंबेडकरजी ने कहाँ है की, शिक्षा एक ऐसी शस्त्र है कि, वह जिसके हात में आ जाए वह उसके इस्तमाल से जन सामान्यो का भला कर सकता है और चाहे तो जन सामान्य ओं को उसका आधार पर मूशकीले भी पैदा कर करती है इसके लिए शिक्षा प्रटित के साथ साथ मानवीमूल्यों का भी विकास छात्रों ने करणा अनिवार्य है। इसिलिए जपान इस राष्ट्र में १० वी कि कक्षा धर्म तक धर्म शिक्षा तथा संस्कार शिक्षा का प्रशिक्षा हर छात्र के लिये बंधन कारक कर दिया है। आज व समय आ गया है कि, शिक्षा पध्दती में सर्वभौमिक मानव मुल्यों के नितान्त अवश्यकता महसुस होने लगी है। आज का गतिमान युग बढी तेजीसे दौड रहा है। लेकीन इस रफ्तार में हमें श्वासक मुल्यों को भी आपने साथ साथ लेकर चलना है।

वर्तमान समय मै विश्वभर में जा समस्याएँ व्याप्त है, उन पर विचार विमर्श करने पर हमे पता चलता है कि राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में नित नये घोटाले हत्याएँ, कार्यालयों में बढ रही घुसखोरी आत जनता में बढ रही है लालची वृत्ती और विश्वभर को परीशान करने वाले समस्याआतंकवाद आदी बाते मूल्यविहीनता का सिध्द करती है आज के जिवन मे मानवीय मुल्ये की इतनी अधीक गीरावट आ चुकी है की मानवता शब्द केवल नाम के लिए ही रह गया है। इसके लिये हमें चाहीए की, सत्ये अहिंसा,

सद्व्यावहार, सदाचार, विवेक, परोपकार, इमानदारी, श्रमप्रतिष्ठा, बंधुता, आपने पन का भाव इन मानवी मुल्यो को अपनेमे समा ले और यह तो भी संभव होसकेगा जब हम इन मानवी मुल्यों को हमारी शिक्षा पध्दति में अंतर्भूत करे। वर्तमान विश्व में सत्य और शांती कि स्थापना केवल मानवीय मूल्यों कि पुर्णस्थापनासे ही की जा सकती है। विश्व का हर एक देश यह अनुभव कर रहा है कि मानवीय मुल्यों के पतन से ही संघर्षजन्य परिस्थिति का निर्माण होता है। इसलिये अहिंसा का जवाब हिंसा से नही तो अहिंसा से ही दिया जा सकता है। तब ही हम शांती प्रस्थापीत कर सकते है। हमें मानवीय मुल्यो का अंगीकार करणा ही होगा तभी मानव मात्र का कल्याण हो सकता है।

समाज को संस्कारीत, प्रबुध्द करणे का साधन होता है शिक्षा। के माध्यम से हिं देश विकसित और संस्कारीत होता है। शिक्षा पध्दति में नैतिक शिक्षा का अंतरभाव होना चाहिए इस संबध में हरिशचंद्र व्यास कहते है की, "शिक्षा उद्देश्यपूर्ण हो; विमुक्तकारी और जिवनदायिनी हो; आत्मनियंत्रण सिखानेवाले हो तथा एक - निष्ठता और सही दिशा- बोध देने वाली हो। ऐसी शिक्षा को हम नैतिक शिक्षा कह सकते है।" २ हरिशचंद्रयासजी के इस विचार के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है की शिक्षा अपने अंतर्गत कितने प्रकार्य करती है। शिक्षा हम आत्म नियंत्रण करने का कार्य करती है। शिक्षा हि हमारी जिवनदायीनी होती है। शिक्षा हमें अच्छे-बुरे का भेद समझाती है और हमे जिवन विकास का सही रास्ता दिखाती है इसीलिए जरुरी है की शिक्षा पध्दति में सार्वभौमिक मानवीय मुल्यो का अंतर्भाव किया जाए। केवल किताबी ज्ञान और प्रत्यक्षकृती ज्ञान में बहुत अंतर होता है। यह निश्चीत रुप से नही कहा जा सकता पढाई में कौशल्य प्राप्त छात्र अपने आचरण में सदाचारी चरित्र का होगा। इस लिए विषय के आशय ज्ञान साथ-साथ संस्कार एवं मुल्यों कि शिक्षा भी छात्रों को मिलें।

समाज और राष्ट्र का भविष्य उस राष्ट्र को शिक्षा पध्दति पर निर्भर करता है। शिक्षा पध्दती जितनी गुणात्मक हो उतनाहि समाज विकसि होता जाता है। शिक्षा हमें वैयक्तिक तथा सामुहीक जीवन यापन के कौशल्ये सिखाती है। इस संबध में

श्यामा चरण दुबे जी कहते है कि, " शिक्षा का पहला प्रकार्य है कि वह व्यक्तियों और उनके समुह में अधिकतम जागरुकता उत्पन्न करें ज्ञान का प्रसार करे तथा ऐसे कौशल्ये सिखाए जिससे वे अपना वैयक्तिक तथा सामुहिक जिवन स्थापन करें योग्य बन सकें और उसमें गुणात्मक सुधार ला सके।" ३ आज जरुरत है कि हम हमारी शिक्षा पध्दती में मुल्ये शिक्षा का आयोजन करें। हालाकी देखा जाता है तो प्राथमिक शिक्षा के स्तर पर मुल्ये शिक्षण नाम का एक प्रत्यक्षिक कार्य वाला विषय हमारे पाठयक्रम में सम्मिलित किया गया है। जिसके अंतर्गत सुविचारोंका कथन, बौधप्रद कथाए आधि का आयोजन किया जाता है। लेकीन इस कार्य के तरफ ना अध्यापक रुची से देखते है नाही छात्र। मुल्ये संस्कारों के अंतर्गत मौकिक प्रत्यक्षीक और लेखी इन तिनों तरहसे मुल्यकन हो ऐसा विषय हमारे पाठयक्रम में अंतर्भूत करवाना चाहिए वैसे हमारे पाठयक्रम के हर पाठ द्वारा कई- न - कोई मुल्य संस्कार हमें दिया जाता है। पर हमारी शिक्षा पध्दती में उस मुल्ये को जानकर कितना आचरण में लाया इसका परिक्षण करने के लिए जरुरी है कि छात्रोंका आपस में परिवार में समाज में व्यवहार कैसा है यह जाना चाहिए।

व्यक्ति शरिरिक रुप से अपने - अपने आप ही विकसित होता जातो है। परंतु व्यक्तिका मानसिक रुप से विकास शिक्षा द्वारा होता है। शिक्षा पध्दति में यह बात जरुरी होती है कि छात्र मानसिक एव बौध्दीक रुप से अपना विकास पा सके/ सर्वपल्ली राधाकृष्ण मानते थे कि अच्छा आचरण केवल विवेकपूर्ण आत्मनियंत्रण से ही प्राप्त होता है। तो महान भारतीय शिक्षाविद् अरविंद जी नैतिक शिक्षा के लिए

अध्यापक को उत्तरदायी मानते है उसके अनुसार पुस्तकों से नैतिकता नहीं पढाई जा सकती। शिक्षण अपने व्यवहार, आदर्श, सुझाव व दिव्य जीवन से नैतिक व्यवहार की सृष्टी करता है। तब छात्रों में नैतिक शिक्षा का संचार होता है। आज के युग में भौतिकवाद का महत्व बढ़ता जा रहा है। भौतिक समृद्धी और धन-संपदा का अन्यसाधारण महत्व प्राप्त हो चुका है। और उसके कारण समाज में मानवीय मूल्यों एवं नैतिकता में गिरावट होती जा रही है। मनुष्य में स्वार्थ लालच और भ्रष्टाचार के दुर्गन बढ़ते ही जा रहे है। जिसके चलते समाज में अराजकता बढ़ी रही है। अनैतिकता हिंसा बदले कि भावना, गलाकाटा प्रतिस्पर्धा-प्राकृतिक संसाधनों का दोहना, पर्यावरण को शिक्षित दुर्गणों को नकारकर मानवीय मूल्यों और नैतिकताका स्वीकारकर ने से ही मनुष्य स्वयं का तथा समाज का विकास कर कसता है।

हमारी शिक्षा पद्धत में समाज को शिक्षित एवं संस्कारित करना है। न कि केवल अक्षर ज्ञान देकर साक्षर कारना। शिक्षित और साक्षरता के फंक को कृष्ण कुमार जी बताते हुये करते है कि " ऐसी साक्षरता जो शब्दों के अलावा परिस्थित का बोध करती है, शिक्षा बन जाती है। इसके विपरीत जब शिक्षा जिवन और समाज कि परिस्थित से कट जाती है, तब वह साक्षरता बनकर रह जाती है। " ४ शिक्षित होकर युवा पिढी समाज में व्याप्त गुण- दोष दोनों को अच्छी तरह परख सके। यह उद्देश शिक्षा पद्धतीका होना चाहिए। भले बुरे को समझकर जब समाज सद्वर्तन करगा तब शिक्षाका प्रकार्य सही अर्थों में पुरा होगा। मनुष्य को आवश्यक है कि हमारे निती शास्त्र और पुरानोंमें जो मूल्य हमें उपदेशरूप में सिखाये गये है। उनका अपने जिवन में अंतर्भाव करे और अपना जिवन सुखमय करे। नैतिक मानवीय मूल्यो को वरीयता क्रम से देखाजाये तो सत्य, धर्म, प्रतिज्ञापालन, कृतज्ञता, उदारता, चारित्र्य, अनसुया वाग्मिता, अक्रोध, सात्विक क्रोध, विनम्रता, आत्मसम्मान, सर्वभुतहित, नितीमत्ता, मर्यादा आधी मूल्यो को अपने जिवन में, अपने व्यवहारमें में लाए यही शिक्षा हमें गुरुकुल परंपरा से दि जा रही है।

विश्व के सभी धर्मग्रंथो में इन मानवीय मूल्यो को ही उदाहणोसहित व्याख्यायित किया गया है। केवल सांप्रदायिकता के नाम पर जब दो धर्म एक धर्म-दुसरे के विरोध में लढते है तो यह उन मानवीय मूल्योकी हार है सांप्रदायिकता हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिये घातक है। के संदर्भ में प्रदीप कुमार भिमटे कहते है कि " भारत में साम्प्रदायिता एक घृणित रूप में भरकर सामने आ रही है। जिससे अनेक परिवारोंमें आपसी सदभाव के बजये धार्मिक कडूरता बढ़ रही है। जिससे विरोधी भावनाएं पनपती है एव घृणाकी दिवारे बन जाती है इससे राष्ट्रीय एकता एंव अखंडता कमजोर प्रतित होती है नफ्रत एंव हिंसा कि प्रवृत्ती उभर रही है।" ५ अंग्रेजों ने भी इसी सांप्रदायिकता को शस्त्र बनाकर हमारे देश पर १५० साल तक राज किया था। एक कवी ने कहा ने कहा है। 'मजहब नहीं सीखाता आपस में बैर रखना।' इस पंक्ति के अनुसार धर्म के नाम दंगे फसाद करवाना यह कूटनितिद्वारा किया गया एक खेल है। जिसमें कई घर-परिवार बर्बाद हो जाता है और लोगों के मन मस्तीक में अन्य धर्म प्रति व्दोष कि भावना सदैव के लिए बनी रहती है। धर्म आस्था का दुसरा नाम है। धर्म हमारी शक्ती होती है धर्म मानव को संस्कार देता है। लेकिन धर्म को श्रेष्ठ दिखाने के लिए लढना इस धर्म स्वीकार नहीं करता। धर्म के संबध में अखिलेश मिश्र जी कहते है कि, "संस्कृतिसे धर्म और राष्ट्र को संबल तो मिलता है लेकिन धर्म और राष्ट्र को संस्कृति के बिखंडन का हक नहीं मीलना चाहिए।" ६ 'इस बातपर समाज मन पर बिंबित करना चाहिए। अंत में कहा जा है कि धर्म मानव के लिये है धर्म के लिए नहीं है।

भारत संतो कि भुमी है प्राचीन काल से संत महात्मा अपने अपने उपदेशोंसे समाज को ज्ञान देते आ रहे है। हिंदी साहीत्य में भिक्त काल में सेत कबीर और तुलसीदास जैसे कवियों ने अपनी रचनाओं से शध्व एवं समाज हित से पूर्ण ज्ञान जनता को दिया है। कबिरजी ने अपनी वाणी कों धार देकर समाज में व्याप्त कर्मकांड के विरोध प्रहार किया और समाज में जो अंधश्रद्धा थी उसे दुर करणेका प्रयास कि या तो दुसरी और तुलसिदास जिने राम कथा के आधार पर समाज के समुख्य एक आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया। आदर्श राजा, आदर्श सेवक, आदर्श प्रजा, आदि के गुण उन्होनें अपने काव्य में विवेचित किये। इसके साथी परिवार एंव समाज में किस तरह का व्यवहार हो इसलिए आदर्श भाई, आदर्श पत्नी, आदर्श पिता आदि के संबध में कि विवरण देकर जानकारी प्रस्तुत की। इन संत कवियों ने हमारे समाज को मानवीय मूल्यो कि देन विरासत में दि है। वह समुचे विश्वभर में दर्लभ है। हमारी शिक्षा पद्धती में जरुरत है कि केवल दनके एक दो दोहे देकर इनकी जाणकारी देकर इनके विचारों को समझकर समाज में स्थपीत नहीं कीया जा सकता। हमें जरुरत है कि इनके उपदेश रुपी विचारो को सार रुप में पाठय क्रम में समावेशीत किया जाए।

विभिन्न सर्वभौमिक मानवीय मूल्यों के मुल में एक ही आशय हमें प्राप्त होता है कि, हमें सदाचरण एवं इमानदारी से जीवन यापन करना है। इन मानवीय मूल्यों को समाज में रोपित करने के लिए इन्हें शिक्षा पद्धती में अंतर्भुत करना आवश्यक है। आज हमारा विश्वजिन समस्याओं से झुज रहा है, उनका समाधान इन मानवीय मूल्यों व्दारा ही संभव है। भारत एक ऐसा विशालकाय देश है, जिसमें विभिन्न राज्य के विभिन्न बोली भाषा बोलने वाले, विभिन्न जाती धर्म के लोक एक साथ रहते है। इन विविधता के बावजूद हमारे देश के नागरिकों में समता और बंधुता का भाव बना हुआ है। इसलिए भारत विश्वका सबसे बडा गणतंत्र बना है। हमारी संस्कृती से हमें विरासत

के रूप में प्राप्त मुल्य, धर्म में निहित मानवीय मुल्य तत्वों का अनुसरण हमारे समाज को करना होगा | हमारी शिक्षा पध्दति में मुल्य संस्कार के नाम से एक विषय समावेशित करके हम आने वाली पीढ़ियों को और भी संस्कारित, सदाचारी, चारित्र्यवान रूप में देख सके | जिससे हत्या ईर्ष्या, व्देष आदि का उनमें अंतर्भाव ना हो | और इससे मानव मानवता की सही अर्थों में महत् छवी द्राप्त कर सकेगा |

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