



Konyak Janajati, Nagaland



Zeliang Janajati, Nagaland



Sumi Janajati, Nagaland

Chakesang Janajati, Nagaland



# Heritage Explorer

LET KNOWLEDGE COME FROM ALL THE SIDES  
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Articles on Eternal Faith and Culture and different Socio-Cultural movements in Northeast are invited for publication.

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**No Rationale for Communal Reservation**  
**Look at Constituent Assembly Debate on Religious Reservation**

- Bhupendra Yadav

The Congress government has again sought to make vote bank politics in its move to create religion-based quota in OBC reservation. The Congress in Andhra Pradesh attempted to pass legislation in order to allure the Muslim community for its petty political gains. This legislation was later quashed by the Andhra Pradesh High Court as being ultra virus to Article 15(1) and 16(2) of the Constitution of India.

The Constitution Bench of the Andhra Pradesh High Court, while quashing the said religiously biased legislation, opined that any legislation benefiting individuals on the sole criteria of religion would be un-constitutional. It held that the entire legislation was religion-specific since it focused only on the Muslim community and observed that the said legislation was "subversive of the spirit of secularism" and it would lead to unscrupulous people embracing Islam to draw benefit from reservations. The Congress in an earlier attempt as well had tried to pass a resolution to declare the entire Muslim community as backward class community. These attempts continue to reinstate their policy of pseudo-secularism.

The second attempt by the UPA to create 4.5 per cent sub quota for the Muslim community within the 27 per cent Other Backward Classes quota for underprivileged minorities was also quashed by the Andhra Pradesh High Court as being un-constitutional. The judgement is under challenge before the Supreme Court of India wherein the Court has rejected the plea of the UPA government for interim implementation of the 4.5 per cent sub quota.

However, this is not a new debate in the country and not for the first time that a religion-biased attempt to erode the very fabric of the Constitution has been made. The historical relevance of this debate predates right to the time when the Constitution of India was framed. An Advisory Committee was constituted on January 24, 1947 for determining the fundamental rights of citizens, minorities amongst sections of society. The question of religious reservation was raised before the Constituent Assembly on whether separate electorates based on religion were required to be established.

The Advisory Committee was empowered to appoint sub-committees, and accordingly a Sub-Committee on Minorities was appointed on February 27, 1947 to consider and report on the issue of whether there should be joint or separate electorates. The Sub-Committee by a majority of 28 to 3 decided that there should be no separate electorates for election to the legislatures.

The Report of the Sub-Committee was accepted by the Advisory Committee stating that "the first question we tackled was that of separate electorates; we considered this as being of crucial importance both to the minorities themselves and to the political life of the country as a whole. By an overwhelming majority, we came to the conclusion that the system of separate electorates must be abolished in the new Constitution. In our judgment, this system has in the past sharpened communal differences to a dangerous extent and has proved one of the main stumbling blocks to the development of a healthy national life. It seems especially necessary to avoid these dangers in the new political conditions that have developed in the country and from this point of view; the arguments against separate electorates seem to us absolutely decisive. We recommend accordingly that all elections to the Central and provincial Legislatures should be held on the basis of joint electorates."

Sardar Patel while referring to the suffering and the heavy penalty the nation had to pay on this count expressed his satisfaction "that there has been unanimity on the point that there should be no more separate electorates and we should have joint electorates hereafter. So this is a great gain" He further opined that "...the Committee considering the whole situation came to the conclusion that the time has come when the vast majority of the minority communities have themselves realized after great reflection the evil effects in the past of such reservation on the minorities themselves, and the reservations should be dropped."

Another prolific statesman, Govind Vallab Pant vociferously argued against reservation on the basis of religion exploring the idea that isolating a community within the functioning system of a democratic country would cripple them. He encouraged minorities to form an integral part of the nation.

Having burnt the mid-night oil post Independence, the architects of free India not only saw no merit in having reservations based on religion, but also decried it as something that could potentially have a destabilising effect on the nation. They had experienced the effects of such religion-based reservations and separate electorates under the British rule, which ultimately led to the Partition in 1947. The UPA Government in its attempt to gain a slice of the Muslim vote has opted to pursue policies that questions the very fabric of a secular nation.

The UPA has given no thought to the destabilising aftermath such a reservation based on religion can have on the future of the country. It seems the current Government for petty gains is risking exposure to factionalism in the country due to its detrimental and ultra virus policies.

(01.07.2012)



## Traditional Chiefs Knock Delhi Door

**Gautam Debroy, New Delhi (June 8):** Alleging violation of their rights along the India-Bangladesh border, 21 traditional rulers (or Syiems) of Meghalaya on Friday appealed to New Delhi to take up the matter with the neighbouring country to protect their land and rights.

"Thousands of Garo, Khasi and Jaintia people live in our traditional land inside Bangladesh. They were not allowed to come freely inside India to attend the darbars (traditional meetings).....Centre should take up the matter with Bangladesh government," said John F Kharshiing, chairman of the Grand Council of Chiefs of Meghalaya (GCCM).

"During demarcation of the boundary, a huge area of our traditional land went inside Bangladesh," claimed Kharshiing.

The GCCM chief on Thursday led a 21-member delegation to Union Tribal Welfare Minister V Kishor Chandra Deo demanding steps to protect the rights of Khasi rulers who entered into an "instrument of accession and annexed agreement" with the Centre in 1947.

Deo reportedly assured the

delegation of looking into their demands.

"When the Constitution came into effect, unlike the instrument of accession of Kashmir, which found a place in Article 370, the treaty of the federation of 25 Khasi states did not find place in the Constitution, which is the cause for the constitutional and legal conflicts persists in Meghalaya presently," Kharshiing added.

The Grand Council of Chiefs of Meghalaya even demanded for formation of a separate Federal Council for Garos, Khasis and Jaintias of the state by amending 6th Schedule of the Constitution.

"We were not included in the electoral system of the district council, so we have asked for a separate Federal Council to run the traditional system," Kharshiing said.

According to Kharshiing, the Council was necessary to protect the rights of the Scheduled Tribes, especially in relation to customary rights, land, forest, water, revenue and mineral rights.

The delegation demanded opening of 43 more tradition haats (market

along the India-Bangladesh border.

"As of now the Centre has opened two border haats, and we want the government to take steps to open the remaining 43 border haats," said Kharshiing.

According to the Kharshiing, it is economically viable to do business in Bangladesh. "It is not possible for us to go to Assam and do business as because it will be time consuming and too costly."

Kharshiing also attributed the present land dispute between Assam and Meghalaya as a fallout of the non-implementation of the agreement signed in 1947.

The delegation called on chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee of Home Affairs K Venkiah Naidu and appraised the issue.

"Naidu even asked for a note from the ministry of home affairs on the issue," informed Kharshiing.

Notably, Kharshiing earlier met National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST) chairman Rameshwar Oraon and appraised him about their demands.

(Seven Sisters Post 9.06.2012)

## Absence of the Presence: Social Anthropology in NE India

- N William Singh

A social anthropologist analyses different cultures and reveals codes of cultures. Scientific study of cultures, interpreting different social practices and beliefs has been the hallmark of social anthropology. The Clifford Geertz model of description of cultural practices redefines anthropological studies. Geertz's submission, "Culture is like a spider web which humans spun around them" gives three important messages. Firstly, cultures have to be understood from knowledge of the soil. Secondly, natives have their own forms of understanding. Thirdly, universal forms of understanding are not valid at all counts from a native's point of view. For example, modernity is a loaded term and is contested depending on the historical sociology behind it. Jean and John Comaroff have shown how natives form their own views on modernity.

The socio-cultural anthropology of Northeast India is not present in mainstream texts. I would like to label this phenomenon peculiar to Northeast India as "absence of the presence". There is a fair amount of absence of the existing social realities brewing in Northeast India in mainstream academia. They are not highlighted well in academia, not even in mainstream Indian newspapers and highly rated scholarly journals. So why is it that knowledge on India's Northeast is absent in mainstream texts? Let me highlight the reasons. It is chiefly because continual issues remain unexplored by social anthropologists in this part of the country.

Mainstream sociological and anthropological texts fail to reveal identity formation among tribes of

Northeast India. Rituals and cultural activities are crucial in the process of identity formation of tribes of this region. Identity formation among tribes and its relationship to social dynamics of the Northeast remains silent in mainstream texts. So why is it that social anthropologists have failed to capture it epistemologically? Anthropological practices in Northeast India need a fresh look. Anthropologists and sociologists should aim to produce more grounded and relative forms of new knowledge, what Lyotard termed as paralogy.

Social anthropology should strive to capture the relationship between the individual and the lifeworld. They should explore the relationship between biography and social structures of Northeast India. A neo-sociological imagination is the need of the hour.

Social anthropology in north east India requires a new, innovative methodology; a methodology that will passively use meta theories, actively use historical sociology, cautiously use empirical facts, and develop a parochial knowledge. It will transcend parochial ideas into a universal unit of knowledge. The task is to scientifically treat native knowledge of peripheries.

Parochial forms of knowledge can be treated as authentic and valuable. We have seen very ancient stuff, extreme, antique entities taking on a valuable position in present times. We have been witnessing a renewed interest in traditional healing practices, ancient form of meditation, crafts from deep forests being sold as finished products in overcrowded markets today. We have tasted different platters from Melanesia to Polynesia that have made their presence in swanky airport terminals and supermarkets. Let's not blindly say these things are happening because of modernity and globalism. That would be naïve; there are also other reasons behind it. We are witnessing aesthetic export of parochial values transcending into universal values in contemporary times. Parochial values have been becoming universally accepted values. Academia remains passive to analyse the scientificity of the parochial. The academia follows a fad of universalism. One should not be one-eye blind to understand parochial aesthetic values. The weight of 'local' or 'particular' or 'parochial' should not be surrendered to universal concepts and theories.

Excellent in receiving universal knowledge but crippled in grammar of contribution towards universal understanding has been the trademark of social anthropology in Northeast India. Theorising absence of the presence strives to diagnose the trademark of active receiver and passive contributor. Absence of the presence is a catalyst to make social anthropology of Northeast India readable in other continents. It will make the inaudible audible, earlier unnoticed values noticeable and most importantly counter Janus face of epistemology.

Absence of the presence will urge for creation of new, innovative, more

grounded forms of epistemologies. Absence of the presence is not just a body of concepts. It is also a form of methodology in pursuing more meaningful studies of Northeast India. It looks for more and more narratives, biographies. It wants to incorporate event-based, densely contextual and spatially-located forms of social facts occurring in this region.

Social historicity of Northeast India is altogether different. Absence of the presence calls forth relevant pertinent relations among facts, moral problems and historiography of lifeworld of Northeastern society. Developing social anthropology in Northeast India remains to be done. Anthropological exercise in the region should be more relevant, more concrete and more appealing. The motive is to make pedagogy and practice of social anthropology healthier in this part of the country. Absence of the presence is an appeal to theorise parochial knowledge. It attempts to systematically theorise existing forms of indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge has been dying out due to hegemonic nature of scientificity and its universal claims in knowledge systems. We are aware from the readings of Bernard S Cohn and Asish Nandy how western science is not just a packaged form of knowledge. Western science is like an enterprise. It wipes out indigenous forms of knowledge.

Rise of alternative schooling systems, introduction of Vedic knowledge as part of pedagogy gives better hopes in reviving traditional knowledge. Yoga as a form of physical knowledge has become a global craze. This originated in India; they were silent for quite a period of time, but they have broken their silence in recent times. Resurgence of indigenous forms of knowledge is also a signification of absence of the presence. Northeast India's indigenous knowledge, cultural elements and indignity remains unreflected in today's mainstream text. Make mainstream social anthropology more inclusive by reflecting those forms of indigenous knowledge and cultural practices.

Northeast India has diverse forms of social movements, armed

secessionist movements, new forms of violence and punishments, environmental movements and NGOs. Growth of social problems is indeed pandemic. Social anthropology shouldn't confine to tradition, cultures, tribes, indigeneity, etc. It needs to expand its horizons. Social anthropology should engage in analysing these new forms of movements and violence. New social facts with specific historicity have been brewing up along with changes in social structures.

Anthropological exercise in Northeast India remains toothless with no universal appeal. There is a dogma visible while engaging history of Northeast societies. The region still remains an anthropological lab. Anthropological practice here is a monological in nature chiefly due to lack of questioning of texts. Authority of texts has never been questioned, never critically analysed in research and pedagogy in this region. Thick interpretations of Northeastern societies, cultures, traditions, beliefs, social problems are hard to locate in most of the anthropological texts.

Importing alien theories and alien concept into the social reality of India's Northeast has been the trend. We must not forget that every social theory existed based on historical sociology and nature of social context in a certain period of time. We accept western epistemologies as packaged form of knowledge, as a macro frame of reference in order to understand complexities of Northeast India's social paradigm. Academic orientations should be more towards presence in the text rather than living in a state of absence in the text.

Let's go through some idioms, concepts and theories which are absolutely shallow in northeast India. Modernity in Northeast India is opposite to western modernity. Here modernity is a continuation of the traditional. Modernity in the Northeast Indian context is not a dyadic opposite of tradition. Northeast India's modernity is an offshoot from tradition. So why cannot academics of the Northeast formulate a theory on this?

Northeast India's concept of

*(Contd. to Page 17)*

## Mizoram Snaps Church Ties With US Over Gay Issues

**Zodin Sanga, Aizawl (June 11):** The “gay-friendly” Presbyterian Church of the US has become a pain in the neck for Mizoram’s conservative Presbyterian Church, which now wants to break away from its evangelical ties.

Synod, the highest body of the Mizoram Presbyterian Church, last week decided to disassociate with the PC (USA) over the theological difference on homosexuals.

Terming homosexuality as against the teachings of the Bible, the Mizoram Presbyterian Church has strongly held that marriage should be between man and woman.

The Synod executive committee has prepared a circular on the subject of marriage that will be distributed to all the member churches across the state. One of the leading constituents of the Presbyterian Church of India,

has more than half of the state’s population as its members. It has partnered with the PC (USA) in training programmes, theological education, social issues and evangelical mission since 1999.

The Mizoram Synod’s decision to break the partnership followed the PC (USA)’s nod to lift a ban on gay clergy last May.

“The Presbyterian Church (USA) openly ordains homosexual ministers and also officiates same-sex weddings. We are in complete disagreement over such decisions that have serious practical ramifications. We hence have decided to end our partnership with them,” said Rev Malsawmtluanga, a member of the Mizoram Synod executive committee.

However, this is not the first time

that the Mizoram Presbyterian Church has voiced its dissent on homosexuality. It had written to then Union law minister Veerappa Moily to review the controversial Delhi High Court’s judgment on IPC Section 377 that decriminalised homosexuality.

Aware of the presence of same sexes living together as man and wife, the Mizoram church has also made a bold decision to ex-communicate and suspend its homosexual members if they were found living together.

According to the church order, two men or two women living together as married couples should be punished as a man or woman who commits adultery and the punishment is suspension from the church membership for a period of six months.

(Seven Sisters Post 12.06.2012)

## Imphal – Mandalay Bus Service: A Long Cherished Dream

Imphal, May 30th, 2012 : With Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh signing a series of deals with Myanmar President Thein Sein, with the prime focus on connectivity, during his historic visit to Myanmar, people from both sides have renewed their long-cherished dream of a bus service from Imphal to Mandalay.

Myanmar citizens settled in Imphal said most Myanmar citizens are Buddhists and they want to visit India as pilgrims.

The process is lengthy and only few people can go to Rangoon and fly to Kolkata and proceed on to Gaya, Sarnath and other places of religious interests, they said.

If people can travel by road from Mandalay to Imphal, the financial burden will be drastically reduced, it was added.

Indo-Myanmar Friendship Association and Indo-Myanmar



Fraternal Alliance (IMFA) are working hard to make the bus service a reality. There is a sizeable Manipuri population at Mandalay and relatives want to visit Mandalay. Tai Ahoms of Assam have also close links with the Shans of Myanmar.

About 250 km from Myanmar, Psipaw, a Shans-dominated area will be an exciting destination for the Assamese people.

If the bus service is started, people of the entire South East Asian countries will start pouring in.

The distance from Imphal to Moreh, the border town on the Indian side, is about 100 km and half of the distance is not road worthy.

From Moreh people will cross over to Tamu on the Myanmar side after completing the formalities and proceed to Mandalay, about 500 km from Tamu.

With the high-profile visit entering its second day today, both the

countries are expected to open up.

He held talks with Myanmar President U Thein Sein and also assured to upgraded 71 bridges on the Tamu-Kalewa friendship Road.

India would undertake the upgradation of the Kalewa-Yargyi road segment to highway standard while Myanmar would undertake the upgradation of the Yargyi-Monywa stretch to highway standard by 2016.

This project would help in establishing trilateral connectivity from Moreh in India to Mae Sot in Thailand via Myanmar.

The only concern on both If of which is not yet black-topped.

State Commerce and Industries department had long mooted the idea to strengthen economic ties between the two countries. Its official said the border town of Moreh is now gearing up for the big show.

Medical, trade, communication, banking set up have been modernised to ease the border trade and movement of people. As of now trade goes on freely in the border.

(The Shillong Times, 30.05.2012)

## Nine Killed in Sectarian Attack

At least nine people were killed by ethnic Arakan residents in western Burma on Sunday, an official said, in an apparent sectarian attack in a region affected by simmering religious tensions.

"We heard nine people were killed by ethnic Arakan residents in Taunggote town this evening. We do not know the details yet," a government official told AFP, adding that some of the victims were thought to be Muslims visiting Arakan state from central Burma.

Local residents, speaking to AFP by phone, said the recent rape and murder of an ethnic Arakanese girl had stirred sectarian suspicions in the area. AFP was unable to reach local police to confirm details of that case.

One man from the village where the attack took place said a mob of ethnic Arakanese - who are mostly Buddhist - set upon a bus that they believed was carrying those responsible for the

murder-rape.

"More than a hundred people beat and killed those people. The residents even torched the bus," he said, adding that the police arrived but were unable to control the baying crowd.

"There are not many people at the scene now, only dead bodies on the road. The senior town residents are trying to comfort the people," the man added.

Another local man also told AFP that the crowd murdered the passengers in an attempt to capture the supposed killers of the girl.

Clashes between Buddhists and Muslims occur periodically in Burma and Arakan state, which borders Bangladesh, is a flashpoint for tensions.

"We all have a duty to control the situation, no matter who is involved or which religion they are," said Aye Maung, an MP for the Rakhine Nationalities Development Party.

"We all are living here together. We, as well as the government, have the duty to control it," he told AFP.

Buddhists make up some 89 percent of the population of Burma, with Muslims officially representing four percent.

In February 2001, the then-ruling junta declared a curfew in the Arakan state capital city Sittwe after violent riots broke out between Muslims and Buddhists.

Pockets of sectarian unrest have occasionally broken out in other parts of the country.

Buddhists in Arakan have grown to resent Muslims that have moved into their relatively affluent state from Bangladesh, who have long crossed into Burma's border provinces seeking seasonal work.

(<http://howdyasia.com/nine-killed-in-sectarian-attack/> 4.6.2012)

## Xatriya Dance Attracting Foreigners

Kolkata, June 10: Having survived for more than 500 years only through oral transmission, the classical Assamese dance form of xatriya or xatriya nritya is now in need of documentation as it is fast attracting foreigners, says a new book.

"It's now important to document the present units of dance grammar so that a benchmark is available for reference. And while doing so, care must be taken to maintain the essence and philosophy which form the soul of the dance form. This is the challenge before 'xatriya' today," writes Dr Bimal Phukan, in his book 'Srimanta Sankaradeva'.

Regarded as one of the eight principal classical Indian dance traditions, Xatriya dance has a strictly circumscribed curriculum of training. Initiated by the famous 15th century Assamese saint Srimanta Sankaradeva the religious dance form remains without any written text.

"It has been handed down orally through the gurukul system prevalent

in the 'xatra' (Vaishnavite monastery). Teaching, too, is through oral transmission," says the book recently released at the Oxford Bookstore here. As its fame and popularity is spreading beyond the boundaries of the country, dancers from as far as Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and Iran besides France had recently participated in a workshop on xatriya dance in Paris.

A month after the workshop, a Japanese lady with a three-year-old daughter arrived in Assam to learn xatriya and has since performed on stage in Guwahati. "This brings to focus the need for setting out the training methods of xatriya outside the xatra tradition," says Dr Phukan.

To create his dance form, the saint-reformer Sankaradeva drew elements from various folk and ethnic traditions around him and refined them. Like Kuchipudi and Kathakali, xatriya dance is born of the dramatic tradition, the characters use dance movements to illustrate various 'bhavas' (sentiment) and 'rasas' (flavour). The 'abhinaya'

(acting) is indispensable but 'bhakti' is the object or goal of the entire performance.

The xatriya dance tradition also has a separate stream of dance movements independent of the central dramatic narrative. "Till late 19th century, xatriya dance was confined to the monasteries as the core of xatriya dance is to present mythological teachings to the people in an immediate and enjoyable manner. Traditionally, it used to be performed by male 'bhakts' (monks) in xatras as part of their daily rituals and during special festivals," says the book.

Xatriya is now performed by both men and women, not affiliated to xatras on themes other than mythological. The dance is accompanied by borgeet, and the instruments played are khol (drum), taal (cymbal) and the flute. Other instruments like violin and harmonium are recent additions.

(The Sentinel 11.06.2012)



## Now Conversion for the Sake of Monetary Benefits

Dr SK Pandey

There is yet another dangerous trend emerging in Uttar Pradesh, where educated people are converting to minority groups for the sake of benefits and privileges, which are offered to the minority educational institutions.

Indian Constitution prohibits religious conversion on the basis of force or allurement, but this is being done implicitly by the Government itself through its partisan and unjust laws. They are encouraging religious conversions by enforcing the laws, which divide the citizens as the minority and the majority, and give special privileges to the minority community in various matters.

For example, in addition to other benefits, the management committees of minority institutions are entitled to admit 50 per cent students of their choice irrespective of their merit. The fees also can be charged arbitrarily. For example, the prescribed fees for BEd and BTC courses in general colleges of UP is Rs 51000 and Rs 22,000 respectively, but in the case of minority colleges the government has no control. Thus to enjoy this monetary gain people take to the route of conversion, in order to form duly constituted management committees.

One Dr DS Singh, the manager of Amar Shaheed Kanchan Singh Degree College Khaga in Fatehpur district, converts to Buddhism and gets the certificate of minority institution from the Minority Commission, New Delhi and thus becomes entitled to the benefits above-mentioned. Similarly, Dr JN Pandey, the manager of Central Women's College of Lucknow also

converts to another religion for the sake of availing these benefits. Likewise, Citizens' Girls Degree College Allahabad also gets minority status by similar means. There are about 15 colleges recognised recently as the minority educational institutions via allurement and these unlawful means.

There are, broadly, three benefits available to a minority educational institution that are not available to other institutions – One, Minority educational institutions are not controlled by the Government and its Departments in the matter of appointment, admission and fee structure. These institutions do not have to maintain reservation in employment or admissions for SCs, STs and OBCs as required to be done by other educational institutions. In terms of control over employees, minority educational institutions have much greater powers than other institutions. For instance, in the selection of teachers and principals the minority educational institution can have a selection committee which does not include the university representative. Similarly, while in ordinary schools the headmasters normally have to be appointed on the basis of seniority, minority managements can select a headmaster of their choice. In matters of admission of students, minority educational institutions can have a quota of 50 per cent to admit the students of their choice.

This discrimination leads to lot of resentment amongst the mainstream majority institutions, where it is felt that

the government laws are dividing us and thus are detrimental to national integration and social harmony. It is very strongly being felt that such laws need to be reviewed in the light of the negative impact they are creating in the Indian society.

All these benefits emerge from Article 29 of the Constitution, which provides for protection of interests of minorities and states, saying that "any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same".

Article 30 also provides for the right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions and states:

It is further said that "All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language".

The Institution desirous of obtaining Recognition as a Religious or Linguistic Minority Educational Institution, shall apply to the Competent Authority in the prescribed form indicating specifically whether they are desirous of obtaining recognition as Religious or as Linguistic Minority Educational Institution, along with photo copies of relevant documents.

## Over 5,000 Guitarists Create Record to Bhupen Hazarika's Tune

Guwahati, June 03, 2012 : A total of 5,406 guitarists entered their name into the Limca Book of Records by simultaneously playing a song by legendary singer Bhupen Hazarika in Guwahati today. The event saw Hazarika's evergreen record "Bistirno Parore" being tuned by people from all walks of life at the Sarusajai Stadium here.

Hope Events, organisers of the event, said that they plan to break the world record next and enter their name into the Guinness Book of Records.

The current world record was made in Poland in 2009, when 6,346 guitarists played a tune together.

At the event today, the guitarists broke the previous national record for the largest guitar ensemble which was created in Shillong in 2006 by 1,730 guitarists.

All the participants at today's event carried their own instrument. (<http://www.hindustantimes.com>)

## Now, Web Version of Naam Ghosha in Assamese

Neelakshi Bordoloi, Guwahati (June 24): A Group of dedicated Assamese has successfully made the 'Namghosha' by Mahapurush Madhabdev freely available on the web.

The feat has been single handedly done by a Delhi-based Assamese engineer working with the government of Delhi, Pratim Pratap Baruah, one of the members of the group, Asomiyat Kotha-Batora.

He has also edited the recent monthly edition of www.xahitya.org a unique platform for Assamese Unicoded literature on the web. Their latest success has also been deposited with Wiki Sources, a community based free online encyclopedia.

The team had earlier acquired the Adobe Pagemaker files of Namghosha, Kirton and Dosom and put considerable effort to convert them to Assamese Unicode.

The initiative started way back in 2010 with a Facebook Group page called "Asomiyat Kotha-Batora", with a few members, the aim of which was to use and popularise reading and writing in Assamese Unicode script over the internet. This group has now nearly five thousand active members from all across the globe and enjoys literary contributions from many of them every day.

Talking to **Seven Sisters Post**, founder member of the group, Pankaj Borah, who is associated with the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, Norway, said that it is imperative to popularise and continue a language on the internet for its survival in today's competitive and techie world.

"Soon it will be very difficult to keep the identity of a language intact unless it is easily accessible or available over internet. One very effective way or tool to keep a language alive over World Wide Web is to use Unicode, which is a computing industry standard for the consistent encoding, representation and handling of text expressed in most of the world's writing systems, as a writing tool for the script of any language," he said.

The conversion into Unicode is a monumental achievement in the annals of Assamese literature and a most significant milestone in the history of Unicode conversion. It would also greatly aid Sankardeva studies since researchers will now be able to perform searches across the text and perform other activities such as lexicographical, indexing, semantic search and concordance-related with effortless ease, he added.

The members, around 40

irrespective of religion, caste and geographic location from around the globe, of the Facebook group 'Asomiyat Kotha Batora', have also volunteered to convert another landmark masterpiece of Assamese literature 'Kirtan' by Mahapurush Srimanta Sankardev.

"They are working to make it freely available on the web. Members of the group have already converted around 800 songs of Sudhakontho Bhupen Hazarika to Assamese Unicode which will also be made available to public soon," explained Borah.

Apart from making Assamese literary works easily available over the web, the group also raises its voice from time to time against any negligence or injustice against Assamese language or script.

The group has also opposed and generated awareness among masses about the script naming system of Unicode Consortium under which the Assamese writing system was placed under Bengali (since renamed Assamese and Bengali), taking it for a sublanguage of Bengali.

The group has also started a mass campaign appealing IT giant Google to include Assamese as an independent language in their search engine and other products. (Seven Sisters Post 25.06.12)

## Assamese Script Likely to Find Place on Unicode Page

**New Delhi (June 13):** In a significant development which will lead to spread of Assamese language on the web, the Centre on Wednesday assured the Assam government of taking necessary steps to modify the present Bengali Unicode page to accommodate the Assamese script.

The Union ministry of communication and information technology assured representatives from Assam that necessary proposals would be forwarded to the US-based Unicode Consortium in this connection. The development took

place following a meeting between the officials of the Assam communication and information technology department, representatives from the Gauhati University along with the representatives from the West Bengal government.

"The ministry assured us of doing necessary modifications to accommodate the Assamese script into the Unicode page," said GU's Prof Sikhar Sarma.

The Unicode Consortium had earlier said that it had received several letters protesting against the slotting

of Assamese as a subclass of the Bengali language on their website.

The Unicode Consortium has standardised a Universal Character Set (UCS) to enable people around the world to use computers in any language.

The Unicode system comprises a collection of more than 1,00,000 characters covering 100 scripts, a set of code charts for visual reference, an encoding methodology and set of standard character encoding for languages around the world. (Seven Sisters Post 14.06.2012)



## Condemn the Blasphemy on Kirtan-Ghosa

- JP Rajkhowa

*It would be in the fitness of things if Sansuma Khunggur Bwiswmuthiary tenders an unconditional apology to the people of Assam for casting aspersions on Srimanta Sankardeva, without any loss of time, and desists from making any shallow but devastating remarks on the most versatile saint of this land*

After a Russian prosecutor filed a case against the Bhagavad Gita, levelling the most blasphemous and malicious allegation that the circulation of this holy book of the Hindus would promote violence in Russia, and should therefore be banned, now it is the turn of one of the Boro politicians of Assam, Sansuma Khunggur Bwiswmuthiary, to demand a ban on the holy Kirtan-Ghosa, the most revered religious book of the Asomiyas, composed by Mahapurusa Srimanta Sankardeva in the 15th-16th century. While the Russian court refused to pass the requested ban order after considering all the pros and cons, including the opinion of international experts, the Boro leader in question, without any provocation from anywhere, and just like the bolt from the blue, brought out a copy of the Kirtan-Ghosa and opined before television cameras, showing the following portion of the holy book, that Sankardeva directed that the Meces-Boros-Kacharis be exterminated or killed at the end of kali yuga by Kalki-avatara and that even the Buddhists were to be killed in the same manner:

*Kalira sesata haiba Kalki-avatara/  
Kati mari mlesaka kariba bundamara//  
Sabako badhiba Baudhagana jata  
ache / Kalira sesata Satya pravatiba  
pacey//*

To suit his own political or undeclared vested interests, with the possible fallout of a communal flare-up between the Boros and the non-Boro Asomiyas, Sansuma, in his self-assumed avatar of a Sankari scholar and authority on the sacred Vaisnava literature, declared that Sankardeva, by asking for the extermination of the mlechas, had actually issued direction for killing of the Meces-Boros-Kacharis

and also all followers of Buddhism through Kalki-avatara. As such, he demanded, at a public meeting in Kokrajhar on 19 June, that the Kirtan-Ghosa be banned immediately.

The above blasphemous statement by a responsible Boro leader has been severely condemned by the Sattri Maha Sabha, Hindu religious leaders, Asomiya intellectuals, Sankari scholars and hundreds of thousands of followers of the Mahapurusa, and rightly too. Effigies of Sansuma were burnt in different parts of the State, demanding unconditional apology from



him, and there were reports of decisions to file criminal cases against him for committing blasphemy and inciting communal violence in the trouble-torn State, where movements by non-Boros against Boro high-handedness in BTAD areas, and against the demand for a separate State for the Boros, have been going on. Fortunately, the president of the Boro Sahitya Sabha, as also BTAD chief Hagrama Mahilari, minister Chandan Brahma and some other right-minded Boro leaders, have realized the gravity of the situation arising out of the uncalled-for action of Sansuma and have either disassociated or condemned his statement. Hagrama

has gone one step further, asking his compatriot to tender unconditional apologies to the Asomiyas immediately, in the interest of the Boros themselves.

In this context, readers would do well to note that for the first time in history, after the maha-prayan of Sankardeva in 1568 — that is, after 444 years — such a demeaning demand has been raised, and that too by an educated Boro leader who has also served as a Member of Parliament, without even caring to take expert opinion on the subject and giving his own interpretation of the word mlechas, making it synonymous with the three tribal communities of Meces, Boros and Kacharis. What prompted Sansuma to make the volcanic statement and blasphemous demand, only he knows; but it will be relevant to bring out how wrong he was in making his interpretation of the word mlechas without bothering to go into the life, preachings and practices of the Mahapurusa and also the basis of his creating the holy book eulogising his only deity, Lord Vishnu, and his human form, Lord Krishna.

Let us peruse the preamble to the Kirtan-Ghosa, which is what Lord Krishna said to Arjuna, as stated in the Bhagavad Gita:

*Yada yada hi dharmasya glanir  
bhabata Bharata/ abhyuthanam  
adharmasya tadatmanam srijanya  
aham// paritranaaya sadhunam  
vinasaya ca duskrtam/  
dharma samsthapanarthaya  
sambhavami yuge-yuge//.*

The English transcript as made by Dr Sarvapally Radhakrishnan stands as follows: "Whenever there is decline of righteousness and rise of unrighteousness, O Bharata (Arjuna), then I send forth (create incarnate) Myself. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked and for the establishment of righteousness, I come into being from age to age."

The caturvimsati avatara varnana or the 24 incarnations of Lord Krishna as described by Sankardeva in his Kirtan-Ghosa were primarily derived from



Bhagavad Purana, Book X, XI and XII, as stated by Dr Maheswar Neog in his Sankaradeva and His Times. So, what Sankardeva wrote about destruction of the mlechas and all including the Baudhagana actually meant destruction of all wicked and unrighteous people or evil-doers at the end of kali yuga by Krishna in his incarnation as Kalki. It is non-sensical to bring the Mecas/Boros/Kacharis under the name mlechas as done by Sansuma, without going into the totality of the life, preachings and practices of the Mahapurusa, as also the preamble to the Kirtan-Ghosa as stated herein before.

It would be of interest to know that during the times of Sankardeva, a vile, degraded form of Buddhism, known as Vajrayana or Bamachari form of Buddhism, was holding sway in some parts of Assam, which was a "queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotica, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas", which admitted the five M's or pancha makara — madya (liquor), mamsa (meat), matsya (fish), mudra (parched grain) and maithuna (sexual intercourse) — as indispensable ritual for the votary. There was also a class of devotees of a goddess called bhogis, who like the Tantric or Bamachari Buddhists committed to the pancha makara, believed that by sacrificing their lives at the altar of the goddess they would attain salvation. Syed Abdul Malik, in his Dhanya Nara Tanu Bhal, gives lucid details of the sexual excesses and extravaganza of the bhogis at the cost of poor women, including married ones, on the pretext of volunteering to be sacrificed at the altar of the goddess on a prescribed date. Well, all these degraded, anti-social people doing all unrighteous acts fall in the class of mlechas and are destined to be destroyed by Kalki-avatara, not the Mecas, Kacharis, Boros and other members of any tribes.

It would be relevant to mention that Sankardeva embraced thousands of members of 'impure' tribes, including the Kuvacas or the Koches, Mlechas or Mecas(!), Kacharis, Kirats, Garos, Miris, Chandalas, Ahoms or Asamas, Bhotas or Bhutias, Yavanas or

## No Further Appeal Against Gita Translation in Russia

Moscow June 1: Russian prosecutors have decided against taking forward their case seeking a ban on a translated version of Bhagavad Gita, bringing down the curtains on the sensitive issue that had enraged Hindus globally and even threatened to strain Russia's ties with India.

State prosecutors in the Siberian city of Tomsk will not challenge a lower court decision to refuse to declare the translation of the Hindu scripture as "extremist", RAPS/legal news agency reported.

The Tomsk Region Prosecutor's Office had initiated the case in June 2011 following its inspection of the Tomsk Society for Krishna Consciousness. They had claimed that the text of *Bhagavad Gita As It Is*, a translation and commentary on the original scripture, was "extremist" literature full of hatred and insult to non-believers which promoted social discord. The petition has already been dismissed by two courts.

In December last year, the Tomsk District Court refused a request to

declare the book extremist, as it found no grounds to satisfy the lawsuit. The prosecutor's office did not appeal the decision, but the Tomsk Region Court upheld it without amendments on March 21.

Vasily Voykin, a regional prosecutor, was quoted as saying by *RIA Novosti* on Tuesday that the Prosecutor's Office will not appeal the court's decision.

The case had drawn a flurry of criticism from Hindus across the world.

When the petition was dismissed by the lower court in Tomsk in December last year, India had welcomed the verdict as a "sensible resolution of a sensitive issue".

External Affairs Minister S M Krishna had asked the Russian government to help resolve the issue quickly.

Bhagavad Gita was first published in Russia in 1788 and since then it has been republished many times in various translations.

(<http://news.outlookindia.com/items.aspx?artid=764394>)

Musalmans etc into his faith, after which they became 'pure' and also gave them the position of atai. Some such devotees are Govinda (Garo), Bolai and Paramananda (Miri or Mising), Ram (Kachari), Damodar and Jairam (Bhota), Purnanda (Kaibarta), Haridas (Bania), Narahari (Ahom), Murari (Koch), Chand Kha or Jaihari (Yavana) etc. How could one (unless he is ignorant or irrational) even imagine that such a saint would ask for the heads of Mecas/Boros/Kacharis etc through the medium of Kalki-avatara? Sankardeva had his firm conviction that the souls of dogs, Chandalas and donkeys too are verily God, and knowing this, he urged upon his followers to respect them all. How could one ever imagine that such a Mahapurusa could issue direction by invoking Kalki-avatara to exterminate the Mecas/Boros/Kacharis as alleged by Sansuma Khunggur Bwiswmuthiary? For grasping the great

qualities of the head and heart of the Mahapurusa and for dispelling any wrong impressions on him and his creations, interested persons may go through my research work titled Sankardeva: His Life, Preachings & Practices, apart from any other work on the saint.

Finally, it would be in the fitness of things if Sansuma tenders an unconditional apology to the people of Assam for casting aspersions on the most versatile saint of this land, without any loss of time, and desists from making any shallow but devastating remarks on Srimanta Sankardeva, his successor saints, and his followers or any of their creations. Otherwise he should be prepared for facing legal action for committing blasphemy against the Hindus and provoking communal hatred, as already declared by some followers of the Mahapurusa.

(The Sentinel 24.06.2012)



## Need to Promote Use of Tai Language

GUWAHATI, June 10: "People think that the Tai language is a dead language. But this is far from the truth. We should try and clear this misconception among people," said JN Phukan, president of the PKB Institute for Tai and South East Asian Studies. He was speaking about the significance of the Tai language at the certificate-giving ceremony of the institute held in Guwahati on Sunday.

Altogether 12 students who took part in a nine-month foundation course in the Tai language were given away certificates at the function held at the Directorate of Historical and Antiquarian Studies auditorium.

Phukan further said, "Contrary to people's belief that the Tai language is a dead language, scholars are doing

research in the language and we should encourage and promote use of this language. Tai language is spoken in Thailand, Laos, in Myanmar by the Chin community, in China by certain communities and in Assam by various communities. There are slight differences but the basic language is the same. Hence a person who knows the Tai language well, can easily travel to South East Asia and communicate with the people there."

The PKB Institute for Tai and South East Asian Studies plans to organize an international conference on the Tai language in the first half of next year. The Institute has also appealed to the State Government to provide financial assistance to Tai-medium schools in the State through the Tai Ahom

Development Council.

PKB Institute for Tai and South East Asian Studies director BK Gohain said, "We will also approach the government to appoint Tai language teachers in schools dominated by Tai Ahom people in the State and for introduction of the Tai language as an additional subject in Class IX and Class X in schools across the State."

He also said that they had started the necessary paperwork for getting the nine-month foundation course recognized by Gauhati University and were mulling an advanced course in the Tai language soon. Also present at the function were Justice (retired) KN Saikia, Justice (retired) PC Phukan and retired IAS officer KK Baruah.

*(The Sentinel 11.06.2012)*

## Khalorparor Kang Strikes a Chord with Hindus, Muslims

- Ramlal Sinha

Guwahati, June 29 : Khalorparor Kang, a legacy of Jagannath's return rath that has been striking the right chord with the Hindus and Muslims in the south Assam district of Karimganj is on its way to complete 200 years when the kang committee rolled its traditional seven fira kangs (returning chariots) in its 187th anniversary at Khalorpar on Friday, daring the devastating floods that have marooned hundreds of houses in the district.

Khalorparor Kang, which has been rolling uninterruptedly since 1826, is unique on many counts in its appeal. As the tradition goes, as many as seven villages – Satra Lokei (Satragram), Tanga Lokei (Mantrigtram), Khulakpa Lokei (Patrogram), Kehurgang, Khalibari (Nayadahar), Mechigo Lokei (North Beelbari) and South Beelbari – roll out a rath each, and all the seven raths converge to a particular point under an age-old banyan tree amid the participation of thousands of devotees, regardless of their caste, creed and faith. The banyan tree at the point of confluence of the seven raths at Khalorpar in Patharkandi has been a mute and standing witness to the

return rath festival since 1826. Further, the chariots are also pulled by girls who dress themselves in a traditional uniform.

What's significant is that of the seven raths, the rath of South Beelbari is pulled, since its inception, by an elephant, and the expense for the elephant service is borne by anyone from the financially well-off Muslims who are a majority in Karimganj. The 187-year-old return rath has a remarkable history. During the exodus due to Burmese attack (Owar Bagon), thousands of people had fled Manipur and settled in the Barak Valley, Tripura, Bangladesh and Burma (now Myanmar). Mammoth congregation among the people was next to impossible under the British regime even as the period (1826) was much before the Sepoy Mutiny.

In order to translate his conception into a reality, a priest, Pundarikaksho Sharma, called a religious congregation of the seven Bishnupriya Manipuri villages on the day of Fira Kang in 1826 for the observance of rath yatra, and since then the legacy has been followed with the participation of a number of Meitei villages like

Karchorghat, Leishramgram, Moiranggram and Rajbari, besides Bengalis, Tea Tribes and Muslims (as onlookers and in making arrangement with cash and kind).

According to Golapchand Sinha, who has authored the history of Khalorparor Kang, all the seven raths were designed by Girokmoni Singh of Sylhet following a divine directive. The three-storey design of the seven raths – a tier each for Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra – given by Girokmoni Singh is still followed as any deviation from the design, the local people claim, leads to evil omen.

As a mark of honour to its founder Pundarikaksho Sharma, an extra rath in his memory is rolled a day before the return rath, and this year the Pundarikaksho Kang was rolled on Thursday. The Khalorparor Kang has also been a topic for many a litterateur. While poet Madan Mohan Mukhopadhyay has written a poem on Khalorparor Kang, Debodutta Sinha did a documentary film on this return rath festival.

(<http://bishnupriyamanipuri.blogspot.in/2012/06/khalorparor-kang-strikes-chord-with.html>)



## Return or Lose Voting Rights: Mizoram to Brus

- Zodin Sanga

Aizawl (June 12): Mizoram has given a stern warning to Bru refugees languishing in six relief camps in North Tripura of stripping of their voting rights if they refused to return to Mizoram. "We will take steps to ensure that those Bru refugees refusing to return to Mizoram do not exercise their franchise in the state Assembly elections next year. Their having votes in the refugee camps outside Mizoram invites corruption," Mizoram home minister R Lalzirliana told a press conference here on Monday.

He was replying to questions from the reporters while announcing the arrest of "army chief" and "deputy army chief" of underground outfit Hmar People's Convention-Democratic (HPCD) by Mizoram police at Silchar airport on Sunday.

Lalzirliana alleged links between the HPC-D and Bru militants and said the HPCD top leaders could be on their way to meet Bru rebel leaders, against the HPC-D's claims that the two

leaders were to have a peace talk with all-party delegation of the HPC-D demanded area in northeastern Mizoram.

"The HPC-D gives training to Bru rebels, and it is not known whether the HPC-D leaders were about to meet the Bru rebels," he added.

It may be noted that the fourth phase of the Bru repatriation that began on April 26 and ended on May 15 failed with just seven families of the targeted 669 families returned to their homes in Mizoram.

The Mizoram government planned to repatriate 669 families, comprising 2,844 adults and 811 children, identified as bona fide citizens of Mizoram, in five batches.

The repatriation has been derailed as the Bru refugees raised fresh demands, which included resettlement of the repatriated Brus in large villages instead of small villages as the government's plans, construction of houses before repatriation, a quadruple

pre-repatriation agreement between the Central government, the state governments of Mizoram and Tripura and the Mizoram Bru Displaced People's Forum.

The Bru refugees also demanded that their rehabilitation package is increased from Rs.85,000 to Rs1.5 lakh, which is the same amount given to the 83 displaced Mizo families who had been driven out of their homes in Sakhan Hills in Tripura by Bru militants in 1998.

They also objected to the use of the 1995 electoral roll of Mizoram, and demanded that any official document be accepted for identification of bona fide citizens of Mizoram.

Stating that many of the Bru refugees' demands could not be fulfilled, Lalzirliana had made it clear that if the Bru refugees refused to return it is up them and the Mizoram government would not be responsible in any way.

(Seven Sisters Post 13.06.2012)

## Mizoram Fights Tough Battle Against Drugs

Zodin Sanga, Aizawl : Though drug menace has considerably declined during the past eight years, drug-related cases still top crime list in Mizoram.

Mizoram police have registered 44 cases under the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act during the past four months, from January to April, which was a 175 per cent increase from 16 cases registered during the corresponding period last year.

"Though there is a 1.99 per cent decrease in the overall crime rate, drug-related cases have witnessed a whooping 175 per cent increase," said H Hrangkhuma, staff officer to DIGP (northern range), during a crime review meeting here on Thursday.

However, the increase in drug-related cases is a positive sign, according to the police official, as it indicates an increase in the rate of prosecution and attributed this to the around-the-clock surveillance of the police and the NGOs.

Most of the drug cases registered were against spasmoproxyvon and parvon spas, pharmaceutical drugs commonly abused in Mizoram, the police official informed.

According to the excise & narcotics department records, 1,184 Mizo youths have died due to drugs, mostly spasmoproxyvon.

The first drug-related death was recorded in Mizoram in 1984 when a person died of heroin overdose. The number kept increasing till 2004 when the state's largest and most influential organisation Young Mizo Association (YMA) embarked on an antidrug campaign.

From 1984 to 1990, 24 people, including one woman, most of them from well-to-do families, lost their lives to heroin. According to the official records, the first death due to abuse of Spasmoproxyvon was detected in 1991 and the number increased year by year touching 1,184 till December 31, 2010.

2004, the year when the YMA volunteered to fight the social menace,

saw the highest number of deaths with 122 males and 21 females losing their lives. It fell to 42, including seven women, in 2005, and further dipped to 22, including one woman, in 2006.

While 29 people, including four women died in 2007, the year 2008 recorded just 11 deaths, including two women. It increased in 2009 with 28 deaths, including three women, and fell to 15 deaths in 2010, the records said.

Of the 1,184 deaths, 1077 were caused by spasmoproxyvon while 84 were caused by heroin. The rest were caused by diazepam, dendrite, ganja, peptica, cough syrup and others. While heroin is smuggled from Myanmar, pharmaceutical drugs come from the neighbouring states, mainly Assam, police officials said.

These are official records and the actual number could be much higher as there were drug-related deaths in remote areas and even in Aizawl that went unrecorded, said a social activist working for drug addicts.

(Seven Sisters Post 08.06.2012)



## Mizos' Migration to Myanmar, Israel – All for Faith

Zodin Sanga, Aizawl (June 23): While some moved eastwards in fear of a “rock” which was to “roll from the east”, some migrated to Israel, and some had their names deleted from family ration cards and even banned schools for their children...all in the name of faiths.

Since the advent of Christianity in 1894, countless revivals have swept Mizoram from time to time resulting in a widespread diversity within Christianity, though majority adhere to the fundamental teaching of the Church.

Church historians have observed that revival movements have contributed immensely to the growth of Christianity in Mizoram compared to other Christian-dominated states in India and the Northeast.

The fact that it took barely 50 years for the entire Mizo community to embrace Christianity, then totally stranger to them, has been attributed to the revival movements.

“The phenomenal success of Gospel preaching in Mizoram was brought about through the revival movements,” said Reverend Lalsawma of the Mizoram Presbyterian Church.

The first European missionaries arrived at Aizawl (then Aijal) in 1894, and 12 years later revival movements effecting mass conversions started. Wave upon wave of revival swept the land till the entire Mizo community abandoned its old religion, animism, for the new religion, Christianity before the end of World War II.

However, the revival outgrowth has its negative side too. “Every revival wave generated a tendency towards spiritual excesses resulting into deviations from the central teaching and guidance of the Church,” Rev Lalsawma said.

The history of Christianity in Mizoram clearly testifies to this truth.

Now, aside from the different major Christian denominations such as the Presbyterian (the largest in the state),

Baptist, Roman Catholic, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventist, Methodist and Pentecostal, Mizoram has witnessed over 80 religious sects, including Zionist groups, who have converted from Christianity to Judaism.

According to church historians, the first deviation came with the second wave of revival starting from 1913, with the teaching of Tlira who was seriously affected by a revival. Since then,

Among others, a man called Lalzawna in the early 1980s had a vision that a huge rock would roll from the east to punish people for their sins. Ironically, Lalzawna and his huge followers moved eastward to settle near Champhai in eastern Mizoram in fear of the “rock.”

different types of sects sprouted and faded into oblivion.

Among others, a man called Lalzawna in the early 1980s had a vision that a huge rock would roll from the east to punish people for their sins. Ironically, Lalzawna and his huge followers moved eastward to settle near Champhai in eastern Mizoram in fear of the “rock.”

Another sect which was very popular during the same period was Vanawia Pawl, whose doctrine was based upon the “divine” writings on the arm of Laldiheli, wife of the sect leader Vanawia. Members of this sect lived in a jungle shorn of any clothes. One day, a ‘writing’ on the arm of the godmother instructed them to migrate to Bangladesh, however, they were pushed back by Bangladesh’s underground group Shanti Bahini.

Ziona is like Solomon, the great king of ancient Israel, with 39 wives. At present he has 94 children — and with his 33 grandchildren and a good number of daughters-in-law — the

family is undisputedly the largest joint family in India. Apart from his family, Ziona has a huge following of about 400 families. They live in a village built by them, about 100 kms from Aizawl. The sect is popularly known as Chana Pawl, after Ziona’s late father Chana. Interestingly, this industrious group manufactures wooden furniture and aluminum utensils.

A notable deviation brought about by Christianity in Mizoram is the emergence of Judaism, which began as early as in the 1950s. Now, there are several Jewish groups among the Mizos who believe that they are the descendants of one of the 12 lost tribes of the Biblical Israel. Among these groups is Bnei Manashe, which means ‘children of Manashe.’ A large number of Bnei Manashe members have now “returned” to the Promised Land after conversion to Judaism.

Among the religious sects are those who don’t allow their children to attend school, causing an obstacle to universalising of the elementary school system through the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) initiated recently. A section of believers had also avoided the Unique Identification (UID) by the Indian government in fear of the Biblical Beast mentioned in the Book of Revelation.

While a number of religious sects have faded out after flourishing for a few years, a good number of them survive till today. They, however, represent only a small fraction of Mizoram’s population 95 per cent of whom are Christians.

“Whereas Christianity has brought about positive changes in the Mizo society, it has also produced some negative impacts, among them the overgrowth of these religious sects. However, these religious sects have failed to impact on the larger section of the society. The true teachings of the Gospel are that survive in the end,” concluded PC Biaksiama, a renowned Christian scholar.

(Seven Sisters Post 24.06.2012)



## China Closes Tibet to Foreign Visitors'

**Authorities in China have closed Tibet to foreign tourists, according to a number of travel agents, following months of protests and unrest.**

- Oliver Smith

The ban comes ahead of the peak season for travel – the month-long Saga Dawa festival began on Monday – and is likely to be seen as a response to growing unrest at Chinese rule.

Last month two Tibetans set fire to themselves outside Jokhang temple in Lhasa, a Buddhist shrine that receives thousands of visitors each day. Although at least 37 people have carried out similar protests since March last year, it was the first recorded self-immolation attempt in Lhasa, a popular destination for foreign tourists.

Several Beijing-based tour operators have since claimed that the Chinese National Tourist Office (CNTO) has told them to stop taking foreign visitors to Tibet indefinitely.

Nobody from the Chinese Embassy in London or the CNTO was able available to comment, but Explore – a British operator whose next tour to the region begins on June 28 – said that a ban could last for the duration of Saga Dawa.

"The rules and regulations surrounding Tibetan permits have changed frequently over recent weeks, with the authorities denying access to smaller groups at various stages," said Carl Burrows, sales director at Explore. "This week our agents alerted us that this

may be extended to a blanket ban on tourist permits for the rest of this month, regardless of the number in the group."

He said he was hopeful the Chinese government would reconsider its stance, but confirmed that any affected travellers would be offered a full refund.

China has banned foreign tourists from visiting Tibet before, usually during periods of unrest and during religious festivals. Overseas tourists were prevented from travelling to the region briefly last year, and for several months in 2008, following violent protests in Lhasa, although the ban was lifted before the Beijing Olympics.

Even when foreigners are permitted into Tibet, tours are closely monitored, travellers must apply for a special visa and they will be accompanied by a government-appointed guide. All foreign tour operators must make their arrangements through Chinese firms.

Fionnuala McHugh, who visited Tibet for Telegraph Travel last year, said the recent protests could have encouraged China to act.

"They do this quite often, but not usually during the peak travel period," she said. "The vast majority of visitors to Tibet are from China, but the government closely regulates overseas

tourism to Tibet, and want to control what people see.

"Tourists will inevitably be carrying cameras and phones, and [China] really doesn't want them – and the world – to see people setting fire to themselves."

Justin Francis, co-founder of Responsible Travel, which also offers tours to the region, said the exact nature of the ban had yet to be confirmed and urged Chinese authorities to clarify their position.

He added: "Given renewed strains in the political relationship between China and Tibet in recent weeks and marked escalation in protest, this new, seemingly unexplained ban will raise alarms in the back of the minds of travellers and the tourism industry about what is happening on the ground.

"Responsible travellers have always provided a powerful means to bear witness to political upheaval in tourism destinations, and we will continue to advocate the openness of responsible tourism as a means of keeping the international community informed on local issues and interests around the world."

(<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/9314556/China-closes-Tibet-to-foreign-visitors.html>)

## Censorship in China is Morally Wrong: Dalai Lama

Dharamsala, June 24, 2012 : Tibetan spiritual leader the Dalai Lama has criticised the Chinese government's censorship policy as morally wrong and said 1.3 billion people of China have a right to know the reality. "Totalitarian regimes like China's have for several decades depended far too much on cruelty, so fear and distrust are part of their atmosphere. This is why they try to conceal reality," the Nobel Peace laureate said. "The 1.3 billion Chinese have a right to know the reality of their situation and they have the ability on that basis to judge right from wrong.

For this reason, censorship and restricting people's movements are morally wrong and limit their creativity," he said in an interview with a magazine in Scotland Saturday, according to a post on the Central Tibetan Administration website here. The Tibetan leader remarked: "This approach is short-sighted and has to change. Prime Minister Wen Jiabao too has spoken about the need for change and even democracy in China."

On the issue of Tibet, he said: "We are conducting a non-violent struggle in the spirit of reconciliation. It is worth supporting, because it must succeed.

Our failure will support those who argue that you can only achieve your goals through force and violence."

He said self-immolations by Tibetans was very sad but showed a commitment to non-violence. "However, they are a clear sign of desperation."

The Dalai Lama along with many of his supporters fled Tibet and took refuge in India when Chinese troops moved in and took control of Lhasa in 1959.

([http://zeenews.india.com/news/world/censorship-in-china-is-morally-wrong-dalai-lama\\_783691.html](http://zeenews.india.com/news/world/censorship-in-china-is-morally-wrong-dalai-lama_783691.html))



## Maoists: India's Worst Enemies

- M.V. Kamath

The conflict between the Government and the Maoists in the tribal areas didn't start with the abduction of Sukma Collector Alex Paul Menon and it will not end with his release, according to BD Sharma, the mediator who secured Menon's release after two weeks of being kept in criminal captivity. It would seem that the Marxists or Maoists can get away with anything with total impunity.

According to Sharma "at the core of the clash between the governments and the Maoists lies the question of ownership of Jal, Jangal, and Zameen (water, forest and land) of the tribals.

This, of course, is not the whole truth. Behind the desperate terrorism is the aim of one wing of Indian communism to capture power through armed struggle, using tribals and the alleged injustice done to them as a useful excuse. These gangster ideologues are living a hundred years behind times. They still think Maoism can succeed and that large-scale and mindless killing can bring a well-established government in India to its knees.

They don't realise that Mao 'succeeded' at a time when China was divided and lay in utter chaos and confusion. Mao turned out to be a ruthless murderer as were both Lenin and Stalin – and more especially Stalin – considered fathers of communist revolution. Their contemptible record as killers of millions is there for all the see.

A "revolution" such as envisaged by the Maoists is not only passé but has turned to be a cruel joke. They need to be exposed. In the first place communism is an alien ideology, besides being totally outdated. In the second place, unlike in the first quarter of the twentieth century, people in India have learnt the lessons from history and can respond positively to unresolved social problems, especially concerning tribals. These problems deal with tribal rights over forest and forest produce, peoples' rights over land and resources, trader-contractor-politician nexus, the violation of the

Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA) etc. The tragedy is that, as in the United States when the white man in the 18th century onward started invading native land, presuming that no law exists that gives American Indians the right to claim property ownership, so in India, too, it has been the undeclared practice to literally take over forest land on the presumption that the land belongs to the nation and not an individual tribe, thereby causing irreparable harm to tribal life.

Does the Government – any government – have the right to displace tribals from their ancestral homes? Or force a new life on them?

When Jawaharlal Nehru had some fancy ideas of 'improving' the lot of tribals he was advised by a white missionary, Verrier Elvin, to let well alone. The difficulty arises when tribals have to be displaced from their centuries' old surroundings for purely economic reasons such as building a dam or resorting to mining when the inimitable clash between what are considered national interests confront tribal interests. Which should get preference in the larger interests of the nation? Sometimes certain elements in Indian society resort to illegal mining raising questions of legal rights and propriety. Patwaris and darogas work hand-in-hand in such instances causing confusion worse confounded. Legality is given the go-by.

One way to resolve such issues is to bring the intruders to book with a firm hand; another is to give tribals a financial stake in the mining business such as was recommended by the Bhuria Committee in 1996 which suggested community ownership of industry giving the tribals not only financial gains but economic stability and a vision of development they had never dreamt before.

We have to behave like a civilized society and not like those barbaric European immigrants who couldn't care less if the native Red Indian was dispossessed of his land and livelihood.

Meanwhile attention should be given to the Communist impregnators into tribal territory with their fake ideology and outdated ideas of taking over urban areas and cities through violence with the larger purpose of establishing, in due course, a Maoist regime in Delhi. The Centre can claim that it has initiated an Integrated Action Plan (IAP) that has been in operation since the last three years to bridge the so-called "Trust Deficit" and that around 90 per cent of the projects under the IAP in 78 Naxal-affected districts across the country have been completed. Mihir Shah, a member of the Planning Commission however is reported to feel that the Rs 3,500 crore plan has only alienated the intended beneficiaries considering that they have no say in decision-making. He is quoted as saying that "without involvement of local beneficiaries and civil society as a third party monitor, the plan cannot work."

As of now 8 districts in Andhra Pradesh, nine in Bihar, ten in Chhattisgarh, 17 in Jharkhand, eight in Madhya Pradesh, two in Maharashtra, 18 in Odisha, three in Uttar Pradesh and three in West Bengal have been provided with high quality roads, anganwadi centres, schools, health centres and drinking water, with some 64,00 projects serving 378,058 habitations. But some critics feel this is hype considering that many medical posts have not been filled, that a majority of health centres are vacant and schools only have ad hoc and untrained teachers.

The point that Shah has made is that instead of "stretching the funds across a district, it is better to focus on the poorest and most deprived blocks in the Naxal-affected districts". But what about the Maoists who have so far killed 2,604 people, including 775 security forces and 1,879 civilians? We can't—and shouldn't—take Maoists lightly. They have to be repaid in the same coin and told in the bluntest terms possible that violence

(Contd. to Page 15)

## NSCN Turf War on in Arunachal

Ripunjy Das, Dibrugarh (June 10): After engaging itself for control over the turf in the twin districts of Tirap and Changlang in eastern Arunachal Pradesh for over a decade now, the NSCN (I-M) and the NSCN (K), both under so-called ceasefire agreements with the government of India, have now started another round of battle to 'consolidate control' over some of the rich natural resources in the twin districts.

One such fierce gun battle broke out near Miao in Changlang district late Saturday evening involving several cadres armed with sophisticated weapons from both the factions of the NSCN.

"As the battle took an ugly turn, columns of the Assam Rifles stationed in the district were rushed to the spot to control the situation," a police official said.

However, as the Assam Rifles troops advanced near the trouble zone they were ambushed by heavily armed cadres of the NSCN (I-M) and in the ensuing gun battle an Assam Rifles jawan suffered injuries.

"The injuries are not of serious

nature as the jawan who was wearing a bullet proof jacket was hit by bullets. The bullet proof jacket took the impact of the bullets," an Assam Rifles official involved in the operation said. The Assam Rifles later claimed to have busted an NSCN (I-M) camp inside Namdapha National Park, south of Miao and recovered several bags of dry ration, medicines, camp materials etc.

"From the quantity of ration seized it can be assessed that the ration was stored to feed around 20 to 25 cadres for more than 15 days. We have also witnessed blood stains at several spots and we are confident that some of NSCN (IM) cadres might have got critically injured in the encounter," an Assam Rifles official said.

It might be mentioned that both the Naga militant outfits along with some other outfits of the region have set their eyes on the illegal coal trade in Kharsang area of Changlang district for quite some time now.

Sources associated with the trade informed Seven Sisters Post that every truck of illegal coal which is ferried to various parts of the country has to pay 'royalty' to both the Naga militant

outfits. "It can easily be asserted that if there are more groups who can establish their presence in the area the share will be smaller. Therefore, both the Naga militant outfits recently started their gun battle to show their strength so that the group which can prove itself to be superior can dictate the terms and also pocket the lion share from the illegal coal business which spans into crores of rupees every day," the source said.

When contacted Changlang superintendent of police Tumme Amo said over telephone that there is no question to allow anybody to operate illegally in the territory of Arunachal Pradesh. "Steps are being initiated to curb the illegal coal trade. At the same time it is also our duty to ensure that no outfit is able to turn the area into a battle ground by engaging in turf war," the SP said.

The Assam Rifles havildar, Dipak Kumar, who was hit by bullets was later evacuated by a chopper to the Army Hospital at Dinjan in Dibrugarh district where he is recuperating. (Seven Sisters Post 11.06.2012)

## PLA Used Mizoram as Money Transit Point

- Pankaj Borthakur

Guwahati (June 2): Besides being one of the most peaceful states in the country, Mizoram has also contributed notably towards furthering subversive activities by one of the most powerful militant outfits in the country.

A chargesheet submitted by the National Investigation Agency (NIA) in Guwahati revealed that bank accounts in Aizawl were being operated by the banned People's Liberation Army (PLA) since 2009 for various purposes.

"The investigation has revealed that in all these bank accounts operated by the accused, Dhiren Singh, Rs 15 lakh had been credited despite the fact that he did not have any ostensible source of income and no legal means of earning money," the chargesheet which was filed against three senior cadres of the Manipuri group said.

The chargesheet gave lurid details about PLA's links with the CPI(Maoists) and the efforts made to

strengthen the relationship. The Manipuri group has reportedly supplied weapons to the Maoists and even conducted training sessions for them in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. The lid was blown off with the arrest of three cadres from three different locations in the country. Among the three cadres, it was Dhiren Singh who operated bank accounts in Aizawl and Kolkata and withdrew money from them. He was successful in his operation in spite of strict instructions to banks in the Northeast to check the identities of the account holders.

The chargesheet was of the view that Dhiren had used fake identities for opening these accounts.

Though the NIA did not explicitly say the purpose for which funds were released by the PLA from these accounts, the possibility of the entire episode being linked to supply of

weapons to the Maoists cannot be ruled out.

Funds were deposited in Imphal by PLA and the money was withdrawn from banks in Kolkata and Mizoram.

Locations in Mizoram have been serving as safe hideouts for PLA, according to the chargesheet. The outfit shifted one of its bases from Bangladesh to Mizoram in 2009 where two over ground PLA members namely Kiyamba and Mangal Singh worked with Dhiren Singh.

Champai in particular was used as a transit point to cross over to Myanmar and as a storehouse of weapons.

The NIA has already sent electronic equipment, mobile handsets and sim cards recovered from N Dilip Singh to forensic laboratories for more clues about PLA's operations in the border state and other states in the country.

(Seven Sisters Post 03.06.2012)



## Mizoram Menhirs to Get Monument Status

- Zodin Sanga

Aizawl (June 4): A village in Mizoram near the Myanmar border will soon make a dot in the archeological map as the Archeological Survey of India (ASI) has given its nod to declare the village as a site of national importance.

"The ASI has agreed to notify Vangchhia village in eastern Mizoram which houses more than 180 ancient menhirs as an archeological site, following the ASI Guwahati circle's proposal," Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage's (Intach) Mizoram chapter president P Rohmingthanga said on Monday.

The actual site where the more than 180 menhirs stand is known as Kawtchhuah Ropui or the great entranceway. The menhirs are of different sizes and heights — the tallest one measuring 15 feet high, four feet wide and two feet thick.

Rohmingthanga said the menhirs of Mizoram have met all criteria required to become eligible for central protection.

It was Intach Mizoram chapter that had drawn the ASI's attention to this site.

"The menhirs carry carved or embossed figures of human beings and animals. The style is quite unique. This has raised a big question that was there an older civilisation that lived here. The ASI's recognition will help enable detailed research on the monuments," said Rohmingthanga.

Rohmingthanga, as well as other Mizo experts, do not believe that these stone carvings were the work of Mizo ancestors.

"Did Mizos have the technology to transport and erect such massive stones since they seem to have been taken from the bed of the Tiau river that divides Myanmar and India is a question that puzzles experts," he said.

Archaeologists said the menhirs are unique to India's Northeastern region.

"We see similar carvings from the

historic period in Central and South India, and hope to study these (in Mizoram) further, once they are protected," SS Gupta, superintending archaeologist at ASI's Guwahati circle, has said.

No one is certain what these carvings are supposed to represent, but Gupta said they may be akin to the "heroic stones" found elsewhere in the sub-continent—commemoration stones that carry images of game or warriors hunted or killed by chiefs or warriors of a particular clan, tribe or community.

Legends have it that this Kawtchhuah Ropui is to a stone pathway known locally as Mirawng Lamlian at runs all the way to Tiau river that divides India and Myanmar. Intach Mizoram chapter has begun a quest for the lost pathway.

Vangchhia village is about three hours' drive from Champhai district capital.

(Seven Sisters Post 05.06.2012)

## Russian Hare Krishna Movement to be Rathyatra Theme

Kolkata, June 18 : In a bid to spread awareness about the Hare Krishna Movement in Russia, the Kolkata chapter of ISKCON has decided to make it the theme of this year's Rathyatra in Kolkata.

"Today, there are over 130 ISKCON temples and centres. In Russia alone, there are 30,000 local sanyasis and disciples. But this huge infrastructure and movement was not built in one day. It took years of struggle since 1971 when Swami Prabhupada - the founder of ISKCON - first visited Russia," said Radharaman Das, general manager, ISKCON - Kolkata.

The decision to glorify 'Hare Krishna Movement' in Russia comes months after Hindus in Russia won a major legal battle after a court in Siberia dismissed a state prosecutor's case seeking a ban on a Russian translation of the Bhagavad Gita. The case

triggered an uproar in India, rocking parliament for two days, with MPs cutting across party lines asking the government to use its diplomatic skills to get the issue resolved. 'Many Russian devotees will be participating in this year's Kolkata Rathyatra. We will also display the history of 'Hare Krishna Movement' in the erstwhile USSR and this will be explained by the devotees from Russia,' he said. The main attraction of this year's Rathyatra will be the main gate of the Rathyatra festival venue, which will be a replica of the Saint Basil's Church in Moscow. The entire Rathyatra fair will be transformed into a mini-Russia surrounded by Russian devotees and Russian landmarks.

(<http://www.sify.com/news/russian-hare-krishna-movement-to-be-rathyatra-theme-news-national-mgsr4nhfiai.html>)

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## Maoists: India's Worst...

will be met adequately and with no holds barred. What presently we seem to have at the Centre is a soft government that is afraid to take on the Maoists in the context of Human Rights. Maoists don't respect Human Rights. They are not Indians if their icon is Mao. To call them Indians is to blaspheme India. The Bhuria Committee report deals extensively with developmental activities but seems to be silent on what the real aims of Maoists are. These have to be dealt with in all seriousness. They are aiming at Civil War, no less. It is not enough for the government to ban the CPI (Maoist). It has to be destroyed root and branch as the British under William Henry Sleeman did to the thugs. It is a shame that in some Naxal-hit districts the state has virtually withdrawn. Is that how the UPA government wants to be remembered? ([www.organiser.org/Encyc/2012/5/27](http://www.organiser.org/Encyc/2012/5/27))

## **Horticulture for Diversification of Agriculture: With Special Reference To Tamenglong District of Manipur**

Horticulture includes fruits, vegetables, roots and tubers, mushrooms, floriculture, medicinal and aromatic plants, cashew, coconut, and oil palm has been emerging as an important sector for diversification of agriculture. Presently, horticulture has established its creditability in improving income through increases productivity, generating employment and in enhancing export besides providing household nutritional security and livelihood option. India now stands as the second largest producer of fruits and vegetables. Horticulture has invariably improved the economic status of our farmers. The earlier seasonal availability of fruits and vegetables has now extended all the year round, increasing per capita output consumption in fruits from 40-85g and of vegetables from 96-175g. It has also played a significant role in the women empowerment, providing employment opportunities through mushroom cultivation, floriculture, processing, nursery raising, vegetable seed production etc. The present annual growth rate of horticulture is more than 6.5%. It is contributing 24.5% from mere 8.0 of area to the Gross Domestic Product. India is now at the brink of 'Golden Revolution' in Horticulture with Rs3.48 crores in fourth plan allocation which rises to Rs1374 crores in the ninth plan. Now It has been realized that many villages in the rural region of North East India has enormous potential for these product where secondary and tertiary sector is lagging behind and people have love for primary sector. This opportunities is encourage by upcoming Rail-Head linking Jiribam to Myanmar also the Asian National Highway No. 1, 2, & 3 would drastically improved the trade pattern of this crops. Also with commercialization and multi-lateral and Bilateral policy of WTO together with Globalization and Privatizations shower a blessing in disguised for rapid development of this viable and sustainable horticulture which would necessarily reduced

poverty and improve the welfare of the NE Region

### **With Reference To Tamenglong District in Manipur:**

Tamenglong still remained most remote and backward in compare to all districts in the state. About 70-80 % of its population depends on Jhum to earn their livelihood; they are poor but efficient as normally term by T.W Schultz in his thesis' Transforming Traditional Agriculture". The process or method of cultivation is still very much primitive and results in low output, and enough environmental damage or ecological imbalance has been done for almost 6 decades. This is proved by deteriorating soil condition, birds and animals becomes fewer in number, water got dry up in spring and pond, Virgin and thick forest of some 5-8 decades are increasingly declining all of a sudden. The ultimate solution for this would be horticulture which is the best option to make a livelihood I would say a lifeline for development of its people by making them earned more as 'Railway Line' is coming up along the district very soon. Tamenglong is a land of exotic with vast land for growing various kind of fruits, vegetables, flowers, and has large production of spices too like cinnamon, Black-pepper, turmeric, ginger, chilly, hatkora & bay leaf. The people of Tamenglong had been gifted by nature also for presenting hundred of wild orchid's varieties and most of them are incredibly rare. Further, some medicinal and herbs are also found in the forest for treating minor wound/ injuries, bones fracture, stomach pain, swelling of muscles etc. Therefore, great attention for mass scale commercial production is the need of the hour. And also orange are grown almost in the entire village for self-consumption this need to be enlarged and make a living especially for the marginal farmers and poor family. To encourage the orange growers every year Orange Festival used to conduct in Nov. -Dec. in the Tamenglong town. Prof. Gangmumei also writes

Tamenglong as the abode of Bamboos or Hamlet, in fact, many varieties of bamboo and cane with its valuable products are abundantly found. Since time immemorial people lived in Bamboo hut, they eat bamboo shoot, make basket, mat for beating paddy and for winnowing fan etc. And also there has been a widespread consciousness to seek alternative means of income generating or occupation activities in the form of horticultural activities like planting more oranges, papaya, parkia, mango, jackfruit, plum, tea, and so on. In plantations rubber and teak should be emphasis along with planting more of indigenous varieties of bamboos. Though teak is one time harvest yet it is very rewarding. However, it needs heat and sandy soil. Ideally, rubber is perhaps the best alternative as this would give income around the year, year after year and has propensity of generating various employment opportunities all through the year. For Instance, tea if taking up systematically would be the best alternative covering maximum population. Mr. Young, British S.D.O introduced tea in Tamenglong which produced fine quality product, tea broker at Darjeeling are willing to pay Rs1000 per K.G. if supply in viable quantity those times. In Manipur, the annual production of fruits and vegetables during 2003-04 is 2.22lakh MT and 0.57lakh MT respectively. The cultivation of horticulture is by and large practiced as non-commercial enterprise by farmers in their homestead and orchard. But in recent years, cultivation of horticulture crop like pineapple, potato, cabbage, cauliflower, tapioca, sweet potato, melon, water melon etc and vegetables are being developed on commercial scale in many places as per the reports made by NHB along with the Department of Horticulture and Soil Conservation, Manipur. Manipur has Identified 2, 22, 06 ha. A potential area for horticultural activities and for Tamenglong is 38,167ha. This show



only 8.7% of the total geographical areas is being utilized. This fact is a well prove that many natural resources are still left untapped/unexploited .Therefore, I draw the attention of the people of Tamenglong in particular and other hills districts to transformed these resources in a sustainable way to make progress and advancement in living standard our people. Come and join hand in raising the Oriental Saying 'Where the vision is on year, cultivate flowers. Where the vision is ten years, cultivate trees. Where the vision is eternity, cultivate people.

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## Absence of the Presence...

modernity is intriguing because of two simple reasons. Firstly, here societies have never moved away from traditional ethos. Secondly, traditional social practices influence the process of socialization in this part of the world. Structures of modern society have never fully developed in Northeast India. Western oriented theory of modernity simply does not fit. Modernity in spirit and attitude is an empty form of modernity. Modernity should be defined in terms of social facts, interrelationships between humans and social structures and not just by behaviour. Core ideas of modernity theory viz. – universal, rationality, industrial spirit, mass consumption and mass production are hard to locate in the Northeast. Only spirit of development, inclusive growth and social progress exists as flavours of modernity in the region. Scholars from Northeast India should realise why alien concepts/ theories mandated in reading lists sometimes do not match with the present social reality of Northeast India.

Obsolescence in practicing social anthropology in Northeast India is like an academical hijack. Social issues of India's Northeast has remained outside mainstream text. Mainstream text cannot capture it; it failed to do so. Social anthropology of this region should be more scientific and more authentic. Epistemological export of parochial idioms is an entry point for theorizing nature of Northeast sociology. Parochial terms and local idioms from Northeast India will then take its seat in universal discourse. New theories will be the outcome.

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## IDENTITY CRISIS IS THE BIGGEST CHALLENGE OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

### How India can become Super Power ignoring the development of Tribal Communities

- Prof. Kuthiala

**Prof. Kuthiala**, Vice Chancellor, Makhanlal Chaturvedi Journalism and Mass Communication University of Bhopal stated that 10 crores of Janjatis of our population have been facing negligence since the period of our freedom struggle. Nation failed to bring these communities into the mainstream of development even after 65 years of Independence. He was speaking as the chairman on the occasion of the Inaugural Session of a 3 day Seminar jointly organized at Ravindra Bhavan Bhopal by the university, Adim Jati Research and Development Institute of Govt. of MP and Van Sahitya Accademy, Jabalpur, on the topic "Janjati Society and Mass Communication Media: Image and Reality". 140 Janjati scholars and resource persons from 22 states have attended the Seminar. 115 papers were presented in three days. Shri.Kuthiala was raising question how India will be able to emerge as a Super Power by leaving these 9% people for their fate?

He, further, Said, " Western imperialistic forces who were all set to bring uniformity by uprooting various civilizations has been trying to establish that the religion means their Religion i.e. Christianity, faith means their faith. With this perception they first extended their commercial set up throughout the world, then, they grabbed the political and administrative powers. This conspiracy of west should be, widely, exposed. We don't need western concept to look towards our cultural values. We have to look towards our glorious history by our own wisdom. The Image of Janjati created by the western intellectuals was distorted one. There is a need to re-write the relationship of Janjatis and rest of the society. Gap will be, completely, bridged up only when the dialogue is established in a natural process. Media has to play added role to have a meaningful dialogue on various problems of Janjati concern and protection of their distinct cultural identity. In ancient India Janjati society enjoyed a respectful life, a peaceful co-existence and had a sweet relationship with rest of the communities and they

had feeling of oneness with rest of the people. But the modern development in science & technology and western thought has taught us to be biased."

**Shri Manoj Shrivastav**, IAS, noted writer and special Secretary to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh was the Chief Guest on the occasion. He said in his speech that the freedom movement was initiated by Adivasi Saints in many parts of the country. A peaceful society had to resort to weapons for revolutionary activities to protect the autonomy and identity. It was a reaction towards the proselytizing efforts of Christian Missionaries. If, carefully, observes, one would understand the process of conversion to Christianity was to establish their imperialism upon us. Hence janjatis reacted to it. Missionaries were trying to convince innocent vanvasis that they have no religion and they are here to give them religion. They tried to project our diversities, which are our specialties, as our difference and tried to flare up conflicts among us. We forgot to learn the essential part of the struggle. Shri Manoj Shrivastav Said, "Janjatis are out of the present day media coverage. The Janjatis are portrayed in the media as objects of entertainment. They are, indeed, out of priority of the media as the media are busy to present a new Janjati cult from which the genuine tribal people are, often, marginalized.

**Shri Jagdeo Ram Oraon**, President of Akhil Bharatiya Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, the main speaker in the Inaugural function said, "The Indian Society is Integral and an isolated identity of Janjati society is not possible in it. Possibility of dialogue and mutual co-operation are very much open. Janjati cannot be uprooted from their faith and culture. Those are their real identity. We have to stand against those who are trying to bring division among us. Doctrine of Liberation theology is destructive. This theology will take you up to liberating you from your tradition and fore-fathers. Diversity is the attraction of our culture. It will be wrong on their part if anybody terms

these diversities as division.

Shri Vishnukantji, one of the Chief Organisers of this Seminar said the established Image of the Janjati communities have to be changed. Media has to protect their real image and their problems in right prospective. It is the role of Media to make their Image as 'people with distinct culture' and "people keep a smooth relationship with nature and environment'. It is need of the hour to re-write, re-illustrate and re-evaluate this image with their total participation. Immediate challenge in front of the Janjati communities is protection and safe guarding of the faith and culture from the well-knit Christian proselytizing agenda.

Various papers have been read out in the technical sessions. **Shri NandaKumar Say**, the renowned Janjati leader of Chhattisgarh and M.P(Rajya Sabha) said that the Janjati communities are the real bearers of eternal faith, culture and tradition of India. Tribal society is still living as per the culture enshrined in Vedas. Therefore, it will be wrong to say that they are out of sanatan Culture. He said Vanvasi people were with Ram who saved the Dandakaranya from onslaughts of Ravana. Janjati people were there in the fore front of Indian freedom struggle. The Janjati Society is, in true sense, simple, innocent and heroic. They are true sons of the soil and they have sacrificed their best for the motherland. He, further, said, "we have to come together to overcome the greatest problem confronted by our society such as alcoholism, displacement etc". He said, " Vast area of our country has gone into the grip of Maoist. Had an effective strategy been worked out with indigenous Janjati of such areas, we could have overcome the threat within few months. Maoism is an organized terrorism. Bharat can advance only when it achieves to establish a control over this problem.

Others spoke in this technical session were **Shri Sambhunath Kashyap, Sangeet Verma, Shri Madhukar Mandavi and shri Kaviraj Malik.**



Speaking in another technical session **Dr. Krishna Gopal** from Guwahati said there are about 220 Janjati communities in North East India. No one Janjati has ever attacked the faith and culture of the other. He said, "The nature worship of Janjati communities is part and parcel of Sanatan Dharma. English men and historians have created confusion and tried to meddle between the Janjati faith and the faith of rest of the societies. Tribal communities are ancient followers of Sanatan Dharam which focus on inclusiveness. Others spoke in this technical session were **Dr. Rajkishore Hansda, Ms. Serlin Terangpi, shri Thumbui Zeliang, shri Dapchiring Lepcha, Shri. Yide Potom, Dr. Sriram Parihar, shri Ashutosh Mandavi, Dr. Azad Bhagat and Dr. Narayan Lal Ninama. Dr. Manroop Meena** of Rajsthan presided over the session.

In a special session on topic, "Janjati Society and Media", the relationship of Janjati Society and media was discussed. **Prof. Brij Kishore Kuthiala**, The Vice Chancellor, presided over the session. He blamed media saying, "Media dig out politics in all matters. Philosophy of life, displacement and other problems faced by Janjati people are not the topics of Media's priority. Unless and until the Janjati society make interference, media wouldn't paly their role responsibly. Readers and spectators can force the media to be responsible. **Shri Girish Upadhyay**, Editor of Nav Dunia said media become town centric and it is after increasing its subscriptionship. Even then, there is a vast scope for media and the hidden energy in the media can play a genuine role. **Shri Raj Kumar Bhardwaj**, a senior journalist from Delhi said farmers and tribals are in the media only when they commit suicide or die out of starvation. Much alertness and study are necessary to report the matters related to the Janjatis.

Shri. Pavitra Shrivastav said media is responsible for creating the present Image of Janjati and the media can only wipe out this confusion and correct the image. The anchoring of the session was done by Prof. Ashish joshi.

In another Technical session Arya-Dravid conflict an unfounded Story, global scenario of janjati communities

and India, Role of Constitution and judiciary in protecting Janjati people, and Census of 2011 were also discussed. **Adv. Bhupendra Yadav of Supreme Court, Dr. Jitendra Bajaj, shri Shyam Parande, Shri Jaleshwar Brahma, shri Virag Pachpor, Shri Kalyan Bhattacharya, shri Ashok Ghatate, shri Lakshmi Narayan Payodhi** also presented their papers.

**Sushree Nivedita Bhide**, Vice President, Vivekananda Kendra, threw light upon the inclusive nature of Sanatan Dharma and exposed the exclusive nature of Christianity, Islam and Judaism citing various examples.

**Shri Jewel Uraon** former Tribal Minister of Govt. of India and a renowned Janjati leader said, "Society is still following traditional and cultural values of Bharat. But these cultural values are, now a day, absent in the advanced society. The need of the hour is to have sincere effort to strengthen the Janjati Communities. Once this is achieved they find out the solution of their problem by their own. He was speaking in the valedictory function of the Seminar as main speaker. Shri Uraon, the first Cabinet minister of Tribal Affairs of the nation feared where the modern development and the programme to bring the Janjati into the national mainstream take us to? Serious problem in front of the Janjati Community is its very existence keeping its cultural identity intact. The way Janjatis are being separated from the rest of the communities is dangerous. He said Janjatis are sandwiched by Naxal problem from both the sides. We have to work jointly and collectively basing upon our organizational strength and unity. A positive change is, widely, experienced all over. A new social reformation and renaissance are seen, taking place.

The former Chairman of Scheduled Cast and Scheduled Tribe Commission **shri Dilip Singh Bhuria** expressed confidence that this Seminar has a loud and clear message to the Janjati people. The seminar has brought the Janjati problem into limelight. Janjati society is encircled by problems like Displacement, cultural identity crisis, Maoism etc. We have to find their solutions. Why Janjati people have fought against Britishers? They fought

against the attempts of former to destroy their cultural identity by western culture. They were exploiting us by adopting a separate language. This stage has come once again. This is the reason of unrest in the forest area. Janjati have protected their daughters as embodiment of divine motherhood. That is why women are safe in the Janjati Society.

**Shri Lakshmikant Sharma**, Minister of Higher Education was the Chief Guest in the valedictory function. He said, "The University has organized this Seminar and new enlightenment and level of understanding could be achieved by the Seminar. Collective and sincere efforts are required for over all development of the tribals. Leader of the tribal communities and enlightened social workers have to supervise how the schemes are implemented in the tribal areas. And how the real benefit be reached to common man. Sincerity of those leaders who hold the key of development, are important. He said the state Govt is trying to protect the cultural identity of Janjati communities by establishing a tribal museum at Bhopal where glimpses of the culture of Janjati communities of entire nation will be showcased.

Professor Kuthiala, in the valedictory session reiterated the need of breaking the confusion being spread in the educational institutions about the human traditions through certain anthropological studies. Media has to take meaningful discussion into their priority. It is high time to once again take up the problems of Janjati society in new dimension. We can not become a world power ignoring such a vast population of our country. Justice and former Governor Vishnu Sadashiv Kokje said many problems will be solved when better dialogue is emerged with Janjati communities. All problems are the result of lack of dialogue. Mass communication media can play a major role in this regard. Their present condition and needs are required to be discussed. Schemes should be worked out as per the requirements. State Scheduled Caste Commission **shri Ramlal Roulab, Shriram Tiwari** of Vanya and **Shri Harsh Chouhan** of Van Sahitya Academy also presented their views in the Valedictory function.

## पूर्वोत्तर वालों को 'चिंकी' कहा तो होगी पांच साल की जेल

नार्थ-ईस्ट के लोगों पर कामेंट करने से पहले अब सावधान हो जाइए। कहीं ऐसा ना हो कि आपको जेल की हवा खानी पड़े क्योंकि अब नार्थ ईस्टर्स को 'चिंकी' कहने से पांच साल की जेल हो सकती है।

आमतौर पर नार्थ ईस्ट इलाकों- असम, मेघालय, नगालैंड और मिजोरम राज्यों के लोगों को उनके मंगोलियन फीचर्स के चलते चिंकी कहकर बुलाते हैं। अब इसे नस्लीय टिप्पणी मानकर सजा दी जाएगी। चिंकी कहकर बुलाने पर अगर व्यक्ति आपत्ति जताता है और इसकी

शिकायत करता है तो ऐसे में कामेंट करने वाले व्यक्ति को पांच साल की सजा होगी।

गृह मंत्रालय ने नार्थ ईस्ट के लोगों को नस्लीय भेदभाव से बचाने के लिए सभी राज्यों और केंद्र प्रशासित क्षेत्रों को निर्देश दिया है कि वह उन लोगों को सजा दें, जो इन्हें चिंकी कहकर बुलाते हैं। ऐसे लोगों को प्रीवेंशन आफ ऐट्रोसिटीज ऐक्ट के तहत सजा देने का निर्देश दिया गया है।

गौरतलब है कि इस कानून के तहत अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति के

लोगों पर जातिगत टिप्पणी करने वालों के खिलाफ पांच साल की जेल का प्रावधान है।

हालांकि साइबर वर्ल्ड में इस ऐक्ट को लेकर पहले ही चर्चा शुरू हो गई है। कुछ का कहना है कि यह कदम काफी पहले ही उठा लेना चाहिए था, वहीं कुछ का कहना है कि एक कामेंट पर पांच साल की जेल 'कुछ ज्यादा' है। दिल्ली में रहने वाले नार्थ ईस्ट के लोगों से जब इस बारे में पूछा गया तो उन्होंने इस कानून पर सहमति जताई और कहा कि उन्हें 'चिंकी' कहने वालों को जेल होनी चाहिए। (पूर्वोदय-८.६.२०१२)

## यह हो रहा है सेक्यूलरवाद के नाम पर!

- डा. कैलाश चन्द्र

**१. छात्रवृत्ति में हिन्दू विद्यार्थियों के साथ भेदभाव-** संप्रग सरकार ने गैर-हिन्दू अर्थात् अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग के स्कूली शिक्षा प्राप्त करने वाले छात्रों के लिए २५ लाख छात्रवृत्तियों की घोषणा की है। किन्तु हिन्दू बच्चों को इस सुविधा से वंचित रखा गया है। इस प्रकार अति गरीब हिन्दुओं के बच्चे शुल्क न दे सकने के कारण स्कूली शिक्षा प्राप्त नहीं कर पाते, क्योंकि हिन्दू होने के कारण उपरोक्त छात्रवृत्तियों का लाभ उन्हें नहीं दिया जाता।

**२. अल्पसंख्यक विद्यार्थियों का शुल्क हिन्दू करदाताओं के कर से -** भारतीय प्रबंधन संस्थान (आई.आई.एम.) और भारतीय प्रौद्योगिकी संस्थान (आई.आई.टी.) जैसे देश के ५० उच्च अध्ययन केन्द्रों में हिन्दू विद्यार्थियों

को पूरा शुल्क भरना पड़ता है, परन्तु अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग (ईसाई, मुसलमान आदि) के विद्यार्थियों का पूरा शुल्क केन्द्र सरकार देती है।

**३. मुस्लिम व ईसाई विद्यार्थियों को मुफ्त 'कोचिंग'-** यदि कोई अल्पसंख्यक विद्यार्थी आई.आई.एम. जैसे उच्च शिक्षण संस्थानों की प्रवेश परीक्षा की तैयारी के लिए किसी 'कोचिंग सेंटर' में जाता है तो पूरा खर्च सरकार उठाती है, जबकि हिन्दू विद्यार्थी इस सुविधा से वंचित रह जाता है। पुष्टि के लिए [www.minorityaffairs.gov.in](http://www.minorityaffairs.gov.in) देख सकते हैं।

**४. हिन्दू विद्यार्थी अध्ययन ऋण पर १२ प्रतिशत से २४ प्रतिशत ब्याज चुकाते हैं,** जबकि अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग के विद्यार्थी को मात्र

**३ प्रतिशत ब्याज दर पर राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक विकास वित्त निगम,** जो कि भारत सरकार के वित्त मंत्रालय के अधीन है, के द्वारा धन उपलब्ध कराया जाता है। पुष्टि के लिए [www.nmdfe.org](http://www.nmdfe.org) देख सकते हैं।

**५. हिन्दू युवा उद्यमी भेदभाव के शिकार -** हिन्दू उद्यमियों को नया व्यवसाय शुरू करने के लिए बैंकों से १५ से १८ प्रतिशत से अधिक ब्याज दर पर ऋण प्राप्त होता है, किन्तु गैर हिन्दुओं (अल्पसंख्यक) को ऋण राशि का ३५ प्रतिशत तो ३ प्रतिशत की ब्याज दर से और शेष राशि पर भी हिन्दुओं से २ प्रतिशत कम पर ऋण प्राप्त होता है।

(गौरव घोष, मार्च-अप्रैल २०१२)

## सिंध में हिन्दू लड़कियों की मुस्लिमों से जबरन कराई जा रही है शादी

पाकिस्तान के राष्ट्रपति आसिफ अली की बहन अजरा फजल पेचेहो ने सिंध प्रांत में अल्पसंख्यक हिन्दुओं की दुर्दशा पर पाक संसद में चिंता जताई। सत्तारूढ़ पाकिस्तान पिपुल्स पार्टी की सांसद अजरा ने सिंध में हिन्दू लड़कियों को जबरन मदरसों में रखकर मुस्लिमों से शादि के लिए मजबूर किया जा रहा है। अजरा का यह बयान सिंध से अगवा तीन हिन्दू युवतियों को अदालत में पेश करने के सुप्रीम कोर्ट के

पुलिस को वर्तमान निर्देश के बाद आया है।

पाक मीडिया में इनमें से दो हिन्दू युवतियों रिकल कुमारी और लता कुमारी के हवाले से कहा गया था कि उन्होंने स्वेच्छा से धर्म परिवर्तन किया है। अजरा ने रिकल कुमारी के मामले का जिक्र करते हुए नेशनल असेम्बली (पाक संसद का निचला सदन) में कहा कि सिंध में हिन्दू कई चुनौतियों का सामना कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने अल्पसंख्यक के अधिकारों की रक्षा और जबरन

धर्मान्तरण बंद कराने के लिए नए कानून की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया। सिंध से ही सांसद नफोसा शाह ने भी अजरा की बात का समर्थन किया। हिन्दू सांसदों लालचंद और महेश कुमार ने भी हिन्दू युवतियों के अपहरण और जबरन धर्मान्तरण की घटनाओं पर चिंता जताई।

(‘हिन्दू विश्व’ १-१५ अप्रैल २०१२ से साभार)



## एक और पाकिस्तान

- नरेन्द्र सहगल

लगभग डेढ़ वर्ष पूर्व केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा नियुक्त वार्ताकारों ने कश्मीर समस्या के समाधान के लिए एक रपट तैयार की है। यदि मुस्लिम तुष्टीकरण में डूबी सरकार ने उसे मान लिया तो देश के दूसरे विभाजन की नींव तैयार हो जाएगी। यह रपट जम्मू-कश्मीर की अस्सी प्रतिशत जनसंख्या की इच्छाओं/जरूरतों की अनदेखी करके मात्र बीस प्रतिशत संदिग्ध लोगों की भारत विरोधी मांगों के आधार पर बनाई गई है। तथाकथित प्रगतिशील वार्ताकारों द्वारा प्रस्तुत यह रपट 'स्वतंत्र कश्मीर राष्ट्र' का 'रोड मैप' है।

### रपट का आधार अलगाववाद

१९५२-५३ में जम्मू केन्द्रत देशव्यापी प्रजा परिषद महाआंदोलन के झंडे तले डा.श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने जम्मू-कश्मीर को भारत का अभिन्न अंग बनाए रखने के लिए अपना बलिदान देकर जो जमीन को बंजर बनाने के लिए अलगाववादी मनोवृत्ति वाले वार्ताकारों ने यह रपट लिख दी है। इस रपट के माध्यम से भारत के राष्ट्रपति, संसद, संविधान, राष्ट्रध्वज, सेना के अस्तित्व पर ही प्रश्न चिन्ह लगा दिए गए हैं। देश के संवैधानिक संघीय ढांचे 'अर्थात् एक विधान, एक निशान और एक प्रधान' की मूल भावना को चुनौती दी गई है।

आईएसआई के एक एजेंट गुलाम नबी फाई के हमदर्द दोस्त दिलीप पडगांवकर, वामपंथी चिंतक एम.एम.अंसारी और मैकाले परंपरा की शिक्षाविद् राधा कुमार ने अपनी रपट में जो सिफारिशों की हैं वे सभी कश्मीर केन्द्रित राजनीतिक दलों, अलगाववादी संगठनों, आतंकी गुटों और कट्टरपंथी मजहबी जमातों द्वारा पिछले ६४ वर्षों से उठाई जा रही भारत विरोधी मांगे और सरकार/सेना विरोधी लगाए जा रहे नारे हैं। स्वायत्तता, स्वशासन, आजादी, पाकिस्तान में विलय, भारतीय सेना की वापसी, सुरक्षा बलों के विशेषाधिकारों की समाप्ति, जेलों में बंद आतंकियों की रिहाई, पाकिस्तान गए कश्मीरी आतंकी युवकों की घरवापसी, अनियंत्रित नियंत्रण रेखा और जम्मू-कश्मीर एक

विवादित राज्य इत्यादि सभी 'अलगाववादी जज्बातों/ख्वाइशों' को इस रपट का आधार बनाया गया है।

### तुष्टीकरण की पराकाष्ठा

रपट के अनुसार एक संवैधानिक समिति का गठन होगा जो १९५३ के पहले की स्थिति बहाल करेगी। १९५९ के बाद भारतीय संसद द्वारा बनाए गए एवं जम्मू-कश्मीर में लागू सभी कानूनों को वापस लिया जाएगा जो धारा ३७० के तहत जम्मू-कश्मीर को दी गई स्वायत्तता का हनन करते हैं। इस सीमावर्ती प्रदेश के विशेष दर्जे को स्थाई बनाए रखने के लिए धारा ३७० के साथ जुड़े अस्थायी शब्द को विशेष शब्द में बदल दिया जाएगा, ताकि स्वायत्तता कायम रह सके।

रपट में स्पष्ट कहा गया है कि प्रदेश में तैनात भारतीय सेना और अर्द्धसैनिक बलों की टुकड़िया कम की जाएं और इनके विशेषाधिकारों को समाप्त किया जाए। वार्ताकार कहते हैं कि राज्य सरकार के मनपसंद का राज्यपाल प्रदेश में होना चाहिए। जम्मू-कश्मीर में कार्यरत अखिल भारतीय सेवाओं के अधिकारियों की संख्या पहले घटाई जाए और बाद में समाप्त कर दी जाए। जिन्होंने पहली बार अपराध किया है उनके केस (एफ आई आर) रद्द किए जाएं। अर्थात् एक-दो विस्फोट माफ हों, भले ही उनमें सौ से ज्यादा बेगुनाह मारे गए हों।

### पाकिस्तान का समर्थन

रपट की यह भी एक सिफारिश है कि कश्मीर से संबंधित किसी भी बातचीत में पाकिस्तान, आतंकी कमांडरों और अलगाववादी नेताओं को भी शामिल किया जाए। रपट में पाक अधिकृत कश्मीर (पीओके) को पाक प्रशासित जम्मू-कश्मीर (पीएजेके) कहा गया है। वार्ताकारों के अनुसार कश्मीर विषय में पाकिस्तान भी एक पार्टी है और पाकिस्तान का वहां शासन है, जो वास्तविकता है।

ध्यान से देखें तो स्पष्ट होगा कि वार्ताकारों ने पूरे जम्मू-कश्मीर को 'आजाद मुल्क' की

मान्यता दे दी है। इसी मान्यता के मद्देनजर रपट में कहा गया है कि पीएजेके समेत पूरे जम्मू-कश्मीर को एक इकाई माना जाए। इसी एक सिफारिश में सारे के सारे जम्मू-कश्मीर को पाकिस्तान के हवाले करने के खतरनाक इरादे की गंध आती है। पाकिस्तान के जबरन कब्जे वाले कश्मीर को पाक प्रशासित जम्मू-कश्मीर मानकर वार्ताकारों ने भारतीय संसद के उस सर्वसम्मत प्रस्ताव को भी अमान्य कर दिया है जिसमें कहा गया था कि सम्पूर्ण जम्मू-कश्मीर भारत का अभिन्न भाग है। १९९४ में पारित इस प्रस्ताव में पाक अधिकृत कश्मीर को वापस लेने का संकल्प भी दुहराया गया था।

### राष्ट्रद्रोह की फलक

कश्मीर विषय पर पाकिस्तान को भी एक पक्ष मानकर वार्ताकारों ने जहां जम्मू-कश्मीर में सक्रिय देशद्रोही अलगाववादियों के आगे घुटने टेके हैं, वहीं उन्होंने पाकिस्तान द्वारा कश्मीर को हड़पने के लिए १९४७, १९६५, १९७२ और १९९९ में भारत पर किए गए हमलों को भी भुलाकर पाकिस्तान के सब गुनाह माफ कर दिए हैं। भारत विभाजन की वस्तुस्थिति से पूर्णतया अनभिज्ञ इन तीनों वार्ताकारों ने महाराजा हरिसिंह द्वारा २६ अक्टूबर, १९४७ को सम्पूर्ण जम्मू-कश्मीर का भारत में किया गया विलय, शेख अब्दुल्ला के देशद्रोह को विफल करने वाला प्रजा परिषद् का आंदोलन, १९७२ में हुआ भारत-पाक शिमला समझौता, १९७५ में हुआ इन्दिरा-शेख समझौता और १९९४ में पारित भारतीय संसद का प्रस्ताव इत्यादि सब कुछ टुकराकर जो रपट पेश की है वह राष्ट्रद्रोह का जीता-जागता दस्तावेज है।

केन्द्र सरकार के इशारे और सहायता से लिख दी गई १२३ पृष्ठों की इस रपट में केवल अलगाववादियों की मंशा, केन्द्र सरकार का एकतरफा दृष्टिकोण और पाकिस्तान के जन्मजात इरादों की चिंता की गई है। जो लोग भारत के राष्ट्र ध्वज को जलाते हैं, संविधान फाड़ते हैं और सुरक्षा बलों पर हमला करते हैं, उनकी जी-हुजूरी की गई है। यह रपट उन

लोगों का घोर अपमान है, जो आज तक राष्ट्रीय ध्वज तिरंगे को थामकर भारत माता की जय के उद्घोष करते हुए जम्मू-कश्मीर के लिए जूझते रहे, मरते रहे।

### कांग्रेस और एनसी की मिलीभगत

वार्ताकारों ने जम्मू-कश्मीर की आम जनता के अनेक प्रतिनिधिमंडलों से वार्ता करने का नाटक तो जरूर किया है, परंतु महत्व उन्हीं लोगों को दिया है जो भारत के संविधान की सौगंध खाकर सत्ता पर काबिज हैं (कांग्रेस के समर्थन से) और भारत के संविधान और संसद को ही धता बताकर स्वायत्तता की पुरजोर मांग कर रहे हैं। उल्लेखनीय है कि जम्मू-कश्मीर के मुख्यमंत्री उमर अब्दुल्ला ने अनेक बार अपने दल नेशनल कांफ्रेंस (एन.सी.) के राजनीतिक एजेंडे 'पूर्ण स्वायत्तता' की मांग की है। स्वायत्तता अर्थात् १९५३ के पूर्व की राजनीतिक एवं संवैधानिक व्यवस्था। इस रपट से पता चलता है कि इसे केन्द्र की कांग्रेसी सरकार, नेशनल कांफ्रेंस, आईएसआई के एजेंटों और तीनों वार्ताकारों की मिलीभगत से गढ़ा गया है।

अगर यह मिलीभगत न होती तो जम्मू-कश्मीर की ८० प्रतिशत भारतभक्त जनता की जरूरतों और अधिकारों को नजरअंदाज न किया जाता। देश विभाजन के समय पाकिस्तान/पीओके से आए लाखों लोगों की नागरिकता का लटकता मुद्दा, तीन-चार युद्धों में शरणार्थी बने सीमांत क्षेत्रों के देशभक्त नागरिकों का पुनर्वास, जम्मू और लद्दाख के लोगों के साथ हो रहा घोर पक्षपात, उनके राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक अधिकारों का हनन, पूरे प्रदेश में व्याप्त आतंकवाद, कश्मीर घाटी से उजाड़ दिए गए चार लाख कश्मीरी हिन्दुओं की सम्मानजनक एवं सुरक्षित घरवापसी और प्रांत के लोगों की अनेकविध जातिगत कठिनाइयां इत्यादि किसी भी समस्या का समाधान नहीं बताया इन सरकारी वार्ताकारों ने।

### फसाद की जड़

इसे देश और जनता का दुर्भाग्य ही कहा जाएगा कि पिछले छह दशकों के अनुभवों के बावजूद भी अधिकांश राजनीतिक दलों को

अभी तक यही समझ में नहीं आया कि एक विशेष मजहबी समूह के बहुमत के आगे झुककर जम्मू-कश्मीर को धारा ३७० के तहत दिया गया विशेष दर्जा और अपना अलग प्रांतीय संविधान ही वास्ताव में कश्मीर की वर्तमान समस्या की जड़ है। संविधान की इसी अस्थाई धारा ३७० को वार्ताकारों ने अब विशेष धारा बनाकर जम्मू-कश्मीर को पूर्ण स्वायत्तता देने की सिफारिश की है। क्या यह भारत द्वारा मान्य चार सिद्धांतों/राजनीतिक व्यवस्थाओं-पंथ निरपेक्षता, एक राष्ट्रीयता संघीय ढांचा और लोकतंत्र का उल्लंघन एवं अपमान नहीं है ?

यह एक सच्चाई है कि भारतीय संविधान की धारा ३७० के अंतर्गत जम्मू-कश्मीर के अलग संविधान ने कश्मीर घाटी के अधिकांश मुस्लिम युवकों को भारत की मुख्य राष्ट्रीय धारा से जुड़ने नहीं दिया। प्रादेशिक संविधान की आड़ लेकर जम्मू-कश्मीर के सभी कट्टरपंथी दल और कश्मीर केन्द्रित सरकारें भारत द्वारा संचालित राष्ट्रीय महत्व के प्रकल्पों और योजनाओं को स्वीकार नहीं करते। भारत की संसद में पारित पूजा स्थल विधेयक, दल बदल कानून और सरकारी जम्मू नियंत्रण कानून को जम्मू-कश्मीर में लागू नहीं किया जा सकता।

### देशघातक कदम

सरकारी वार्ताकारों ने आतंकग्रस्त प्रदेश से सेना की वापसी और अर्द्धसैनिक सुरक्षा बलों के उन विशेषाधिकारों को समाप्त करने की सिफारिश की है जिनके बिना आधुनिक हथियारों से सुसज्जित प्रशिक्षित आतंकियों का न तो सफाया किया जा सकता है और न ही सामना। आतंकी अड्डों पर छापा मारने, गोली चलाने एवं आतंकियों को गिरफ्तार करने के लिए सामूहिक कार्रवाई के अधिकारों के बिना सुरक्षा बल स्थानीय पुलिस के अधीन हो जाएंगे जिसमें पाक समर्थक तत्वों की भरमार है। वैसे भी जम्मू-कश्मीर पुलिस इतनी सक्षम और प्रशिक्षित नहीं है जो पाकिस्तानी घुसपैठियों से निपट सके।

अलगाववादी/आतंकी संगठन तो चाहते हैं कि भारतीय सुरक्षा बलों को कानून के तहत इतना निर्बल बना दिया जाए कि वे मुजाहिदीनों

(स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों) के आगे एक तरह से समर्पण कर दें। विशेषाधिकारों की समाप्ति पर आतंकियों के साथ लड़ते हुए शहीद होने वाले सुरक्षा जवान के परिवार को उस आर्थिक मदद से भी वंचित होना पड़ेगा जो सीमा पर युद्ध के समय शहीद होने वाले सैनिक को मिलती है।

### आजाद मुल्क बनेगा कश्मीर

१९५३ से पूर्व की राज्य व्यवस्था की सिफारिश करना तो सीधे तौर पर देशद्रोह की श्रेणी में आता है। इस तरह की मांग/सिफारिश का अर्थ को चुनौती देना, देश के किसी प्रदेश को भारतीय संघ से तोड़ने का प्रयास करना और भारत के राष्ट्रीय ध्वज, राष्ट्रीय गान, संविधान एवं संसद का विरोध करना। सर्वविदित है कि १९५६ से लेकर आज तक भारत सरकार ने अनेक संवैधानिक संशोधनों द्वारा जम्मू-कश्मीर को भारत के साथ जोड़कर ढेरों राजनीतिक सुविधाएं दी हैं। जम्मू-कश्मीर के उच्च न्यायालय को भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के अधिकार क्षेत्र में लाया गया। १९६४ में प्रदेश में लागू भारतीय संविधान की धाराओं ३५६-३५७ के अंतर्गत राष्ट्रपति शासन की संवैधानिक व्यवस्था की गई। १९५२ की संवैधानिक व्यवस्था में पहुंचकर जम्मू-कश्मीर पाकिस्तान के जबड़े में फंस जाएगा। पाक प्रेरित अलगाववादी संगठन यही तो चाहते हैं। तब यदि राष्ट्रपति शासन, भारतीय सुगक्षा बल और सर्वोच्च न्यायालय की जरूरत पड़ी तो क्या होगा? क्या जम्मू-कश्मीर को पाकिस्तान के हवाले कर देंगे ?

### अखण्डता से खिलवाड़

पाकिस्तान का अघोषित युद्ध जारी है। वह कभी भी घोषित युद्ध में बदल सकता है। जम्मू-कश्मीर सरकार अनियंत्रित होगी। हमारी फौज किसके सहारे लड़ेगी। जब वहां की स्वायत्त सरकार, सारी राज्य व्यवस्था, न्यायालय सब कुछ भारत सरकार के नियंत्रण से बाहर होंगे तो उन्हें भारत के विरोध में खड़ा होने से कौन रोकेगा? अच्छा यही होगा कि भारत की सरकार इन तथाकथित प्रगतिशील वार्ताकारों के भ्रमजाल में फंसकर जम्मू-कश्मीर सहित सारे देश की सुरक्षा एवं अखण्डता के साथ खिलवाड़ न करे।



## असम के सबसे वीर सैनिक माने जाने वाले लाचित ने कहा था - 'गद्दार ! मेरे लिए देश से बढ़कर मामा नहीं'

- डा. राजेन्द्र सिंह चंदेल

असम के लोग तीन महान व्यक्तियों का बहुत सम्मान करते हैं। प्रथम, श्रीमंत शंकरदेव, जो पन्द्रवीं शताब्दी में वैष्णव धर्म के महान प्रवर्तक थे। दूसरे, लाचित बरफुकन, जो असम के सबसे वीर सैनिक माना जाते हैं। और तीसरे, लोकप्रिय गोपीनाथ बरदलोई, जो स्वतन्त्रता संघर्ष के दौरान अग्रणी नेता थे।

औरंगजेब जब दिल्ली का बादशाह बना तो उसने पश्चिम असम पर आक्रमण कर उसे अपने कब्जे में कर लिया, और रसीद खां को वहां के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में नियुक्त किया। लेकिन अहोम के राजा चक्रध्वज सिंह (१६६३-१६६९) को मुगलों के अधीन रहना स्वीकार नहीं था। चक्रध्वज सिंह ने मुगलों से लड़ने के लिए सेना का पुनर्गठन कर नौ शक्ति को बढ़ाया और अपने मंत्री मोमाई तामुली बरबरूवा के पुत्र लाचित को अपना बरफुकन (लेनापति) बनाया। और पूरी तैयारी के साथ मुगलों पर आक्रमण कर अगस्त १६६७ में असमी सेना ने गुवाहाटी में पुनः प्रवेश कर मुगलों को मनाह नदी के पार खदेड़ दिया। उधर मराठा वीर शिवाजी के आगरा दुर्ग से पलायन करने से मुगल बादशाह औरंगजेब परेशान था, इधर असम में हुई मुगलों की हार से वह और तिलमिला गया। उसे सन्देह था कि शिवाजी के पलायन में आमेर के मिर्जा राजा जयसिंह के पुत्र रामसिंह ने सहायता की है। परन्तु वह उसे प्रत्यक्षरूप से सजा देता तो राजपूत सेना में विद्रोह का भय था, इसलिए उसने रामसिंह को असम जैसे खतरनाक मोर्चे पर भेजा दिया। पटना से रामसिंह बंगाल के नवाब और औरंगजेब के मामा शाहस्ता खां से ढाका जाकर मिला और उसकी भी सैन्य सहायत ली। मुगलों की हार को जीत में बदलने के लिए वह धुबरी के रंगामाटी पर अधिकार कर १६६९ ई. में गुवाहाटी के उत्तर पार

अठियाठरी पहाड़ तक आ पहुंचा।

### भेंट नीति का सहारा

लाचित और रामसिंह की सेनाएं ब्रह्मपुत्र के दोनों किनारों पर खड़ी थीं। ब्रह्मपुत्र के दक्षिणी तट पर इटाखुली दुर्ग पर स्वयं लाचित अपने सरदारों और सैनिकों के साथ डटे थे। ब्रह्मपुत्र में नावों का बेड़ा तैयार खड़ा था। लाचित को पता चला कि ब्रह्मपुत्र के उस पार स्थित अमिनगांव के पास दुर्ग की प्राचीर कमजोर है। उसकी मरम्मत का काम उन्होंने अपने मामा को सुपुर्द कर कहा, 'मामा यह काम रात-दिन एक करके किसी भी तरह सुबह तक पुरा हो जाना चाहिए। शत्रु का क्या भरोसा कब अचानक हमला कर दे। यह याद रखना कि दुश्मन की सेना आपसे ज्यादा दूर नहीं है। यह अत्यन्त ही आवश्यक और गुरुतर कार्य है, इसलिए आपके जिम्मे किया है।'

लाचित रात को अचानक काम देखने आये। काम बंद देखकर उनकी आंखों में लहू उतर आया। सोये हुए मामा को जगाकर लाचित ने पूछा-'मामा! काम कैसे बंद है? शत्रु दहलीज पर खड़ा है, और तुम काम छोड़कर चैन की नींद सो रहे हो?'

'अरे लाचित, तुम! जो काम बाकी रह गया है उसे अभी आरंभ करा देता हूँ। मैं बहुत थक गया था, इसलिए आराम करने चला आया। लगता है मेरे पीछे दूसरे लोग भी सो गये। तुम चिंता मत करो, मैं अभी काम शुरू करा देता हूँ।'

'तुम जैसे लोगों की वजह से ही देश परतंत्र होता है। मौत और दुश्मन कभी पूछ कर नहीं आते हैं।' गद्दार ! मेरे लिए देश से बढ़कर मामा नहीं'। इतना कहकर तलवार के एक आघात से मामा का सिर धड़ से अलग कर दिया। यह दुःसाहस देखकर सभी

के सभी अवाक रह गये। सैनिकों के कौतुहल को शांत करते हुए लाचित ने आज्ञा दी-'अपना समय और नष्ट किये बिना काम को पूरा करो और जल्द से जल्द इस गद्दार की लाश को मेरे सामने से हटाओ।' अब तक काम फिर शुरू हो चुका था, और सूर्योदय के पहले दुर्ग की अभेद्य प्राचीर की मरम्मत पूरी हो गयी। वह दुर्ग 'मोमाइकाटा गढ़' कहलाने लगा।

लाचित ने मुगल सेना से लड़ने के लिए कूटनीति अपना रखी थी। संकट दिखे तो कछुए की तरह अपने खोल में सिमट जाओ, और अवसर देखकर शत्रु पर आक्रमण कर उसे नुकसान पहुंचाओ। रामसिंह और उसकी सेना इस लुकाछिपी के खेल से तंग आने लगी। सन् १६६९-७० दो सालों तक छुटपुट लड़ाइयां चलती रहीं। आखिर में हताश होकर रामसिंह ने भेंट नीति का सहारा लिया। लाचित के नाम एक पत्र लिखकर उनके सहयोगी सरदार मिरि सन्दिकै फूकन के हाथों में चालाकी से उसे पहुंचाया।

पत्र में लिखा था,

'लाचित बरफुकन, कल ही तो तुमने हमसे एक लाख रूपये लेकर मान्य किया था कि युद्ध नहीं करूंगा। विश्वास है कि मुगल सेना से केवल युद्ध का दिखावा मात्र करते हुए अपने वचन का पालन करोगे।'

तुम्हारा शुभचिन्तक

राजा रामसिंह

मिरि ने वह पत्र स्वर्गदेव चक्रध्वज सिंह के पास गढ़गांव भेज दिया। राजा के संदेह को अतन बुडागोहॉई ने समझाकर दुर किया लेकिन फिर भी राजा ने मुगल सेना से तत्काल मैदानी युद्ध करने का फरमान भेज दिया।

## प्रजा के प्रति निष्ठा

लाचित शुरू से ही जानते थे कि खुले मैदान में मुगल सेना को मात देना मुस्किल है, लेकिन गढ़गांव से मिले आदेश पर उन्हें आक्रमण करना पड़ा। लड़ाई में दस हजार सैनिक मारे गये, इससे लाचित शोकमग्न हो गये, और उनकी आंखों में आंसू आ गये। अपनी जान बचाने के लिए रामसिंह ने लाचित को फिर एक संदेश भेजा - 'मैं सब लोगों को मुख मांगा धन दूंगा। केवल गुवाहाटी मुझे सौंप दो। मैं संधि कर वापस लौट जाऊंगा।'

इसका लाचित बरफुकन ने उत्तर दिया - 'हमारे स्वर्गदेव उदयगिरि पूर्व के राजा और तुम्हारे बादशाह औरंगजेब अस्त गिरि (पश्चिम) के राजा। तुम और हम तो सेवक हैं। हम सेवकों के बीच संधि नहीं हो सकती।' इस बीच चक्रध्वज की मृत्यु हो गई, और उनका भाई उदय सिंह राजा बना। उदय सिंह में चक्रध्वज जैसी योग्यता नहीं थी। वह चापलूसों से घिरा था, प्रजा के कष्ट बढ़ गये थे। बड़े-बड़े सरदारों और मंत्रियों के परिवार उसके द्वारा लांचित हो रहे थे। इन समाचारों को सुनकर लाचित बड़े व्यथित हुए और उनका मन एक बार गढ़गांव जाने को हुआ, लेकिन उन्होंने गुवाहाटी का मोर्चा नहीं छोड़ा। उन्होंने मन में निर्णय किया- 'उनकी निष्ठा किसी व्यक्ति के प्रति नहीं, राज्य व प्रजा के प्रति है। अगर इस समय गुवाहाटी छोड़कर चला जाऊंगा तो सारे बलिदान व्यर्थ चले जायेंगे।'

रामसिंह की समझ में आ गया कि जल युद्ध किए बिना गुवाहाटी को नहीं जीता जा सकता, इसलिए वर्षा काल समाप्त होते ही उसने आक्रमण करने की ठान ली। इसी बीच गुप्तचर ने रामसिंह को बताया - 'इस समय लाचित बरफुकन आखोईफुटा ज्वर से पीड़ित होकर मूर्च्छा की स्थिति में पड़ा है, उस पर आक्रमण करने का यह अच्छा अवसर है।' यह जानकर रामसिंह ने हमला करने का आदेश दे दिया। मुगल नौकाएं, बन्दूक और तोपों से मार करती हुई शराईघाट

की ओर बढ़ने लगीं।

लाचित की बीमारी की बात सैनिकों में दावानल की तरह फैल गयी। सैनिक हताश होकर अपनी नावों में उल्टे भागने लगे। यह स्थिति देखकर ब्रह्मपुत्र के उत्तर पार अश्वक्लान्त पहाड़ी पर डटी हुई, असमिया सेना में भी खलबली मच गयी। भीषण बुखार में भी लाचित बरफुकन अपने इटाखुली दुर्ग से मुगलों का आक्रमण देख रहे थे। सारी स्थिति को भांपकर वे युद्ध में जाने को तैयार हुए। वैद्य ने लाचित को समझाकर रोकने का प्रयास किया और राज ज्योतिषी ने वैद्य की बात का समर्थन करते हुए कहा कि 'मैं आपको युद्ध में जाने की सलाह नहीं दूंगा। मेरी गणना के अनुसार इस समय आपका युद्ध में जाना हानिकारक हो सकता है।'

लाचित ने दृढ़तापूर्वक कहा- 'इससे बढ़कर क्या हानि हो सकती है कि शत्रु हमारी भूमि को हड़प ले और हम मुंह देखते रह जाएं। यहां बिस्तर पर मरने से तो अच्छा है कि मैं युद्ध करते हुए मरूं। मुझे युद्ध में जाने से कोई नहीं रोक सकता।' बिस्तर से उठने की भी लाचित बरफुकन की अवस्था न थी फिर भी उन्होंने एक सैनिक का सहारा लेकर उठते हुए अपने सहयोगियों से कहा- 'तुम मेरे को पलंग उठाकर नौका में रखो। इस वक्त एक-एक पल हमारे लिए भारी है, जरासी भी चुक हुई तो सारी सेना का विनाश निश्चित है। सामने देखो, मुगल सेना की नौकाएं तेज गति से आगे उमानन्द द्वीप तक पहुंच रही हैं।'

एक ओर ब्रह्मपुत्र में पूर्व की ओर बढ़ती मुगलों की सैकड़ों नौकाएं, दूर भागती असमिया सेना की नावें और दूसरी ओर जलधारा के साथ बहती हुई, एकमात्र नौका पर क्रोध से उन्मत्त अपना खड्ग हाथ में लिए हुए भी वे अकेले दुश्मनों पर टूट पड़े। अपने सेनापति को देखकर अहोम सेना में तीव्र आवेश पैदा हुआ। नौकाओं के मुंह फेर दिया गये। नाव से नाव भिड़ गयी। घमासान युद्ध छिड़ गया। लाचित ने अपने सैनिकों को ललकारा 'वीरो! मुगलों को

इस बार ऐसा सबक सिखाओ कि फिर कभी भविष्य में असम की ओर रुख करने का ये साहस न कर सकें। यह आखरी और निर्णयक युद्ध होना चाहिए। इस अवसर पर चुक गये तो असम की माटी तुम्हें कभी क्षमा नहीं करेगी।'..... बरफुकन की इस वाणी ने असमिया वीरों में नई स्फूर्ति भर दी और वे दुगुने जोश के साथ जी-जान की बाजी लगाकर लड़ने लगे। असमिया नौवाहिनी के गोताखोरों ने ब्रह्मपुत्र की अतिप्रवाहमान धारा में गोते लगाकर मुगलों की अनेक नावों में छिद्र कर-कर उन्हें डुबो दिया।

इस प्रबल आक्रमण से मुगल सेना के पैर उखड़ने लगे। अपने सिपहसालार रहीम खां को असमिया सेना द्वारा मारा गया देखकर वे ओर हताश हो गये। स्वयं रामसिंह भी इस प्रबल आक्रमण के सामने नहीं टिक पाया। वह समझ गया कि असमिया सेना के साथ जल युद्ध में और जूझना आत्मघात के समान होगा। आखिर उसके सामने शराईघाट छोड़कर पीछे हटने के सिवाय कोई चारा नहीं बचा।.....लाचित की सेना ने भागती मुगल सेना की नौकाओं और शस्त्रों को लूटने की लाचित से अनुमति मांगी, परन्तु लाचित ने कहा-इन भगोड़ों को लूटकर मैं स्वर्गदेव और अपने मंत्रियों की प्रतिष्ठा पर दाग नहीं लगाना चाहता। जाओ, शत्रु को असम की सीमा के बाहर मनाह नदी के पार तक खदेड़कर आओ।

मुगल सेना की भारी पराजय हुई। फिर भी वहां से लौटते हुए रामसिंह ने लाचित बरफुकन की भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा की। लाचित बरफुकन ने युद्ध तो जीत लिया पर अपनी बीमारी को मात नहीं दे सके। आखिर सन् १६७२ में उनका देहांत हो गया। भारतीय इतिहास लिखने वालों ने इस वीर की भले ही उपेक्षा की हो, पर असम के इतिहास और लोकगीतों में यह चरित्र मराठा वीर शिवाजी की तरह अमर है।