

**Commemorating 150th Birth
Anniversary of Gandhi**

ISSUE 03

SPECULO

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE



INTERVIEWS

**Dr. Vasudha Pande
Dr. Aman Hingorani**

**POLITICS OF DANDA
GANDHI AND WOMEN
CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY
ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS**

ABOUT THE COLLEGE

Janki Devi Memorial College was established in 1959, by the famous Gandhian, Shri Brij Krishna Chandiwalla, in the memory of his mother Smt. Janki Devi, with the vision to promote women's education. The college offers a wide range of degrees to pursue, striving to inculcate the best education with the help of a highly qualified faculty, which focuses on providing a better future for the students.



ABOUT THE DEPARTMENT

The Department of Political Science encourages its students to be the leaders of tomorrow. The highly competent and efficient teachers and professors drive students to work hard to become a better version of themselves and grow intellectually. The Department organizes its annual fest 'Politique' every year and regularly invites eminent personalities for talks and workshops. The Department aims to help its students enhance their academic as well as organisational skills.

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FROM THE PRINCIPAL'S DESK



“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity ...” These words of Charles Dickens echo in my mind when I think of the times that we all live in. They are certainly not the easiest.

The state of the global economy, the crumbling social fabric, the deadening of social institutions, the felt fear, the insecurities, the crises of education, the frustrations, the stagnation...the list is endless. And depressing. One could well surrender to the dismal state of affairs the world over and become not just a cynic but hopeless.

And then we look around and we see that there is hope. Hope in the students, in the youth. In the things they do, in the spaces they traverse and the texts they write in the theatre of life. The critical enquiry, the desire to bring change, to transform the world, the introspection... They truly are the inheritors of all that the social sciences hope to achieve, i.e. an education and knowledge that trains people to be fair-minded , to spread peace and love ,to live with community spirit and to be sensitive to the diverse cultures of the land.

If we are celebrating the 150th birth anniversary of Gandhiji , it is only right that our young students recall that Gandhiji said, ‘If we are to teach real peace in this world, and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with the children.’ He also said, ‘I will not let anyone walk through my mind with their dirty feet’. It is so important in this age of quick information accessed easily in multiple ways, to be properly informed about everything, to not fall prey to propaganda and to then make the right choices and decisions and lead to a better world.

Speculo is one such means of doing so, of engaging in a dialogic manner with contemporary issues. Of learning and unlearning. Of expressing without constraints. I congratulate you all on yet another edition of the Departmental Magazine and am delighted at the sustained efforts of the students in particular.

May you grow from strength to strength. The college has turned a sparkling sixty, I pray that all in the Political Science department shine like a diamond- the sky is the limit!

Warm wishes always

Swati Pal

Principal

A NOTE FROM THE TEACHER IN-CHARGE



Knowledge exists potentially in the human soul like the seed in the soil; by learning the potential becomes actual- Imam Ghazali

The true essence of holistic education is to apply theoretical constructs to understand, imbibe and constructively criticize the norms and challenges prevailing in the society. It is certainly a reflection of students' quest for knowledge and a transition from potential to actual when students take initiative to hold discussion with eminent scholars to fulfill their quest for acquiring knowledge, to question the established narratives, to review the recent writings and to articulate their opinions freely without any bondage to academic assessment or prompting by the teachers.

Writing a note for such a venture is indeed a special honour and a moment of delight for me personally. I have been associated with Speculo for the past three years, and witnessed stimulating ideas of students from close proximity. However, all this would not have been possible without direct and indirect encouragement, and contribution of many people. First and foremost, I would like to express my wholehearted gratitude to Principal, Dr. Swati Pal, who always enthusiastically supported student centric initiatives in the college and wrote encouraging notes for all the issues of Speculo. The teachers of the department deserve kudos for inspiring the students to always think rationally and critically. For instance, the wide-ranging topics discussed and articulation of diverse opinions in the magazine by students, is definitely a testimony of such an effort of teachers.

I would like to acknowledge the encouragement and logistical support extended for the magazine by the Association-In-Charges; Dr. Poonam Kanwal, Ms. Debahuti Brahmachari and Mr. Dinesh Ahirrao. The Mentors; Mr. Raju Keshary, Mr. Pavan Kumar and Mr. Umesh Kumar were actively involved in shaping the ideas of students and helped them in improving the drafts. The editorial team deserves full credit for the selection of write-ups and ensuring the magazine to its logical conclusion. Finally, the foremost praise is reserved for contributors, who made this magazine thought provoking and multidimensional by expressing their thoughts and writing reviews on contemporary issues of importance. I would like to end my note with one piece of advice, keep the hunger for knowledge always alive. This magazine should only be a stepping-stone in your upcoming illustrious life.

Md. Zubeer Ahmed
Teacher-In-Charge (2019-2021)
Department of Political Science

A NOTE FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD



In a time when narratives are being imposed, individual opinions suppressed, and progress still an imagination for many, it becomes imperative upon us to study, analyse and critique the status quo, and not take things simply on their face value. This inspired us to come up with the third version of 'SPECULO' (mirror in Latin), the maiden annual magazine of the Department of Political Science, Janki Devi Memorial College.

It is only through reflection, that one can see the reality. SPECULO, the student magazine, tries to reflect the true image of the society we live in, through the eyes of the students, expanding their horizons. In the course of working for this magazine we, the editorial team have learnt the skills of researching, writing, editing and organising the material in a coherent and a reader friendly way. The whole journey has been an experience of immense learning. This project would not have been possible, without the support of many.

First and foremost, we would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to our Principal, Dr. Swati Pal, who enthusiastically supported this initiative and wrote an encouraging note for us.

We would also like to thank the TIC/ Head of the Department of Political Science, Md. Zubeer Ahmed Who patiently heard our idea and supported us in this endeavour

We would like to thank our Association Incharge, Dr.Poonam kanwal, Ms. Debahuti Brahmachari, and Mr. Dinesh Ahirrao, who took up our proposal of the magazine as an association activity and extended their invaluable support, since the very beginning.

Our mentors, Md Zubeer Ahmed, Mr. Pavan Kumar ,Mr. Raju Keshri and Mr. Umesh Kumar has been the guiding light throughout this journey. We thank him deeply for his crucial suggestions and supervision, without which SPECULO would not have been possible.

SPECULO is a collection of the voices of the students. It is a medium through which the students have brought forward their ideas, thoughts, and opinions. We hereby thank all the contributors for their generous contributions on various issues of social importance.

Editorial Board

Head – Swati Sharma

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Interview Team- Sthiti Pattanayak, Nandani Yadav, Pramita and Swati Sharma

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Cartoon Making section – Sirat Bhalla

Graphic Designer- Nandani Yadav and Sthiti Pattanayak

A NOTE FROM THE STUDENT'S UNION



A dream doesn't become reality through magic; it takes sweat, determination and hard work. Speculo began its journey with just 5 editorial members and English language in its foundation year but every year we have witnessed blooming energy and enthusiasm in students who poured their hearts out to reach out to audience in a way that would motivate our readers to think and evaluate more, a platform that our brilliant writers used to highlight issues from different spheres in order to focus on solutions and development.

As this academic session nears its close, our team once again gathers in its hands various strands that go into weaving the tapestry of our department, thereby we are proud to announce the Third edition of our department magazine 'SPECULO'. An excellent job done by our team in unfolding and presenting the wide range of competitions like thought provoking articles, self-composed poems, caricatures etc. The opportunities not only helped in creating healthy competition but also helped in making diligent and generous impact altogether.

We would like to thank our honorable Principal Ma'am, Dr. Swati Pal for granting us the permission to publish our own magazine and for her continuous encouragement and motivation for us to perform better everywhere for ravishing growth.

We are equally grateful to all our Association Incharges, Dr. Poonam Kanwal, Ms. Debahuti Brahmachari and Mr. Dinesh Ahirrao who believed in us and taught us that focus, divergent thinking and determination are essential ingredients in life to remain undeterred. A heartfelt gratitude to the Mentors of Team Speculo - Mr. Zubeer Ahmed, Mr. Pawan Kumar, Mr. Raju Keshri and Mr. Umesh Kumar for guiding us all throughout this journey and helping us to give our best.

We would also like to express our heartfelt gratitude to the students for their generous support and collaboration, to all the contributors who wished nothing but success of Speculo at the end. On behalf of the entire team, we wish everyone happy reading!

Swati (President), Chanchal (VicePresident), Sanya (General Secretary), Vishu Rathi (Treasurer), Nandani Yadav (Cultural Head), Radhika (Cultural Head), Megha (Cultural Co-Head), Mumtaz Rehman (Discipline Head), Daksha (Discipline Co-Head), Abeer (Creative Head), Jyoti Khatri (Creative Co-Head), Tanya Gupta (Media Head), Rachita (Media Co-Head), Vanshika Nagpal (Sponsorship Head), Lavanya (Sponsorship Co-Head) and Savneet (Refreshment Head)

IN CONVERSATION WITH.....

Interview with Dr. Vasudha Pande

Vasudha Pande, an Associate Professor at the Department of History, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, University of Delhi is skilled in research, E-learning, teaching, higher education, and instructional design. Her research focuses on modern Kumaun, caste, religious and regional identities. She has extensively written on divergent historiographies of Gorkha rule in Kumaun and far Western Nepal. She has also written on the issue of borderlands in Kumaun, far Western Nepal and Western Tibet. Mrs. Pande is a noted Gandhian. In an interview with the editorial board (Sthiti Pattanayak, Nandani Yadav, Swati Sharma and Pramita), she has provided various insights on the Gandhian Philosophy and its praxis based upon her knowledge and experiences.



Nandani Yadav - It has been many years since Mahatma Gandhi departed from the world. But his life and the soul continue to animate humanity transcending national and international boundaries. The world today recognizes him as a far more compelling social innovator that humanity has ever experienced. Ma'am, what is the one Gandhian idea that has inspired you the most?

Dr. Pande: Not one, but two of his ideas have inspired me the most. I think Gandhi's idea of controlled consumption is a very important part for understanding the true essence of his philosophy. He questions the notion of consumption precisely focusing on 'not wasting' our natural resources. The size of the pencil that he used during his times present in the Gandhi Museum is a testament to this fact. Somewhere, this is his greatest contribution to environmentalism.

The other idea that Gandhi endorsed is the political decentralisation. His critique of modern civilization suggests that state power should be something that an individual can manage. I would say Ram Raj is not about Ram; it is where each individual can exercise his or her own agency, which we do not find in India. As a matter of fact, the history of modernity has witnessed a more powerful nature of state. Gandhi did not agree with the post colonial state that we made. He believed that every village should decide for itself. Maybe what Gandhi was talking about in "*Hind Swaraj*" is probably not possible in the modern era. But somewhere, if we keep in touch with those things, we might think of new and innovative ideas.

Sthiti Pattnayak- Do you think, in the present scenario of environmental crisis, Gandhi's words "There is enough for every man's need but not for every man's greed" would fit to describe aggravation in the condition? Despite his contribution to environmental protection, there is a debate about him being an environmentalist. How do you respond to that?

Dr. Pande: Environmentalism is a product of the 1970s. In that sense, Gandhi does not fit the bill. Somewhere, Gandhi's ideas have influenced and have been embraced by a large number of environmentalists. Arne Naess in his Deep Ecology Movement has acknowledged the debt to Gandhi. Moreover, the Gandhian idea played a very important role and helped a lot in environmental movements such as Chipko and Narmada Bachao Andolan in the post colonial India. So, what is interesting is that his ideas of consumption are clearly linked to all the environmental movements.

There is a very interesting debate amongst the people who write about the environment that the constant need to enumerate within capital is very much at the root of the problem of nature. *Tolstoy* and *Ruskin Bond* heavily influenced Gandhi to anticipate some of the problems of the environment. Gandhi's ideas are extremely important in terms of environment because if we look at the idea of "small is beautiful" by *E.F. Schumacher*, he was influenced by Gandh

Pramita- Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Aung San Suu Kyi, Barack Obama, and many other great personalities have derived great inspiration from Gandhi. While western civilizations have started realizing the important role that Gandhian philosophy can play to create a culture of peace and non-violence in today's strife-torn environment, we Indians have sadly relegated and ignored the ideas of Gandhi. What according to you, are the possible reasons for this?

Dr. Pande- I agree that Gandhi's ideas were about living together peacefully. Gandhi did play an important role in a way we conducted over our foreign policies in the earlier period. For instance, we did not play a part in the Cold War politics, for which India was highly respected for its moral sense. But, gradually as we started doing better, I think the logic of prosperity and development has intensified the strange within our own society. In the post 1990s, the emerging Indian middle class became less tolerant of others because somewhere they believed that their own prosperity was at stake. The world itself was under a lot of stress in the post 1990s.

In a sense, we have started seeing ourselves as glorious. I think Gandhi never emphasized glory. In the nationalist movement, we have talked too much about our past as glorious and we got caught in attraction for glory which was necessary when we had to stand up against the Britishers. But once we have become citizens of an independent nation, we have to be much more critical of ourselves because we have to see where we are being positioned and we cannot live only on the past glory. Somewhere, it eroded the Gandhian message and we do not have new Gandhians and that is the sad part of today. No new organisations have been formed in the name of Gandhi.

We have mostly associated him as a historical, political figure. As a consequence, the status of 'Mahatma' has been reduced to his political ideas of nationalism. Of course, he was also a nationalist and leader of the nationalist movement. But, to see him in that frame alone means, we have abridged his multifaceted philosophy. Sumit Sarkar, a major critic of Gandhi, writes that "going to the heart of the communal strife - Noakhali and singing *EklaChalo* re was Gandhi's finest stunt". Gandhi was one of the few leaders who attacked communalism apart from Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi at that time.

Swati- Today, India has the unique distinction of being the only country that has one of the top 10 richest persons in the world while at the same time more than 30% of its population lives in dire poverty. Statistics clearly show that the country is definitely not following 'SARVODAYA'. What according to you, are the possible measures that can be taken to tackle this rich-poor disparity in the nation?

Dr. Pande: It is a very important and critical question. I don't think I have an answer. The book *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* is a very good reference on this issue. Actually, what happened is that somewhere we have confined ourselves along the path of development, particularly during the post 1990s. We had talked about poverty alleviation with the *garibi hatao* slogan raised by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, though I was quite critical of that slogan, but it has become the fact that the issue of poverty was in our imagination and became a topic of national discussion. After that phase, the people have stopped talking about *garibi*. The imagination of people has changed. Now we see ourselves in line with China. We want to be at the top of the world, but somewhere we have lost the Talisman of Gandhi that 'when I make a decision I think of the poorest and the least powerful man in India'. Unfortunately, we now want to see things in terms of statistical growth. We don't have eyes and ears open for deprived. We have become desensitised towards poverty. Our sensitivity has disappeared. We are so proud of India developing and shining that we have pushed the issue of poverty under the carpet. As a result, the inequality has increased in the post 1990s period. To answer your question about how we come to *sarvodaya*, I would suggest that we need new structures of power and decentralisation. We need to voice the demands of people.

Nandani- Gandhi offered a clear critique of modernity. He indicted modern civilization on moral grounds. He said it is irreligious and leaves no time for contemplation, offers neither stability nor certainty, is treacherously deceptive, hypnotic and self-destructive. He believed that Indian poverty is the creation of the modern industry. But in the present scenario, we see the overwhelming influence of industrialization in India. Ma'am, what are your remarks on this situation?

Dr. Pande- Partha Chatterjee says that Gandhi was epistemologically outside post-enlightenment thought and that's why he is connected to the present. I don't think Gandhi was not modern. I think he was extremely modern. Talking about religion, he says that if anything goes against your conscience, then do not follow it. He had appealed to modern individuals saying that, your conscience has to be the arbiter of what decisions you take. It is an extremely modern way to look at. Gandhi spoke more about ethics, I think it is a very important contribution because in a sense he mobilised people by talking to them about the ultimate moral principles rather than religious principles. Gandhi is a humanist of the highest order and we cannot miss that while discussing his ideas.

In *Hind Swaraj*, he says that modern industries are the problem. But if we look at him in the larger context, he is clearly saying that what drives capitalism is the desire for profit which he found problematic. And therefore he wanted a kind of intermediate technology, which would increase people's prosperity or consumption, but won't overwhelm them by the need for profit. He is critical of both capitalism and Marxism, but his understanding of capitalism for profit is perfect. For example, if you look at how he handled the labour dispute in Ahmedabad, he got the workers their wage but not on the basis of their needs. He wanted a modern industry to have a human face. The factor that if I do something (set up an industry) how will it benefit other matters and not just how I will be in profit from the business.

Sthiti-The Gandhian philosophy on Education aims at the all-round development of human personality. His primary emphasis is on the 3 H's, that is, head, heart, and hand rather than on reading, writing, and arithmetic. However, if we ponder over the failure of the present educational system we get to see this huge army of educated unemployed who are becoming a menace for the polity and society. What are your views about the same?

Dr. Pande - Yes, I completely agree that Gandhi's philosophy on education was completely different. But, I would also like to put Gandhi with the trend of philosophers of India in the 19th century who have talked about it and who have critiqued the colonial system of education. This system of education, if we look at it carefully, was not to produce highly motivated individuals rather to produce members of the bureaucracy. The whole purpose of education, even today, is to add to the soldiers of the state. But Gandhi saw it in a very different way. To *head, heart and hand*, I would add 'Human'. In Africa, he taught the children to use their hands for shoe making which was not being entertained by their parents.

In India because of the caste system, it would have been questionable. In his book, Krishna Kumar has said that we have not changed the colonial system of education. It is a blend of western ideas and yet it is premised upon an important aspect that we do not learn skills with the hands. So what we have done is that we have an artisanal culture that is not a part of the educational sphere. In that sense Gandhi was learning from the west. In comparison to the egalitarianism of the west, because of the caste in India that never allowed education of this

kind where the skills of the hand are important. He understood that education would counter this and his '*Nayi Taalim*' was an idea in that context. It was introduced in the Congress ministries during 1937 and a lot of people were critical about it because it questions the very fundamental principles of others. His idea about religion questions the hegemony of the *Shashtra* and other ways of controlling people. His educational policies questioned hierarchy and interrogated the caste system. He emphasized the value of labour. Educated unemployed is only because we are only looking at it in terms of packages. Please remember, we have to change the structure of our education system and now with the artificial intelligence we will have to restructure even more.

Swati- We will be publishing this interview with a purpose of reaching out to the audience from the younger generation. How do you think we can associate with Gandhi's idea and find its relevance in our everyday life?

Dr. Pande- It is a very powerful idea. The youth like you are asking these kinds of questions, we have to think of innovative ways of organising society. We cannot look at the west. We have to have our own models of organisation. And these organisations need to be something clearly out of the past. Two or three extremely important values we have to consider that we have to recognise the importance of women and we have to be non-hierarchical. This audience should also be thinking which I feel like suggesting to you as I have been teaching environmental history that we have to move out of this one simple nation state development. We have to think of the global history in which we will have to write not just about men and women but also about the history of other species. We are not the only inhabitants of earth and we are not the only species that should inherit the earth. From the 1970s onwards, the number of species that have disappeared from the world is frightening. So we have to now be sensitive not only to women, tribal, poor or other categories that we know from our social science, but also to nature. I think Gandhi is still providing that model of consumption, which is necessary to come up with some innovative ideas (The concept of minimalism).

The youth has to realise that nobody out there will do it for them. Gandhi said that you have to be the change that you want to see in the world. He is still relevant. But, Gandhi's relevance



should be modified in the present context. We have to look at it as how Gandhi would have dealt with it. I do believe that there is hope for India to find the answer

Interview with Dr. Aman Hingorani

Dr Aman M. Hingorani is a lawyer and a mediator in the Supreme Court of India and the High Court of Delhi. Dr. Hingorani has also acted as an arbitrator and as adjunct faculty to teach law students and run training courses for judicial officers, lawyers and law teachers. He has taught in various programmes at several institutions. Dr Hingorani has been invited to address various national and international audiences, including various stakeholders on the Kashmir issue. The Editorial Board (Pramita Jasuja, Nandani Yadav and Sthiti Pattnayak) of the Team SPECULO was fortunate enough to interview him regarding the Kashmir issue.



Nandani Yadav: Sir, what was your inspiration behind writing the book-*Unravelling The Kashmir Knot*?

Dr. Hingorani: It was my father's idea that I should explore the Kashmir issue. He enrolled as a lawyer in the Sindh Court in 1946, about 18 months before Partition of the Indian subcontinent, and was familiar with the affairs of the 560 odd princely states in colonial India. So when I was looking for a topic for my Ph.D. in law, my father suggested that I research the Kashmir issue since, in his view, this was an area where every principle of law had been violated. This book is a slice of that Ph.D thesis.

Sthiti Pattnayak: Sir, why do say in your book that the Kashmir issue is a broader question that is not usually addressed by common debates and approaches?

Dr. Hingorani: The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) acceded unconditionally to India (though only in areas of external affairs, communications and defence) on 26 October 1947, and became part of India. However, it was the Government of India that accepted the accession provisionally and made it subject to a reference to the people. The broader question pertains to the conferral of the 'disputed territory' tag upon J&K by New Delhi itself in 1947.

Pramita Jasuja: Sir, you have relied upon British archives to say that this was due to British colonial politics. Could you elaborate on this?

Dr. Hingorani: The book refers to the ongoing Great Game between Britain and Soviet Russia. The British wanted to check Russian influence from coming southwards towards the oil-rich

Middle East. The British adopted many strategies towards this end, and one such strategy was to use Islam as an ideological boundary since the territory adjoining Soviet Russia from Turkey to China was Muslim. The North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and the Gilgit-Baltistan region of J&K fell within this territory. The British could not afford to let go of this northern frontier of colonial India while transferring power to Indian hands. The book details how the British scripted the Partition in order to create a friendly 'Pakistan' that would provide this territory to the British for the Great Game. The book notes how the British out-smarted the Indian political leadership to make Congress-ruled NWFP a part of Pakistan. The British assumed that the Muslim majority J&K, which was contiguous to Pakistan, would accede to Pakistan. When it did not, it was the British that carved out the Gilgit-Baltistan region of J&K on the night of 31 October 1947 (within five nights of the accession) and handed over such Indian territory to Pakistan. It was the British officers heading the Indian and Pakistan armies that created the buffer area known as the supposed 'Azad Kashmir' to block India from going to war with Pakistan to recover its territory. Such occupied territory of J&K was earmarked in 1947 itself by the British to be kept free from Indian control.

The book details how Mountbatten had persuaded New Delhi to accept the accession provisionally and to agree that the question of the accession of J&K to India would be settled by a reference to the people. The book documents how the British leaned on New Delhi to go to the UN to complain about Pakistan's aggression, being fully confident that the UNSC would call for ceasefire without requiring Pakistan to vacate, and hence Pakistan would enjoy de facto control of the occupied territory and make it available to the British for its own Great Game against the then Soviet Russia. Further, the UNSC would expressly bypass India's charge of aggression and hold it to its promise of holding the plebiscite, now under UN supervision. This is precisely what happened. So India is the only country in history that went to the UN complaining about aggression on its territory and came back with a commitment to decide whether or not it was even its territory. The Kashmir issue is not only about cross-border terrorism by Pakistan or the turmoil in the Valley, which is just 9% of J&K, but also the occupied territory of J&K that the British kept free from Indian control by subverting the UNSC. We have till date not been able to recover our territory despite the 1994 Parliamentary Resolution requiring New Delhi to do so.

Nandani Yadav: Sir, you have mentioned in your book that India has continued to formulate misconceived policies towards J&K. Why do you say so?

Dr. Hingorani: After having given J&K a 'disputed territory' tag and internationalizing the Kashmir issue, New Delhi decided (though unofficially) that it should maintain territorial status quo - that is, we disown the occupied territory of J&K as also our citizens residing there. At one point, the Supreme Court had declared that there was no limitation on Indian Parliament to cede national territory through a constitutional amendment. Later, the Court held that Parliament cannot amend the basic structure of the Constitution, which includes territorial integrity and unity of the country. So, New Delhi cannot give away the occupied territory of J&K. Yet, if we

look at the chronology of events, in 1950 we suggested the partition of J&K. In 1957, we told the UNSC that we consider it our 'duty not to re-agitate matters' and to 'let sleeping dogs lie so far as the actual state of affairs is concerned'. In the 1965 war, we won back Haji Pir (Indian territory), but returned it in 1966 to Pakistan (Tashkent Declaration). We then went on to emphasise the inviolability of the cease fire line (Shimla Agreement, Lahore Declaration). In fact, when we now do surgical strikes, we are actually attacking our own country. We have forgotten that the people in the occupied territory are Indian citizens. They have even forgotten their identity as Indian citizens.

We ironically discovered through Chinese maps in 1958 that they have already occupied Aksai Chin. In 1963, Pakistan gifted part of the occupied territory (Indian territory) to China to settle their boundary dispute. Thus, two other sovereign countries – Pakistan and China – control 55% of the territory of J&K, which is Indian territory. We still insist that the Kashmir issue is a bilateral one. Today, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor runs through Gilgit-Baltistan (Indian territory). China is pumping money into Indian territory to build roadways as well as to lay optic fibres to spread Chinese culture and we make only formal protests. Our policies are inconsistent with our own Constitution.

Sthiti Pattnayak: Sir, do we have any possible solution to deal with this present condition. If so, how can we handle the Kashmir issue?

Dr. Hingorani: We don't really have a political, military, diplomatic or economic option to recover the occupied territory or to even break the political stalemate between India, Pakistan and China. I have therefore suggested that, as a first step, use law to alter the political discourse, both nationally and internationally. While India is an ancient civilization, modern day India and Pakistan are creations of the Government of India Act 1935 and the Indian Independence Act 1947. There is no doubt about the legitimacy of an "India" or a "Pakistan" as created by this constitutional law. As per this law, the sovereign ruler of a princely state alone could decide to accede to India, Pakistan or stay independent. The sovereign Ruler of J&K decided to accede to India in terms of this very law that created India and Pakistan. In my view, New Delhi had no power to lay down a contrary policy in 1947 that it is the people of J&K who will decide the future of that princely state. It is well settled that no government can clothe itself with the authority to make promises which are inconsistent with the very constitution that gives it birth. Further, Pakistan was created by the same constitutional law. If Pakistan disowns this law, there is no "Pakistan", and if Pakistan accepts this law, then the very law which created Pakistan itself makes J&K a part of India. The question also does not arise of a third state (Pakistan) vetoing the accession of one sovereign state (J&K) to another sovereign state (India). We can keep saying J&K is an integral part of India, and it is. However, we ourselves gave J&K the 'disputed territory' tag, internationalised the Kashmir issue and conferred standing on Pakistan and the international community to comment on Kashmir. Consequently, the international community

views J&K as ‘disputed territory’. The first step therefore is to alter the political discourse by getting rid of the ‘disputed territory’ tag, as detailed in the book.

Pramita Jasuja: Sir, what can India do to have the ‘disputed territory’ tag on J&K removed?



Dr.Hingorani: New Delhi should have the Kashmir issue examined on limited questions by the principal judicial organ of the UN, namely the ICJ, whose views are authoritative for the world community. We can block Pakistan from widening the scope of examination since we have made Commonwealth reservations. The book formulates eight legal propositions that would lead the ICJ to hold that the entire state of J&K is Indian territory in terms of the very law that created India and Pakistan. If we succeed, the very presence of Pakistan and China on Indian territory would amount to aggression and there are ICJ judgements on the international mechanisms that would come into play to get such aggression vacated. And in case we do not succeed, the ICJ can only say that the wishes of people were relevant in deciding the future of J&K. Our traditional stand has been that we have already ascertained the wishes of the people of J&K through its elected constituent assembly and that they want to be an integral part of India. We can simply fall back on this stand. So we stand to lose nothing. We need to depoliticize the Kashmir issue. It is a political issue but it also has legal elements. We can take advantage of law as a tool to break the political stalemate between India, Pakistan and China and to regain moral authority in J&K. After all, we need to win over people because you cannot govern countries by law or violence; you need to get public opinion on your side. Law by itself cannot resolve the Kashmir issue but it has the potential of altering the political discourse on J&K nationally and internationally. I am

aware of the difficulties of implementing a favourable ICJ decision as also the spectre of global politics, but the very pronouncement by the ICJ that J&K is an integral part of India would suffice. No one can then plead that it is supposedly a 'jihad' that is underway in J&K. Many in India would understandably be hesitant about taking the Kashmir issue back to the international stage, but going to the ICJ is not quite the same thing as going to the UNSC, which is a political body.

Nandani Yadav: What is your take on the recent de-operationalisation of Article 370 ?

Dr. Hingorani: I am not for Article 370 nor against it. In my view, since the genesis of the Kashmir issue does not lie in Article 370, the solution also cannot be located there. Abrogation of Article 370 will not remove the 'disputed territory' tag on J&K nor help India recover the occupied territory. I believe that instead of the traditional approach of focusing on the part of J&K with India, New Delhi should first endeavour to regain moral authority at the international level by moving the ICJ, and then work to mobilise public opinion in J&K in its favour.

ARTICLE SECTION

No One is Born a Criminal

NANDANI YADAV, YEAR III

Officer George: But what made you kill all your female classmates on their birth dates! (*Shouting in anger during interrogation*)

Harry: Because I like it that way. (*Nonchalantly*)

Officer George: Do you even realize what a heinous crime is this! (*Amazed by Harry's reply*)

Harry: Ummm.....Crime? What's wrong in killing girls on their birthdays? This is how it is supposed to be. Daddy killed mom too on her birthday. (*Silence in the entire room*)



Many people have a dark and morbid fascination with true crime and the people behind these horrible acts. This curiosity often stems from questions that are difficult to answer: How does a person become a criminal? Are criminals born or made? Can anyone become a criminal? Criminal profilers use Psychology, forensics, and neuroscience to try to answer these questions. They use this same knowledge to catch criminals. The hope is that with the understanding we

can prevent crimes and deliver criminal justice more effectively.

The term “**Criminal Psychology**” has been defined in numerous ways. Even today it has no accepted definition. It can be defined as a science that helps investigative institutions in fulfilling their mission more effectively by applying psychological knowledge to it.

CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY IN INDIA

History :

One can trace the roots of Forensic Psychology back to 1968 when the first lie detection division was set up at the Central Forensic Science Laboratory (CFSL) of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI). In 2010 the supreme court of India ruled that tests such as Narco analysis, Lie detection and Brain Electrical Oscillation Signature can be conducted with informed consent.

Information discovered with the help of these instruments can be admitted as evidence in the court of law.

How does it work?

In India, as we know, the police collect the evidence and transport it to the Forensic Laboratory of the Jurisdiction where experts scientifically examine it. The role of a forensic psychologist would ideally begin when they are called upon by the police, lawyers or judges to interview and assess criminals. The formal interview and assessment are then used as corroborative evidence in the court of law to help execute justice effectively. A Forensic Psychologist can also continue work towards the rehabilitation of a criminal or a victim under a court mandate in a medico-legal ward.

According to the Indian Evidence Act 1872, Section 45 states: " Opinions of experts.—When the Court has to form an opinion upon a point of foreign law or science or art, or as to identity of handwriting 35 [or finger impressions], the opinions upon that point of persons specially skilled in such foreign law, science or art, 36 [or in questions as to identity of handwriting] 35 [or finger impressions] are relevant facts. Such persons are called experts."

As per the above clause, a forensic psychologist assists the judicial system to execute the law in a just manner by presenting facts. These facts are in the form of reports of in-depth interviews and thorough assessments of the suspects in question. It must be taken into account that a forensic psychologist acts as an expert who imparts his knowledge and expertise to the courtroom, which acts as corroborative evidence. At no point, the expert has the final verdict in dispensing justice, which shall only be executed by the judge.

Drawbacks :

India's prison system requires a considerable makeover. Unlike the Canadian and United Kingdom, Indian prisons are not conducive to rehabilitation. Unfortunately, this gives rise to the recidivism of the crime rate in the country. Statistics recorded by the Government of India till 2014, reflect the overall rate of recidivism in the country is 7.8%. However, the statistics of individual states reflect more concern. The statistics of recidivism in Tripura 54%, Telangana 10.1% and Andhra Pradesh 7.2%. A significant contributor to these statistics was from the state of Madhya Pradesh. Out of 35,23,577 arrested, 32,70,079 were new offenders. 1,95,183 held a conviction of one imprisonment record, 44,171 were imprisoned twice and 14,144 had been imprisoned three times or more. Prisons in India have a hosting capacity for over 366,000 offenders. However, there is more than 110% overcrowding, and an appropriate



offender-psychologist ratio would be required to understand the perpetrators' mind-sets and guide them through their issues. While the idea that prison systems are supposed to be rehabilitative is often stressed upon, much needs to be done for that to be put into practice. Indian prisons boast of a capacity to hold 366,000 offenders. However, it is observed that there is a 110% overcrowding. There is a lack of rehabilitative psychologists who would be able to deliver their skill set into guiding prisoners settling into jails or life imprisonment.

Recommendations :

An effective standard operating procedure has to be enforced within the system where forensic psychology comes to play. Standardized Guidelines need to be formed for the smooth functioning of the system where it suggests where forensic psychology needs to be involved. Augmentation and training of Forensic psychology will help accelerate the efficiency of students and professionals. The right man for the right job –the technical skillset of a forensic psychologist must be taken into account and should take precedence over another professional's skillset (e.g. clinicians or counsellors). Accountability should be instituted into the system where funds, machines, and manpower are assessed. Prisons around the country need to employ forensic mental health professionals to sustain the path of rehabilitation which will eventually show a significant decrease in statistics of recidivism. Keeping in mind that all crime is man-made and executed, each Forensic Laboratory must have a Forensic Psychologist or a team to benefit from their skill set.

A dire need is to create public awareness of the system and under what circumstances they can seek the help of a forensic psychologist. This awareness can be done at the educational level to make the masses aware of what comprises forensic mental health. The need of the hour is a functional ecosystem within the justice field which focuses on the harmony of professionals working together with a collaborative effort more than a competitive one.

CONCLUSION

Criminal psychologists strive to educate the court system and the society at large about the complexities of a defendant's life trajectory and how to integrate this knowledge so that the best decision can be made about not just one defendant but at some point all defendants. We have a democracy because we have a court system that is based upon having each citizen offered a fair defence and 'Mental health' is one such parameter that needs to be strictly considered.

The Politics of 'Danda'

SRITEJA, YEAR III

The coercive authority and importance of Danda that is the Stick (Use of Force) is explained in Vedic Literature as " Danda rules the people; Danda alone protects them; Danda is awake when others are asleep ; Law is nothing but Danda; Danda alone governs all created beings". In the later literature, The Science of Polity is described as Dandaniti, which is The Art of Applying State Power. Recent citation by Supreme court of India in it's verdict "Repetitive orders under Section 144 CRPC amounts to abuse of power" throws light on the reckless use of Danda , primarily conceptualised as an effective deterrent for maintaining law and order to the contemporary broadening of it's horizon for quelling political dissent. The present Global trends represent the Abuse of Danda , both by State and Non-State actors, where they employ the rhetoric of Nationalism and Security to justify the Violence ; While the reason of great Indian Political thinkers gave the Theory of 'Sam, Dan, Bhed, Dandopay' Placing Danda as the last resort a State or a Person should employ to fight adversity.

No dialogue on Danda completes without reference to Modernity discourse. Technological developments have created new needs and new lethal weapons which transformed the Dandaniti. Agreed, But how far the Use of Force is successful in achieving its aim? A case in point : U.S OPERATION of Desert Shield to Operation Desert Storm to First Gulf-war later led to the Second Gulf war on the premise of Responsibility to Protect , Responsibility to maintain Global Peace . After the Two Gulf wars, Is Iraq developing, Is it peaceful? It's no surprise today to refer to *Danda* with 'Rule by Fear' .

Manu held that " The ultimate sanction behind state is Force i.e., Danda". Although the State has a legitimacy to use violence within its territory, the effectiveness of Force in governing a Territory is questionable. With the expansion of Danda to Global level through the "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine. This amounts to nothing but a Mockery of the 'Rule of Law' and Sovereignty because in the field of Violence there are no rules, One's Power to live lies in the Barrel of a Gun. When Critical Theorists viewed State Terrorism as Wholesale Terrorism in contrast with non-state Terrorism as Retail Terrorism. It seemed amusing. But the current developments in the International sphere pictures the Politics of Danda in action by state actors with greater coercive capacity to terrorize People, Students , Minority groups , states with limited economic and political influence to abide by the Rights, Rules and Ideology of the all powerful Dandadhar ; The presence of such a picture cannot allows us to ignore the view of Critical Theorists.



DANDA can definitely help a State or a State actor within a state and for an extent outside the state to maintain themselves in Power, to establish Political influence and to gain economic benefits through 'Politics of Fear'. However, the very Fact of Celebrating 150 years of Gandhi shows us that Danda can never succeed in establishing peace, Danda can never rule a State, Danda alone

cannot govern Free Individuals, law is not Danda for the Lady of Justice.

Through the use of Force a State can subjugate it's masses. But it cannot take away the sphere of being human best described in the words of Victor Frank - " The last of the Human Freedoms: To choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one's own way; Every day, Every hour, offered the opportunity to make a decision, a decision which determines whether you would or would not submit to those powers which threatened to rob you of your very self, your inner Freedom."

The effectiveness of DANDA in maintaining order is itself challenged by years of Global war on Terrorism , war on dissenters which in no way ended in Peace. UN sanctioned use of Force in the name of Responsibility to Protect more often led to Regime changes that led to more War, more violence and Instability far from establishing Stability and Peace. Violence whether invoked by state or non-state actors have severe unintended after effects. For Example the State's celebration of assassination of a Hard core Terrorist is a good reason but young people belonging to the family, region can fall into the stranglehold of Terrorism driven by deep emotional strains of victimization . This is very much evidenced in the death of Solemaini (The Iranian General) which stirred patriotism among Iranians and Iraqis , calling "Death for America" on the Streets during the procession of the Dead body. A state can never forget this view " One person's Terrorist can be another person's freedom fighter".

It's high time the State's realize the efficiency of Dialogue; Given the fact that Diplomatic negotiations are more powerful , lead to long term peace than Armed confrontations. This can be evidenced by various Major accords signed during Rajiv Gandhi tenure as Indian Prime Minister which successfully ended secessionist movements through Negotiations.

The futility of The Danda in governing a Territory can be demonstrated by the very existence of India as a Sovereign Nation-State. The Non-Violent revolution led by M.K.Gandhi made the sun of all powerful Mighty British Empire set on West , liberating India from subjugation to Freedom. The past is the proof of major blunders made by the use of Danda. The present is filled with Detention centres, tear gas shells, bullets, tankers against People. This makes today a Field of War , with no hope for tomorrow ; We don't need a Hobbesian state of Nature . The

Present requires the Field of 'Rule of Law' marked by Fairness , Justice and Dialogue. We don't want confrontation, we want Empathy, we don't want Bullets , we want Dialogue. We want a Field of Harmony which accepts Conciliation as the Solution. The UN has to prove itself as strong by stepping into a New level in the "Dialogue among Civilizations" to create a more peaceful Global order based on Non-Violence & Truth.

The Decline of Indian Parliament

SHREYA PRASAD, YEAR I

India is celebrated as the largest democracy in the world has a parliamentary form of government where power rests with the people and is exercised by the representatives elected by them. The Parliament of India comprises the President, Lok Sabha called the Lower House or the House of the People and the Rajya Sabha called the Upper House or the Council of States with the president acting as their head .

As expected of democracy, the Parliament should function as the deliberative and representative assembly and has a significant role to play in the development of India. However, the recent trend points towards a decline in the effectiveness of the Parliament as an institution of debates, accountability and oversight. There has been a considerable decline in the decorum and discipline of the Parliament which conveys the notion of inefficiency. As a result, the Indian Parliament has suffered an erosion of its image of functioning as a successful institution of debates and discussions as it did in the 1950s.

The decline of Parliament can be observed in the following trends:

- **Rise of disruptions and qualitative decline of the substance of debate-** Decline of the Indian Parliament can be seen during the conduct of Parliamentary meetings where members who are expected to maintain order and respect the decorum of the House are often seen disrupting the debates through interruptions, *dharnas*, walkouts and use of unparliamentary expressions for their fellow-members without paying any heed to the speaker's orders. This has led to the issue of certain directives by the respective party leaders but the members continue to disrupt the proceedings of the Parliament, wasting a significant amount of its time and ultimately leading to adjournments.

- **Change in complexion**

In the 1950s, elite men like lawyers, writers, and educationists dominated the Parliament with the first Lok Sabha having as many as 153 lawyers. Now, the Parliament is dominated by agriculturalists,



industrialists, criminals and members with rural backgrounds which has undoubtedly made the Parliament more representative but has significantly eroded the quality of Parliamentary debates. Constitutional expert Subhash Kashyap says that as the representativeness in Parliament changes involving more people from the grass-root level, the quality of debates

might not remain very high because it has to represent all the life, culture, deprivations and frustrations of a vast and heterogeneous community of people.

- **Delinking of elections to the Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies**

The elections to the Parliament and the State Legislative Assemblies were held simultaneously where the national and local issues were identified together. After the delinking of these elections, the Members of Parliament have the responsibility to look after the local constituency problems also in addition to the national issues. This has resulted in the MPs constantly being in election-mode holding rallies and processions instead of being present in the sittings of the House.

- **Prime-ministerial form of Government**

Indian Government is increasingly moving towards a prime-ministerial form of government in place of a parliamentary form of government where the major decisions are being taken by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet without sufficient debates and



discussions in the Parliament. This has to lead to dictatorial tendencies on the part of the Cabinet as observed during the prime ministership of Jawarharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. As a result, the Parliament has started to lose its meaning as a forum of discussion and has become a place for the mere passing of Bills by majority without much say on them. This has been the case with the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill, 2019 as well as the

Citizenship Amendment Bill, 2019 which were passed in both the Houses of Parliament without sufficient debates.

- **The Party System**

Members of Parliament are elected by party support and the High Command keeps strict control over the actions of the members, being capable of even influencing their presence and their votes in the Parliament. Further, there is the anti-defection law that disqualifies the legislators as members of the party concerned if they vote in the House against the directions of his party. Thus, the Parliament loses its effectiveness as a forum of deliberation and accommodation of contrary opinions and there appears to be a form of ‘binding consensus’.

- **Growth of delegated legislation**

The Parliament can't devote its entire time to the details of legislative measures, all the bills contain a clause empowering the Government to frame necessary regulations and bye-laws.

Thus, the Parliament in a way delegates its duty of making laws to the executive, resulting in the decline of its prestige

- **Absenteeism**

There is a lack of quorum in both the Houses of Parliament where the members are disinterested in attending the sittings of the House which has resulted in the adjournment of the House in many instances. Furthermore, nominated members of the Rajya Sabha are often observed skipping the sittings of the House.

- **Nexus between members and business groups**

Members of the Parliament have often been accused of corruption. The industrialist lobby and land lobby always tries to get them into their clutches through corrupt practices and illegal means. Moreover, the transfer of huge funds to parties who have members in Parliament from anonymous sources leads to a decline in the moral standards of the Parliament.

Summing up, the parliamentary control over Government and administration in India seems to be more theoretical than practical. In reality, the control is not as effective as it ought to be which can be seen in the decline of Parliament as an institution of debates, discussions, deliberations, discipline, and oversight, where the different reasons stated above, leads to the weakening of the Parliamentary system of Government.

Global Warming

SMRITI SHARMA, YEAR II

“There’s one issue that will define the contours of this century more dramatically than any other, and that is the urgent threat of a changing Climate “ - by Barack Obama

Glaciers are melting, sea levels are rising, and wildlife is scrambling to keep pace. It has become clear that humans have caused most of the past century’s warming by releasing heat-trapping gases.

Global Warming is the long term rise in the average temperature of the earth's climate system. It is a major aspect of current climate change and has been demonstrated by direct temperature measurements and by measurements of the various effects of warming.

Global Warming is unusually increasing the Earth’s average surface temperature over the past century primarily due to the greenhouse gases released by people burning fossil fuels. Global Warming has presented another issue called climate change.

CAUSES OF GLOBAL WARMING

- Scientists have determined that the major factors causing the current global warming are greenhouse gases, burning of fossil fuels, etc.
- **SOLAR RADIATION:** In general, radiation is a term that describes some form of energy emission in the form of waves or particles. A common form of radiation is electromagnetic radiation in the form of photons such as radio waves, microwaves and visible light. Solar radiation that reaches the earth is largely electromagnetic radiation or photons that are emitted by the sun through nuclear reaction and chemical processes that are taking place in the side of the sun and on its surface.
- **GREENHOUSE EFFECT:** The greenhouse effect is by which radiation from a planet’s atmosphere warms the planet’s surface to a temperature above what it would be without this atmosphere. Radiatively active gases (i.e., greenhouse gases) in a planet’s atmosphere radiate energy in all directions. The greenhouse effect is caused by greenhouse gases in earth’s atmosphere are water vapour, carbon dioxide, and methane. When there is more greenhouse gas in the air, the air holds more heat. This is why more greenhouse gases cause climate change. The greenhouse is warming the climate that results when the atmosphere traps heat radiating from earth toward space.
- **DEFORESTATION:** The cutting down of trees is another key cause of global warming . With massive deforestation, we are also disturbing the ecological balance of nature.
- **BURNING OF FOSSIL FUEL:** The excessive use of fossil fuels also tends to release carbon dioxide which gets trapped in the environment and causes global warming. As the

human population has increased, so has the volume of fossil fuels burned. Fossil fuels include coal, oil, and natural gas, and burning them causes what is known as the “greenhouse effect” in Earth's atmosphere. This effect is caused by increased levels of Carbon dioxide, chlorofluorocarbons and other gases in the air, many of them released by human activity. According to the National Academies of Sciences, more than 80 percent of the total energy used in the United States comes from coal, oil, and natural gas. This is the energy that is used to heat and provide electricity to homes and businesses.

EFFECTS OF GLOBAL WARMING

The effects of global warming include changes to the natural environment, ecosystems and threaten the lives of all living things. This brings many types of disasters including storms, heat, waves, floods, and draughts.

DIRTIER AIR: Rising temperature also worsen air pollution by increasing ground level

- ozone, which is created by pollutants from cars and factories.
- **MORE ACIDIC OCEANS:** The earth marine ecosystem is under pressure . As a result of climate change, the ocean is becoming more acidic, due in large part to there absorption of some of our excess emissions. As this acidification accelerates, it possesses a serious threat of underwater life.
- **HIGHER WILDLIFE EXTINCTION RATE:** With this the animals are also extinct, more frequent and intense drought, melting glaciers and warming oceans can directly harm animals, destroy the places they live.
- **RISE OF SEA LEVEL:** Since the start of the 20th century, the average global sea level has been rising with the thermal expansion of seawater and the melting of land-based ice sheets and glaciers.
- **IMPACT ON HUMAN HEALTH:** Warming oceans and a changing climate are resulting in extreme weather patterns that have brought about an increase of infectious diseases, skin problems and eye infection, etc. due to the depletion of the Ozone layer which protects us from the Ultraviolet rays.

WAYS TO OVERCOME THE GLOBAL WARMING

- To decrease global warming we need to use the method of **recycling**. It decreases the amount of garbage by recycling plastic bottles, bags, glasses or papers.
- **Reducing deforestation** can also help us in saving our environment.
- Other solutions such as the use of renewable resources will be helpful.
- Others are using solar, wind and hydro powers to fulfil their electricity needs and it also helps in reducing carbon emissions and also in reducing the usage of private vehicles and minimizing energy consumption. The government should make good policies for the reduction of global warming.

Global warming solutions are going to work only when we switch to the natural ways of living.

**“We Are the first generation to
be able to end poverty and the
last generation
that can take steps to avoid the
worst impacts of climate change.
Future generations will judge us
harshly if we fail to uphold our
moral and
historical responsibilities.”
- Ban Ki-moon.**



Conclusion

Global Warming is an environmental concern to every country across the globe mainly due to its adverse effects on the whole world. It is important to organize self-awareness programs and individuals also start to reduce global warming by recycling ,Afforestation etc. and it is very important to solve this problem for the future generation.

ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS IN DELHI

RIYA KUMARI, YEAR I

Delhi can be called as a notorious example of two things first as a hub for UPSC preparation and second as a gas chamber. Delhi's pollution has become one of the most talked about issues which is posing a severe threat on the health of its residents. This is not only threatening humans and other living creatures but also the aesthetic monuments for which Delhi is famous for like The Taj Mahal, Qutub Minar, lotus temple and many others losing their beauty because of this pollution. A special mention to be given about government expenditure being used every year to retain its beauty.

In May 2014, the World Health Organization declared Delhi to have the worst air quality. WHO in 2016 reported that pollution has led to the death of over 1 lakh children in Delhi. When it comes to air pollution Delhi's name is on everyone's mouth but who to blame for ? No single person can be put to blame because every individual whether residing here or not contributes for the same in the same or the other as this disastrous phenomena can't be a product of any single individual .

When it comes to factors responsible for Delhi's air pollution one can observe that there does exist a single factor but a wide range of factors contributing to it. Some of them are:

1. Vehicular pollution
2. Increasing population
3. Construction work
4. Demands to stubble burning
in agricultural states like Uttar Pradesh,
Haryana and Punjab.
5. Bursting crackers during Diwali



Whatever may be the reason but the results are threatening. 2019 went through the worst air quality with sky choked with smog as there was a reduction by 4% in the Air Quality Index as compared to year 2018 . During November it was even told that breathing Delhi's air was like smoking 50 cigarettes. People roaming around with masks was quite a common scene to observe. However this alarmed the AAP government who came up with several precautionary measures namely being the odd even policy , ban on entry of any truck in the city premises, ban on civil construction, National Green Tribunal (NGT) bans waste burning in Delhi , use of camera fitted drones to monitor the instances of open burning and stack pollution and many other

measures as well. Despite these measures to curb the pollution Delhi's air quality index is around 400 which is quite a higher number to consider.



Other than air water is also one of the necessities for human survival. But this source of life is also at a menace . In a recent report released by Bureau of Indian Standards wherein a test was carried out in 21 state capitals of India regarding water quality and not surprising Delhi was found to be at bottom with all its samples failing in all quality parameters . Yamuna which is the main source of water in Delhi is immensely polluted and this reached its culminating

form during Chhath Puja where devotees were standing in toxic foam in Yamuna. 96% of the city's total pollutants are dumped into Yamuna river and only 5% of it is being treated . There are several factors which are accountable, chief among them are :

1. Illegal construction near reservoirs
2. Over extraction of groundwater
3. Pollution of water bodies
4. Water bodies being converted into cremation grounds, temples, government schools, etc.

Also The Akshardham temple which is built on the floodplains of Yamuna river is also acting as a barrier allowing ground water tables to rise . Government at both central and state level is endowed with responsibility to provide clean water as per Article 21 and Article 48(A) of the constitution. So to put a bar into this government came with it several innovative ideas and they are :

1. Union minister for water resources, river development and Ganga rejuvenation had taken up 13 projects worth Rs. 45,000 crore in the Yamuna River under **Namami Gange** and to sell dirty water to Indian Oil for Rs 20 crore.
2. Preparation of action plan for sewage management and restoration of water quality in aquatic resources by state government.
3. Implementation of the National river conservation plan.
4. Creation of 100 artificial ponds for immersion of idols during puja.
5. Formation of Jal ministry which will look for a speedy resolution of water related issues.

After all these measures the problem is still not resolved because this cannot happen with just the government's efforts. All their policies and measures are for name sake if individuals don't realise the fact that they owe a clean environment to their coming generations, that everyone should come together to tackle this issue and uproot it firmly . To curb pollution, a holistic approach is required and an awareness at individual level about the importance of air and water, about how there small steps can help the entire nation to a large extent. Also the government should come up with more stringent and compelling laws than a few underfunded programmes. Nature has gifted us a lot and now it's our time to repay back and this could happen if today we pledge that we will stop all those activities which are deteriorating our nature everyday .

GANDHI AND WOMEN

DIKSHA TRIPATHI, YEAR II

“To call women the weaker sex is a libel; it is man’s injustice to woman...if by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man’s superior.”-M.K. Gandhi

Gandhi was instrumental in bringing women out of the four walls of their homes. He encouraged them to participate in the freedom struggle. He considered women best for constructive programmes which were necessary during the freedom struggle. Gandhi asked women of both Hindu and Muslim religions to come out of *purdah*; which was considered a radical idea at that time.



He also opposed various social-ills affecting women like child-marriage, the dowry system, female infanticide, and ill-treatment of widows, etc. He considered men and women to be equal.

However, in the matter of the roles of men and women he would be considered as patriarchal and traditional. He wrote, “I do believe that woman will not make her contribution to the world by mimicking or running a race with man. She can run the race, but will not rise to the great heights she is capable of by mimicking man. She is a compliment to man.” He considered women to be the presiding deities of home. She preserves the entire system. Gandhi also realised the importance of women to be independent economically and British’s rule on the same. He used women in his Khadi Movement.

Gandhi didn’t believe in mass production but the production by masses and revival of cottage industries. Women, with the guidance of Gandhi, contributed to the revival of village industries, conducted programmes of village sanitation, and imparted education in villages regarding the importance of health and hygiene. Women like Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Saudamini Mehta, Kasturba bai, Sarojini Naidu, etc. were some of the important women who helped Gandhi not only in the political struggle but also in implementing the Gandhian constructive programme.

Gandhi is not only the Father of our Nation but also a world leader, whose ideas are immortal, touching every aspect of contemporary times whether it is environment, government’s international relations, corporate social responsibilities, or women. All those ideas were revolutionary for their time. He knew the atrocities of capitalism and its effect on women in contemporary times, for instance, women being used as commodities (you can always find pretty women seated at receptions). All the atrocities faced by women like rape, dowry, sexual harassment, and the patriarchal society in India, can be overcome; solution lies in the hands of

women themselves. They just need to be strong and united. According to Gandhi and his vision for women; you teach your brothers, and sons that men and women are just complementary and not unequal as women make this entire system run, actively as well as passively.

ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

DIKSHA TRIPATHI, YEAR II

Amazon, which is known as “the lungs of the world” because it produces 20% of the world’s total oxygen, is burning and environmentalists have said that these are the results of human activities such as extensive farming, unplanned agriculture, and climate change.

According to a study, due to human activities, globally around 1.5 Teragrams of phosphorous were dumped in a year into the freshwater systems. China contributed the most with 30%, followed by India (8%) and USA (7%).

Indus river basin and Ganges river basin ranked second and fourth, respectively in phosphorus related water pollution. Human activities have also disturbed the ecological balances; it has destroyed marine-ecosystems as well as land resources with the increasing use of plastics. Globalisation, increasing consumerism, and materialism have also contributed to the damages. Human beings have evolved over the time, running towards perfection and better economic, social, and political opportunities; but this race has damaged the very core of its existence and has created catastrophic problems.

Air pollution, according to UNEP, roughly causes 7 million premature deaths every year; making it the single biggest environmental risk. It also impacts economies of countries as financial costs of environment-related health risks range up to 5%-10% of the GDP, air pollution taking the highest toll. Delhi, considered to be one of the most polluted cities in the world, has created many respiratory diseases and other health-related risks especially among young children and old aged people.

There are various factors such as stubble burning, on-going construction activities, deforestation, etc. that are related to the human need for perfection and quest for comfortable living.

Water crises around the world adds to the problem. There is a saying that the Third World War would be for water. That might not be very far from reality as cities like Mexico, Cape town, Tokyo, Chennai, etc., are already at the risk of running out of water. NITI Ayog, in its report, warned that India is facing its worst water crises in history and the demand for portable water will outstrip supply by 2030 if crucial steps are not taken.

Nearly 600 million Indians face high to extreme water crisis stress and about 2,00,000 people die every year due to inadequate access to safe water. 21 cities including Delhi, Hyderabad,

Bengaluru, and Chennai, will run out of water affecting 100 million people, and would lead to a 6% loss to the country's GDP by 2050.

According to a new study, people exposed to high levels of pollution are more likely to be depressed and commit suicide. Global Alliance on Health and Pollution in its Report (2017) declared that the maximum deaths in India happen due to pollution.



Human beings in its process of evolution have created many environmental crises that can be addressed by behavioural changes, greater awareness, and more inclination towards sustainable growth. The governments worldwide and in India have taken various steps to spread awareness regarding environmental problems and their effects on human beings; but all these seems to have been a failure.

Contemporary environmental crises are a challenge before the entire humankind, organisms, and our surroundings. We can revive Gandhi for the solution of contemporary crises. According to him, “the violence against nature is not a problem but only a symptom of the deeply mistaken normative view of the relation between nature and human beings. Humans and nature must be in harmony rather than human beings exploiting nature for their pleasure.” He links environmental crises to the very nature of the human institutions of polity, economy, health, and mode of development. He advocated the ‘green-thought’ in our day to day life as well as an economical and developmental model based on natural order to save ourselves from catastrophe.

Contemporary environmental crises can be tackled by rejuvenating behavioural and moral ideas of Gandhi. The onus lies on us; no government can solve this problem, but the individuals that make the government and the entire system.

The path of religiosity: humane or inhumane

POORNIMA SHARMA, YEAR I

As religion literally means a way of being. The creation of God is the result of human's fear . But there are two main views why this might be. The one is functionalism or adaptationism: it brings positive evolutionary benefits , which are often framed in terms of its contribution to group living. As De Waal said, “ if all societies have religion it must have a social purpose”.

The other view is that : it is a by-product of the evolutionary process. Perhaps, religious beliefs are evolved to solve human related problems which they faced, and now these beliefs are followed up on the name of religion. The reason for the evolution of religion is not definite, but it includes things related to human emotions .

As there is no one religion of all humans. There are many religions and according to that there are different forms of god also. The population consensus is also based on religion . Some religions give it an idol a defined shape while some do not. The whole society is also divided into two categories: one who believes in One or the other religion and other are those who don't believe in any of the religion but there is a third category also which respects all types of religion. It is hierarchical in structure when we talk about believers of a religion. But sometimes , individuals attract other religions rather than their paternal religion and follow the beliefs of the other one. Also the religion have different sects and then subsects and allow a system of discrimination like in Hindu religion there are different sects of Brahmin – sanadya Brahmin, gaud Brahmin and gaud Brahmins are placed below of sanadya Brahmins , it means a lot of work of Brahmins are not allowed for the lower ones. It's not about a particular religion, this system of discrimination exists in every religion.



The system of religion is deeply rooted in human nature and affects their style of doing a particular work, taking decisions, implementing policies etc. These factors explain the path towards humanity or inhumanity. Along with these , religious texts , human rationality, traditions also play a major role to determine the religiosity of human beings which affects the

nature of an individual, a nation or of the whole world. As Karl Marx said ,”religion is the opium of masses”.

Religious texts

All the religious texts are oral readings , which at every point of time are shaped by the individual according to their perceptions regarding them. These tell us about good and ideal things which we should adopt in our lives and the result of doing evil things. But now, individuals are following these texts according to them and unable to adopt the whole thing which led them towards a path of superstition where anyone can take benefit from these individuals. But not all the things which are written in religious texts are true like a there is a law book of Hindus called Manusmriti which placed a taboo on the participation of Dalit and women and prescribes punishment for those sections. But there are also some practice which form the basics of democracy like in great epic Mahabharata , there is a chapter called Bibhapparba ,which said that , at the time of marriage, vows between man and woman were equal and custom of Swayamvar- freedom of choice in marriage for women prevailed. Protection of the environment is always a top priority of every religion in different forms like according to the Bible , animals will be treated with kindness , according to Hindu religion rivers, trees, mountains, five tattvas(air , water, fire ,sky, earth) etc. are treated like god.



All these texts talk about a path towards humanity but it's interpretation according to individuals changes it's whole meaning. Like in Christian religion, formerly cruelty of crime decide the value of punishment certificate which was given by clergies ,also religious taxes were taken in Islam religion. But are these written in religious texts ? No, these were made up according to the desires of those individuals who called themselves the agents of god. The path of inhumanity is also built-in by

these agents only. These agents talk about immortality to the fearful individuals and tell them inhumane ways to acquire that immortality.

As an ideology

When a religion is followed up as an ideology then it directly affects other religious minorities and creates a vacuum of hatred among other religious minorities. As there are many countries which follow one particular religion like Islamic countries of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan etc. and follow the Islam religion as the ideology of that nation. Religion as an ideology takes path towards Inhumanity, as we can see the terrorist groups like Al Qaeda follow Islam as an ideology and try to dominate all over the world under this religion by misinterpreting it . These

terrorists on the name of god(Allah) kill innocent people and teach immature ones that it is the order of god and we have to follow it and by giving our lives , we 'll be the green birds of god(Allah).

As human beings are rational in nature, sometimes these factors create hindrance in their decision making process. This hindrance is created when individuals placed religious beliefs above rationality . As these religious traditions , customs and beliefs are not scientifically proven but play an important role in the life of a human being.

Superstitions affect the personality of an individual completely. It can make a human mentally weak and slow his /her thinking power. Only by a magic trick humans can easily get into this trap of superstition. Since childhood , individuals have grown up with these beliefs so they also can't deny them easily until they get an education. Education increases the thinking power of human beings and helps him or her to decide whether what is good or what is bad. Our belief in God is not a bad thing but at a limit which is decided by us only. But ,when we try to cross that limit then our egoistic nature creates hindrance between our belief and our rationality and will make us totally irrational.

संचार प्रणाली का सकारात्मक प्रभाव

KIRTI GOYAL, YEAR I

संचार प्रणाली ने बढ़ाया है,

मानवता का ज्ञान।

किया है मानव का विकास,

और उनकी छवि का गुणगान।



आज का युग आधुनिक युग है, जिसमें संचार प्रणाली मानव की प्रगति के लिए आवश्यक है। यह विश्व के देश में बैठे लोगों को दूसरे देशों से जोड़ता है। आज मानव सभ्यता प्रगति की ओर बढ़ रहा है। इसका प्रमुख से संचार के आधुनिक साधनों को जाता है।

संचार माध्यम ने दूरियों को मिटा दिया है- संचार के क्षेत्र में मनुष्य की उपलब्धियों ने विश्व की दूरियों को समेट कर बहुत छोटा कर दिया है। प्राचीन काल में एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान तक संदेश भेजने के लिए दूत भेजे जाते थे जो प्रायः आवागमन के लिए घोड़े आदि का प्रयोग करते थे। पक्षियों द्वारा संदेश भेजने के भी अनेक उदाहरण मिलते हैं। उस काल में एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान तक संदेश भेजने में महीनों लग जाते थे, परंतु आज स्थिति पूर्णतः बदल चुकी है। आज सभी संचार के माध्यमों से आपस में जुड़े हुए हैं। अब समाज तार, टेलीग्राम, दूरभाष, अखबार, मैगज़ीन आदि पर निर्भर है।

संचार समय की बचत करता है। उदाहरण के लिए अब हर चीज इंटरनेट पर उपलब्ध है चाहे वो कोई किताब से संबंधित जानकारी हो, चाहे नौकरी से संबंधित, अब सबकुछ इंटरनेट पर उपलब्ध है, जो कि विद्यार्थियों के लिए उनका कार्य सरल कर देता है।

मनुष्य को अधिक सामाजिक बनाया है- आज के युग में ऐसा कोई भी व्यक्ति शेष नहीं है जो संचार के साधनों व संचार प्रणाली से ना जुड़ा हो, चाहे वो बच्चा है या बूढ़ा, चाहे स्त्री हो या पुरुष हर कोई संचार से जुड़ा है। अब हर तरह के सामाजिक कार्य संचार द्वारा ही हो जाते हैं। आज शादी के लिए भी लोग इंटरनेट के मेट्रोमोनियल साइट पर निर्भर हैं और वे टिकट बुक करने व टेलीफोन का बिल जमा कराने पर भी इंटरनेट जैसे साधनों पर अत्यधिक निर्भर हो गए हैं। वे अब अपने मनोरंजन के लिए भी सिनेमा जैसे संचार साधनों का प्रयोग करते हैं। फैशन से लेकर खान-पान तक में समाज के लोगों की रुचि और आदतों को बदलने में संचार प्रणाली बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा रहा है। सार्वजनिक माध्यम से हमें स्वास्थ्य से लेकर धर्म आध्यात्मिक पथ के विषय में जानकारी मिल रही है।

अभिव्यक्ति का सशक्त साधन है- संचार के साधनों के बिना हम अपने जीवन की कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते। संचार अब हर तरीके से हमारे जीवन का अभिन्न अंग बन गया है। अधिकतर लोग अपनी दैनिक दिनचर्या की शुरुआत अखबार से करते हैं, जिससे दुनिया की सारी खबरे हमें मिल जाती है। इसके अलावा टेलीविजन भी अभिव्यक्ति का सशक्त माध्यम है। जिससे हम अपने विचारों को लोगों के

समक्ष मीडिया के द्वारा रख सकते हैं और गलत काम होने पर उसका विरोध भी कर सकते हैं। अपने विचारों को व्यक्त करने के लिए हम ईमेल ट्वीट करके भी अपने विचार व्यक्त कर सकते हैं।

जीवन की आवश्यकता बनता जा रहा है, मोबाइल फोन- मोबाइल फोन कहीं भी आसानी से ले जाया जा सकता है। इसके माध्यम से किसी भी व्यक्ति से कहीं भी बैठे-बैठे बात की जा सकती है। इतना ही नहीं अब तो इससे वीडियो कॉलिंग भी की जा सकती हैं, जिससे समाज में रिश्ते और भी मजबूत होते जा रहे हैं।

नई प्रौद्योगिकी-करण का उदय- वर्तमान में संचार के क्षेत्र में वैज्ञानिकों ने अद्भुत सफलताएँ हासिल की है। कंप्यूटर के आविष्कार के बाद इस क्षेत्र में प्रतिदिन नए आयाम स्थापित हो रहे हैं। संचार जगत में ईमेल की लोकप्रियता भी धीरे-धीरे बढ़ती जा रही है। ईमेल के माध्यम से संचार को अधिक सुचारु एवं सक्षम बनाने हेतु कई अनुसंधान आरंभ कर दिए हैं। ईमेल के माध्यम से विश्व के किसी भी कोने में बैठे व्यक्ति से हम संपर्क कर सकते हैं। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि इसमें होने वाला खर्च भी बहुत कम है। दूरभाष द्वारा स्थानीय बातचीत में उपभोक्ता को जो खर्च देना पड़ता है उतने ही खर्च में ई-मेल द्वारा विदेशों में बैठे व्यक्ति को संदेश भेजा जा सकता है। ईमेल ने विश्व संचार को बहुत विकसित एवं विस्तृत कर दिया है।

निष्कर्ष- सार्वजनिक संचार प्रणाली ने हमारे जीवन को अत्यधिक सरल, हमारी क्षमताओं को और अधिक सक्रिय बना दिया है। संचार प्रणाली ने हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन को गतिशील व पारदर्शी बनाया है। सूचनाओं और जानकारीयों के आदान-प्रदान से लेकर लोगों को एक दूसरे से जोड़ने, बहस और विचार-विमर्श करने से लेकर लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया को मजबूत बनाने में आधुनिक संचार माध्यमों की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही है।

'संचार प्रणाली का हर मानव पर पड़ता है अच्छा प्रभाव, दूरियों को करता है कम, और नहीं करता है किसी में भेदभाव।'



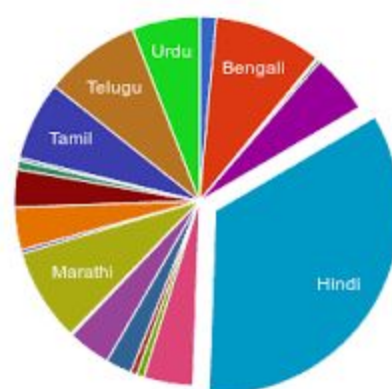
भाषा (भेदभाव का नया आधार)

NEHA BHATI, YEAR II

भारत एक ऐसा देश है जो बहुत तेजी से विकास की ओर बढ़ रहा है और विश्व के मानचित्र पर एक ताकतवर शक्ति के रूप में जगह बना रहा है। भारत के नागरिक शिक्षित हो रहे हैं, और शिक्षा के साथ साथ बदल रहा है देश का नजरिया जो नजरिया जो कभी जाति, धर्म, रंग, को आधार बना कर भेदभाव करता था, आज उसका आधार भाषा बन गई है। वो भाषा जो केवल विचारों के आदान प्रदान का माध्यम हुआ करती थी वो आज प्रतिष्ठा का नया स्वरूप हो गई है। आज जैसे जैसे समाज विकसित हो रहा है वो अपनी सांस्कृतिक रूढ़ियों को बनाए रखने के नये माध्यमों का विकास कर रहा है व भाषी भेदभाव भी इसी का उदाहरण है।

आजादी के समय से देश में भाषा के आधार पर कोई न कोई विवाद रहा है चाहे वो भाषा के आधार पर नए राज्यों की मांग रही हो या हिंदी को मात्रभाषा बनाने की मांग। लेकिन आज जो भाषा को लेकर विचार है वो पूरी तरह बदल गए हैं। आज भाषा को वर्चस्व के साथ जोड़ दिया गया है, अगर आप को हिन्दी नहीं आती है तो आप को अलग नजर से देखा जाता है और अगर आपको अंग्रेजी नहीं आती तो फिर आप चाहे कितने ही बड़े विद्वान क्यों न हो आपको फिर कुछ नहीं आता। ये मानसिकता हम सबके दिमाग में पूरी तरह घर कर चुकी है। लेकिन सोचने व जाने की आवश्यकता है कि आखिर इन विचारों का जन्म क्यों होता है। क्या इसका उत्तर व कारण अन्य भाषा का वर्चस्व हो सकता है? इस बात को इस तरह समझा जा सकता है कि जिस प्रकार अंग्रेजी भाषा हिन्दी भाषा से अधिक महत्व रखती है उसी प्रकार हिन्दी भाषा अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं से अधिक वर्चस्व रखती है। ये व्यवस्था उस ही तरह है जिस प्रकार जाति व्यवस्था, पितृसत्तात्मक समाज, रंग भेदभाव की व्यवस्था

Indian Language Use



आज के समय में भाषा पर आधारित भेदभाव की कड़ी आलोचना हो रही है, लेकिन आलोचनाओं के बावजूद स्थिति वही बनी हुई है, जो पहले थी। उपरी तौर पर एक जागरूकता भरा समाज तो दिखता है लेकिन वास्तविक स्थिति में हर कोई यह अपने अंदर बसा चुका है कि भाषा अब उनकी योग्यता को दर्शाती है। माना कि इस वैश्वीकरण के दौर में विश्व के साथ संबंध बनाने के लिए एक विशेष भाषा को जानना आज की आवश्यकता है या ये विशेष भाषा हमारे विचारों को बाहरी दुनिया तक पहुंचाने का माध्यम है। लेकिन इस आधार पर कि किसी को वो विशेष भाषा आती है या नहीं उसकी योग्यता के विषय में एक पूर्वाग्रह बना लेना गलत है

समय समय पर भाषा के आधार पर कई राष्ट्र राज्यों का निर्माण हुआ है, विभिन्न समुदायों में अपनी भाषा को लेकर काफी लगाव होता है, भारत में तो स्वतंत्रता के बाद से ही भाषा के आधार पर नए राज्यों की मांग शुरू हो गई थी कई बार तो यह मांग हिसंक भी हो गई, आन्ध्र प्रदेश, केरल, कर्नाटक इन्हीं मार्गों का परिणाम है, इसके साथ साथ एक और बात महत्वपूर्ण रही वो थी हिंदी को मातृभाषा बनाने की मांग, और

उसका विरोध 1950-1970 के दशक में यह एक महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा रहा। इन घटनाओं से पता चलता है कि 1950-70 के दशक में अपनी मातृभाषा को लेकिन कितने लगाव की भावना थी, एक तरफ हिन्दी को मातृभाषा बनाने की मांग वहीं दूसरी ओर स्थानीय भाषा के संरक्षण के लिए हिंसात्मक विरोध। लेकिन 1990 के दशक में ये भावनाएं पूरी तरह बदल गईं, उत्तर भारत के मध्यम वर्ग द्वारा अंग्रेजी को अधिक



महत्व दिया जाने लगा शिक्षा का माध्यम भी अंग्रेजी हो गया। ये प्रक्रिया जो उत्तर भारत में 1990 हुई वो दक्षिण भारत में स्वतंत्रता के समय से ही शुरू हो गई थी। इसी का परिणाम है कि आज स्थानीय भाषा विलुप्त होती जा रही हैं। इस सबका बड़ा कारण वैश्वीकरण भी रहा।

इस पूरी प्रक्रिया के कारण भारत में अंग्रेजी को अधिक महत्व दिया गया जिससे भाषा को लेकर

एक नए वर्ग भेदभाव का प्रारंभ हुआ। लेकिन वास्तविक मुद्दा यह है कि भाषा के आधार पर भेदभाव सही है? वैश्वीकरण के बाद तो यह समस्या पूरे विश्व में विद्यमान है, आज सभी समाजों में अंग्रेजी के बढ़ते प्रभाव को देखा जा सकता है, जिससे स्थानीय भाषाओं के विलुप्त होने का खतरा बना हुआ है। पश्चिमी देशों ने एक ऐसी सांस्कृतिक को जन्म दिया, जिसमें विश्व के सभी समाज पश्चिमी सांस्कृतिक, भाषा, खान पान, वेशभूषा, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीति व्यवस्था को अपना रहे हैं। और यही सब कारण मिलकर भाषा भेदभाव के आधार को मजबूत करते हैं और एक भेदभाव पूर्ण समाज को एक और विषय देते हैं।

तो हमारे लिए बेहतर क्या है, हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न खड़ा हो जाता है कि क्या हम इस भेदभाव को समाप्त करने के लिए पूर्ण रूप से किसी एक भाषा को कोई महत्व ही ना दें या फिर सभी भाषाओं को समान महत्व दें लेकिन दूसरा विकल्प आज के विश्व में सम्भव नहीं है। एक बेहतर समाज के निर्माण के लिए वैश्विक स्तर पर सभी को समान प्रतिनिधित्व प्राप्त हो यह आज के समय में बेहद आवश्यक हो गया है। एक से अधिक भाषाओं का ज्ञान रखना आज के समय की आवश्यकता है और इसी ज्ञान से आपकी योग्यता की पहचान होती है और अगर हमको विभिन्न देशों के लोगों से संबंध स्थापित करने हैं तो यह आवश्यक है कि हमको English भाषा का ज्ञान होना बेहद जरूरी है यह एक वैश्विक भाषा बन चुकी है जिसके चलते हम विभिन्न लोगों से अपने विचारों का आदान-प्रदान कर सकते हैं तो क्या अंग्रेजी की पूरी तरीके से अपेक्षा की जाए या फिर इसको एक माध्यम बनाकर इसका फायदा लिया जाए। आज के समय में बेहतर उपाय दूसरा ही प्रतीत होता है क्योंकि इससे हमें बेहतर संबंध बनाने में मदद मिलती है और विभिन्न संस्कृतियों और समाजों का गहन रूप से अध्ययन करने में योग्यता प्राप्त होती है।

भारतीय किसान

MISHAB JAMEEL, YEAR II

भारत में किसानों की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही है क्योंकि कृषि विकास राष्ट्रीय विकास का महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा है परंतु किसानों को सदैव संघर्ष का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। भारत में पूंजीवाद या धनी किसान का उदय नहीं हुआ बल्कि यहाँ मध्यस्थों का उदय हुआ था। यह जमींदार व्यवस्था मुगलों के शासन काल में भी थी लेकिन जमींदारों को मान्यता अंग्रेजों ने दी, मुगलों के शासन काल में किसानों को अपनी ज़मीन पर मिल्कियत प्राप्त थी परन्तु जब अंग्रेज़ भारत आए तो उन्होंने कहा कि 'हम भूमि के स्वामी हैं और और कृषक हमारी प्रजा हैं' अंग्रेजों ने स्थायी बन्दोबस्त की राजस्व व्यवस्था लागू की किसानों को बहुत अधिक कर देना पड़ता था। रैयतवादी व्यवस्था भी लागू की गई इस प्रकार हमारा उत्पादन गिरने लगा और किसानों को निरंतर संघर्ष का सामना करना पड़ा। जिस कारण भूमि सुधार की आवश्यकता पड़ी।

भारत का संविधान सामाजिक-आर्थिक समानता की बात करता है इसलिए एक आर्थिक समिति बनाई गई और काश्तकार सुधार, चकबंदी, भू दान आंदोलन, ग्राम दान आंदोलन, सहकारी कृषि। परन्तु यह कुछ सफल रहे परंतु क्रियान्वन सही नहीं हो पाया, लोगों ने इन कानूनों से बचने के रास्ते ढूँढ़ निकाले। और गरीब किसानों को बहुत कम लाभ हुआ अधिकतर अमीर किसान ही इन कानूनों का फायदा उठाते और गरीब किसानों की हालत वही रहती।



वर्तमान समय में भारत में अमीर और गरीब किसान में बहुत अंतर है। प्रति कई किसान आत्महत्या कर लेते हैं। नकदी फ़सलें इत्यादि मानसून पर आधारित हैं, यदि मानसून खराब होता है तो फसल भी खराब हो जाती है। उदारीकरण की नीति अपनाने से कृषि करने की नयी तकनीक आई अधिकतर किसानों को इसका ज्ञान ही नहीं है कि यह किस प्रकार की जाती है। किसानों पर अधिक कर्जा होने के कारण वो आत्महत्या कर लेते हैं। इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है कि ऐसे कार्यक्रमों को दिखाया जाए जिससे किसानों को नयी तकनीक का ज्ञान हो। बड़े और छोटे किसानों के बीच भेद को कम किया जाए और उनके लिए बेहतर निवास स्थान की व्यवस्था की जाए जिससे किसान भली प्रकार कार्य करे और उत्पादन में बढ़ोतरी हो। सरकार को इस ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

POETRY SECTION

Let me sleep

I again saw marks on her body.
 I again saw shame in her eyes.
 I again saw her hiding from all ears and veins.
 Alone, crying behind that dilapidated charpai.
 Whose blemishes were still better than the blame.
 The flawless hoodwink of this tale is the flash of an
 unveiled truth!

The truth of suffering with innocence in your eyes.
 The truth of suffering with no fault on your back.
 The truth of suffering from an enigma of doomed actions
 with nought participation.

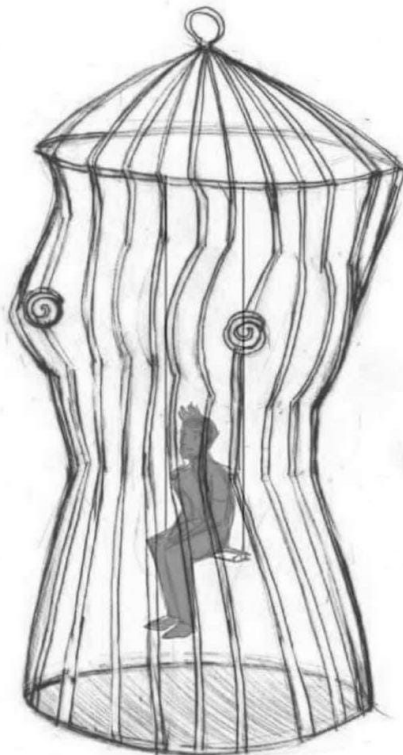
You must be inquisitive but hold on,
 I have lots to say.
 The 'her' here is me.
 You must be inquisitive but hold on,
 I have lots to say.

I choose not to be the shehzadi but the shehzada of abbu's
 kingdom.
 That is my fault.
 I choose not to wear a salwar kameez with intricate
 embroidery but a subtle kurta with pastel prints,
 That is my fault.
 I choose not to have lucent shaped nails
 But strong hands with those green veins ,
 That is my fault.
 I choose not to have my long hair waving in the air
 But the lion hearted arms that can be spread with no despair,
 That is my fault.
 I choose not to marry fadil but get loved by sazia,
 That is my fault.
 I choose not to be the way they have decided me to be
 I choose to live the way I want it to be,
 That is my fault!

But i won't let this heart cry because
I won't let this body of mine be called a curse by others.
I won't let this soul of mine be called impure by others.
I won't let this choice of mine be called a stain by others.

Why? Because I choose to sleep.
Sleep in an exemplary world with
Unrivalled choices of my dreams.
And let Allah wake me up,
When I'll never have to scream!

-Nandani Yadav, IIIrd Year



UNCONQUERABLE

I'm a Girl;
An Unconquerable Girl.

My Ears are filled with slews,
My Body is ruined by blows,
My Eyes are, Red as blood;
With tears rolling down,
I sit in a corner, Reading a book;
My future is blurry, As
The picture of paper in my tired eyes;
Yet, My faith is Unconquerable.

My House is filled with Horror,
My Society devoured Women,
I walk on the scroll alone, With a
Bleeding but unbowed face;
To, find My Strength is Unconquerable.

My Head is bloody,
My Hands are broken;
I still stand on my legs, To
Write my fate with mouth;
As, My hope is Unconquerable

I still look beyond the night,
That covers me;
For my dreams are Unconquerable.
I'm being thrashed,
I'm being killed;
Yet, The pages of my life,
Will find my Soul Unconquerable,
Will find A Girl Unconquerable
- S. Sriteja, IIIrd Year

IT'S NOT HER

Bharat Mata, looking at her dead
daughters, Wincing
"It's Not Her".
For Every girl, who is denied education,
I gave birth to the Goddess of education;
For every girl, who is being killed ,
My daughter, was a heroine of war;
For every girl, who can't achieve her dreams,
Our Ganga, is stagnated in four walls,
Urging Men, To break the bridges to let her
flow;
Centuries went over,
The Lady of Justice, crying aloud - remove
the veil of patriarchy from my eyes.
- S. Sriteja, IIIrd

वैश्या

वैश्या

ना इसे कोई हया
 औरत नही खिलौना है,
 यह सोचना ना मर्दानगी का होना है,
 बेच अपना जिस्म,
 गंदी भूख मिटाती,
 वो तेरी हैवानियत की,
 तू क्या जाने उसके,
 पीछे मजबूरी हजार कारणों की,
 होंठो पे लाली कानो में बाली,
 सजाकर अपना शरीर वो चली,
 जानती है यह सब मिटना है,
 फिर भी तान अपना सीना वो चली,
 छाती पे तुझे अपनी सुलाती है,
 तेरे अंदर की आग को बुझाती है,
 जिस्म अपने पे तेरे दाग लगवाती है,
 अपने केशो को नुच्वाती है,
 तुझे तेरी खुशी का एहसास करवाती है।
 ए मर्द! वैश्या है वो,
 तेरी हैवानीयत पे अपनी,
 टांगो के बीच से रक्त बहाती है,
 अपने शरीर को दबवाति है,
 चीखती है चिल्लाती है,
 पर ये चीखे,
 ये चीखे वो अपनी घोंट जाती है,
 उसके दर्द का हमदर्द नही कोई ये भली-भाँति
 जानती है,
 न जाने कितने नामो से बुलाते है,
 कभी तवायफ तो कभी रखैल कह जाते है,
 गालिया हजार देते है,
 पर प्यार के शब्दों की
 शहद भी ये उडेलते है पर,
 पर यह शहद बस रात की मुसाफिर है,
 गालियो का क्या वो तो,
 किसी बीमे की भाँति,
 मेरी जिन्दगी के साथ भी,
 और जिन्दगी के बाद भी की साथी है।

महापुरषो का चरित्र औड़,
 अपने को भगवान दिखाते है,
 औरत के कपड़े,
 औरत का सीना,
 उस पर ये सवाल उठाते है,
 खुद तो कभी संभोग किया ना हो जैसे,
 अरे,
 अपनी पहचान वैसी दिखाते है,
 रातो के अंधियारो में ,
 उस जगह पर ये सबसे पहले पहुंच जाते है,
 उस औरत के कपड़े ,
 उस औरत का सीना ये ताड़ते है,
 पैसो का रौब दिखाते है,
 उन बंद कमरो के पीछे,
 अपनी दो कौड़ी की मर्दानगी जताते है,
 हैवानीयत मिटाते है,
 उस जिस्म को खाते है,
 भूख मिटा अपनी औरत को नग्न छोड़ जाते है,
 कूड़ा है यह
 ये नामर्द अपनी गंदी जुबान से बोल जाते है,
 हाँ।
 है एक तवायफ वो,
 है एक रखेल भी,
 बेच अपना जिस्म खुलेआम कमाती है,
 कम से कम,
 तेरी तरह चहरे पे सौ झूठे नकाब औड़े,
 इधर-उधर मुहँ तो नही मारती है,
 मयखाने में मय सी,
 तुझे बहका देगी,
 औरत है वो।
 मर्द
 समय आने पर तुझे राख सा जला देगी,
 अपने जवाले में जल,
 तेरी मर्दानगी का घमंड तोड़ देगी,
 मजबूरियो से घिरी है मजबूर ना कर,
 वक्त आने पर तुझे अपने पैरो तले रौंद देगी।

-Chetna ,IInd Year

धर्म

जन्मी हूँ हिंदू का धर्म लिए,
मरुंगी अपना गर्व लिए।
धर्म का मुकुट पहने जो इतना गुरुर करते हो,
कोई केसरिया तो कोई हरा,
यह मत भूलो ऐ अजानी तुम सबसे पहले एक
इंसान हो।
यह बस्ती जहां तुम सांस ले रहे हो
ना तो हिंदू के पाठ से बना है ना ही मुसलमानों के
अजान से,
यह बनी है इंसानों के कागजों से।
जात -पात, पुरुष-महिला, ऊंच-नीच, रंग-रूप,
बोल-चाल, उच्च कुल-नीच कुल,
यह सब केवल एक विषैला कीड़ा है जो तुम्हारे
बुद्धि को भ्रष्ट करता है।

अपने आप को खुदा का रखवाला मानते हो
ऐ मुढ़ मनुष्य कभी तो खुदा के अल्फाजों को
संजीदगी से समझो।

शिक्षा व्यवस्था

भ्रष्ट है, बेकार है,
ये राजनीति एक व्यापार है
शिक्षा व्यवस्था इसका नया शिकार है
मिले शिक्षा सबको एक समान,
ये मानव अधिकार है
पर अधिकार छिनना राजनीति का नया
व्यवहार है।
शिक्षा का निजीकरण कर, किया सभी पर
प्रहार है,

मैं इंसान के दिल में बसता हूँ पत्थर में नहीं,
मैं चद्दर में निपटने का शौक नहीं रखता,
मैं तो हवाओं में हूँ।
अरे मेरे अस्तित्व को संभालने की आड़ में मेरे ही
अंश की हत्या करते हो।
यह जो मेरे नाम पर कूटनीतियाँ करते हो, नहीं
धर्म नहीं तेरी तोहीन है
जब दिल मेरा निवास है,
हवाएँ मेरा कार्यवास,
फिर कुछ गज की भूमि को लिए हजारों की
दुनिया क्यों उजाड़ते हो तुम।
इंसान बनकर जन्मे हो,
इंसान का अस्तित्व लिए जियो,

इंसान का गौरव धारण किए मरो।

-Aparajita, IIIrd Year

शुल्क बढ़ाकर किया इसका विस्तार है,
बेरोज़गारी का हर ओर हाहाकार है,
पढ़ने वालों की संख्या अपार है,
और शिक्षा निजीकरण का समर्थन करने वाले
केवल चार हैं।
ना जाने क्यों हो रहा यह अपराध है?
पढ़ाने वाला शिक्षक भी हड़ताल को लाचार है
शिक्षा व्यवस्था का ये संकट
दुखद भविष्य का आधार है।

- Neha Bhati, IIInd Year

देश की तस्वीर

बचपन में सीखा था एक गान
ईश्वर अल्लाह एक समान
जब भूल जाओगे तुम ये गान
तो हो जाना तुम सावधान
मन में हिंसा आपस में द्वेष
ऐसे ही तो होता है क्लेश।
मन में गुस्सा हाथों में जोश
क्या यही सीखते हैं हम रोज़।
जब रहते हैं सब एक देश में
तो रोज़ रोज़ क्यों यह सब चर्च
कहने को तो है भारतवासी हम
सबने बना लिए अपने-अपने धर्म
मिटाते हैं इस ऊंच नीच और
जात पात की बाधाओं को
चलो सब मिलकर मनाते हैं इंसानियत
निभाने के जश्न को
इंसानियत की बात आई तो एक मुद्दा छिप न
पाई
नारी और इसकी लड़ाई
कब मिलेगा इनको इंसान भाई?
बरसों से बस एक ही कथन

नारी कमजोर मर्द बलशाली
क्या यही थी हमारी एक गलती?
सती प्रथा से दास प्रथा
हर प्रथा में नारी भुगतने
पर जब नारीवाद की गुहार उठी
तब कुछ नहीं सुने बाकियों ने किए अनसुने।
देशभक्ति भारत को माता और धन को लक्ष्मी
कहने में नहीं है
बल्कि उस माता और लक्ष्मी को इज्जत देना ही
देशभक्ति का असली स्वरूप है
कभी अपने आप को पूछ कर देखो कि
क्या मिटा सकते हैं हम शोषण जैसे शब्दों को?
अगर ना तो जवाब ढूँढो।
अगर हां तो करके दिखाओ।

यही थी देश की तस्वीर जिसे रंगा था आपने
चलिए अब एक और तस्वीर बनाएं
जिसे रंगेंगे हम सब मिलके।

Ankita Chakraborty, 1st Year

चलो निर्माण करते हैं

चलो एक नीड़ का निर्माण करते हैं,
उसी में प्यार और सौहृदय भरते हैं, सुहाग
उनके क्रंदन में क्रीड़ा थी पर अब पीड़ा है,
चलो उस दर्द का विषपान करते हैं,
चलो निर्माण करते हैं।
चलो एक आशियाँ का निर्माण करते हैं,
इसी में शांति और सद्भाव भरते हैं,
उनके रंग रंग में अहिंसा थी पर अब हिंसा है,
चलो फिर से उस अहिंसा का पुनरुत्थान करते हैं,
चलो निर्माण करते हैं।

चलो एक परिवेश का निर्माण करते हैं,
उसी में हवा की मंद मंद मुस्कान भरते हैं,
गुजर रहे हैं हजारों शख्स, प्रकृति के कहर से,
चलो उस कहर के परिवेश का अंतरदाह करते हैं,
चलो निर्माण करते हैं।

चलो विजय मिसाल का निर्माण करते हैं,
उसी में अपने सपनों का भार भरते हैं,
मन के दीप में अंधकार था, पर अब प्रकाश है,
चलो उस प्रकाश की उम्मीद से, विजय मिसाल
का प्रकाशवान करते हैं,
चलो निर्माण करते हैं।

Anjali Verma, IIIrd Year

यहां सुनता नहीं कोई,
आम आदमी की पुकार।

यहां सुनता नहीं कोई,
 आम आदमी की पुकार।
 यहां चढ़ता है नेताओं पर,
 सिर्फ सत्ता का बुखार।

भेदभाव पूर्ण है इनका व्यवहार,
 फिर भी कहते हैं खुद को उदार।

सिर्फ वोट पाने के लिए हैं,
 आम आदमी खास।
 उसके बाद कीड़े मकोड़े,
 की है उसकी औकात।
 यहां सुनता नहीं कोई,
 आम आदमी की पुकार।
 यहां चढ़ता है नेताओं पर,
 सिर सत्ता का बुखार।

जहां आम आदमी बेहाल है,
 और नेताओं की नोटों पर ताल है।
 शेरिट चुनावी एजेंडा है,
 सबका साथ सबका विकास।

चुनाव के बाद होता है,
 अपनों का साथ, अपनों का विकास।
 यहां सुनता नहीं कोई,
 आम आदमी की पुकार।
 यहां चढ़ता है नेताओं पर,
 सत्ता का बुखार।

रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान,
 तीन अनमोल शब्दों का है यह मेल।
 जिनका इस्तेमाल करके,
 आम आदमी की भावनाओं से,
 जाते हैं नेता खेल।
 यहाँ सुनता नहीं कोई,
 आम आदमी की पुकार।

यहाँ सुनता नहीं कोई,
 आम आदमी की पुकार।
 और यही है,
 हमारा भारतवर्ष महान।

Saima Parveen, Year II

सूरत बदल रही है

सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।
 लाइलाज ना बन जाये ये रोग, लोकतंत्र को क्या हो रहा है।।
 दंगों को फसादों को सरकार के झूठे वादों को,
 इन जर्जर हालातो को आम आदमी ढो रहा है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।
 हवाओं में तानाशाही, जंजीरो में बंधे सिपाही है,
 इन गलियों को इन कूचों को लोगों का लहू धो रहा है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।
 अर्थव्यवस्था कमजोर हो रही है, अभिव्यक्ति कहाँ खो रही है,
 चौथा स्तम्भ लोकतंत्र का डाबाडोल हो रही है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।
 विविधता में एकता की तस्वीर धुंधली हो रही है,
 ये जो सत्ता है, अद्भुत है, ना जाने कितना सो रही है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।
 नादानों की भीड़ में ना जाने कहाँ सूरज छिपा है,
 अब जरूरत है रोशनी की, अंधेरा घना हो रहा है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।
 एक-एक आवाज़ जो उठने आ रही है,
 कभी लाठियों से कभी तमगों से मात खा रही है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।
 ये सपना ना था शहीदों का, कि यों इस तरह देश चले,
 पूरब से आता है कोई पश्चिम का हो रहा है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।
 सत्ता की अनदेखी, जनता की जागरूकता,
 मुल्क कई बदलाव देख रहा है।
 सूरत बदल रही है मुल्क की, मुल्क को क्या हो रहा है।।

Nomita, 11th Year

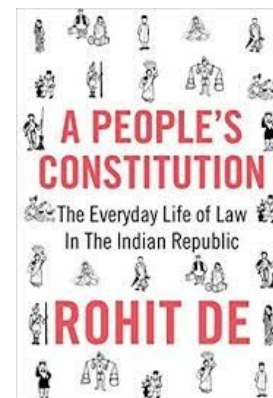
BOOK REVIEW SECTION

A People's Constitution: The Everyday Life of Law in the Indian Republic

Author: Rohit De

Publisher: Princeton University Press, (2018), P. 312, INR 699

By Pooja Naik, BA Second Year, Political Science (Hons.)



The Indian Constitution is the longest written Constitution in the world which makes it a bit tricky to comprehend. Rohit De in his book '*A People's Constitution: The Everyday Life of Law in the Indian Republic*' very well tries to interpret the Constitution in a simpler way. It traces the evolution of our constitution and the major cases which led to the amendment in the supreme book of law of India several times. The author is a lawyer and a historian of modern South Asia. His major work focuses on South Asian legal history and comparative constitutional law. *A People's Constitution* is the outcome of his great interest in law and the research which followed.

The book starts on a very positive note highlighting the efficiency of the Indian Constitution and the Supreme Court, the apex court of India, in dealing with the problems that the common people faced under the new constitutional and republican order. He starts by giving a brief summary of one of the major cases concerning fundamental rights in the Supreme Court of India. Thus, he says that the problem and the solution both arise from the same Indian Constitutional order. The Constitution on one hand gives provisions for the protection of rights of the people from infringement by the state, and on the other hand it empowers the state to transform the economy as well as the society. The book is a very comprehensive text which takes us through the experience of the Indian people since 1950, when the Constitution came into effect.

The main concern of the author throughout the book can be clearly seen in the title of the book. It highlights the debates and challenges that surrounded the Constitution from the very beginning, and looks deeply into the interpretation of the Indian Constitution from the perspective of both, the ordinary people as well as the enlightened ones. The book shows how both of them used the document for their own advantage.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part is the introduction which highlights the major debate that started just after the commencement of the Constitution. The author attempts to analyse the Constitution from the point of view of the lawyers and politicians for whom it is a 'triumph'. He also gives the interpretation of the Constitution from the point of view of the

common people for whom it is a mere 'illusion'. The next three consecutive parts deal with the tensions that were created due to some of the major cases of the Supreme Court which eventually shaped the Indian Constitution to its present form. He looks into a number of cases which dealt with a variety of rights ranging from the political, social, economic to religious rights.

The chapters have been arranged chronologically. The cases have been linked in a very systematic manner and have been beautifully woven in the form of stories. Author does not go deep into the law cases, instead, highlights only the general points of major importance, thus making it easier for the readers to understand. The book celebrates the rise of India, especially the rise of the Indian Constitution and how the people of India in a very short span of time made the Constitution an indispensable part of their daily lives. Thus it could be said that the Constitution of India stands with the principle of democracy. It is not given by the people, but it is for the people, and of the people.

Hence, the book *A People's Constitution* is a book on the most important book of India, i.e., the Indian Constitution, and the way in which the people have interpreted it. Writing a book on an active document such as the Constitution is a tricky task as it is being continuously debated, discussed, amended and is constantly under threat. Thus, the author has done remarkable work and it shows great determination. It shows the deep knowledge and experience of the author in the field of law.

The book is like an educational journey of the Indian Constitution from its inception to the present. It embraces the totality of the Indian prospect and is a perfect account to understand the conflict between the people and the State. It gives us a kind of blend of past, present and some foreseeable aspects of the future of India. In such a vibrant and diverse country like India it is nearly impossible to predict the future of the nation as the people have the ultimate power. It is a very engaging and interesting book as it helps us understand the Indian Constitution, which has many a times been labeled as a 'Lawyer's paradise'.

By the end of the book, the reader would be able to understand why India and the Indian Constitution is the way it is, what are the circumstances which shaped it and how did the constitution unite the people. It significantly outlined the very basis of democracy that the people cannot be taken for granted by the State. It deals with the untold history of how Indians fought for their constitutional rights. It is an invaluable guide to understand the journey of the Indian Constitution and how the conflict between the State and the people has been resolved.

The Verdict: Decoding India's Elections

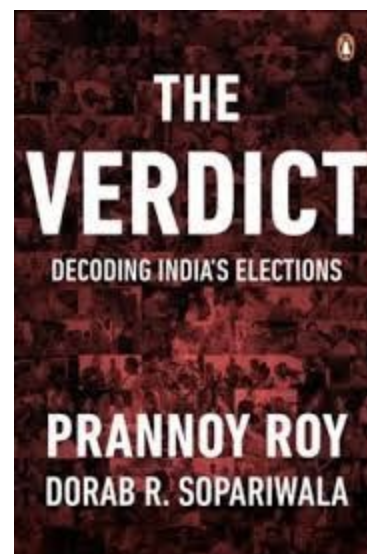
Author: Prannoy Roy and Dorab R. Sopariwala

Publisher: Penguin Random House India (March 5, 2019),

P. 304, INR 599

Review By: Gargi Prasad, BA III Year, Political Science (Hons)

“The Verdict: Decoding India’s Elections” by Prannoy Roy and Dorab R. Sopariwalais a book on Psephology, i.e. the statistical study of elections and trends in voting. Renowned for pioneering opinion polls in their present form, Prannoy Roy since 1980s has been synonymous with elections in India. Forecasting results and analysing the Indian voter-politician connection, he introduced the country to psephology. Dorab R. Sopariwala, a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society has worked as an editorial adviser and senior consultant with Edelman India for around two decades.



Woven neatly into five parts, the book tries to capture as many facets of elections in India as possible. Through meticulous groundwork on behavioural and statistical studies and evidence based on data, the book contributes immensely to election studies by unravelling the mysteries behind now-a-days ground realities on significant aspects of elections in India. From anti-incumbency to landslide victories and changing voting patterns; from urban-rural and gender divide to caste-class differences and; from the role of women to the importance of alliances, ‘The Verdict’ offers deep insights into India's changing election patterns. At the same time, the book does not limit itself to empirical conclusions only but also acknowledges the importance of ideas which cannot be imbibed into tangible data.

In order to ‘Decode India’s Elections’, the book provides the insights to the readers on various data concerning elections since independence. Showering glimpses of voting trends since the very first elections in independent India, the book makes easy comparative studies with contemporary times. Spatial and temporal comparison of data and facts are also well within the picture. By bringing in the craft to look at elections and voting behaviour and pattern through data, ‘The Verdict’ gives a ride not only along the thought process of people regarding elections, but also shares insights into how election results are predicted and which strategies work how and when. As the ever-dynamic Indian society is evolving, the book highlights how voting behaviours have changed parallel to changing attitudes and belief systems of the people.

The authors devoted a complete chapter on women in the very first part of the book, revealing certain path breaking realities. Thereby, they argued, new times have brought about changes in the pattern and voting behaviour of women today from the last twenty years. Another well-laid out fact on which they delved is the variation between women and men voting pattern. For instance, they compared the times when women's participation in assembly elections used to be twenty percent less than men; today they have turned out to be more enthusiastic voters than their male counterparts. Urban-rural divide is at its play, the average voting turnout of women in rural areas is five to seven percent more than urban turnout. Certain harsh actualities continue to exist. 21 million women (30,000 women per constituency) though eligible to vote are not present on electoral rolls. There is an almost 100 percent registration of women on electoral rolls in South India but there is comparatively poor condition in the North. In both absolute and relative terms, Uttar Pradesh fares worst where 6.8 million women, i.e. 85,000 per constituency are missing. However, rising trends of women becoming increasingly independent in deciding whom to vote is the icing on the cake.

Illustrating on identity politics, the book further lays down changing realities. Broadly speaking, whether votes move towards economy or identity vary from election to election. However, as far as identity based voting is concerned, there are always chances of vote split and there is no situation in which all members of a particular caste vote for the candidate of their caste only. Situations where all the candidates from a constituency belong to the same caste but different parties and when none of the candidate belongs to the religion/caste of voters- factors like developmental issues start mattering. This book reveals that voting along caste and class lines is becoming less dominant.

Concerning the role of economy in garnering votes, book confidently puts it that for individual voters, their access to education, water, electricity and sanitation matters much more than the big issues at national level. Growth in GDP is mostly reflected in the growth in cities and higher income groups-people voting in villages seek the progress made in their particular locality. There is a visible turn in character of voter- from “naive voter to angry and wiser voter”. This fact becomes overwhelming in case of rural settings where caste-class divide runs so deep. Thus, the authors applaud the maturity Indian voters have gained over the time. For bringing transactional and judicious decision making on the front, the book also touches upon the role of media in giving wider exposure for making informed and independent decisions while voting.

According to Roy and Sopariwala, the days of old fashioned ways of looking at elections through the lens of charisma are over. They give examples of leaders like Narendra Modi, Naveen Patnaik, Sheila Dixit, Shivraj Chauhan and Raman Singh who have been re-elected as the Chief Ministers twice, thrice or more are not only those who have great oratory or personality rather

they won as they performed and delivered on the ground. Today, visible improvement in conditions and development matters much more than charisma.

To illustrate further, the book goes on to divide elections in India after independence in three phases. Starting from 1952 till 1977, 80 percent of governments were voted back to power. This exhibited people's pro-incumbent behaviour and their faith in charisma and leadership. Next, 1977-2002, a complete turn was visible, 72 percent of governments were thrown out of power. In the current third phase, 2002 onwards 50 percent of governments were thrown out and the remaining 50 percent were voted back. In the past, popular votes used to be very important- 70 percent of seats used to be decided by popular votes. Now with momentous change in politics, 50 percent of seats are decided by alliances and rest 50 percent by popular vote.

The book delicately traces data through diligent questionnaires to arrive at the fact that members of the same family today are having different party preferences. Speaking upon the reliability of opinion polls, authors also try to explain how vote combining takes place and why certain alliances attract more votes and have better prospects of winning. The significance of a striking alliance can be understood by the fact that it makes a difference of up to eight percent more votes in the favour. Thus, a trait of winning parties is established by the fact that the winner well understands the importance of alliances, negotiation and forming fronts.

Dwelling into the behavioural aspects of human nature authors accept the problems encountered during data collection. Due to lack of inherent consistency in people, inadequacy lingers in analysing where people are contradicting; people are scared, play safe or tell partial truths in surveys. This makes it difficult to predict bias. This makes it difficult to cross check and compare data. Thus, going beyond data and surveys, the authors also undertook the organic nature of investigation to collect the ideas that defy data.

The book appears to be admitting that there are certain questions which evade reason. Despite the presence of overactive Election Commission of India and staggering absence of women from electoral rolls, what stops in undoing the problem cannot be deciphered. There is a requirement of intensive statistical works to understand how a party moves up to take the lead in elections. These are travesties of Indian democracy; thus offering chances to political scientists, sociologists, researchers and students to undertake studies in this regard. According to the authors, deep learning and Artificial Intelligence will be the next step towards interpreting opinion polls' findings in very near future.

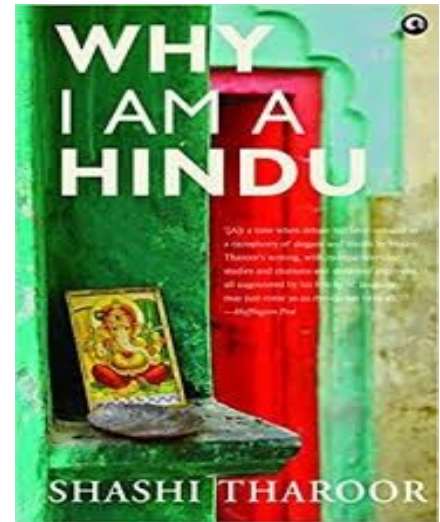
WHY I AM A HINDU

Author: Shashi Tharoor

Publisher: Aleph Book Company, (2018), P.302, INR 699

Reviewed By: Anushka Sahu, BA Third Year, Political Science (Hons)

The book '*WHY I AM A HINDU*' by Shashi Tharoor, emphasises on the proposition that Hinduism has no doctrinal autocracy, and this contributes to its democratic confidence. The book runs close to 300 pages, divided into three sections, and seven chapters. The first section, 'My Hinduism', looks at various aspects of Hinduism - its major schools, tenets, teachers and their teachings as well as some of its more questionable social practices. The second section, 'Political Hinduism', explains the ways in which political thinkers, strategists and their religious allies have attempted to hijack the faith for their own ends. The third section, 'Taking back Hinduism', talks about how we might free Hinduism from the excesses and distortions it has been exposed to, and restore it to its truest essence. Starting with a close inspection of his own virtues and wisdom of the faith he has lived for over six decades, ShashiTharoor ranges far and wide in his study of faith.



The author is a prominent Indian politician, writer, and former Under Secretary-General of the United Nations and a former Minister of State for External Affairs, Government of India. He is currently serving as a Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha from Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. In his books, Tharoor vacillates between trying to be candid and to be politically correct, in the times when politics is suffering from ethical and moral crisis. In such circumstances political correctness has become a hollowed term. It is in this hallowed situation, the author tries his best to recover a hollowed status of his religion.

Further, the author does the comparative study of religions and puts forward the point that, a believer of Hinduism doesn't look for literal meanings in his philosophical and religious texts, unlike one of those Semitic religions. In the title of his book itself, '*Why I Am A Hindu*', the author has addressed the question 'why' and labelled it as a matter of "atavistic allegiance"- a term which was used by Diana L. Eck- a cognizance of cultural memory. He talks about the great souls of Hinduism, AdiShankaracharya, Ramanujan, Patanjali, Swami Vivekananda and many others who have made major contributions to the soul of Hinduism, and digs deep into Hinduism's most important schools of thought. The author asserts that 'Hinduism' is experienced and interpreted subjectively.

Meanwhile focusing on the concepts such as *ashrama*, *yugas*, *varna*, *karma*, *maya* and *Brahman*, the author also explains the ideas of *yatras*, *utsavas*, *puja*. He also discussed vegetarianism and alcoholism from religious aspects in the Hindu way of life. The book offers a concise yet comprehensive understanding of Hinduism, and provides a concrete starting point for anyone who wishes to know more about the religion.

The book takes us on a journey through the dense copse of Hinduism, and asserts that Hindutva as politics doesn't stick together to the principle of Hinduism. According to Tharoor, Hinduism encompasses several conflicting strands that make it problematic to find an authentic tradition that could hold up a mirror to Hindutva. The Vedanta which is regarded as a dominant tradition- highly brahmanical and sanskritised- was constructed by colonialists. The highly textualised Hinduism, in the process, was extracted from social context as well as from contestations. The book also brings forward the sponge theory- that Hinduism incorporated the native tribal religions, and included their ideogram in the new canon. For example, the Hanuman and Ganapati would have been appropriated from the totem system of one tribe or the other and so on.

The book has initiated an intellectual dialogue with Kancha Ilaiah's '*WHY I AM NOT A HINDU*' (1995), which blames 'Hinduism' for caste separation and oppression for generations. Tharoor goes around the issue and tries to retrieve his religion by differentiating between Hinduism and Hindutva. He also puts forward the point that people view Hinduism from their own perception and it could mean different things to different people. The writer has done well in presenting the fine blend of these voices.

The book questions such 'Hindu customs' which takes believers into a tenacious territory of "caste", "godmen", and "superstitions". It asserts that the excessive dependence on gurus, extreme belief in signs and forewarnings, and unjust social system of classifications which are not just embedded in Hindu religion but are also hapless consequences of a poverty-ridden and drifting society. It also highlights the story of evolution of Hinduism, how it went from "ritualistic vedism" to "idol worshipping religion", and also how it was exposed to Christian and Islamic waves and faced the insecurities and flaws of the faith.

While talking about Political Hinduism, the author starts structuring his manifestations with the idea of "secularism", which becomes the subject of debate when viewed from the glasses of western political theory. The author argues that both "dharma" and "religion" are inseparable from each other, and from the Hindu way of life. He clashed with the idea of Hindutva as first proposed by V D Savarkar, and also expresses his critique on Deen Dayal Upadhyay's ideas of "integral Humanism". He also criticized the "cultural Project" of Hindutva, which points to "spiritualise", "nationalise", and promotes saffronisation of India's cultural history.

The book doesn't fail to remind the reader again and again that the "tolerance" and "acceptance" are the authentication marks of the Hinduism. The author emphasised on the pluralistic glory of Hinduism, and warns the reader of the running risk of mixing it with the restricted and bigoted idea of Hindutva. In this deafening time, the book, '*WHY I AM A HINDU*' is a balanced book on religion, which keeps reminding the reader how plurality plays an important role in the social life, and provides a timely reminder why Hinduism must continue to have its pluralism. Reading the book is a handy way to familiarize oneself in the twenty-first century with what Hinduism was and is, and what it was meant to be.

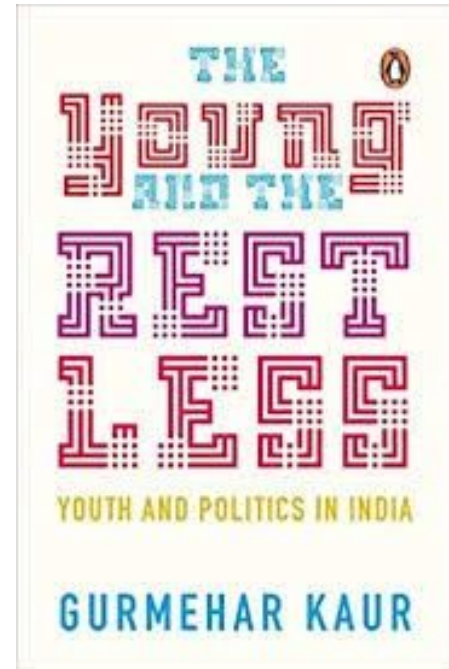
The Young and the Restless: Youth and Politics in India

Author: Gurmehar Kaur

Publisher: Penguin Random House, (May 2019), P.272, INR299

By Kajal Chaturvedi, BA First Year, Political Science (Hons)

The Young and the Restless: Youth and Politics in India written by Gurmehar Kaur, is exhilarating and persuading to stick to its pages until the reader absorbs the whole of it. The life of Kaur is an amazing culmination of a dedicated student, a powerful activist, an author and currently an ambassador for Postcards and Peace (a non profit charitable organisation). She is no less than a beacon of inspiration for the youth to assert their rights, work for what is right and speak against the wrong and those in power and making a difference in their own way. The author in her book *The Young and the Restless*, beautifully describes various facets of development and the issues concerning politics of the country such as militancy, caste, education and so on.



The book begins by questioning the current political scenario over lack of political representation of the youth. Further it highlights India's demographic structure which holds India to be the youngest country in the world having 65 percent of the population below the age of 35 years and also draws attention to the bitter fact that the youngest country has the oldest representatives. This is a country where people below 40 years of age get representation of merely 12 percent in Lok Sabha and the average age of Indian parliamentarians is 60. Here a question which pops up over the minds of the readers is how a 60 year old handles a population of age less than half of them. This is the time of globalisation and new ideas, in such a situation where we lack the political representation of youth we are likely to face generation gap. It would not be wrong to say that the youngest people are represented by the oldest 'Netas' (representatives).

The first chapter of the book takes us to Kashmir, a place deeply personal and special to the author, which touches upon militancy and several other problems in Kashmir and the possible solutions to this long lasting issue. Throughout the course of the book the author delves into

student activism and visits various schools of political thought which are a part of contemporary political debates, be it feminism, left wing politics, socialism or right wing nationalism.

The author has beautifully captured the minds of young leaders through interviews, be it Omar Abdullah who advocates glorification of peace by narrowing the differences through debates and discussions, Soumya Reddy who supports freedom to think, Jignesh Mevani who leads the masses and takes up the task of providing justice to those who are in need of it or Shehla Rashid, the woman who held her ground against all odds, demolishing the other side with her conviction, is an epitome of change and courage. Conversation with Shehla covers the discourse of left politics and her personal journey of growth and challenges and the one with Kanhaiya Kumar covers his continuous work of pushing and inspiring young brains to participate in politics. According to her, these young brains are definitely capable of taking up the task of clearing the dirt like corruption and other evils from the politics and transforming it into an ethical profession.

It would not be wrong to say that the book has a great selection of young people and it is very insightful to read about the various opinions and ideas they represent. Even though they may have varied opinions, belong to different communities and have different goals, their voices did sound like a breath of fresh air, where instead of giving us answers to vital questions older politicians were giving us 'gyaan' on nationalism. The eight young leaders interviewed by the author belong to different parties, ideologies and different backgrounds of politics and activism, but what connects them is their love for this country and commitment to transform the society from an imperfect to a perfect one.

By reading this book one can easily discover that it neither favours a particular party nor does advocate political antagonism against any political party rather it collects the views from diverse political backgrounds within the fold of solving complex issues without over intellectualizing it. The astute understanding in the book resonates with personal journeys of the young leaders which led them to embark upon the path they are onto currently which makes the book highly relatable. The author fascinatingly quotes the examples of leaders such as Bhagat Singh and Nelson Mandela who proved to be the true patriots and stood against injustice and ruthlessness of the state. However, Kaur states the past few years have been difficult for the citizens who chose not to align with the dominant political ideology at the centre stage of politics. They are being labeled as corrupt and anti-nationals. The book in totality upholds the autonomy to think and recognises the significance of dissent.

The author attempts to redefine nationalism as loving your people. The theme of nationalism runs through the whole book. The author tells us the real definition of nationalism. On reading this book, the reader would realize that there is a dearth of such fresh and liberal ideas in mainstream public. This work is also a confluence of various political ideologies with deep rooted critical

analysis. It compels us to realize our duties towards our nation and hence define the roles which we as citizens of a democratic country should accomplish.

The book pays to be informed and let your voices be heard especially today and Kaur is one of those voices who is bringing up the injustices that are being done in the country by those who take advantage of misinformation and lack of education amongst people. The biggest take away from the book is that, it inspires to push forward the streak of restlessness by infesting in us the drive to enhance our pool of knowledge by analysing the policies of the government rather than being blindsided by them.

The Free Voice: On Democracy, Culture and Nation

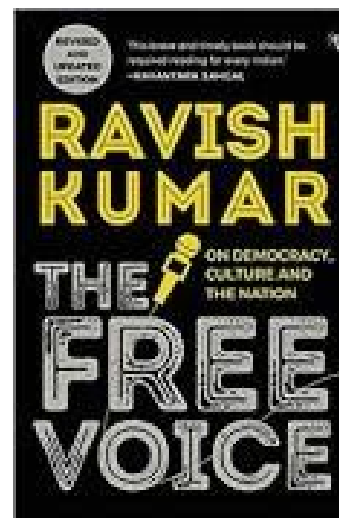
Author: Ravish Kumar

Publisher: Speaking Tiger Publishing Private Limited

(6 Mar 2018), P. 176, INR 430

Review by: Rifah Tasnia, BA Third Year, Political Science (Hons)

The Free Voice: On Democracy, Culture and Nation by Ravish Kumar is an epitome of the current political atmosphere of our country. The alpha and omega of the book basically revolves around how India has started losing the glory of democracy and becoming insecure and apprehensive because of constant threats to 'liberty and free speech as hate and intolerance replace debate, dialogue and social harmony.'



Kumar begins with Judge Loya's death case about which he discussed, in his show on NDTV India-Prime Time, and how doing that released him from the fear that held him in its shackles. He then mentions how this same fear has been seeped into people's consciousness by different organisations, mobs, leaders, etc who feed off people's insecurities, prejudices and poison of communalism. According to the author, numerous mobs have risen creating an environment of fear and suspicion and in this democracy of fear, the act of questioning the government can result in grave consequences. This culture has made the common viewers lose confidence as 'many news anchors swarm like fearsome attackers all over those who ask questions' rendering them mute. Kumar asks people a few important questions: 'Are you afraid of speaking out of criticizing authority? Do you choose a system only to inflict fear upon yourself'?

Kumar then moves on to stressing the point of how fake news circulated through different forms of media like news channels, Whatsapp, etc with ugly purposes of brainwashing the common people; have transported the citizens to an alternative reality, making them forget their real and urgent problems. The voices of the people who look to have their problems addressed fall on deaf ears, as if a mockery of their lives are being made. False news also creates 'robo-public' whom Kumar describes as people who cannot be changed by any argument, discussion or facts because they do not even consider the other side of the coin, dismissing everything that is contrary to their opinions and those who behold a different sight are enemies and traitors. To convince them of the truth is like ploughing the sand. He cites examples of similar happenings of

hate-fuelled misinformation and rumours being used as a tool worldwide by different politicians and political agencies.

Though a bitter pill to swallow, the author talks about the 'National Project for instilling fear' that has been implemented on a national scale and how journalists and reporters have to carry their hearts in their boots in case they speak against the interests of the government, hence clipping their wings. People are being tangled in the web of lies, drowned in the din of fake news and spurious issues, the restlessness being quelled. The author mentions Gauri Lankesh, who fell prey to these deadly patterns of fear and violence.

Kumar also mentions how history has been falsified to manipulate people and add fuel to their prejudices, how the Babas of the country exploit the superstitious lot who take refuge for spiritualism with ludicrous remedies just to keep the ball rolling and how society is poised to reach its nadir. The Hindu-Muslim framework has become the sole benchmark for every issue. 'Faith should rest on the foundations of facts, not emotions', he writes. If we dilute our understanding of what it means to be the people living in a democracy, we will be betraying our freedom struggle.

The politics in our country cannot imagine the love that smashes barriers of caste and religion. 'Honour killing is a cocktail of prejudice, hate and misogyny justified in the name of religion, caste etc.', Kumar narrates while mentioning burning issues like 'love jihad', honour killing, etc. He then diverts to the Fundamental Right to Privacy as a right which is crucial for keeping democracy alive in letter and spirit. It is in our remarkable constitution that we will find the tools to reclaim our liberty and dignity, such as the system of checks and balances which can still be robust because of this right.

Generally, the media is considered as the fourth pillar of democracy which is criticized strongly by Kumar. He even goes to the extent of calling the mainstream media as "informationless horde" saying that its vulgarity has destroyed the norms of Indian democracy and it has fused with political power. People are branded as 'Anti-nationals' everyday; denounced and persecuted. A new case is made so that people stay away from the real issues for which the government would otherwise have to answer. It is imperative that people gain the consciousness of being citizens or else we stand to lose the India we attained after a century of struggle.

Kumar's book is quite intelligible for any audience and it speaks volumes for his genuine efforts towards making the people vigilant about their rights, their power, their duties as citizens of a democratic nation and to break free of the chains of hatred, fear,

suspicion, prejudice, communalism, etc. We can create a much better environment of love, kindness, generosity and harmony for everyone living in the country, henceforth restoring its democratic glory and keeping the dreams alive of all those martyrs who sacrificed their lives for us.

TRIBALS AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICS

Author: Sunkari Satyam

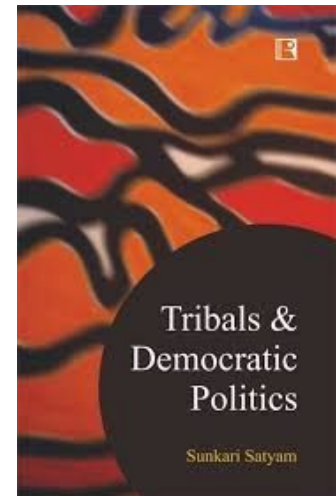
Publisher: Rawat Publications (2019), P. 232, INR 716

Review by: Sreeteja Sakamuri, BA *Third Year, Political Science (Hons)*

Tribals have been long considered as the indigenous people inheriting India with their distinct way of life. Their life composes of unique political, cultural, social and organizational patterns. Sunkari Satyam in *Tribals and Democratic Politics* throws light on the 72 years of democratic experiment on tribal people and its consequences. The beauty of the book is that the author has relied on the primary sources to write about the practice of Democracy among tribal communities. The book consists of actual recordings of tribal people's opinions on the working of democracy from the different areas of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Research methodology employed by Satyam per say field surveys, questionnaires etc provide new insights on the working of democratic politics and institutions at the grass root level. Tribals who constitute marginal communities are largely under-developed and deprived in relation to the mainstream Indian Society.

This book essentially adds to the literature and knowledge available on Tribal communities in India. The book presents the fresh analysis on the issue and provides a unique blend of the opinions of tribals in relation to facts. The study of democracy and tribal people's opinion on democracy and its working is essential to evaluate the universality and representative character of democracy. Satyam employs both qualitative and quantitative tools for microanalysis in his study to examine the level of participation and inclusiveness in democratic India. The research in the book is premised on the data collected from the integrated tribal development agencies of the Utnur Mandal of Adilabad district of Telangana state and the Paderu Mandal of Visakhapatnam district of state of Andhra Pradesh.

The 'Introduction' of the book highlights the intent to describe Indian democracy in theory, as well as, in practice. The author portrays the complex picture of socio-economic vulnerabilities of the tribals when the existing democratic institutions don't support the tribal rights in practice. This whole process is transforming into a political vulnerability in terms of representation in popular elections. The established democratic institutions gave high handedness to the majority rule where only the dominant minority groups voice their demands due to the popular support in terms of vote derived from money and muscle power. The introductory chapter also introduces



the distinct concept of "political untouchability" which represents the continuity of traditional caste politics and feudal politics where elections and democracy (as recorded from a tribal farmer) expresses how the power transitioned between only one or two influential families in the village. The book dwells into more details of electoral process, political culture, political parties, political rights, and participation etc in the context of tribals. The author explains the working of Indian democracy in light of various popular theories of democracy; protective democracy, participatory democracy, deliberative democracy to name a few. The objective of the study is to examine the effectiveness of the political voice of tribals in relation to Indian democracy and politics and also dwelling into the gender dimension of Indian Politics.

The next chapter titled 'Adivasis in Democratic politics' investigates the exercise of citizenship rights of tribal communities in the prism of various domestic and international instruments on rights. The reason for the limited political freedom, limited equality, limited distribution of political power and responsibility for tribal people can be identified with the presence of influential caste system and dominant position of major feudal groups. This highlights the unholy nexus of land -political power- caste in the Indian political system. The dominance of the feudal class in villages is perpetuated by the dominance in economic sphere which transformed into dominance in social sphere i.e., an image of superiority enforced through caste rules and sexual gain and dominance in political sphere. The dominance in the political sphere involves 'monopolised access to the government'.

The key element of Indian democracy is political parties, and the current political environment is characterized by politics of 'self-aggrandizement of charismatic leader' where the voices of minorities are ignored and the image of marginal communities is being tarnished. For instance, books provide a comparison between Adivasi leaders and Non-Adivasi leaders. The socio-economic differences between Adivasi and Non-Adivasi leaders include acute problems like marginal political representation, cultural, social differences with the mainstream Indian society, dearth of institutional welfare measures like education, health, and housing. This has made the Adivasi leadership helpless and left them with distorted chances. Popular voices raise that 'The Panchayat (Extension to the scheduled areas) Act of 1996' and increased voter turn- out during elections represent the fact of effective participatory democracy and increased Self-Governance in India.

The reality revealed by this book shows that the majority of the panchayat representatives had a very low level of awareness and knowledge about their rights, duties and reservation facilities reducing them to mere puppets in the hands of feudal landlords and caste-feud dominated political parties. The popular voter turnout is deciphered by understanding various influential factors in elections. These factors include 'social solidarity, avoidance of tension within the village, bribery, fear of exclusion from below poverty line list and various other government welfare programs and sometimes simply the excitement of election festivities'. The Indian

electoral process at the level of village consolidated the prevailing economic and social relations instead of transforming the unequal rural societies.

In the Chapter 'Adivasi and Socio-Economic Conditions', the author examines in detail the two tribal areas and also makes a comparison between the tribal and non-tribal areas. The study reveals the development gap in tribal areas presenting the absolute poverty and unreachd welfare programs aimed for tribal people. Through the insights from the third and fourth chapters, the author explains how the tribal communities who lived in isolation for centuries are still living in geographic, social, political, economic and institutional isolation. Their right to vote did not take the shape of right to participation in decision making.

The fifth and sixth chapters of the book namely 'Adivasis in Democratic Party Politics and People's voice and Democracy' are based on extensive field study and questionnaire filled with first hand information from local tribals. The questionnaire tried to identify the instruments of political socialization. popular welfare programs' outreach, tribals views on public offices, their experiences with government and political institutions, interest in political affairs, tribals' affiliation to political parties, tribals' contact with elected representatives, participation in public meetings, their influence in decision making, tribals' opinion on democracy, women's participation in Gram Panchayat, etc.

The questionnaire revealed startling answers such as 99 percent of respondents are associated with an organization, these are mostly social organizations and women presence in self help groups is higher than the association of political organizations. The answers also reveal the apathetic, unaccountable administrative mechanisms and administrative culture towards tribal people in the Government. For the majority of tribals democracy implies only participation in elections. The study reveals that the most important constraint of women's participation in politics is family more than the institutional constraints. The author ensured the authenticity of answers by tribals through subsequent questions. There is no deliberative space for tribals with the elected representatives as the 'self-productive process of the structure of socio-economic inequality' perpetuated the traditional leadership and increased the vulnerability of Tribal communities.

The author's survey highlights that, majority of the respondents wanted a pro-people democracy. They were optimistic about the future course of democracy in India. The author defines Indian democracy as modern democratic power politics where we adopted an aristocratic form of governance placing political parties at the centre. In contrast to this exciting democracy, tribal people who responded to the questionnaire viewed the purpose of democracy is to redistribute and devolve power, resources and wealth among people and they await change in the democratic system.

ARGUMENTATIVE INDIA

FIRST YEAR

Are hefty traffic fines under the new Motor Vehicles Act justified?

क्या नए मोटर वाहन अधिनियम के तहत भारी यातायात जुर्माना उचित है?

In my opinion, hefty traffic fines under the new law is justified as this will create awareness on persons to have all the documents and license of their vehicle, maintaining the proper traffic rules and adopt other safety measures like wearing helmet, seatbelts while driving. These fines will not only deter people from not violating traffic rules thus preventing accidents or any other incidents but also add on to state tax revenue which can be a measure towards development.

Ankita Chakrabarty IHA

No, In India, middle class people or people below the poverty line are not able to afford that much amount as their monthly income is not that much. Instead of the hefty traffic fines government can change some rules as the Kerala state government did (when someone doesn't wear a helmet then it's compulsory for that person to buy a helmet instead of paying the tax).

Chanchal IHB

The hefty fines under new motor vehicles act are not justified because many states like

Punjab, West Bengal, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh already refused to implement the amended Motor Vehicle Act. Even a state like Gujarat expressed reservations about imposing such a huge fine. In Bhubaneswar, Orissa 312 traffic violators were charged a sum of Rs. 213000. For traffic rule violations, it's a huge amount. Someone was charged Rs 71000 as fine, even sometimes fine amount exceeding the existing vehicle value. It is like looting people in daylight.

Bushra saifi IHA

Yes, this act is very much justified. It would help lower down the menace of road accidents in India. Now, as the fine for traffic rules violation is too high, the person would've to think twice before violating the rules. Stricter the rules, lesser the violation.

Chetna IHA

I guess up to a point yes because people won't follow traffic rules unless they are made to realize the harm they are doing by not following them, and the best way to do that will be in monetary terms only. By

imposing such huge fines maybe people will start following them even if it is out of fear of losing money rather than out of respect for human life. Although it may seem a bit dictatorial or even against people of the country but at the end of the day it is for our betterment only.

Falguni Suyal IHA

According to me, after the implementation of MVA 2019, there is less violation of traffic rules. For instance, I want to take an example of my own cousin who mostly violates traffic rules by not wearing helmet while driving, jumping red light etc but since this MVA came into force he used to think twice at least before doing so, as the provision of hefty fine reduced the number of violators, however there are also some people who can't afford to pay such a hefty fines because of their financial conditions it become a bane for those, illiterate people who were fined when they violated the rules due to their unawareness about this act which pressurized them to pay loans by taking loans from others. That's why I think there is a need for some reforms in order to make this act more viable in our society.

Chhavi Chaudhary IHA

Yes, it is justified. To save the lives of people it is. If people can spend money on luxurious cars and violate traffic regulations then they can heavily pay as well for their illegal acts. To prevent accidents and

untimely deaths, from making people aware of the disastrous consequences it is a very logical act passed by the government.

Muskan Gupta IHA

I believe that imposing a fine is not the only solution but the principle concern is our roads are they really safe with or without the helmet. There is no denying that Indian roads are full of pits and holes which eventually lead to accidents, a rainy and a foggy weather makes it even more dreadful another concern is the street light as there is an insufficiency of street light on our roads which leads to mishaps. I think that instead of imposing heavy fines the government can cancel the license of the concerned person for a month and should make them attend compulsory traffic rules classes which I believe can make a change.

Akanksha Misra IHA

What's wrong in it? If you are following proper traffic rules and have all documents then why to care whatever amount of that fine is? People are driving vehicles and even bikes without having a driving licence. Drunken driving is blatant in any city. A point must be noted that the traffic violator when met with an accident, he's not the only one who suffers rather the other people who follow the traffic rule yet met with accident due to other's fault. That's why, I think, such hefty fines are justified. Those who demand to lower the fine amount indirectly

say that they will violate the rule and are ready to pay a small amount for such violations. Point is again what's the human life cost that might be at stake due to someone's violation of traffic rules? In Bhubaneswar, it was a very common sight that cars are parked alongside the roads which is illegal. From 1st September 2019, I find not a single vehicle illegally parked on the roadside. I couldn't also find a single biker and his pillion rider without the helmet. I also observed no wrong side driving and other regular traffic offences which were very common between the twin cities. Isn't it great news? Thus, such a hefty fine and stringent regulation are justified. We can't afford to lose a life on the road because of violation of traffic rules. The present proposed fines are much less than the cost of human life. Those who think the fines are very high, better they should follow the traffic rule so as not to pay any fine.

Sheetal IHA

Yes as it will lead to a sense of fear of consequences for breaking the traffic rules knowing the impact that by breaking traffic rules they will have to pay a huge amount people would follow the traffic rules. Yes for many people it seems unfair and unjust that they have to pay a huge compensation for breaking the minor rules but it will lead to the understanding among the people that laws are not meant to be broken and if you break these laws you will not be easily exempted. This will eventually lead to less no of road accidents and traffic problems which are very high in our country.

Manisha IHA

SECOND YEAR

क्या धारा 370 के विशेष प्रावधानों को समाप्त करना 'एक भारत एक प्रणाली' बनाने की दिशा में कदम है?

Emptying the special provisions of article 370 is a step towards creating one India one system?

No. India is a nation with huge diversity so the system of one india one system cannot work for a country like india . Abrogation of article 370 was done for the upliftment of the state of J&K n so that other provisions valid for the entire nation could also work for the people of this state and also to increase the involvement of the people of J&K. India is a democratic country where everyone has a right to freedom of speech and expression and hence the concept of creating one system for all would be against the fundamental rights of the citizens and also it might lead towards dictatorship or autocracy in the long run .

Mansi parashar 2HA

India is all about diversity and acceptance of it. India is one, one system doesn't make it one but people who are living together do. Abolishing article 370 without taking into account the opinion of Kashmiris who have been living with extra powers is equivalent to ignoring them as a part of the democracy. It has caused many retaliations from the community and that has not proven to be the

sign of oneness, the outcome which was being sought.

Sirat Bhalla 2HA

As the constitution itself mentioned it as a temporary provision, it will indeed promote one common identity among all Indians. The biased property laws and different flag and constitution were making it difficult to implement the union laws made by the parliament. Thus, it will surely help in better governance and enhancing integrity and unity of India, and also help in combating against cross border terrorism. As a conclusion, more focus should be given now on the good governance, trust building and proper implementation of the laws made for the socio-economic development of the two union territories.

Vandana Prajapati 2HA

By emptying the special provisions of article 370 , we took a step closer towards creating 'one india one system' , as now all provisions , laws, welfare policies, schemes, and constitutional rights are same for all States

of India. The whole India is now under the umbrella of its constitution legally without any exception. Because of a problem at the time of partition faced by India, article 370 and 35A were added into the Indian constitution but as temporary provisions because the base of India is its unity, integrity and diversity. But after the abrogation, India is demographically and constitutionally united. Now, this new system is beneficial for the people of Jammu and Kashmir as these people can directly ask questions to the central government and ensure accountability and transparency of government. A system that is best suited to India is democracy in which all citizens have their fundamental rights and power to enforce them.

Poornima Sharma 2HA

No because not only Jammu and Kashmir have special provision instead of that north east state also have these special provision...it doesn't mean that the provision should be completely abolished. Instead of that government should amend that act because at the time of independence there was an agreement of referendum. But government had impose their decision instead of referendum.

Anjali 2HA

This is a creative step to make the people of Kashmir a true Indian citizen, as they were facing discrimination from many years, the step support them to move upward and mix with all states. But the restrictions they are facing even after so many days of the amendment should be removed as they all have the same right as other people has.

Aditi sah 2HB

हाँ, ऐसा कहा जा सकता है किन्तु इससे लोकतंत्र की भावना और नागरिकों से किये वायदों को ठेस भी पहुंची है जिसके कारण सत्ता पर जनता का विश्वास डगमगा रहा है।

Nomita pandey 2HB

धारा 370 के विशेष प्रावधानों को हटाना ' एक भारत एक प्रणाली ' बनाने की दिशा में उठाया गया कदम हो सकता है लेकिन केवल 370 को हटा देने मात्र से ही समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि कश्मीर के लोगों को विकास के मार्ग से जोड़ा जाए (सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र) केवल इसी के माध्यम से वास्तविक में एक भारत एक प्रणाली के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त किया जा सकता है।

Neha bhati 2HB

THIRD YEAR

Citizenship Amendment Act will propagate religion to colour civil rights which will imperil India's democracy and secularism?

"नागरिकता संशोधन अधिनियम" धर्म का प्रयोग नागरिक अधिकारों को रंग देने के लिए करेगा जिससे भारतीय लोकतंत्र एवम् धर्मनिरपेक्षता को खतरा होगा?

CAA is just to give citizenship to minorities of the Muslim majority countries of Afghanistan Pakistan and Bangladesh where they have faced religious persecution and there is a deadline too for those who entered in India. India has a history of helping people on humanitarian grounds and according to S.Sai Deepak advocate of Supreme Court, "it is the very right of sovereign government to apply any condition for granting citizenship" and people should read original document before making their opinions or picturing any act with colour of religion. I agree that the Act needs some consideration by the government in response to the protest. People should understand that the move won't snatch citizenship from anyone belonging to any religion. India is a democracy would remain a democracy. Vigilant, aware, rational citizens and civil society is the need of the hour.

Diksha tripathi, 3HA

Well, I think, CAA is a good initiative from the side of government as it gives a way for the refugees coming from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh who have been facing continuous discrimination in their

respective country on grounds of religion to apply for the citizenship. This Act does not propagate religion to colour civil rights which will imperil India's democracy and secularism as these countries have accepted the fact and announced to the whole world that they are Muslim countries. So, not giving the right to apply for citizenship to the Muslims coming from these 3 countries is justified. This act is based on moral grounds and yes I do accept there are certain loopholes in the Act, but it's completely justified because everything has some or the other loophole. So, by ignoring the small mistakes in this Act, we should in whole think about it to what extent it is doing well to the refugees facing such difficult times. So, we should appreciate this Act by keeping aside all our political competition and party hatred. By passing this Act, the Modi Government has proved the statement that it will not leave its humanitarian aspect of helping others.

Aparajita Sri, 3HA

The Preamble of the Constitution of India begins with "We the people of India". The fundamental right to equality enshrined in the constitution, lies at the heart of the

constitution and is the very essence of India's democracy and secularism. The Citizenship Amendment Act seeks to jeopardize it and also violates the very definition of the citizenship which states equal and full membership of the citizens in the political community irrespective of religion, race, caste and sex.

Pooja kumari, 3HA

With government in power comes the ideology it believes in. The current government being adherent to its Hindutva ideology and the recent controversial Citizenship Amendment Act turned into act which propagates it further. India being the largest democracy and with practice of vague secularism is heading towards a future where religion will be dominant over all other important issues like health, education. It has already started as of now, nobody is talking about the high rate of unemployment or hard inflation India is being hit by. CAA has become the hot topic of debate covering and being run by all news channels and is also being discussed at homes, chai stalls actually everywhere in India. India has already stepped into the phase of upheaval and instability.

Akriti Chandel, 3HA

Citizenship Amendment Act which is newly introduced by Indian government and the act is also not acceptable for many people and even after 3 months after it got passed,

people are still protesting against it. CAA is linked with the proposed National Register of Citizens (NRC) which will be implemented throughout India. Those who will not be able to produce proof of their ancestral residence in the country will not be considered as Indian citizens. The promise of equality and a secular and democratic state is put under test. What puts the Indian secularism at stake today has to do with its democracy, with every neglected voice of the citizens. Such exercises will result in a direct victimisation of the underprivileged classes, particularly the Dalits, the Adivasis, the migrant labourers, the nomadic communities and the countless undocumented people who run the risk of becoming stateless. This act will break our country's unity.

Savneet Kaur, 3HA

This is a baseless statement. Citizenship amendment act in no way affect the civil rights of any citizen in India. This act may change the Demography of the country. Indian democracy or secularism does not rest on the Majority will, providing citizenship to the asylum seekers in no way affect the Democracy, Secularism or Civil rights because our democracy , our secularism , our civil rights stand on sound universal principles. They cannot be affected by a Majority will or Demographic changes. So, our constitution provides various guarantees for the citizens of India

irrespective of religion, Caste, Race, Creed, Sex, and Region from the Majority tyranny.

S.Sriteja, 3HA

Not in absolute terms. Indian form of demoSe (I.e Democratic Secularism) has its unique colour and definition. Our law of land neither through preamble nor through Articles constructed a strict wall of separation between religion and state, visible through articles 25, 26, 27etc. Citizenship Amendment Act provides Indian citizenship to persecuted minorities of Hindu, Sikh, Christian, Jain, Buddhist, and Parsi from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh. On the one hand CAA just single color of rainbow does not have the ability to imperil whole rainbow called civil rights which comprises of social, political, economic, ethical, human rights. But on the other hand, 'little drops make mighty ocean'. It is "We the people" bound by constitutional responsibility to protect our Demo Se (civil rights) through constitutional means.

Kani kannan, 3HA

From Tibetan refugees, to Chakma and today's Rohingyas' issues, India stood for refugees since independence and has been quite generous despite not being under any obligation of refugees treaty. Any state is sovereign in its domain to determine its laws concerning refugees, however it must keep in mind the interests of citizens first. Stating that the present Act would amount to

jeopardizing Indian democracy and secularism would be equivalent to doubting the roots of Indian Constitution and its thriving institutions. I believe, welfare of all, uplifting downtrodden and marginalized as well as keeping Indian nation intact are the very aims upon which foundation of our constitution rests. Similar to positive discrimination, religious colouring of civil rights can be justified as long as it seeks to uphold such principles. With the overwhelming presence of ever conscious institutions and civil society, our faith in Indian democracy and its ideals only strengthens. Witnessing, the widespread dissent against the Act, state must try to engage with all and clarify the intentions. Coupling it with a public referendum can be a good step. Before welcoming refugees and giving them the status of citizenship, problems at home regarding economic slowdown, unemployment, social distress, resource crunch, identity crisis among others must be dealt with.

Gargi Prasad, 3HA

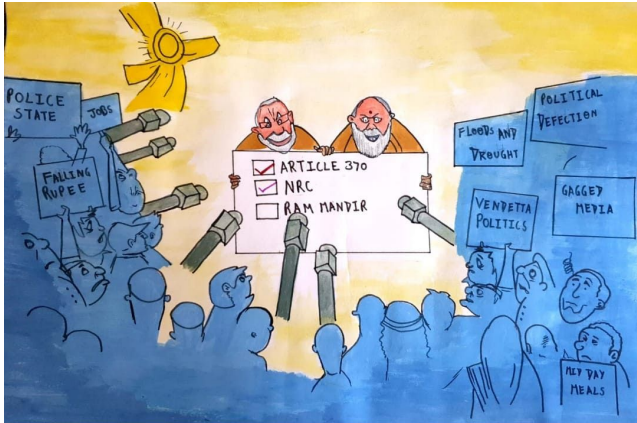
The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019, is discriminatory in nature. The amendment intentionally singles out a community for hostile treatment. The Act goes against the spirit of the constitution as it violates the premise of 'common citizenship regardless of caste, creed, gender, ethnicity and culture'. The act provides the eligibility for citizenship to Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists,

Jains, Parsis and Christians from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan who entered India on or before the 31st of December, 2014 and excludes Muslims from the list. It attempts to provoke social polarization in the country, which directly imperils the democratic nature of Indian state. Had the objective of the act been to protect the persecuted minorities in our neighbourhood, it would have included the Rohingyas from Myanmar, Uighurs from China or the Tamils

from Sri Lanka. By endowing citizenship on the basis of religion, the act discriminates against Muslims and breaches the clause of secularism.

Naina Sharma, 3HA

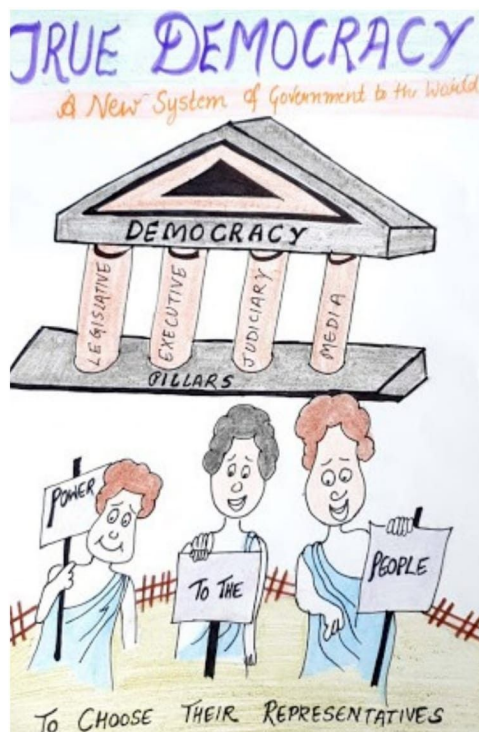
CARTOON SECTION



Khushi Singhal, Year I



Sirat Bhalla, Year II



Aditi Sharma, Year I

STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENT

DEPARTMENT EVENTS	WINNER	RUNNER-UP
Inkitt' 20- The Essay writing competition	S.Sriteja, IIIrd Year	Smriti Sharma, IInd Year
Book Review competition	Gargi Prasad, IIIrd Year	Rifah, IIIrd Year
Sabdo Ka Khel- The Poetry Competition	Nandani Yadav, IIIrd Year	Anjali Verma, IIIrd Year
Movie Review Competition	Ishita Goyal, IInd Year	Supriya Dhara, IIIrd Year
Inter- Department Treasure Hunt	Simran Gupta, IInd Year Pramita, IInd Year	Shristi, B.com Honours Barkha, B.com Honours
Logo- Making competition	Vishu Rathi, IInd Year	
Cartoon Making Competition	Khushi Singhal, Ist Year	

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