

PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis

Health Care Services Evidence vs Ideology

It is well documented by now that the health services in India did not grow as envisioned and planned, due to a combination of factors such as lack of political will; inadequate finances; pressure from international agencies such as WHO

PROUT

Progressive Utilization Theory

Cry of the Suffering Humanity

**A
Vibrant
Magazine
which
Informs
&
Inspires**

What is PROUT :

PROUT is an acronym for the Progressive Utilization Theory. Conceptualized in 1959 by Indian Philosopher Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, PROUT is a viable alternative to the outmoded capitalist and communist Socio-economic paradigms. Neither of these approaches has adequately met the physical, mental and spiritual needs of humanity. PROUT seeks a harmonious balance between economic growth, social development and cultural expression.

Combining the wisdom of spirituality, the struggle for self-reliance, and the spirit of economic democracy, Proutist intellectuals and activists are attempting to create a new civilizational discourse. PROUT news-magazine aims at conveying comprehensive and visionary goals of PROUT theory.

PROUT magazine invites scientists, economists, politicians, artists, intellectuals and others to join us in the creation of a new, spiritually bonded society by propagating and popularising unambiguous elevating thoughts. Through Proutistic views and Neo Humanistic analysis, it strives to serve as beacon for the benighted civilization of our times.

Main principles of PROUT & Neo-Humanism :

Neo-humanism expands the humanistic love for all human beings to include love and respect for all creation - plants, animals and even inanimate objects. Neo-humanism provides a philosophical basis for creating a new era of ecological balance, planetary citizenship and cosmic kinship.

Basic necessities guaranteed to all : People can not strive toward their highest human aspirations if they are lacking the basic requirements of life. PROUT believes that access to food, shelter, clothing, education and medical care are fundamental human rights which must be guaranteed to all.

Balanced economy : Prout advocates regional self-reliance, cooperatively owned and managed businesses, local control of large scale key industries, and limits on the individual accumulation of excessive wealth.

Women's Right : PROUT encourages the struggle against all forms of violence and exploitation used to suppress women. PROUT's goal is coordinated cooperation, with equal rights between men and women.

Cultural Diversity : In the spirit of universal fellowship PROUT encourages the protection and cultivation of local culture, language, history and tradition.

World Government : PROUT supports the creation of world government with a global constitution and a common penal code.

For both civilization and science, intellectual knowledge is indispensable. Spiritual or intuitional development is possible through the happy blending between civilization and science. - Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Editor

A/carya Santosanan da Avadhuta

Contributory Editor

A/carya Maheshvaranan da Avadhuta

Editorial Board

A/c Vedaprajñanan da Avadhuta

A/c Kṛṣṇasevanan da Avadhuta

Ganga Grace

Sarabjit Prakash

Correspondents

Kanhu Charan Behura

Rajesh Singh

Dr. Gopal Shastri

Layout & Design

Pranav Koul

Bhagwan Das

Head Office

Prout Bhawan, JC-48,
Khirkhi Extension Main Road,
Mukhya Nagar, New Delhi - 110017
Mobile No.: 09212 699658
Email: proutam@gmail.com

General Manager

Ramesh Choudhary - 9150860274

Circulation Manager

Mehnaz - 09717879201

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Wishakshapatnam

Dr. S. Gopal Sastry, 'Santivanar',
48-9-16, P.O. Dwarakanagar,
Dist. Nchalhapattanam - 510016 (A.P.)
Mo.b.: 09440674910
Bangalore

Prout Bhawan, Behind B.T.S. Garage,
Vijay Nagar, Bangalore - 560040.
Ph.: 080-23395117
Raipur

Prout Bhawan, Avantivanar,
Raipur - 92006, Ph.: 9424230658

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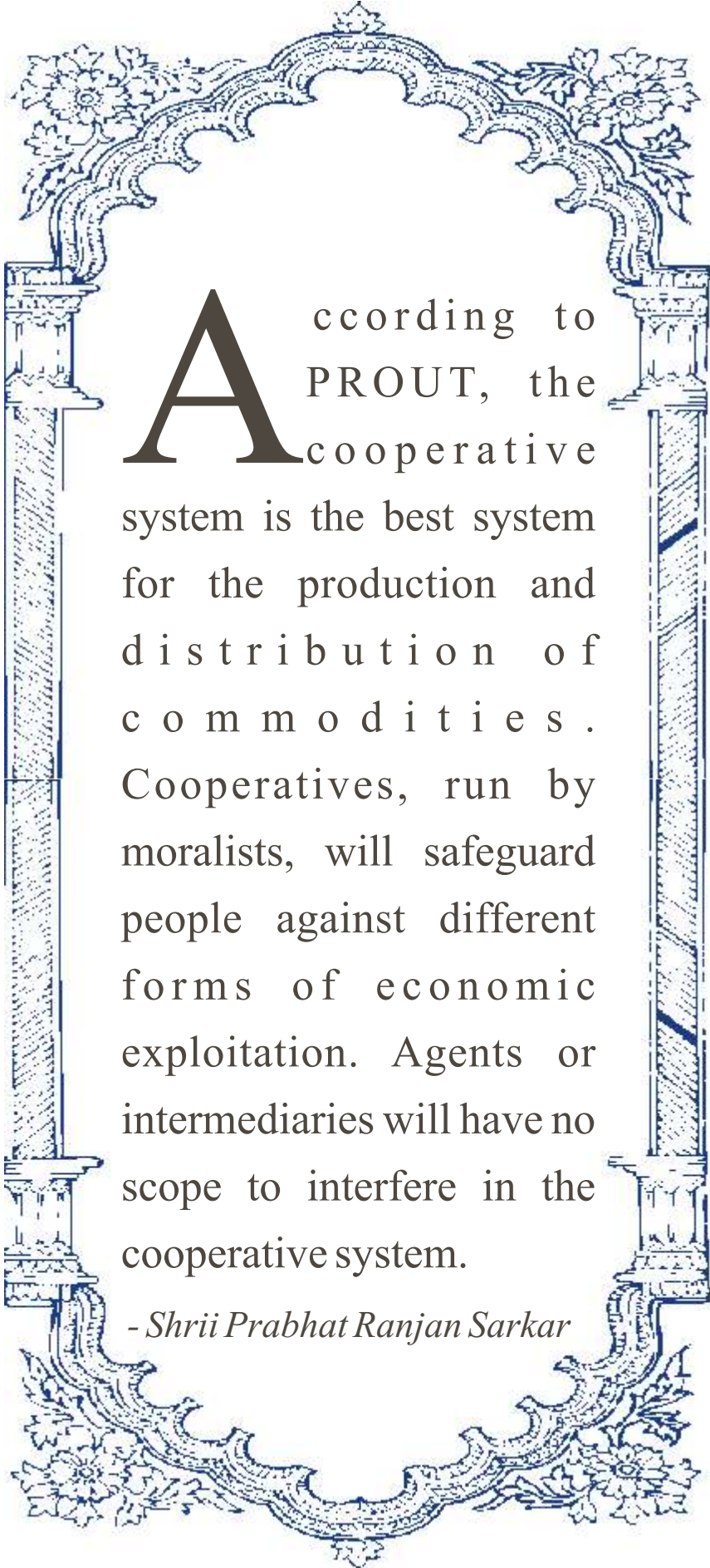
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Mob. : 9650055058, 9350860274

Email: proutcustomercare@gmail.com

Fundamental Principles :

1. No individual should be allowed to accumulate any physical wealth without the clear permission or approval of the collective body.
2. There should be maximum utilization and rational distribution of all mundane, supra mundane and spiritual potentialities of the universe.
3. There should be maximum utilization of the physical, metaphysical and spiritual potentialities of unit and collective body of the human society.
4. There should be a proper adjustment amongst these physical, metaphysical, mundane, supra mundane and spiritual utilizations.
5. The method of utilization should vary in accordance with the changes in time, space and person and the utilization should be of progressive nature.



According to PROUT, the cooperative system is the best system for the production and distribution of commodities. Cooperatives, run by moralists, will safeguard people against different forms of economic exploitation. Agents or intermediaries will have no scope to interfere in the cooperative system.

- Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Death Sentence An Unresolved Issue



On November 20, 2012, in a UN General Assembly draft resolution calling for abolishing the death penalty, 110 nations voted in favour and 36 abstained. India, however, was among 39 countries that voted against. The very next day Ajmal Amir Kasab, the lone survivor of Mumbai's terrorist attacks of 26/11 four years back was hanged in Pune's Yeravada jail. Executed as a 'Top Secret' police operation, it brought to end a long series of trials and appeals, reaching up to the portals of the Supreme Court and the Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi. As expected this sudden news created a storm in both the print and electronic media and people baying for blood patted one another's back for proving to the world rule of law prevails in India. Families of victims felt that justice has been done. Some felt that Kasab was just a pawn and the master minds the real culprits were roaming free across the border. Amidst this entire din a lone voice stood out, K Unnikrishnan father of Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan, NSG commando killed by the terrorists in the battle at Taj Mahal Hotel felt, "It is totally wrong to celebrate anybody's death."

According to PROUT's founder Shrii PR Sarkar and his precepts of cardinal principles for humans, "Sentencing people to capital punishment just because one cannot cure their ills is as much a crime as killing them oneself. Why is nothing done to remedy their ills? It is the bounden duty of civilised society to cure the ills of these criminals - deal with a humane heart and guide them out of their ills. As long as people do not take humanistic measures for criminals, it is only a meaningless farce to let them sit in prisons uselessly. One must remember that they are (mentally) diseased".

It is generally accepted that capital punishment has failed as a deterrent and does not reduce heinous crimes. Statistics from USA reveal that the state of California averaged 6 executions a year from 1952 to 1967, and had twice the murder rate than the period from 1968 until 1991 when there were no executions. In New York, from 1907 to 1964, months immediately following an execution showed a net increase of two murders - an average over a 57-year period. Also, national hysteria should not determine capital punishment, as happened in Kasab's case. Justice for humans by humans cannot be decided by public opinion which should play a minimal role.

Also sharing his views on 'Penal Code' Shrii PR Sarkar had said, "It is not nature's desire that human beings should penalize one another. Whenever some action is taken to penalize someone, a sense of revenge or vindictiveness arises in the mind of the dispenser of justice and stifles the judge in him or her. Hence, I suggest that the words "penal code" should be eliminated from the social life of humanity. If anybody, whether a judge or a common citizen, takes some sort of requital against someone else, it should be corrective, not penal. Human values will therefore be the basis of the penal code." "He in fact recommends first, persuade the offenders by sweet words. Secondly, use harsh words in order to convince them. At the third stage, tell them of penal measures. The fourth stage warrants the adoption of penal measures against them. The humane appeal is at the root of inflicting punishment in this way".

He goes on to add on an optimistic note, "They can be cured in a short time through spiritual practices and in a little more time through other Yogic methods; but for this, too, a congenial environment is essential. And so the environments of the prisons should be more pure, more humane. Thus the purpose of the penal code will be to rectify and not punish a person - knock down the prisons and build rectification camps. Those who are not inborn criminals, in other words, those who perpetrate crimes because of some organic defects, ought to be offered treatment so they may humanize themselves. Thus a person, whether is a sinner, a sufferer, a thief, a criminal or characterless, is so quite superficially; inherently s/he vibrates with potentiality of being purified."



HUMAN OCCUPATIONS

I liked the last of the series by Shrii PR Sarkar - about doctors - very much. It clearly explains reasons about why doctors behave sometimes the way they do. The saying, "welfare of patients should be the main aim of the medical profession" is very apt. It is also equally true that we should see doctors not only as patients but also as human beings.

Jyoti, Karnal

WALKING THE GOOD EARTH

The plight of the people dwelling in forests, whose ancestors have been doing so for 5000 years before them is indeed sad during modern times. Brijesh Pandey's article is quite an eye opener and highlights the issue that deserves immediate attention of the concerned authorities to alleviate their hardship and solve their problems.

Murty KR, Kazipeth

JUDICIARY BIAS

Gladson Dungdung the champion of tribal's cause has done it again. This time his expose knocks the very doors of the justice system in the country? If this is the case where will the poor adivasis go for justice against the rich and powerful exploiters.

F Soureng, Goomla

POLITICS OF SURPRISE

Marcus Bussey's pointers to the future scenarios and how we should rethink about the present is very necessary to study in depth and find solutions so that mankind does not suffer unduly due to a looming uncertain future.

K Harriet, Christchurch, by email

COVER STORY – WATER PRIVATIZATION

A very well researched article about the global fresh water scenario, that complements the Editorial. It was also heartening to read that activists of the PBI protested against privatization of Delhi's water supply by fasting for one day in front of the

Headquarters of the Delhi Jal Board (page 44). It's high time the Government took urgent notice particularly in the backdrop of the facts contained in their memorandum on page 45 about corruption and failure of the Rs 800 crores Sonia Vihar project.

Kamini Dasgupta, Karolbagh, New Delhi

1971 POWs

Sonya Fatah's short piece truly a tale of apathy on the part of the Governments of both countries across the border that there still are unaccounted prisoners of war after 1971. It is also shameful when one considers that after Indo – China war of 1962, there is still such problem about unaccounted and missing POWs.

Nb Sub Manjit Singh (Retd), Sonapat

FOOD SUPPLY SYSTEM COLLAPSE

Gary Null paints a frightening scenario about a future hunger crisis

looming before the world. Every year the world consumes more food than the year before and this trend is going to continue as population keeps on increasing. If the system collapses, and food prices become beyond reach of the common people, civilization would be undermined as has happened in the past.

Jerry Rathcombe, Glasgow, by email

DRUGS AND CORPORATE PROFITS

The EU – India FTA has certainly created more problems than it promised to solve. The world wide protests are clear indicators that just goes to show, almost all these agreements are primarily meant for corporate profits and not for welfare of the masses. As rightly brought out by Akash Mehrotra, multinational giants would undermine locally made cheap generic drugs under sway of so called market forces. This must never be allowed to happen.

Sahib Karmakar, Nandigram



Articles / Suggestions Invited

We invite your articles, comments, letters, wit & humour materials etc. on any aspect of human life including Spiritual, Socio-economic, Political, Cultural, Ideological, Educational and local self government. Clips, photographs and cartoons are also welcome.

Please send them at the following address :

Editor, **PROUT**
JC-48, Khirki Extension, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi - 110017
Mobile : 09212199658, 09350860274
Email : prout.am@gmail.com

Hearts Meet and Melt On a City Pavement



Here's to the spirit of Calcutta, alive and kicking in the grit of an 83-year-old selling savouries on a pavement, the compassion of a college girl passing by and the response of strangers to a Facebook post for support.

Octogenarian Shila Ghosh changes two buses to reach the Exide crossing on Chowringhee Road from Bally, in Howrah, every afternoon to sell chips on the pavement outside Haldiram till the flow of the homebound-crowd ebbs. Her

breadwinner son died of a heart ailment around six months ago and she needs the money — around Rs 150 on an average for an evening's toil — to supplement her grandson's meagre earnings from odd jobs.

College girl Sufia Khatoon didn't know Shila's story, but would often pause to watch her from a distance and wonder what circumstances might have forced a woman older than her grandmother to spend evenings working. Sufia felt she needed to do something about it. A Facebook post later, 22 other Samaritans converged on the busy junction around 5.30pm last Friday to surprise Shila with "a small donation".

Shila, stooping of body but upright of mind, had a bigger surprise for them. "She accepted the Rs 1,600 we had mobilised for her but declined further monetary help. She told us she wanted to earn a living rather than live off donations," Sufia recalled. "If the group was still willing to help her, Shila said: rather they set up a kiosk for me. I am capable of earning my bread. I come here and return by bus, it drops me in front of my house." Aunt's never-say-die spirit should be respected" said one of her young admirer. "We are dealing with someone very strong in the mind. I believe the initiative should not end with donating some money. We need to find a long-term solution to problems faced by people like Shila," said another, a 42-year-old Park Circus businessman.





Justice

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

Recent events like the killing of two tycoon brothers in Delhi and, hanging of Kasab, both incidents, in India, and public reaction reflect society's attitude towards justice, crime and punishment. We feature in two parts the views of the founder of PROUT on this all important social issue, which propagates rectification, not punishment. Eds

The underlying spirit of the word vicára [“justice” in English] is “a particular type of mental process to ascertain the truth”. Although human actions depend on relative principles, whatever appears to be the truth in this relative world, within society, is justice. The greatest benefit of the proper application of justice is that in the struggle between progressive and regressive forces,

between good and evil, which is a permanent feature of society, the human intellect has an increasing number of opportunities to choose the path of righteousness.

Administering Justice

Many people say, “When human beings possess so little intelligence, how can they be qualified to sit in judgement over others? No one has the right to judge

others.” I do not completely reject this argument, though I will raise the following question: “Is it not injustice if people do not use the intellect they have been endowed with in this relative world?” Judgements may not always be correct, the determination of judicial criteria may be flawed, or the mental faculties or the way of thinking of the judge may create doubts in the eyes of people about whether he or she can be considered an ideal person. Should we therefore abandon the judicial system altogether? No, certainly not. No particular standard for measuring intellectual progress has ever been or will ever be accepted as absolute. Nevertheless, in every sphere of life there must be an ongoing effort to progress from imperfection to perfection. This effort will, if only indirectly, make social progress and all-round welfare more accessible to the human race.

A judicial process ends once a verdict is reached about anything, so a judicial process is not something complete in itself. Only once the verdict is implemented is the full process complete. In other words, the utility of justice in social life is felt only when a penal measure, or better still, a corrective measure, for the concerned individual or group is implemented as per the verdict. But if at any stage the judicial yardstick is not identical with truth beyond a shadow of doubt, no one can deny that special care will have to be taken at the time of passing sentence on the accused in accordance with the verdict given.

I am personally of the opinion that since flaws will always unavoidably remain, no matter how good the judicial system, it is not the intent of nature for one human being to penalize another. Moreover, a detailed analysis reveals that whenever a punitive action is taken to penalize somebody, a feeling of vindictiveness arises in the minds of those administering the punishment, which in turn creates a malevolent mentality. I therefore think that the term “penal system” should be deleted from social terminology. If and when somebody, whether a judge or an ordinary person, takes any type of action against another, it should be corrective, not punitive.

If a system of corrective measures is introduced, criminals, whether they were deeply involved in the crime or not, will have no reason to complain against anyone. Although there may be flaws in the judgement, it will not harm them in any way. A person who is definitely guilty will benefit from a system of corrective measures, and even a

person who is not guilty will benefit from such a system.

Thus my opinion is that no innocent person should have the opportunity to think or say, “Although I am innocent, I am being punished because I couldn’t afford a good lawyer” due to flaws in the judicial system. No doubt society will be adversely affected if an offender evades the law and is not arrested by the police due to their incompetence, but far greater damage will be done if an innocent person is penalized because of a defective judicial system.

From the social or human viewpoint, everybody has the right to correct the behaviour of everyone else. This is the birthright of every human being. No scholar can dispute the right of people to correct the shortcomings of those with whom they come in contact. The recognition of this right is indispensable for the health of society.

Thus it is clear that corrective measures are necessary to complement justice. Such an arrangement prevents a government from getting any scope to impose a violent, cruel penal system and an oppressive dictatorship on the masses.

Here lies the basic difference between the administrative system and the corrective system. The severe discipline that is needed in the administrative system to strengthen the framework of society or that of the state is not necessary in the judicial system; rather the judicial system is based on rational, tolerant, humanistic ideas and benevolent sentiments. Thus we see that in many cases there is a fundamental difference between the administrative and the judicial systems. Judges can and will frequently temper the merciless attitudes of the administration with humane reasoning; the verdicts of humane judges will therefore be more acceptable to the populace of a state than the pronouncements of an insensitive





administration. If this does not happen it will immediately become clear that either an individual or party is abusing the power vested in them by the state.

The Role of Judges

People judge the mistakes of others to the best of their own intellectual capacities. I do not feel that there is anything wrong in this as long as people keep the ideal of welfare in front of them.

People may judge others, but there has always been and still is a difference of opinion among moralists concerning the final stage of the judicial process: in other words, concerning the extent to which people have the right to penalize others. If a person is tried and no action is taken as a result of the trial, the person in question will not have to face the possibility of a miscarriage of justice. But if in the event of a miscarriage of justice the person is penalized on the basis of the verdict, an innocent person will be made to suffer. In other words, penalizing a person on the basis of a verdict involves considerable risk.

Judges can rarely say with total conviction that one person is guilty and another innocent. Their verdicts are based on the testimonies of witnesses, the evidence and the arguments of lawyers. They have very little scope to verify whether or not the witnesses are telling the truth or whether or not the evidence is genuine. Experienced lawyers often win cases because even an eminent judge becomes confused by their arguments. Moreover, if the experienced lawyers also happen to be retired judges, it will be very easy for them to win over the judge. A judge who previously worked under an experienced lawyer will usually find it difficult to reject his or her evidence and arguments. In other words, such lawyers exert a personal influence over the judge. Of course in most

developed countries nowadays retired judges are prevented from practising law. This regulation is highly commendable, and results in the general public getting a better chance of receiving justice. However, there is still no guarantee that people will receive impartial justice, because in practice very few judges are able to verify whether the witnesses are telling the truth or whether the evidence is genuine, or to closely scrutinize the verbose arguments of experienced lawyers.

In order to determine whether the witnesses are telling the truth and whether the evidence is genuine, judges will have to take considerable help from detectives. The workload of detectives will increase as a result, and thus it may be necessary to increase the number of detectives. By merely increasing the number of detectives, however, we cannot expect that this problem will be solved, because if the seeds of corruption are hidden in the detective department itself, it will be virtually impossible to eliminate them. In other words, if detectives take bribes out of greed, the accused or the plaintiff will suffer as a result. While it is necessary for a country to have an adequate number of detectives, it is impossible for a government to recruit a large number of highly proficient detectives. It will therefore be necessary for the investigations carried out by the detectives into whether the witnesses are telling the truth and whether the evidence is genuine to be verified again by the judges.

Judges, however, do not need to take sole responsibility for this work in all cases; part of it may be performed by a jury. This will result in an increase in the importance of the jury system. The only criterion for selecting members of the jury should be honesty. Educational qualifications and social status should not be taken into consideration.

It is preferable that the final responsibility for a judgement rest with the judge, not the jury. So judges should be carefully selected from among those whose strength of character is irrefutable. Generally the number of judges is smaller than the number of police or detectives, and their salaries are higher, so with proper efforts it will not be impossible for a country to procure the competent judges that it needs. Local autonomous bodies should be given the responsibility for selecting the members of the jury; business people, brokers and political leaders or party workers should not be eligible to be jury members.

We cannot expect judges to agree with the jury in all cases because that would limit their authority. Nor should we expect that the members of the jury will

make good judges, no matter how honest and upright they may be. Furthermore, after conducting investigations into the event in question, the judge and jury may arrive at different conclusions; it will not be wrong to conclude that the judge's conclusion should carry more weight. However, it is possible for a judge to be partial, out to satisfy a personal grudge or in collusion with the accused; if so, what should be done? If the members of a jury become suspicious of the judge's conduct or dissatisfied with his or her behaviour during the course of a trial, the entire proceedings of the case should be brought to the notice of a higher judicial authority before the judge delivers his or her final judgement in court. If the higher judicial authority shares the opinion of the members of the jury, it would be unwise to retain the judge.

Although I do not fully support the way in which justice was administered by the *kāziis* [Muslim judges] in the Middle Ages, it would be useful if judges today emulated their dedication. The *kāziis* took great risk and personal responsibility when they disguised themselves and went to seek the truth at the scene of the crime, or tried to extract a confession from the accused or the plaintiff by using a clever ruse. Such efforts would place greater responsibility on the judges, and thus it might be necessary to increase both their number and their salary. Besides this, it might also be necessary to increase their authority so that they could deliver judgements on the basis of their findings and experience.

However, no matter what efforts we make to ensure fair judgements, we cannot expect them to always be correct. The jury may make a mistake, or both the judge and the jury may make a mistake. Both may acquiesce in injustice due to transitory emotions or excitement. Hence, under no circumstances can a judgement be taken as the final word. So I am constrained to say that if there is any doubt at all about the accuracy of a judgement, no punishment should be given.

From the moral viewpoint also it is obvious that, if they wish to preserve social purity, people only have the right to take corrective measures and not punitive measures. The law that controls every pulsation of human existence has the sole authority to penalize people, and no other. Still, if people could have demonstrated that their judgements were absolutely free from defects or established that their system of punishment was legitimate, there would have been something to discuss. But human beings are incapable of doing this. So for the preservation of society, if people want to take measures against others, those measures will have to be corrective, not punitive. Even if the judicial system is defective, if

only corrective measures are taken then there is no possibility of anyone coming to any harm.

Before looking more deeply at corrective measures, it is necessary to closely examine the standard of judges. Those who are permitted to sit in judgement over others and have the power to punish must be closely monitored to see whether any degeneration has occurred in their intelligence, capacity for deliberation, or moral character. From time to time, as and when necessary, reports about the character and conduct of judges may be required by bodies representing the people. A judge who is a drunkard, of dubious character or engaged in any form of antisocial activity has no right to pass judgement on others. I am emphasizing the personal standards of judges because the nature of justice is such that higher priority has to be given to temporal, spatial and personal factors than to legal processes.



Abū Zayd pleads before the Kazi of Ma'arra (1334)

In the event of conflict between the criminal code and the moral code, the moral code must take precedence.

While presiding over a trial, a judge should not be prejudiced against the accused, but should consider whether he or she has committed a crime or not; and if so, under what circumstances, and whether the crime was committed voluntarily or at the instigation of others. This is the main point for consideration during a trial. The person on whom society has bestowed the solemn office of judge has therefore to be of a higher standard than an ordinary person.

I am not ready to accept that a law student who has graduated with distinction from the law faculty of a university will necessarily make a competent judge. While it is undeniable that good lawyers and barristers have knowledge of the law and skill in presenting arguments, this is no guarantee that they will make

equitable judges. Instances of equitable justice can be seen in countless large and small events which occur in individual and social life.

When sitting to pass judgement on an offender the first thing for the judge to consider is whether the accused has committed a crime or not. For the purpose of analysing the types of crime committed by a criminal, and whether his or her offences were committed voluntarily or at the instigation of others, criminals may be classified into the following five categories.

(1) Criminals by Nature

Some few men and women are born with a deranged mind. The cause of their mental derangement is concealed within the defects of their body and glands. Such people can be divided into two main groups.

The first group is composed of people who are normally very quiet, but in whom truthfulness and doing good to others are against their nature. They derive malevolent pleasure from lying and harming others. They are generally poor at managing their worldly affairs and incapable of comprehending the difference between good and bad. They act according to their limited mental capacity. Although they are mentally underdeveloped, they are deprived of the same kindness and compassion that other simpletons, due to their innate purity, receive. They take a long time to learn how to walk and talk and to understand simple matters, and they continue to dribble for a large part of their lives. Despite the sincere efforts of

their parents and teachers, they fail to acquire any education. Even before they reach adulthood they manifest their base propensities. They generally become petty thieves, not armed robbers. Although they have a bad character, they do not have the courage to perform antisocial activities openly. They commit offences on their own initiative and at the instigation of others.

The second group of born criminals is more dangerous. Throughout their lives they revel in displays of provoked or unprovoked cruelty. They have a natural inclination to kill or maim others. They become members of criminal gangs and commit murder and other horrendous acts. Generally they do not become pickpockets, petty thieves or burglars. They consider such things to be the activities of petty criminals and as such beneath their dignity. In criminal circles they are usually greatly feared. From their mode of thinking or lifestyle, it appears as though they were born only to commit crimes. They consider compassion and conscience to be mere frailties; the importance of such attributes is beyond their understanding. Although they may be slow when it comes to worldly affairs, they are not fools. At the time of committing their instinct-inspired crimes, they give ample proof of their intelligence. They demonstrate their intelligence through their knowledge of osteology and psychology, and by their behaviour when dealing with the police and the public. Even if they are born into a salutary environment, this type of inborn criminal ultimately takes to a life of crime. Women with this kind of nature are quite incapable of leading chaste lives; even if they have good husbands, they often decide to become prostitutes.

The natures and lifestyles of born criminals are as diverse as their crimes. Some pose as honest people and secretly steal and commit robberies. Some gain a lot of money through forgery or armed robbery and donate it to the poor. Some like to prey on helpless victims. Among those who commit crimes because they derive pleasure from it, some do not have the opportunity to earn a living, or if they do, do not utilize that chance to lead an honest life. The natures of born criminals, the lifestyles they lead, and their preferences for particular types of crimes are usually consistent with each other.

Psychologists have learned a great deal about criminals and are trying to research them more. If they receive cooperation from the government, and especially from the police department, they will make rapid progress in the study of criminal psychology. An analysis of criminal psychology is not the subject under discussion, but still it is a fact that born criminals are society's greatest burden and greatest



responsibility. Although such criminals are born with human bodies, mentally they are sub-human. And that is not all: even the physical structure of such people is different from that of ordinary people.

The sweet family environment that is within easy reach of human beings due to their developed intellect and which becomes even sweeter in time due to their natural qualities, is not accessible to born criminals. Even if they are born into a good environment, they cannot fully accept it.

Just to satisfy their perverse mentality, they may poison their benevolent fathers out of any misunderstanding, or may brutally stab their loving mothers in the heart. From a viewpoint of normal human behaviour, it would be extremely difficult to treat born criminals as human beings.

Nature normally bestows different strengths and weaknesses on different persons, but this principle takes a deviant twist in the case of these people. Born criminals can understand or grasp many natural phenomena more easily than highly-intelligent or wise people. Many underdeveloped creatures have a greater capacity than human beings to foresee the future, and it can be seen that born criminals also have this ability.

Through the observations and investigations psychologists have made while studying criminal psychology, they have gained a great deal of useful information about born criminals. But until now no physiological or psychological treatment has been developed to reform their nature. Psychologists or physiologists know the cause of their deformities or abnormalities, and they even know [theoretically] how their abnormalities can be cured, but in practice it is extremely difficult to cure them. No country in the world has ever wished to demonstrate any enthusiasm for curing the diseases of these unfortunate people. They live like animals, senselessly performing wicked acts. And like animals, they allow their pointless lives to end with a



rope around their necks.

If "a life for a life" is considered an unassailable principle of justice, then there is nothing more to say. But remember that born criminals commit their crimes due to their physical or psychic abnormalities; are not the so-called civilized people who make no effort to cure such born criminals, guilty of the same crime? Does not capital punishment amount to cutting off the head to get rid of a headache? In my opinion to take the life of a born criminal of this type is as much a

crime as it would be to pass a death sentence on a patient just because we could not cure the person's illness. It is the duty of a civilized society to arrange for born criminals to be cured of their ailments. Killing them to lighten the burden caused by their lives is certainly not indicative of a developed civilization.

So in my opinion the trials of born criminals should not concentrate solely on the magnitude of their crimes. Such criminals will have to be regarded with benevolent, humanistic sentiments, and means of curing them must be suggested.

Doctors quarantine those with an infectious disease to prevent the disease spreading to healthy people. Similarly it is necessary to isolate born criminals, indeed all types of criminals, from other people. The treatment of criminals should be undertaken in a prison, or better said, in a corrective centre. Prisons are not for punishment, rather prisons are hospitals for treatment of disease.

Psychologists cannot treat the mental diseases which inflict born criminals all alone; the cooperation of physicians and sociologists is essential. Psychologists will diagnose the mental disease and explain its origins, and they will also play a role in helping cure it as far as possible. Doctors will be responsible for curing the disease through medicine or surgery, insofar as it is caused by physiological abnormalities. Then sociologists will have to arrange for the social rehabilitation of the criminal after he or she has recovered. If psychologists only describe the



Prisoners of San Quentin's AdSeg unit in group therapy.

nature of the disease, or if doctors only diagnose the physiological disorders and nothing more, it will not be possible to accomplish anything productive. Of course at the present time the patient may not make a complete recovery despite the concerted efforts of psychologists and sociologists, because psychology is still in an underdeveloped state. Moreover, doctors have not yet acquired the skills needed to remove the physiological abnormalities responsible for mental disease. And furthermore, the science of sociology has only just emerged; it is developing extremely slowly. However, we must take the above measures for born criminals.

As long as society fails to take such humanistic measures in dealing with born criminals, it is farcical to compel them to stand trial.

One must always remember that born criminals are patients, and that their disease is stubborn. It can of course be cured quite quickly through spiritual practices, and in a slightly longer period through yogic methods, but for this a congenial environment is essential. Prison environments should therefore be made more pure, more humane.

(2) Criminals Out of Habit

Where (1) moral integrity is low, where (2) no effort is made to develop mental force, or where (3) social control is slack, people will be influenced by their ripus,¹ and will not hesitate to choose a path which enables them to express their propensities unchecked. Ordinary people manage to keep their base propensities under control through internal moral reasoning, and thus avoid indulging in antisocial activities. But those who lack mental

strength often knowingly commit crimes in an almost mechanical way, even though they possess a sense of morality. Such people who possess a sense of morality but lack mental strength normally keep their momentary mental weaknesses under control out of fear of what society might do, and as a result the health of society and the purity of individual life is upheld. But if any one of these three obstacles which keep people from moving along the path of evil becomes weak, people will tend to engage in antisocial activities; in the absence of fear of these obstacles, they will gradually become increasingly addicted to such activities. In this way people get accustomed to performing antisocial activities and finally turn into hardened criminals.

The diseases of habitual criminals are not congenital, so in treating these people there is little place for a physiologist or doctor. However, habitual criminals can easily be treated if they are provided with a proper moral education, a method of acquiring moral strength and a strictly regulated social environment. So during the trials of habitual criminals, the judge should focus more on the provisions of the penal code than on humanitarian sensibility; this approach will benefit society.

No matter how villainous habitual criminals become, and no matter how notorious, they will never be as dangerous as born criminals. Because they possess some sense of discrimination, they should not be automatically pardoned on the grounds of mental illness. They also possess the ability to feign innocence. They behave like saints by day and steal by night; they live like landlords one moment and like

armed robbers the next; they are chaste in public and promiscuous in private. Generally the scale of their criminal activities is greater than that of other criminals.

Psychological treatment and strict prison discipline help to a great extent in reforming the nature of habitual criminals. (Of course such criminals must live in a pure social environment as well.)

This type of criminal nature is often formed as an indirect result of people being forced to submit to strict control without being given any moral education or guidance as to how to develop strength of mind. For example, some parents do not impart moral education to their children, and do not help them to acquire strength of mind or teach them how to lead a virtuous life; instead, they beat their children with or without justification. It is the children of such parents who later take part in antisocial activities.

If parents fail to educate their daughters out of fear that they will go astray, fail to provide them with a moral education, fail to help them acquire strength of mind by holding up high ideals before them, and try to forcibly keep their unmarried or widowed daughters confined behind the purdah, naturally the secret desire will awaken in them to leave home and experience the world. As a result they will put on a show of purity in public while indulging in sinful conduct in private. Often they will even break away from the constraints imposed on them and openly engage in antisocial activities.

Although it is extremely difficult to convince habitual criminals to follow the path of spirituality, it may be possible through psychological means.

In most cases they are intelligent, but out of petty selfishness they rebel against society, country and state. Many habitual criminals become politicians in order to further their own selfish ends and cheat the public day after day. Most of the great wars fought in the world have been started by such criminals. The leaders of the criminal community come from this group. Sometimes the unfortunate public grabs hold of these leaders, just as fishermen

catch fish in a net and drag them onto the shore, and sometimes these leaders break the net and slip away. Not only is intelligence required to bring these criminals to justice, a great deal of caution and courage is required as well. Black marketeers and adulterators who operate on a large scale should also be included in this group of criminals.

Habitual criminals sometimes also try to influence judges. They intimidate them in the hope of ensuring the successful continuation of their criminal activities. In order to punish habitual criminals, it is necessary to give judges far greater power than they now possess.

(3) Criminals Due to Environment

Many people in society do not become criminals because of physiological or hereditary factors. Nor do they become involved in criminal activities due to the influence of base propensities, or due to lack of education or social control. Yet today civilized society looks down on them because they are criminals when they could have been revered as ideal human beings with impeccable characters if they had been given a proper environment.

They are glaring examples that honest people can become dishonest as a result of environmental pressures. The sensitive, honest son of a villainous father is compelled to participate in antisocial activities out of fear of paternal abuse. This creates a habit which eventually becomes part of his nature. The daughter of a prostitute, despite her best efforts to live a virtuous life, is forced to lead the life of a social outcast due to unbearable maternal abuse or circumstantial pressure. At first we usually censure the parents or guardians for the helpless condition of such women, but the parents are not always completely to blame. Sometimes personal difficulties, such as financial hardship or poverty, compel them to take such steps, even when they know that what they are doing is wrong. Due to circumstantial pressure they encourage their children to do wrong and force them to commit crimes.

Those who denigrate refugees, seeing an antisocial mentality in some of them, will notice on closer examination that it is only because of lack of



money that refugees encourage their children to act in an antisocial manner.

But antisocial behaviour is not always caused by lack of money. Where the parents or guardians are evil by nature, they try to infect the other members of their family with their disease. A few days ago I read in the newspaper that an upper-middle-class lady used to encourage her son to steal clothes, etc., from her neighbours by offering him money for cinema tickets if he did – in other words, by applying indirect pressure. When the incident became public, it was discovered that her family was not in financial difficulty. By putting pressure on her son, the lady was infecting him with her own mental disease.

There are many parents who, due to miserliness or whatever reason, deprive their children of delicious food and drink. (If there is some reason for this deprivation, they do not explain it to their children.) They serve such food and drink to others in the presence of their children without explaining to them why they are being deprived. As a result, the children, under the pressure of circumstance, steal to try to satisfy their natural desires.

There are many people who themselves, that is, together with the members of their family, consume delicious food and drink but provide poor-quality food to their servants. The servants subsequently develop the habit of stealing out of greed.

There are many parents who directly encourage their children to fight and abuse others. I have also observed quiet-natured children who often disagreed with the opinions of their parents, being forced to follow their parents' orders out of fear of physical abuse. In a remote village I once observed a young man, who was a member of a social group which followed the *Dáyabhága* system, abuse his innocent wife and torture her at the instigation of his cruel father, out of fear of losing his right of inheritance.

These are just a few examples of crimes due to environment.

During the trials of criminals due to environment who have not yet turned into habitual criminals, the judge should not attach too much importance to the provisions of the penal code. If, after thorough investigation, it is discovered that particular people or circumstantial pressure have caused these criminals (whatever their age) to take part in antisocial activities, it will be the duty of the judge to remove them from that environment with the help of sociologists and psychologists. Such cases rarely require further corrective measures. But if those who are criminals due to circumstantial pressure become habitual criminals as a result of a long-standing habit, a change of environment alone will not suffice. Corrective measures in accordance with the

provisions of the penal code will also be necessary.

Those who are born with fairly healthy bodies and minds, who do not lack knowledge of morality or live an undisciplined social life, or who have not become dishonest as a result of circumstantial pressure, often unwittingly take to the path of dishonesty because they keep bad company. Perhaps as many as ninety-nine per cent of people talk about themselves in the following way: "I do not need to bother about the company I keep, as long as I am good myself. I can remain good in all types of company. I am old enough to understand the difference between good and bad." In other words, such people do not like to think, or rather feel piqued at the thought, that somebody should try to dissuade them from keeping bad company. Especially if a less-educated person advises a more highly-educated person to avoid bad company, that person will do it all the more. In society people who regard themselves as superior in status, wealth or education generally believe that it is entirely unwarranted for others to give them advice. That is why an educated but wayward son often disregards the good advice of his parents.

The natural characteristics of the human mind, however, tell a different story than what that ninety-nine percent think. A person of any age between seven and seventy is invariably influenced by the company he or she keeps. In other words, where goodness is predominant, bad people will slowly but surely become good, and where the opposite is the case, good people will become bad. Even a saintly person will go astray after a few days of close association with bad people.

Suppose a teetotaller mixes regularly with a group of alcoholics. The frequent anti-teetotaller gibes and the positive portrayals of the wondrous virtues of wine by the alcoholics will one day tempt the teetotaller to taste a little wine. His or her drinking friends will say, "We don't want you to become drunk. But what's the harm if you just taste a little! This surely won't make you a bad person! What a moralist you are! Oh friend, to be such a moralist in the world today is ridiculous!" So one day the teetotaller tastes wine and this becomes the cause of his or her downfall. But on the day the unsuspecting teetotaller took wine, he or she did not realize that from that very day wine would become the cause of his or her degeneration.

Similarly, by keeping bad company people become debauched, slanderers and thieves. Men or women who have to do little or no household work, who fail to cultivate high ideals in life, who are unable to evolve a spiritual outlook, or who do not have to work hard for a living, generally develop an extremely critical nature. By constantly associating

with such people, those who possess high ideals or a diligent nature will gradually begin to spend their leisure time in slanderous gossip. If the parents or older members of a family are quarrelsome, the children will also become quarrelsome due to constant association. Similarly, if the women of a family have a highly critical nature, the children will invariably become critical because they will learn how to criticize from their elders. Children will also tend to become depraved if they associate too closely with older children in schools or colleges. When they stay among children their own age, however, they generally play in an innocent, joyous way. Childhood companions should be selected with great care, but young children are incapable of doing this.

The base propensities which lie dormant in everyone are easily stimulated by constant association with bad people. Through the united efforts of parents, people living in the locality and educators, it may be possible to save children from bad company. But it is very difficult to save them from the evil influences which reside in their own homes or preponderate in their neighbourhood. The only way to overcome such influences is to popularize the ideals of dharma, spread moral education and train an honest police force.

In the modern world there is a wide variety of films which excite the passions and have a degrading influence on boys and girls, adolescents and young men and women. Such films create in cinema-goers the desire to emulate in their individual lives the criminal activities, the vulgar expressions of love, or the adventurous behaviour that they see enacted on the screen. This is another example of how keeping bad company causes depravity. Many cinema-goers imagine that the characters that they see on the screen are their actual acquaintances, but when they try to emulate these characters, they discover that the real world is much tougher than the world portrayed by the cinema. If their family ties are weak, if they are their own guardians or if they have no high ideals to inspire them, it will be extremely difficult,

although not impossible, to save them from bad influences.

As long as those who become criminals due to keeping bad company are not transformed into habitual criminals, they will return to their normal good behaviour as soon as they give up the bad company. Therefore, during the trials of such criminals, corrective measures should be taken only after giving due consideration to the company they keep and the influence of this company on their behaviour. But in the case of those who have become habitual criminals, simply removing them from bad company will not suffice, because they themselves are their own bad company. For them, stricter measures will be needed.

Nearly all deceitful acts, such as swindling, fraud, gambling, looting, seducing women, and travelling without a ticket, are commonly a result of the influence of bad company.

In prisons also those criminals of this type who have already turned into habitual criminals should be housed with great care, otherwise their disease will spread to others.

(To be concluded)

Footnotes

(1) *The ripus, or śādaripus (six enemies), are underlying mental weaknesses which cause immense harm to people. They are: kāma (physical desire); krodha (anger); lobha (avarice); mada (vanity); moha (blind attachment or infatuation); and mātsarya (jealousy).*

(2) *In the Dāyabhāga system the heirs' right of inheritance is subject to the discretion of the father, who has the right to disinherit any of the heirs.*





Health Care Services Evidence vs Ideology

✱ Indira Chakravarthi

The draft chapter of the Planning Commission of India on HEALTH for the XII Five Year Plan, released in July 2012 had outlined a new strategy for health in the XII Plan, as part of a longer term reform of the system over the next decade (Planning Commission 2012a). The strategy proposed was one of “managed care” and “managed competition”, in which the government would function as the purchaser of health services from organized networks of public and private health providers.

Several concerns were raised about the strategies put forth in this Plan to provide universal health

“It is well documented by now that the health services in India did not grow as envisioned and planned, due to a combination of factors such as lack of political will; inadequate finances; pressure from international agencies such as WHO”

coverage. These were largely relating to the attempt to keep the health spending at 1.58 per cent of GDP as against 2.5 per cent recommended by HLEG; and having a uniform National Health Mission for the entire country in place of the existing National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), which covers predominantly the rural populations. Even the Ministry of Health had registered its objections to these proposals, and asked for the chapter to be rewritten. The proposal of the “managed care” model had also evoked a very sharp reaction from sections of public health activists. The Planning Commission subsequently came up with a revised

chapter (Planning Commission 2012b).

In formulating these plans the Planning Commission (PC) has largely relied upon the inputs provided by a “High Level Expert Group on Universal Health Coverage for India” (HLEG) that it had constituted in October 2010, with the mandate of developing a framework for providing easily accessible and affordable healthcare to all Indians. The PC strategy begins by saying that there must be substantial expansion and strengthening of the public sector healthcare system, and that expenditure by the Center and the states, both plan and non-plan, will have to be substantially increased (Sec 20.82 in Planning Commission 2012b).

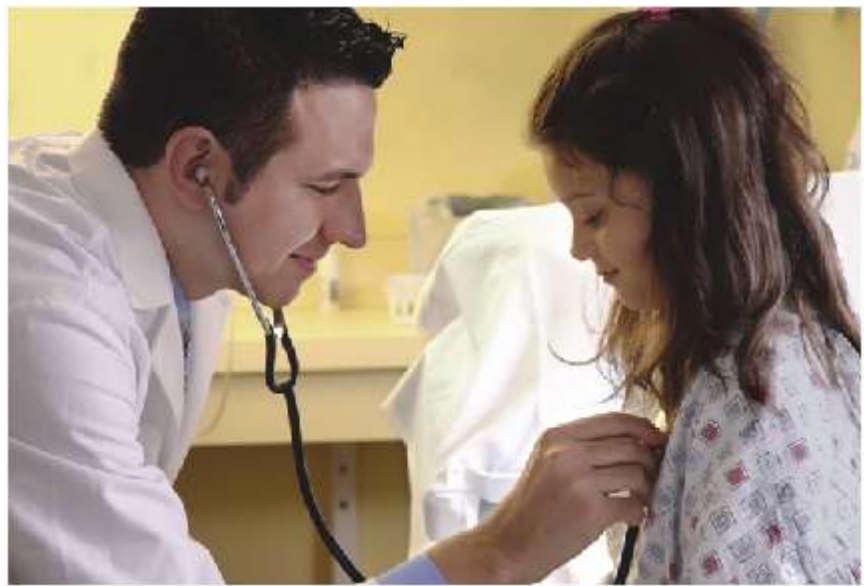
Shape of Things to Come

What will be the shape of the expanded and strengthened public healthcare system, and how the increased finances will be utilized becomes clear from the proposals and key elements outlined in the draft, such as the following (Sec 20.82):

- Encouraging cooperation between the public and private sector in achieving health goals.... would include contracting in of services for gap filling, and also various forms of effectively regulated and managed PPP, while also ensuring that there is no compromise in terms of standards of delivery and that the incentive structure does not undermine health care objectives.

- The present Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana, which provides “cashless” in-patient treatment for eligible beneficiaries through an insurance based system, to be reformed to enable access to a continuum of comprehensive primary, secondary and tertiary care..... to cover the entire population below the poverty line.

- Financial and managerial systems will be re-designed to ensure more efficient utilization of



available resources, and to achieve better health outcomes. Coordinated delivery of services within and across sectors, delegation matched with accountability, fostering a spirit of innovation are some of the measures proposed to ensure that ‘more can be done from less for more’.

- A large expansion of medical schools, nursing colleges, etc. is necessary...; `the government shall take the lead role in creating teaching capacity in health, while private sector colleges would also be allowed...

- The health system in the 12th Plan will continue to have a mix of public and private service providers. The public and private sectors also need to coordinate for delivery of a continuum of care. A strong regulatory system would supervise the quality of services delivered.

The previous proposal of a managed network comprising public and private providers, funded on a per capita basis and healthcare would be purchased, was indeed a “catastrophic” development. The revised chapter now available retains the essence of the measures first proposed; although use of terms such as purchasing, managed care networks, and competition induced efficiency have been avoided. The essential proposal now is – many countries are opting for “coordinated care” models where primary, secondary and tertiary care is delivered as an integrated framework with the participation of both public and private sector; given

the reality of public-private providers, how can we organize a network of public and private providers to attain universal coverage (Sec 20.97, 20.98). It is suggested that various options of financing and organization be explored by states and they be encouraged and financed to run one to three pilots to test out the models. Such as - “The pilots could explore different models for providing universal access to an essential health package (EHP) including ... a combination of public and private facility networks” (Sec. 20.102); “In areas where both public and private contracted in providers co-exist, patients shall have a choice in selecting their provider. Networks of such integrated facilities at different levels will be encouraged to provide a continuum of care ...” (Sec. 20.100). There is also the proposal of granting financial and administrative autonomy to public facilities, encouraging them to raise their own resources (Sec 20.113); and more direct privatization measures to set up facilities to provide medical care (Sec 20.111).

The invoking of the concept of “universal healthcare” in recent times, and the frequent reference to “strengthening public provision” should not detract from the true nature and intentions underlying these developments in healthcare policy over the last two decades and the current proposals for “reform” of the healthcare system. Instead of asking why the government health system is so weak and ineffective, and why there is such a vast private

sector, the PC serves it as a fait accompli and proposes tinkering around with this system. The measures proposed for “strengthening” of the public health system for universal health coverage – those of PPPs and expansion of insurance are not without their share of problems. The single biggest concern is the accommodation through all these strategies of the private sector within the health system, and an expanded role for it in the provision of clinical, diagnostic, and other healthcare services.

Before proceeding it needs to be mentioned briefly that the idea of universal health care is not entirely a new one. Provision of comprehensive, universal health services (i.e. the same quality of curative and preventive services available to all irrespective of their ability to pay) as a right, through a publicly funded national health service system had been a central feature of some welfare states, as also of the planning process in India since the 1940s. (How it was achieved to a large extent in few countries and why this has not been achieved in India is subject for a separate discussion). Whereas, with the inception of the health sector reforms, the idea has changed to provision of affordable and accessible primary healthcare services. By UHC the 12th Plan means that each individual would have assured access to a defined essential range of medicines and treatment at an affordable price, which should be entirely free for a large percentage of the population (Sec 20.81). The HLEG defines universal health care as:

“ensuring equitable access to all Indians...to affordable, accountable, appropriate healthcare services...delivered to individuals and populations, with the government being the guarantor and enabler, although not necessarily the only provider of healthcare and related services” (Government of India 2011 p 3).

While the HLEG recommends that general taxation should be the principal source of healthcare financing and that there should be no fees of any kind for health services, it also recommends that,

“Purchase of all healthcare services under the UHC system should be undertaken either directly by the central and state governments through their Departments of Health, or by quasi-governmental autonomous agencies established especially for the purpose” (op cit p 13).

Further, The HLEG Report Says,

“State governments should transfer funds to the district and allow the District Health System manager to allocate the funds between public provision and purchase of services on a competing basis from contracted-in private providers, while tracking outcomes at the district level and holding these managers responsible for these outcomes” (op cit. p 113).

Thus, the HLEG recommends a market approach entailing separation of financing and provisioning, and “purchase” of services from a fragmented system consisting of competing providers, instead of the system envisaged since the 1950s (but never effectively implemented), of a fully publicly financed, integrated health system, planning for and providing universal, comprehensive health services.

Available evidence shows that the best performing systems in the developing world have been unified systems that do not have a provider – purchaser split, such as in Sri Lanka, Cuba, and Costa Rica. The experience of the pre-reform National Health Service (NHS) of UK also shows that, although the system had its deficiencies and was far from perfect, yet, because of the integration designed into both funding and organization, it was possible for regional health authorities to undertake planning for large populations, avoid wasteful duplication and achieve efficiency,

making it economical to run. All this made it possible to secure comprehensiveness, universality and equity of health services, provided free to all as a right (emphasis added) (Pollock 2005 pp 16-17).

Private Sector in India - Increasing Corporate Presence

It is well documented by now that the health services in India did not grow as envisioned and planned, due to a combination of factors such as lack of political will; inadequate finances; pressure from international agencies such as WHO to implement vertical programmes for population control and against specific diseases such as malaria, polio; corruption and lack of accountability, and reluctance among doctors and specialists (trained in urban medical colleges oriented to western standards) to work in the largely ill-equipped rural health facilities lacking in basic amenities and infrastructure. At the same time the private healthcare sector in India got subsidies and conditions favourable for its unimpeded, unregulated growth, giving rise to a ‘passive privatization’ process through the 1980s-90s.

While there is increased attention to and discourse on health and health services in recent times, especially government health services and programmes, however, there is not as much attention to the private health sector. Despite the fact that India has had one of the most privatized health systems in the world for decades, there is little systematic documentation and analysis on the performance of the private sector. Bulk of the attention, research and analysis on healthcare in India is focused on the under-resourced government health services and programmes, and in running down their ‘poor performance’, ‘faults and shortcomings’. There are as yet no such comprehensive studies on the private sector in general, and specifically on commercialization,

except for isolated ones on financial performance (Bhat 2006), or in context of foreign direct investment (FDI) and medical tourism (Chanda 2010). There is continuing dearth of information on size, spread, composition, infrastructure, efficiency and effectiveness of the private sector hospitals, services provided and their quality, employment conditions, costs, and status of adherence to rational, ethical practices. There are no rigorous evaluations yet on the terms and conditions, and functioning of PPPs in healthcare sector (Prashanth 2011, Datta 2009). The government has not shown any political will so far to impose any checks and regulations of the private sector. Yet, it is promoting and implementing PPPs. There is rarely, if any, comparable demand for accountability and transparency from private hospitals and diagnostic facilities as there is from the public sector.

The current discourse in health, focusing largely on financing mechanisms and insurance, ignores the fact that the private sector today no longer comprises simply of a non-profit segment of individual practitioners, small nursing homes, laboratories, charitable hospitals. Since the 1990s the provision of health services has become increasingly commercialized, a revenue / profit generating activity (Chakravarthi 2010). Healthcare in India was reported to be one of the largest service sectors with estimated revenue of around \$ 30 billion (Rs 150,000 crores at Rs 50 a dollar) constituting 5% of GDP and offering employment to around 4 million people. According to Investment Commission of India, the sector has witnessed a phenomenal expansion in the last 4 years growing at over 12% per annum. Industry associations have been putting out forecasts of growth in the industry

size – to be around US \$ 79 billion (Rs 395,000 crores) in 2012, and set to increase to US \$ 280 billion (Rs 1400,000 crores) by 2020 (IBEF 2011, PricewaterhouseCoopers 2007).

Since the early 1990s, when healthcare was seen as a 'sunrise industry', several big corporate houses, Fortis Healthcare (promoted by Ranbaxy Labs), Wockhardt Hospitals (promoted by the pharma company Wockhardt) and Max Healthcare announced plans to set up hospital chains across the country. In addition to these big hospital chains including the oldest one Apollo Healthcare Enterprises



Limited (AHEL), a large number of other private hospitals and specialty facilities, such as for cardiac care, renal care, eye care, orthodontics, laparoscopy, pathological laboratories, imaging facilities, etc. have also come up (see Nagral 2012). The International Finance Corporation (IFC), a member of the World Bank Group, is providing loans for expansion of private hospitals and for setting up hospitals in smaller cities and towns in the country (such as to Apollo, Max and Rockland groups); as part of its strategy to invest in health care, and to promote private sector involvement in healthcare in India.

In 2010 corporate hospitals were reported to be 10.4% of the total number of hospitals across the metropolises of NCR, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad (Ernst & Young figures cited in IBEF presentation 2010). As per CMIE (Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy) analysis, sales of 30 companies in healthcare sector for the five year period of 2003-2008 had steadily increased (CMIE 2010).

The activities of AHEL, reported to be the largest healthcare group in Asia (CRISIL Research 2009), give an idea of the spread of the corporate hospitals. As of March 2011 Apollo had 54 hospitals with a total capacity of over 8700 beds, across 22 cities of Ahmedabad, Aragonda, Bengaluru, Bhubaneshwar, Bilaspur, Chennai, Delhi, Hyderabad, Indore, Kakinada, Karimnagar, Karur, Kolkata, Ludhiana, Madurai, Mysore, Noida, Pune, Raichur, Ranchi, Ranipet, and Vishakapatnam, and one each in Dhaka and Mauritius. It was planning to add around 2,200 beds by 2014, in different regions in the following manner: Expansion in existing projects, in Hyderabad, Chennai, and Bilaspur; Apollo Reach hospitals (in semi-urban and rural areas), in Ayanambakkam, Nasik, Karaikudi, Nellore, Trichy; super specialty hospitals in Vizag, Belapur, Mumbai, Secunderabad, and Hyderguda. All these activities were expected to increase the total beds owned to 2,230 at a cost of Rs 1107 crores. In addition, through joint ventures and associates in Thane (super specialty), Bangalore (expansion), and New Delhi (expansion), to take bed strength to 438 at a cost of Rs 246 crores. AHEL is also reported to be setting up pediatric hospitals, 4 in India and 1 in Nigeria (IBEF 2011). In the year ended March 2011, the gross

revenue of the company had increased to Rs 2353.3 crores, registering a growth of 27%, over the previous year. The profit after tax for the year increased by 20% to Rs.181.7 crores, compared to Rs. 152 crores in the previous year. Total number of employees for the group increased from 26,659 in March 2010 to 30,640 as of March 2011. The average revenue per occupied bed (ARPOB) increased at a CAGR of 11.4% to Rs 11,616 in the first quarter of the 2011 (all figures from Annual Report 2010-11 Apollo Hospitals). While hospitals, pharmacies and consulting are the three main lines of business for AHEL, it is the hospitals segment that was reported to bring in the maximum revenues (CRISIL 2009).

In the mid-1990s owners of the erstwhile leading corporate hospitals, manufacturers of advanced medical equipment, like Philips Medical Systems-India, and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) started working together for the establishment of an active industry association, an 'organized private sector' in India, for provision of healthcare, as against the prevailing unorganized, fragmented and unregulated sector comprising largely of small hospitals and nursing homes. These efforts culminated in the formation of the Indian Healthcare Federation (IHCF), an association of corporate hospitals, diagnostic centers, medical equipment manufacturers and pharmaceutical companies. According to the IHCF an active industry association could play an important role in the development of the healthcare sector. 'To boost the overall growth and development of healthcare in India, the sector needs a vibrant industry association, which will have to present a united front to key stakeholders, such as government insurers, policy institutions and industry players'. The IHCF commissioned a report on healthcare market in India, prepared for it by Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) McKinsey and

Company, and released in October 2002 (Confederation of Indian Industry 2002). The Report was meant to provide a roadmap for the creation of this infrastructure by the organized private players, in a viable and cost-efficient manner. It concluded with clear recommendations for industry and government on how to increase levels of investment in the sector and create opportunities for public-private partnerships in healthcare. It also recommended that if investments were made by the organized private providers (corporate and charitable, excluding small hospitals and private nursing homes), then they could increase their share significantly in healthcare delivery. IHCF works closely with the CII-National Committee on Healthcare. Together they organize regular India Health Summits, attended by industry and government officials, to promote and 'showcase' the Indian healthcare industry (www.cii.in, see Councils and Committees). Similarly FIICI organizes regular IndiaHeal summits.

Since then all industry associations have become active in the healthcare sector. The corporate segment of the private healthcare sector is thus well-organized and lobbies actively with the government in its interest, on the

pretext of partnering with the government to serve the healthcare needs of the nation. The industry is actively promoting the idea that "Health care infrastructure should not just be viewed as a social good but also as a viable economic venture with productivity" (FICCI 2008). Government documents, as well as the business sector itself including the media, talk of the 'Indian healthcare industry', in which they include all public as well as private healthcare providers. As per the President and CEO, GE Healthcare India "India is the first country to have a large number of multinational healthcare providers. There are seven-eight very active MNCs. It opens a whole host of opportunities for us. I see the healthcare sector as one of the biggest business opportunities." Some of the industry demands are that the government should attract private healthcare investment to supplement the public funding deficit in healthcare allocations, by giving various fiscal and non-fiscal incentives; facilitate PPPs for building health infrastructure i ; allow private players in medical education; and replace the non-viable concept of free treatment by private sector in lieu of subsidies/incentives by insurance or third party payment (FICCI 2008).

It is not just the industry that is



projecting 'growth' in the healthcare markets and promoting avenues for 'exploiting' the 'booming' opportunities. The government itself is promoting India as a 'favourable destination for investment in healthcare, which is an area for potential growth'. According to the IBEF ii (India Brand Equity Foundation), 'India is one of the world's most lucrative healthcare markets and is expanding rapidly...'. Citing business reports IBEF also states that huge private sector investments will significantly contribute to the development of the hospital industry, comprising around 80% of the total market.

According to business reports the healthcare industry is reported to be "flush with private equity (PE) funds", and there has been an increase of PE funding in healthcare. The investment of PE funds is not just for established hospital chains in urban areas, but also for "targeting" new segments; namely setting up primary care clinics and hospitals in tier II and tier III cities, rural and semi-urban areas, diagnostic centres and medical equipment. For instance, New-York based Acumen Fund and Hindustan Latex Limited (HLL – a company under the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare) have formed a joint venture called Life Spring Hospitals, which is creating a chain of small hospitals (20-25 beds) in south Indian states, to provide maternal and child healthcare services (www.lifespring.in). ICICI Venture, through I-Ven-Medicare, was reported to be investing in not so-well known names in healthcare, such as Rs 180 crores in Sahyadri Hospital, Pune; Rs 120 crores in Vikram Hospital, Mysore; Rs 81.25 crores in Medica Synergy, Kolkata; and Rs 51.25 crores in RG Stone, New Delhi (Dutta 2008).

What are the implications for a mixed health system of the presence and expansion of such a corporate, commercialized private sector, and of influx of finance capital into healthcare? What is the basis for

such positive forecasts of the 'booming healthcare industry', by the government and the industry? In the context of similar developments in the USA, it was observed that with the coming of the corporation has come "the pursuit of market logic above all" (White 2007 p 396). The proposals for the 12th Plan need to be seen in light of all these developments in the private sector, as well the larger ideological shift that has taken place since the 1980s against provision of welfare services by the state. As a consequence of this shift against welfarism, health sector reforms were initiated in many advanced capitalist countries, as well as developing countries, that had a public healthcare system, irrespective of whether it was funded by taxation or by insurance, and there has been dismantling and privatization of national health care systems in several other countries in the name of these reforms (Qadeer et al 2001, Sen 2003), or pressure to do so (Unger et al 2008).

Culmination of Health Sector Reforms

The deficiencies of the existing public healthcare system, arising largely from its deliberate neglect, could have been rectified and it could have been transformed into an universal, efficient, effective and accountable healthcare system by providing adequate financial and material resources, and guided by the recommendations made from time-to-time by various Committees and principles of comprehensive Primary Health Care that evolved in the 1970s. Instead, they have been used to justify imposition of a series of health sector reforms (HSRs) since the 1990s, which advocated limiting of public expenditure on health, minimal public services, as well as privatization in various forms (Qadeer et al 2001). The current developments are the culmination of these health sector reforms.

The government expenditure on health was subsequently restored and marginally increased, yet still

remains at barely 1 % of GDP. State Health Systems Development Projects with World Bank loans (running into hundreds of crores of rupees) were implemented in several states – AP, Punjab, Karnataka, W Bengal, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Uttaranchal and Rajasthan. The loans were exclusively for: improving infrastructure at secondary levels; development of management skills; policy reforms; and improving the performance of the healthcare system. Other reform measures were: cost-recovery through enforcing charges for health services in public facilities (user fees); contracting /outsourcing and privatization of services such as diagnostics-cleaning-housekeeping-kitchens; insurance programmes; decentralization of planning and management to the district level; improvements in management - planning and budgeting, financial management and accounting systems; creation of district health management units; management training for all health professionals; and quality assurance programmes. However, at the same time the idea of free, comprehensive health services for all through the three-tier referral system, has also been eroded and replaced by that of an 'essential health package' to be delivered by the government facilities, and the rest to be provided by private sector, through insurance or other mechanisms. So through the government facilities we have now provision of a package of only some reproductive and child health (RCH) related services (for family planning, during pregnancy and childbirth, immunization) and some national health programs for certain communicable diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, AIDS, etc. Much of these measures have all got consolidated under the NRHM. Multiple cash transfer and voucher schemes (variously termed incentives, or demand side financing or performance-based financing, popular name Janani



Shishu Suraksha Yojana) also exist in several states to promote use of institutional (hospital based) health services (public or private) during pregnancy.

The 12th Plan now proposes another round of reforms, by formalizing the presence of the private sector in the health services. There is a move from what had been described as 'creeping privatization' through contracting and public-private partnerships to now introducing competition among multiple healthcare providers, with the assumption that it will increase efficiency on the supply side, all in the name of new public management.

Ostensibly, these reforms are being posed as (i) a way of meeting the needs of the country, to meet which the government claims it does not have sufficient resources and managerial capacity; and (ii) as a solution to the weaknesses of the present system of public provisioning of healthcare, to "the inherent disadvantages of a pure public sector delivery model, based on provision of budget resources to public sector providers with little incentive to deliver quality services".

The assumption here is that such market solutions are the

panacea to the problems of the public sector, such as poor quality of services, unresponsiveness and unaccountability to patients, poor management, in general, overall technical inefficiency. A further unstated assumption is that the market/private sector does not have these or other kinds of problems. What is the evidence for these generous assumptions?

There exists abundant anecdotal information pointing to a host of problems across private hospitals in India – fleecing of patients for money, lack of facilities, lack of proper trained staff, poor employment conditions, acceptance of commissions ("cuts") for referrals, irrational and unethical practices (such as sex selective abortions and the recently reported unnecessary hysterectomies to claim insurance money). In 2000 the Health and Family Welfare Department of the Government of National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi constituted a 10-member High Level Committee under the chairpersonship of Justice A.S. Qureshi, to review the existing free treatment facilities extended by the charitable and other private hospitals that had been allotted land on concessional terms/rates by the government. This Committee

Report clearly documents the greed, corruption and mismanagement of private and corporate hospitals in Delhi, their indifference and resistance to any monitoring and regulation, and the role of the government in condoning and conniving with these activities and attitude (Qureshi Committee Report 2001). It acknowledges that

"the task is important and challenging...In view of the fact that there is quite a lot of discontent and criticism among the people regarding the working of hospitals and nursing homes in Delhi, there should have been a thorough and wide ranging enquiry ordered to cover all aspects of functioning of hospital and nursing homes, including mismanagement, misappropriations, overcharging, siphoning out into the open market medicines meant for poor patients, rude and insulting behaviour with poor people and a whole lot of wrong things done there. But the Government of NCT of Delhi, in its wisdom, ordered this enquiry with narrow terms of reference. There are public interest litigation writ petitions filed in the High Court of Delhi against some hospitals... this could have been taken as an opportunity to find out illegalities, irregularities, improprieties and other defects in the working of hospitals and nursing homes in Delhi. They are too many and of big magnitude".

The Committee sent a comprehensive questionnaire to 450 hospitals and nursing homes in all to elicit information and gather material for use as a database. There was resistance and refusal by the managements of most hospitals to comply. Some did so reluctantly and sent replies to the questionnaires as it suited them, disclosing some of the facts and withholding what they found inconvenient. Only 80 out of the 450 hospitals responded to the second request to return the completed questionnaires. As the Report says 'some who have been allotted government land had not

bothered to even reply to the questionnaire in a spirit of open defiance'. Thus, available reports point to blatant misuse of concessions granted to the corporate sector so far; and that the government itself is in no position to monitor their activities and rein them in. Similar observations have been reported of the trust hospitals in Mumbai (Duggal 2012).

Adverse Impacts of Market Oriented Reforms, of Corporate Presence

The PC document states that "A mix of public and private services is the reality of most countries. In order to make this mix work, a strong regulatory framework is essential to ensure that the UHC programme is most effective in controlling cost, reducing provider-induced demand, and ensuring quality" (Planning Commission 2012b Sec 20.97). While the reality of public-private mix is not entirely true, what is important is that there is no evidence that such a mixed system is better, more equitable or efficient. On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence available of the adverse consequences of markets, of corporate investment, of having a system of public funding and private provisioning, and of the impact of reforms aimed at introducing competition and managed care in the UK National Health Services (NHS).

The impact of corporate presence in health sector has been studied in countries such as Australia (White and Collyer 1998), Malaysia (Barraclough 1997), and the USA (White 2007). In Australia it was found that corporate investment clearly undermined the capacity of the state to intervene in the healthcare sector, and there was loss of political and bureaucratic control

over the planning of appropriate hospital services. Among the problems of introducing competition in this sector was that of lack of information sharing between hospitals, such as of disease infection rates (such as staphylococcal infections), and about financial performance on grounds of 'commercial sensitivity'. Such inhibition of information sharing decreased the capacity of the state to monitor, regulate and control. In Malaysia it was observed that 'the profit motive does not appear to have resulted in vigorous competition and improvements in the quality of services. Nor had competitive pricing resulted in lower costs to consumers' (BarraClough 1997 p 653). Further, many doctors and nursing staff had left the public sector for the better pay, work conditions and prospects in the private sector. The erstwhile Prime Minister himself, a doctor, was forced to admit that loss of specialists to lucrative private practice had aggravated the problems of the public hospitals, which had to treat more patients despite shortage of medical staff. Yet another issue was that existing charitable hospitals were finding it more difficult to cross-subsidize their poor patients due to the need to be competitive with commercial hospitals.

A review of a large number of studies of the US healthcare system arrived at the following indicting conclusions:

"The US has four decades of experience with the combination of public funding and private healthcare management and delivery, closely analogous to reforms recently enacted or proposed in many other nations. Extensive research...shows that for-profit health institutions provide inferior care at inflated prices. The US experience also demonstrates that market mechanisms nurture unscrupulous medical businesses and undermine medical institutions unable or unwilling to tailor care to profitability. The commercialization of care in the US has driven up costs by diverting money to profits and by fuelling a vast increase in management and financial bureaucracy, which now consumes 31 percent of total health spending...The poor performance of the US healthcare is directly attributable to reliance on market mechanisms and for-profit firms, and should warn other nations from this path" (Himmelstein and Woolhandler 2008).

Yet another review from US of studies of the market mechanisms in medical care over more than a decade (1993 - 2005) indicates that some of the features of the market – particularly how investors allocate capital – have been incompatible with the pursuit of a more efficient and equitable healthcare system (White 2007). Some other observations were: Competition has little ability to rationalize (re-organize) healthcare systems; costs were driven more by market power over prices than by management of utilization; competitive or financial threats compelled a very large portion of all providers (including non-profit providers) to merge with larger entities, with resulting loss of local managerial control. Macro-economic measures aimed at curbing public



expenditure on health were introduced in the mid-1970s in the UK. Extensive documentation and analyses of the UK experience of reform of NHS, through a range of market prescriptions, point to erosion of universality and comprehensiveness, and to the enormous transaction costs and waste associated with such policies (Pollock 2005). It was observed that

“costs were driven up, not down; bureaucracy continued to expand, instead of decreasing, inequities of all kinds were aggravated, not reduced, and new inequities were created; more services that had been free were to be charged for, or would simply disappear from the NHS, to be provided only by the private sector, for those able to afford them. Comprehensiveness and universality became things of the past... Healthcare moved increasingly rapidly away from being a right, back towards being a commodity – as it had been before 1948” (op cit p 35) (emphasis added).

“Comprehensiveness has clearly been abandoned, whether explicitly, as with most long-term residential care and routine optical care, or implicitly, as with dentistry, which is available at NHS terms only to children... Universality has gone in as much as the services provided both by GPs and hospitals vary increasingly from place to place... The emphasis is now on ‘decentralization’ and ‘choice’, but there are no mechanisms for providing democratic local control...” (op cit p 83).

“The management reforms of the 1980s and the introduction of the internal market in the early 1990s saw the NHS’s administrative costs rise from 6 percent to 12 per cent. With the creation of a full market, these costs are bound to rise again. Making and monitoring hundreds of thousands of contracts, billing for every treatment (to achieve payment by results), and paying for accounting, auditing, legal services

and advertising – not to mention shareholders’ profits – are bound to swallow a large part of the new money. As the NHS approximates more and more to a full health market, its administrative costs are likely to move closer to those familiar in the USA. In the US in 1991 administrative costs accounted for between 19.3 per cent and 24.1 per cent of the total costs. By 1994 these costs had increased to 22.9 per cent in public sector hospitals, 24.5 per cent in independent non-profit hospitals, and 34 per cent in for-profit hospitals” (op cit p 260).

As a result of outsourcing of non-clinical work in the NHS, turnover of support staff rose, cleaning standards fell, while the poor quality of hospital meals became notorious.....managing the outsourcing contracts and monitoring their performance often consumed more administrative time than had previously been needed to manage the services in-house...the main effect of outsourcing, however, was to replace the professional culture that had previously prevailed in NHS hospitals with a business culture focused less and less on medical values and moreon accounts (op cit p 40-41). Another consequence of the market was that it had become “virtually impossible to track NHS expenditure.....and the lack of transparency is set to worsen...” (op cit p 227). “At a deeper level still are the implications of the so-called mixed economy of healthcare. Quite apart from some

£4 bn a year of tax revenues going to the private long-term care industry, more and more of the NHS budget itself now ends up in the accounts of private companies providing everything...” (op cit. p 84). Lastly, the independent regulator was to regulate the medical markets that are sought to be created through these reforms. The mandate of the regulator had nothing about comprehensiveness, universality and equity (op cit p 85, p 234).

Other than these problems associated with markets and the difficulties and barriers in regulating them, the two major casualties of the introduction of markets have been loss of the population focus in the health system, which is what public health is all about to begin with; and the reversal of healthcare from being a right to a commodity as it was about a century ago.

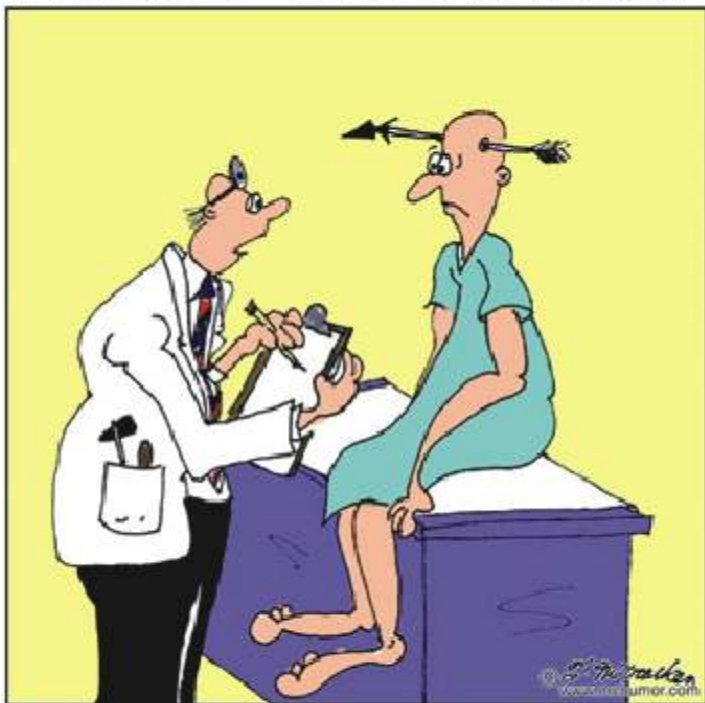
Political Economy of Healthcare

Thus, there is a wealth of information on how presence of markets and competition in healthcare systems has not achieved objectives such as efficiency, cost-control, and a regulated private



NORM JUNG

“YOUR EMPLOYER’S HEALTH PLAN AUTOMATICALLY CANCELS YOUR COVERAGE ONCE YOU GET SICK.”



"Off hand, I'd say you're suffering from an arrow through your head, but just to play it safe, I'm ordering a bunch of tests."

sector. If such overwhelming evidence is to be ignored, and governments and policy-makers insist on imposing market prescriptions for health system strengthening and reform, then is it anything other than belief and faith in a neo-liberal ideology?

As mentioned earlier, health sector reforms are not unique to India. The re-structuring, since the late 1980s of economies worldwide have had significant implications for healthcare, for the social sectors in general. It has given rise to a restructuring of health services in the name of efficiency. Shaoul's analyses of the rise of neo-liberal policies that gave rise to several kinds of health sector reforms in the UK show how the chief characteristic, of all these economic, financial and organizational 'reform' measures, is that they are 'the techniques used by the private sector to generate profit out of the production of commodities for distribution to the providers of finance' (emphasis added) (Shaoul 2003 p 152). The reforms comprised a series of measures under the

umbrella of New Managerialism: (i) institutional measures to control health care expenditure as a whole and to generate income (ii) measures to cap the activities and scale of the public sector (iii) a set of financial, organizational and managerial measures to increase outputs and reduce costs through greater efficiency at the point of service delivery. In addition there were (iv) introduction of quasi-markets and the reconstitution of

healthcare providers as business units charging for the services on a competitive basis; and (v) use of private sector to finance, build and operate non-clinical services. The underlying basis for all these was the assumption that the tools of private sector management could improve the output and thereby resolve or contain the 'problem' of rising cost of healthcare provision.

Furthermore, there was an emphasis on financial management as a proactive tool to manage public healthcare in order to achieve objectives, not simply as a tool to record income and expenditure. This approach was accompanied by emphasis on the three Es – economy, efficiency and effectiveness – and the growth of performance measures which attempted to capture and compare the performance of public sector providers. It represented a change in the way that public health was managed in two significant respects: from planning on the basis of perceived need to managing by financial numbers; and from decision-making and control by the service professionals to decision-

making and control by managers. A closer look at the health sector reforms in many states in India and measures under NRHM would reveal that many such features – financial management, patient welfare societies (rogi kalyan samitis) in health facilities for autonomy, outsourcing of diagnostic and other services - are being implemented with similar objectives.

As rightly pointed out by Shaoul, through these measures a transformation of social relations is being affected. Firstly, the relations of production in health are being realigned so that they match those of the private sector. Second, services funded by the public through taxation are being organized by the state to serve more directly the financial interests of the private corporations, not the public, via outsourcing, partnership arrangements, and insurance. Third, the public is being reconstituted as the 'customer' for the goods and services so produced (op cit p 153). While these measures may appear, and are presented as a form of decentralization that permits local decision-making, their real function is to create the structures and mechanisms for the private sector to more easily control, own and direct public services and public policy. These changes are part of an ongoing process whereby the social and public services pass into the private sector through subcontracting and PPPs. Such services can then get integrated into the wider international economy as they are taken over by the trans-national corporations, through provisions such as GATS (Chanda 2002). In other words, what is happening is that the social welfare functions of the state are being integrated into the world economy, not for the benefit of the population at large as they are made out to be, but for the benefit of capital. The significance of the neo-liberal policies, such as these 12th plan proposals, is that they are providing the ideology as well as the

mechanisms by which to create markets, national and international, for health. Terms such as 'universal healthcare' 'healthcare as a right' 'equity' 'choice' etc are merely being used to give the so-called 'human face', rather a mask to conceal what is essentially becoming an immoral accumulation in the name of health.

The author is a public health researcher based in Delhi.

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Reforms and Poverty

In the Developing Giants

✱ Arun Prakash

Often one reads and hears in the national print and electronic media about the decline in India's growth. Many figures are quoted and disputed and India gets branded with a poor rating from an international agency. On the other hand China is talked about with impressive growth figures. Though one of the positives about economic growth is that it generates public resources that the government can devote to its priorities, and it can, of course, be enormously helpful in advancing living standards and in battling poverty. But there is little cause for taking the growth of GDP to be an end in itself, rather than seeing it as an important means for achieving things we value.

GDP: An Archaic Concept

The question however, begs,



how effective an index is Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to measure prosperity especially in poverty ridden developing economies. That gold standard of economic data, might not be the best way? It became the prime economic indicator during the Second World War to monitor war production. Since then many have criticized policy-makers' reliance on the GDP — and proposed substitute measures. For example, there is the Human Development Index (HDI), used by the UN's Development Programme, which considers life expectancy and literacy as well as standard of living as determined by GDP. And the Genuine Progress Indicator, which incorporates aspects of social welfare such as income equity, pollution, and access to health care. Basically GDP highlights market activity and growth, generally expressed as a per-capita figure and often adjusted to reflect purchasing power, represents the market value of goods and services produced within a nation's boundaries. While this may sound reasonable, it doesn't measure: the general progress in health and education, the condition of public infrastructure, fuel efficiency, community and leisure. GDP is at best a narrow calculation of cash flow because when averaged it mystifies and masks the gap between rich and poor. There is never such a large disconnect between the GDP and what ordinary people are experiencing. What's good for the GDP is not always good for the individual, take health care: rising costs may be tough on families, but it boosts the GDP, which truly is a terrible measure of things that really matter and there is the seemingly paradoxical relationship between the growth rate and decline in employment.

GDP What it Shows and Doesn't

GDP is a quantitative measure, not a qualitative one. It takes no account of the distribution of income and includes no moral judgments about the worth of the

“1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserts that “everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family.”

GDP Includes:	GDP Does Not Include:
Farmers producing & selling crops (even if the crops later rot or spoil-so long as they are sold)	People growing food in their own garden, for their own consumption, gifts, or donation to charity
Buying a meal at a restaurant (regardless of whether or not you eat it)	(excluding ingredient cost) Preparing a similar meal at home
Hiring a babysitter or paying a daycare center for child care	Caring for your own children or those of a friend or relative free of charge
Hiring a contractor or skilled trades person to do repairs or improvements on your home	(excluding supplies) Working on your house yourself, or doing similar work for a friend as a favor
Buying a new suit (regardless of whether or not you ever wear it)	Giving a used suit to a friend, or donating it to charity, instead of throwing it out

activity performed (other than excluding illegal activities such as the trade in illicit drugs). So, for example, government spending on prisons counts the same as government spending on universities. Cleaning up a nuclear accident would add to GDP in the same way as the production of solar power. When oil is extracted from the ground and sold to consumers, this is counted as an addition to a nation's wealth rather than a depletion of its resources.

GDP Absurdities

Those in the graphic apart, some instances of the absurdities of GDP are, measuring healthcare by inputs rather than outputs - the sale of medical services and drugs rather than the number of (healthy) people. This leads to perverse perspectives, e.g. one economic ‘hero’ of GDP statistics would be a terminally ill cancer patient going through expensive medication and another a costly divorce? One new calculation that's been attracting attention is the

Happy Planet Index (HPI), which combines economic metrics with indicators of well-being, including subjective measures of life satisfaction, which have become quite sophisticated (HPI uses data from Gallup, World Values Survey, and Ecological Footprint). The HPI assesses social and economic well-being in the context of resources used, looking at the degree of human happiness generated per quantity of environment consumed. The HPI metric was driven in part by the recognition that the environmental costs of economic growth must be figured into standard-of-living reports. We also need to account for our ecological footprint and see how we're operating on planet Earth. The GDP is often precisely wrong in that it's not measuring progress, just the making of stuff. The HPI is striving to measure a better future. GDP metric appeals because it presents a simple message: up is ‘good’; down is ‘bad’, whereas HPI is trying to mirror that simplicity. During a

recent survey in Canada, when asked whether health, social and environmental status should figure into measures of national progress as much as economic data, between 70% (Russia) and 86% (France) agreed. It is common sense and matches people's experience, who know that there is much more of value in their lives besides what can be expressed in monetary terms. As one observed, "You tend to get what you measure, so we'd better measure what we want." In other words, to a certain extent we are what we count.

Nic Marks, Fellow at the London-based New Economics Foundation, and founder of its Centre for Well-Being the key shift introduced by the HPI is its "move away from measuring production and toward measuring consumption. The HPI serves as a signpost pointing more toward a society we want to live in — the delivery of good lives rather than the delivery of more goods."

China and India

Let us in this backdrop examine China and India, two of the largest fast-growing emerging countries with populations of over one billion each. After Independence from Britain in 1947, India became the world's largest democracy with a closed economy primarily based on agriculture. In 1949, Communist leader Mao Zedong took control of whole of mainland China and established a communist state. Following the USSR, both countries implemented five-year plans to varying degrees of success. Due to lack of foreign investment, capital controls, centralized planning, socialist policies and other factors the economies never reached their full growth potential.

Liberalisation and Market Reforms

However under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping China opened up its economy in the early 1990s focusing on foreign trade. Similarly India also liberalized its economy in 1991 and removed many barriers for

foreign investment under the leadership of late P.V. Narsimha Rao and Dr. Manmohan Singh, who is the present Prime Minister. Since then the economies of China and India have achieved tremendous growth almost each year becoming two of the hottest emerging markets in the world. Some have predicted that these countries would become the future superpowers replacing the U.S., the lone superpower now. While it is too early to speculate on the possibility of China and India becoming superpowers militarily it is likely that their economies would be much larger and become a powerful force in the global economy. As per UN estimates of 2010, China with a population of 1.37 billion ranks second with GDP of US\$ 5,739,358 million and India with a population of 1.21 billion ranks ninth with GDP of US\$ 1,722,328 million. While both China and India are making immense strides in development, and growth in both countries has been impressive, there is now much concern about whether this growth is yielding sufficient poverty reduction.

Human Cost of Reforms

But these so called reforms have a dark underbelly – the human costs that get mostly unnoticed. In India they are responsible for the collapse of rural economies and the agrarian crisis currently underway. As journalist and the Rural Affairs editor for The Hindu, P. Sainath describes in his reports on the rural economy in India, the level of inequality has risen to extraordinary levels, when at the same time, hunger in India has reached its highest level in decades. He also points out that rural economies across India have collapsed, or on the verge of collapse due to the neo-liberal policies of the government of India since the 1990s. The human cost of the "liberalisation" has been very high. The huge wave of farm suicides in Indian rural population from 1997 to 2007 totaled close to 200,000, according to official

statistics. That number remains disputed, with some saying the true number is much higher. Commentators have faulted the policies pursued by the government which, according to Sainath, resulted in a very high portion of rural households getting into the debt cycle, resulting in a very high number of farm suicides. As professor Utsa Patnaik, India's top economist on agriculture, has pointed out, the average poor family in 2007 has about 100 kg less food per year than it did in 1997. Government policies encouraging farmers to switch to cash crops, in place of traditional food crops, has resulted in an extraordinary increase in farm input costs, while market forces determined the price of the cash crop. Sainath points out that a disproportionately large number of affected farm suicides have occurred with cash crops, because with food crops such as rice, even if the price falls, there is food left to survive on. He also points out that inequality has reached one of the highest rates India has ever seen. In a report by Chetan Arya, Executive Director at Morgan Stanley, it is pointed out that there has been a wealth increase of close to US\$1 Trillion in the time frame of 2003-2007 in the Indian Stock Market, while only 4-7% of the Indian population hold any equity. During the time when Public investment in agriculture shrank to 2% of the GDP, the nation suffered the worst agrarian crisis in decades, the same time as India became the nation of second highest number of dollar billionaires. Farm incomes have collapsed. Hunger has grown very fast. Public investment in agriculture shrank to nothing a long time ago. Employment has collapsed. Non-farm employment has stagnated. Perceptions of Poverty 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserts that "everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family." Extreme poverty strikes

when household resources prove insufficient to secure the essentials of dignified living. The consequences of persistent poverty include hunger, children out of school, exposure to unnecessary health risks, and the diminution of household back-up resources. Attempts to understand and tackle poverty often fail to do justice to the reality of its experience and too readily subside into an abstract mix of emotion and economics. As a modern day fall out extreme poverty is the ideal recruiting ground for terrorism's foot soldiers. According to recent reports the latest benchmark on what constitutes the poverty line appears to be that if the average monthly consumption expenditure is taken as the benchmark of what an individual needs to survive, the poverty line would be Rs 66.10 for urban areas and Rs 35.10 for rural regions, while about 65% of the population will be below this cutoff.

Poverty Statistics

The past two decades have seen a big fall in the number of people living on less than US\$1.25 a day, the World Bank's international poverty threshold — down from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 1.4 billion in 2005. By this measure, the global poverty rate fell from 42 percent in 1990 to 25 percent in 2005, and may yet fall to 15 percent by 2015, or 900 million people. However, US\$1.25 represents a very low standard of living. Those below it are in extreme deprivation, and many people above this threshold would regard themselves as being poor.

China India Poverty

And despite all the talk of China or India's rising status, both are still desperately poor countries with large disparities in incomes across each country. In China nearly half of the country's labor force remains in agriculture (about 60 percent in India). Also, despite all the talk about Indian software engineers and Nobel laureates and Chinese engineering whizzes, India has the largest number of illiterate

people in the world and China also is burdened with a large number of rural poorly educated who will offer continued challenges for economic development. According to World Bank statistics India's illiteracy rate is nearly 40 percent and China's is nearly 10 percent. Of the total of 2.48 billion people in these two countries, nearly 1.5 billion earn less than US \$2 a day, according to World Bank calculations. 10 The opportunities in both countries are substantial; the challenges are also large.

For that very reason, as compared to India, China also scores higher on welfare indicators such as living standards, poverty ration,

manufacturing and is still investing in building multibillion-dollar electronics and heavy industrial plants. While India is a leading force in software, design, services and the precision industry. A huge and demanding consumer class is also pushing through innovation in India and China. Chinese and Indian consumers want the latest technology and features.

With an average annual growth rate of 10 percent, China has lifted over 600 million of its 1.3 billion citizens out of extreme poverty - those who earn less than \$1 a day - since 1981. In the same time period, India's 6.2 percent average annual growth rate has brought an



female adult literacy and life expectancy by a wide margin. Since 1990, China has tripled per capita income and has eased 300 million out of poverty. 18 While India still presents a picture of extreme poverty, Indians are playing invaluable roles in the research and development centers of global tech giants, sprouting all over India. Indian companies are also excelling in producing high-quality goods and services at very low prices, competing for a global market share. Technical and Managerial skills in both China and India are becoming more important than cheap assembly labour. China will continue to dominate mass

estimated 30 million out of its 1.1 billion people out of extreme poverty. But an estimated 100 million Chinese and more than 250 million Indians remained under the extreme poverty line in 2005, according to the latest World Bank poverty estimates. Roughly 470 million Chinese and 827 million Indians earned less than \$2 a day, the median poverty line for all developing countries. Though some economists say World Bank figures understate the true extent of poverty, there is broad agreement that a slowdown in China and India will harm poverty alleviation goals. The administrator of the UN Development Program (UNDP),

Kemal Dervis, warned in October 2008 that together with volatile food and fuel prices, "current global economic conditions threaten the gains that have been made to reduce poverty and advance development for large numbers of people."

Levels of Inequality

The financial crisis could worsen the existing high levels of inequality in China and India, say experts. As this background points out, despite unprecedented levels of economic growth in India and China, there is increasing geographic, sector-based, and income inequalities within each country. Benefits from growth have failed to trickle down to significant segments of each population, especially in rural areas. Biplove Choudhary of the UNDP's trade program says growth does not directly translate into poverty alleviation. Experts say gains from growth in India and China should be better channeled into areas that most uplift the rural poor, such as spending on health, education, and infrastructure.

China and India account for much of the fall in the number of people living below that threshold. But despite their progress, both countries are still marked by deep poverty. By the new estimates, more than 327 million Indians in rural areas are living in poverty, an increase of 105 million people in absolute terms. China has been very successful in reducing extreme deprivation, as is evident from the figure below. In the early 1980s, 94 percent of China's rural population and 44.5 percent of its urban population lived on less than US\$1.25 a day. By 2005, the percentage of people in poverty had fallen to 26 percent in rural areas, and to just 1.7 percent in urban areas. This represents a fall of 627 million people, from 835 million in 1981 to 207.7 million in 2005.

Poverty Alleviation Success

It may be relevant to note that, apart from Brazil, the two countries with the greatest success in poverty

reduction are China and Vietnam. Their governments have overcome the structural barriers to development by methods which have largely sidestepped western regulations and prescriptions. They have retained strong state control over key sectors of their economies, permitting only gradual liberalisation. In terms of sectoral priority, it is generally accepted that investment in the rural economy is the most cost effective means of reducing poverty. Many governments in Africa have renewed their commitments to raise spending on agriculture.

Social Sector Expenditure

Expenditure on what is somewhat misleadingly called the "social sector"—health, education, nutrition, etc.—has certainly gone up in India. And yet India is still well behind China in many of these fields. For example, government expenditure on health care in China is nearly five times that in India. China does, of course, have a larger population and a higher per capita income than India, but even in relative terms, while the Chinese government spends nearly 2 percent of GDP (1.9 percent) on health care, the proportion is only a little above one percent (1.1 percent) in India.

One result of the relatively low allocation of funds to public health care in India is that large numbers of poor people across the country rely on private doctors, many of whom have little medical training. Since health is also a typical example of "asymmetric information," in which the patients may know very little about what the doctors (or "supposed doctors") are giving them, even the possibility of fraud and deceit is very large. In a study conducted by the Pratichi Trust—a public interest trust I set up in 1999—we found cases in which the ignorance of poor patients about their condition was exploited so as to make them pay for treatment they didn't get. This is the result not only of shameful exploitation, but ultimately of the sheer

unavailability of public health care in many parts of India. The benefit that we can expect to get from economic growth depends very much on how the public revenue generated by economic growth is expended.

These details about China and India, drawn mainly from the World Bank and the United Nations, reveal a stark picture in this regard. Life expectancy at birth in China is 73.5 years; in India it is 64.4 years. The infant mortality rate is fifty per thousand in India, compared with just seventeen in China; the mortality rate for children under five is sixty-six per thousand for Indians and nineteen for the Chinese; and the maternal mortality rate is 230 per 100,000 live births in India and thirty-eight in China. The mean years of schooling in India were estimated to be 4.4 years, compared with 7.5 years in China. China's adult literacy rate is 94 percent, compared with India's 74 percent according to the preliminary tables of the 2011 census.

So how has reforms and growth helped, or lack of it to the multitudes of people living in rural areas in India, China and other developing countries of the world? It has no doubt benefitted sections of the middle class in cities and towns—they have increased their wealth and flooding malls and shopping centres on buying sprees. Billionaires and millionaires have increased in numbers. But the rural poor remain as miserable as ever. Its time something is done for them too. Trickle down effects of wealth generation has not reached them. As the noted economist John Kenneth Galbraith rightly remarked decades ago, "Trickledown economics is like feeding oats to horses while sparrows get the dung". PROUT economics that strikes a balance based on universal values of rational distribution of wealth and steers away from capitalism to guarantee purchasing power to all to have a decent and human existence is the only alternative.

* **Rajesh Makwana**

The earth's ecological problems stem largely from our collective failure to share. That might seem like an overly simplistic statement, but it is now increasingly evident that only by sharing the world's resources more equitably and sustainably will we be able to address both the ecological and social crisis we face as a global community. The principle of sharing has always formed the basis of social relationships in societies across the world. We all know from personal experience that sharing is central to family and community life, and the importance of sharing is also a key component of many of the world's religions. Moreover, it is becoming apparent through a growing body of anthropological and biological evidence that human beings are naturally predisposed to cooperate and share in order to improve our collective wellbeing and maximise our chances of survival.

In fact, sharing is far more prevalent in society than people often realise. In a recent report we identified the many emerging and existing forms of what is being popularly termed the 'sharing economy'. This includes collaborative consumption, knowledge sharing websites like Wikipedia, and many other forms of cooperative and peer2peer enterprises. Although not commonly recognised as such, systems of social welfare can also be considered one of the most advanced forms of economic sharing ever established in the modern world.

Given the importance of the principle of sharing in human life, it is logical to assume that it should play an important role in the way we organise economies and manage the world's resources. But this is not the case. Instead, we have created an economic system based on ideologies that are entirely opposed

Proposing a Vision of a New Earth

LET'S SAVE THE



“ This article is based on a presentation by **Share The World's Resources for the World Public Forum 'Dialogue of Civilisations' 10th Anniversary Conference, Rhodes, October 2012** ”

to the principle of sharing. For decades, mainstream economists and policymakers have based their decision-making on a distorted understanding of what it means to be human: that people are selfish, acquisitive, individualistic and competitive by nature – the concept of homo economicus. These notions are still used to justify the exaggerated role that market forces play in organising societies. As we know, neoliberal ideology continues to dominate policymaking across the world - characterised by the privatisation of public assets and the shared ‘commons’, the deregulation and liberalisation of markets, the endless pursuit of economic growth and the overconsumption of natural resources.

The Consequences of Our Failure to Share

As a result of failing to put the principle of sharing at the centre of policymaking, we now face a multitude of environmental crises, from climate change and pollution to deforestation and peak energy – the list is long. Underpinning these multiple ecological crises is the failure of governments to achieve a balance between consumption levels and the Earth’s life-supporting capacity. As the WWF have painstakingly demonstrated, humanity currently consumes 50 percent more natural resources than the earth can sustainably produce, which means we already require the equivalent of one and a half planets to support our consumption levels.

This calculation doesn’t even take into account the massive growth in consumption that is widely predicted to take place over coming decades, in which the global ‘middle class’ is expected to grow from under 2 billion consumers today to nearly 5 billion by 2030. Clearly, the ecological consequences of increased consumption across the world will be severe. According to research by the Stockholm Resilience Centre, humanity has already transgressed three out of nine key planetary

boundaries – climate change, biological diversity as well as nitrogen and phosphorous cycles.

But our failure to share resources has also resulted in severe social consequences which cannot be divorced from any discussion about the environment. Ecological chaos, poverty and inequality are related outcomes of an ill-managed world system, and they require simultaneous attention – a fact embodied in the contemporary dialogue on sustainable development.

There are massive differences in the consumption patterns and carbon emissions of people living in rich and poor countries. A small proportion of the world’s population – around 20 percent – consumes the vast majority of the world’s resources. According to Oxfam, excessive consumption by the wealthiest 10 percent of the world’s population poses the biggest threat to the environment today. At the same time, the poorest 20 percent of the world’s population do not have access to the basic resources they need to survive. Around a billion people are officially classified as hungry, and almost half of the developing world population is trying to survive on less than \$2 a day. Statistics from the World Health Organisation reveal that over 40,000 people die every single day from a lack of access to those resources that many of us take for granted. This is perhaps the starkest illustration of the human impact of our failure to share.

Overcoming the Barriers to Progress

Given the urgency of the ecological and social situation, why are we still failing to manage the world’s resources in a more equitable and sustainable way? Every year, numerous international conferences and negotiations take place, but the international community has not managed to implement binding limits on CO2 emissions. We have failed to curb unsustainable patterns of resource

consumption. And we have by no means succeeded in ending poverty or paving the way for more sustainable development.

In the meanwhile, endless reports are published that recommend a sensible path for reforming the global economy, but are not taken seriously by policymakers. Nothing seems to change. Humanity is at an impasse; we seem unable to overcome the vested interests and structural barriers to progress that we face. For too long, governments have put profit and growth before the welfare of all people and the sustainability of the biosphere. Public policy under the influence of neoliberalism has created a world economy that is structurally dependent upon unsustainable levels of production and consumption for its continued success. Overcoming the vested interests that continue to block progress on restructuring the world economy has long been regarded by campaigners as the most significant challenge of the 21st century.

Given the scale of the task ahead and the extensive international negotiations these reforms would involve, it is impossible at this stage to put forward a blueprint of the specific policies and actions governments need to take. But in order to inspire public support for transformative change, it is imperative that we outline a bold vision of how and why these reforms should be based firmly on the principle of sharing. Sharing the world’s resources equitably and sustainably is arguably the most pragmatic way of simultaneously addressing both the ecological and social crises we face.

Envisioning a Global Sharing Economy

Two basic elements remain fundamental to the proper functioning of a ‘global sharing economy’. The first element is for the international community to recognise that natural resources form part of our shared commons, and should therefore be held in trust

for the benefit of all. This important reconceptualization would enable humanity to move away from today's private and state ownership models, and towards a new form of resource management based on non-ownership and trusteeship.

A precedent for sharing natural resources is already well established. An existing principle in international law known as the 'common heritage of humankind' enables certain cultural and natural resources to be protected from exploitation - from both the state and private sector - by holding them in trust for future generations. This principle is an important feature in a number of international treaties that have taken shape under the auspices of the United Nations.

There are of course many options available for how such a trust could be organised on a global level to incorporate the full range of renewable and non-renewable resources, including fossil fuels. For example, a number of proposals already exist such as those outlined by James Quilligan, Peter Barnes, or Peter Brown and Geoffrey Garver in their book 'Right Relationship', among others. Essentially, a Global Commons Trust would embody the principle of sharing on a global scale, and it would enable the international community to take collective responsibility for managing the world's resources.

With resources held in trust for all, it would be much easier to implement the second element required to establish a global sharing economy, which is to equalise global consumption levels so that all human beings can flourish within ecological limits. To achieve this, over-consuming countries need to significantly reduce their resource use, while developing countries must be able to increase theirs until a convergence in global per capita consumption levels is eventually reached.

The real challenge is reducing consumption levels in industrialised nations, and many proposals already

exist for how to achieve this. For example, it is clear that resource management would need to be at the forefront of policymaking, and consumption-led economic growth can no longer be the goal of government policy. Much would also need to be done to dismantle the culture of consumerism; and investment must shift to building and sustaining a low-carbon infrastructure. With both of these key elements in place (t r u s t e e s h i p o f



shared resources and reduced global consumption), natural resources would be accessible to people in all countries, consumed within planetary limits and preserved for future generations.

The Key to Change is The Rise of The People

But how will these changes happen? Regardless of the specific policies employed, the world still lacks a broad-based acceptance of the need for planetary

reconstruction. Without a global movement of ordinary people that share a collective vision of change, it will remain impossible to overcome the influence of neoliberal ideology and the vested interests mentioned above.

However, the historic events of 2011 provided concrete evidence of the potential power of a united people's voice. The world witnessed millions of people in diverse countries declaring their needs and highlighting issues of social and economic inequality, greed, financial corruption and the undue influence of corporations on government.

The Arab Spring demonstrated the awesome power of a focussed and directed public opinion. And in city squares across the developed world, Occupy, the Indignados and a host of other people's movements focussed the world's media on the plight of the '99%' and gained widespread public support in the process.

The rapid spread of these mass demonstrations reflects a growing recognition of humanity's innate unity and propensity to share, and they pay testimony to the combined power of engaged citizens. But if public opinion is to make transformative change a reality, a crucial next step is to adopt a common and inclusive platform for change on a global scale. In other words, we need a planetary Tahrir Square

Social injustice and ecological crises must be recognised as inextricable parts of the same problem: our failure to share the world's resources in a way that benefits all people and preserves the biosphere. A universal call for sharing has the potential to unite both environmentalists and those campaigning for global justice, paving the way to a more just, sustainable and peaceful world.

Rajesh Makwana is the director of Share The World's Resources and can be contacted at [rajesh\(at\)stwr.org](mailto:rajesh(at)stwr.org).



UNITED STATES



ELECTION RESULTS 2012

OBAMA: 303

ROMNEY: 206

2012 STATE WINNERS 48 States reporting outcomes to presidential race



2008 STATE WINNERS



Why It Does Not Matter That Obama Won

* Mirra Price

Ever since we have had televised Presidential debates, electioneering and mass media campaigning in the 1960 election between Kennedy and Nixon, a new element was added to political campaigns--selling an image to the public. What Kennedy may have lacked in actual on the ground old-fashioned baby-kissing, hand shaking, driving- them- to- the- polls politics, he more than made up for with his suave, youthful appearance on the boob tube. Nixon looked old and tired and basically "too pooped to pop" in my memory. Even as a 12-year-old at the time of the 1960 election, I was heavily involved in Young Democrats and stayed up analyzing the election returns until 4 a.m. the night of the

election, to the chagrin of my family and my Civics teacher.

Also, ever since the 1950s, a

new breed of publicist was born-- those who painstakingly craft the images that the public wants to see

“It would take a major shift in power and consciousness, such as more women and minorities getting into positions of power, to budge the political structure. However, since the foundation is cracked, we are merely painting pictures on the walls of our prison.”

in their Presidential candidates. Currently, many entire firms specialize in promoting and advertising candidates.

Rosser Reeves was a prominent advertising executive who created many famous jingles such as "M & Ms melt in your mouth, not in your hand" and many others. He said of political choices: "I think of the man in the voting booth who hesitates between 2 levers as if he were pausing between competing tubes of toothpaste in a drugstore. The brand that has made the highest penetration on his brain will win his choice." National Republican Chairman Leonard Hall said, "You sell your candidates and your programs the way a business sells its products."

"Policies and issues are useless for election purposes," Marshall McLuhan, author of *The Medium is the Message* and other books on modern culture and advertising, has said of the modern political situation: "What is important is the image of the candidate. Political advertising learned how to research the populace, find out what it wanted, and shape its candidate's persona based on those findings." (I wonder what demographic was polled to produce the Sarah Palin image?)

The Democrats, although they planned to spend over \$8 million on their own campaigns, could not find a major agency to take their account in 1956. As it turned out, 37 leading agencies gave \$51,000 to the Republican party and zero to the Democrats, who finally found a smaller agency to handle their account.

Since the 1950s, advertising has become essential to American politics. Virtually all candidates hired ad agencies or PR people to promote themselves, and finally, an advertising man became one of the unelected rulers of the country: H. R. "Bob" Haldeman, indicted and jailed for his involvement in Watergate, worked for the country's largest advertising agency before he worked for the world's most

powerful political structure. Previous attempts at total national propaganda seem naive and shortsighted. The psychosociological effects of Total Uniform Image Penetration have yet to be understood. The influence of a few central decision makers becomes hugely magnified. A small number of conservative, white, profit-oriented males, mostly between the ages of 40 and 65, control almost all of the country's most persuasive image-producing resources.

Vance Packard, in *The Hidden Persuaders*, tells of the husband and wife team of political image shapers, Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, who participated in over 70 winning campaigns, including those of Earl Warren and Goodwin Knight in California. They insist on complete creative control over the PR strategy. Skornia and Kitson, authors of *Problems and Controversies in TV and Radio*, described a new development called psychographics and pseudoevents. Researchers found that advertisements were becoming a substitute for the product. "Advertisers have been puzzled by the tendency of viewers and readers to pay special attention to the ads for products that they already owned. It is as if people used the ad to strengthen their impression of the product, and to get 'cued in' as to the means of relating themselves to it."

I included the previous paragraphs on the history of political image shaping to give a framework for Sarkar's adamant stance that we not be fooled into voting for the lesser of two evils. Yes, I agree that Obama, if he were not owned by Wall Street, especially by Microsoft, Dreamworks and several hedge funds and super pacs, might be able to make some lasting change, IF the system were not completely broken. Those are two very big "ifs".

As in Orwell's 1984, the public is bombarded with doublespeak. Big Brother is telling us that bad is good, wrong is right and that we are on a

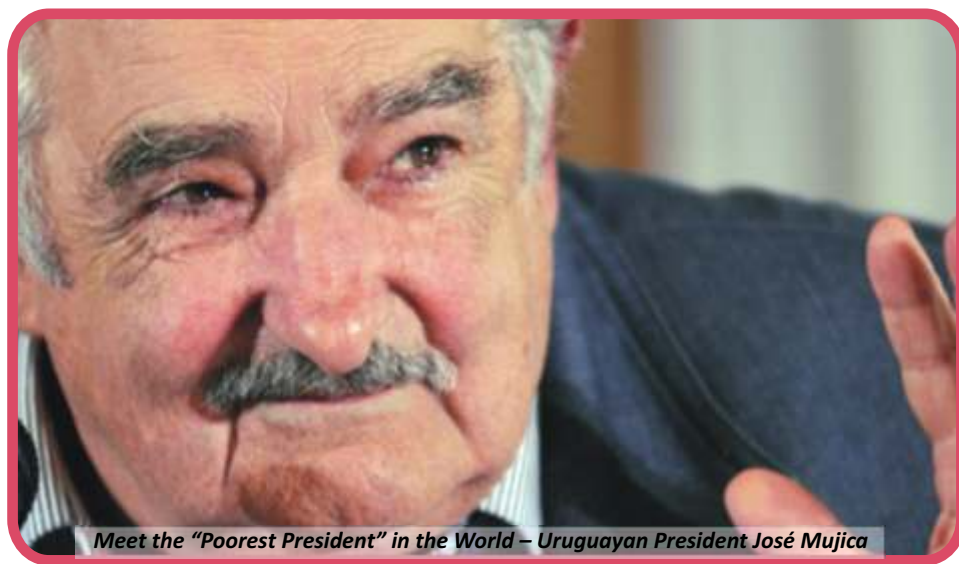
ship going full rudder ahead. Well, the ship is leaking and sinking fast. It is us to us as Proutists, if we identify as Proutists, to first, become AWARE of the manufacturing of consent as Chomsky has delineated it in a book of the same name. In this country, we are constantly manipulated into believing that we can make a difference, all the while the one-tenth of one percent, again as Chomsky says, is making behind-the-scenes deals with China, major megacorporations and the moneyed elite. Obama's website, for example, solicited many donations from China, Korea and other countries.

It would take a major shift in power and consciousness, such as more women and minorities getting into positions of power, to budge the political structure. However, since the foundation is cracked, we are merely painting pictures on the walls of our prison. What we MUST do is to get out of the prison and create a new system which is free of manipulation by the pseudoculture. The Dineh (Navajos) with whom I lived and worked saw their language, culture, customs and lands destroyed by the dominant culture every day. And it is ongoing.

We are heading toward a monoculture in which rich, white Anglo-Saxon males rule UNLESS we work together for systemic, radical change. We don't need more puppets in office; what we need is complete change from the ground up, a new paradigm. Most importantly, we need to empower women and minorities to become a significant voice in government.

Until we become educated as to the affects of the pseudoculture on us, we might see the system as being fixable. I would suggest that all read Proutist Economics by Sarkar, *After Capitalism: Economic Democracy in Action* by Dada Maheshvarananda, and *Manufacturing Consent* by Noam Chomsky. We have to see the veils covering our eyes in order to free ourselves from covert manipulation. No, Virginia, there is no Santa Claus.

The World's Poorest President



Meet the "Poorest President" in the World – Uruguayan President José Mujica

President of tiny city state Singapore who gets \$ 2,856,930; following him is Donald Tsang, Chief Executive of Hong Kong \$ 513,245. Number three is Raila Odinga of a poor country like Kenya gets \$ 427,886 and next is Barack Obama of the richest and most powerful country in the world - USA with US \$ 400,000 (read more at <http://www.therichest.org/world/highest-paid-presidents/>).

Speaking to a Spanish newspaper, the 77-year-old Uruguayan head of state explained that the amount he takes home is sufficient. "I do fine with that amount; I have to do fine because there are many Uruguayans who live with much less," he told the paper.

Mujica also refused to live in the presidential residence, opting to reside in a small farmhouse owned by his wife. Like her husband, Mrs. Mujica donates a large sum of her senatorial salary. The president, who was previously a guerilla fighter, has no bank account. When declaring his wealth, Mujica stated that his most valuable possession is his aged Volkswagen Beetle. Known as a man who shuns formalities and high-end living, Mujica has endeared himself to many as a generous leader and a true man of the people. After 10 years behind bars for his guerilla activism, Mujica has served as a senator and minister for agriculture. Though José Mujica is not the first president to donate his salary, his move is a sharp contrast to the leaders in Nigeria, Kenya and other who take

* Prout News Report

There is something about leading by example. When you do, it becomes easier for other people to follow. This is a POSSIBLE SOLUTION to OUR country's Main problems of Corruption & POVERTY!!!!!!

While the title President is often synonymous with plush living and hefty paycheques, Uruguay's head of state is contrasting the norm. José Mujica who is commonly referred to as the "The World's Poorest President" donates 90 per cent of his salary, taking home every month approximately US\$ 1,250 of his allotted US\$ 12,500, annually working out to \$ 15,000 and \$ 150,000 respectively. In stark contrast are the annual salaries paid to Presidents world over. Topping the list is Lee Hsien Loong,

“

The President of Uruguay, José Mujica is getting worldwide recognition and respect for donating 90 percent of his earnings to charitable causes.

”



We Have An Indian Example Also, As Given Below.

Man of the Millennium.....

Mr. Kalayanasundaram worked as a Librarian for 30 years. Every month in his 30 year experience (service), he donated his entire salary to help the needy. He worked as a server in a hotel to meet his needs. He donated even his pension amount of about ten lakh rupees to the needy.

He is the first person in the world to spend the entire earnings for a social cause. In recognition to his service, the American government honoured him with the 'Man of the Millennium' award. He received a sum of Rs 30 crores as part of this award which he distributed entirely for the needy as usual. Moved by his passion to help others, Super Star Rajinikanth

adopted him as his father. He still stays as a bachelor and dedicated his entire life for serving the society.

All our politicians, film stars, business magnets, cricketers, press-persons and we all Indians should be PROUD and also should be ashamed of ourselves. American Government has honored him but we Indians even don't know that such a personality exist amongst us. Hat's off Kalayanasundaram.. We Indians are extremely proud of you and proudly say "THIS HAPPENS ONLY IN INDIA".

home large salaries while the bulk of their constituents live below the poverty line.

While Nigerian leaders are being berated for refusing to declare their assets publicly and demanding astronomical pay rise to add to the already exorbitant allowances they receive, the President of Uruguay, José Mujica is getting worldwide recognition and respect for donating 90 percent of his earnings to charitable causes.

Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan has come under criticism

several times for his refusal to publicly declare his assets. He was once quoted as saying “The issue of public asset declaration is a matter of personal principle. That is the way I see it, and I don’t give a damn about it, even if you criticise me from heaven.”

On the other hand José Mujica has earned what most people would call an enviable reputation as the “poorest,” or the “most generous,” President in the world. His nickname, “el presidente mas pobre” translates to “poorest

president”. In a recent interview he said that the only big item he owns is his Volkswagen Beetle car, valued at \$ 1,945 dollars. It was also reported that under his stewardship, Uruguay has become known for low levels of corruption. The South American country ranks as the second least corrupt country in Latin America in



Transparency International’s global corruption index. Yahoo News reported that the President has no bank accounts, no debts, and he enjoys the companionship of his dog, Manuela. When his term is over, the President hopes to rest even more peacefully in his farmhouse, along with his wife and his inseparable dog.





Adivasis of Chhattisgarh

✦ Gladson Dugdndung

(Continued from previous issue)

According to the Chhota Nagpur Land Tenancy Act 1908, the agriculture land cannot be acquired for non-agriculture purpose. The land of Nagri village is a complete agriculture. However, the Court denied protecting the rights of the Raiyats. Instead, the Court has questioned the Government whether it has taken a decision that all lands which have been acquired after the year 1894 or at least since 1957-58, and it was cultivable at that time, shall be declared deacquisitioned and will be returned back to the cultivators? Why this inequitable decision will be for those persons only, whose land have not been violently protested when possession of the land was taken over and whether the Government will be guided by law of violence and will not hear the law abiding persons, who obeyed the law? The fact is

the deacquisition of all lands is not possible but the court should order the government to find out all the displaced masses and rehabilitate them. However, the government should return the unutilized land to the original cultivators wherever it is possible. It is also fact that the people have simply not surrendered their land by obeying the colonial law the Land Acquisition Act 1894 but their lands were forcefully and illegally capture under the terror of Gun since 1894. The history of each and every so-called development project suggests that they Raiyats had protested during the land acquisition therefore, the High Court should order the Government to right the historical wrong instead of forcing the government to continue to historical injustice.

The High Court says that even if the government wants to withdraw the acquisition, it cannot do only for the land of which possession has not been taken. The Court also says that nobody can question the acquisition

Is Judiciary Biased Against Adivasis

“The population of the state has been growing very fast therefore, the government should think of how to feeding these masses in future, precisely, because the agriculture lands have been converted for non-agriculture purposes in the state very fast.”

because it has been acquired by the government for 'public purpose' under the section 6 of the Land Acquisition Act 1894. The High Court has referred the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act 1894 and also mentioned that this Act has been enacted by the Parliament and the binding law in the entire country as back as in the year 1894 and since then, thousands and thousands of acres of cultivable land have been acquired under the provisions of this Act of 1894. However, the same court completely forgets that the state of Jharkhand comes under the Fifth Schedule Areas provision made under the Article 244 of the Indian Constitution, where the Governor is empowered to repeal any Act either enforced by the Parliament or the Legislative Assemblies, merely through the public notification if the Law is not suitable for the schedule area to have retrospective effect.

The Governor is also constitutional abided to see whether the Adivasis are alienated from their livelihood resources. According to the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908, Bhuihari and Khutkatti land cannot be sold and acquired. Some part of

Nagri's land comes under Bhuihari of the CNT Act but why didn't the Jharkhand High Court notice such protective Law while hearing the case? The High Court has taken cognizance in many cases as *sue-motto* especially in the cases of corruption and human rights violation in general. However, thousands and thousands of acres of lands have been acquired illegally after bypassing the CNT Act 1908, SPT Act 1955, PESA Act 1996, the Provisions of Fifth Schedule and Forest Rights Act 2006 but why the Court is silence especially in the matters of the Adivasis? Why is the High Court enforcing a colonial law in the state?

The High Court has also said that 'a country where the laws are framed by the members of state Legislative in the State or by the Parliament in the Parliament and these persons projecting themselves leaders questioning the land acquisition after more than half century, in the year 2012 at time when construction started on the land and they become wiser now and they tried to instigate the innocent persons against the proposed construction. It further mentions that

simply because it is known to everybody that state of Jharkhand comprises of more members of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribals and most of the population is poor and illiterate, who can be misguided by slightest elusion picture in the mind of those person'. Ironically, the High Court is not ready to protect the rights of the innocent persons but when they resist to protecting their rights the court coined it as instigated by the vested interest groups. Since, the Court is aware that majority of the people are illiterate and poor, in that case how can the High Court facilitate the alienation of livelihood resources from them? How can the Court deny protecting the rights of these people?

The villagers have been protesting to protect their land. They sat on protest for 125 days, which had begun on 5 March, 2012. They were sitting, eating and sleeping on their agricultural land in day and night even during the mid of summer, consequently, three women – Mangi Oraon, Dashmi Oraon and Tebo Oraon died due to hit by the sun stroke. They died while fighting to protect their



Adivasis of Jharkhand

ancestral land. Similarly, on 4 April, 2012, when the boundary wall of the IIM was pulled down, only the villagers were present at the spot. The villagers have taken all the decisions and they executed it accordingly. Obviously, the people of 35 villages of adjoining areas are supporting the movement as they have also given the notice for acquisition of their 28,000 acres of land for the proposed greater Ranchi project. Therefore, the Court should not be in illusion that the outside leaders, social and rights activists are instigating the villagers. Of course, they are supporting them and that is not a crime. The Court has ordered the Government to translate the order and handover to the villagers so that they can understand the fact. When the officers went to handover the Court's orders to the villagers, they refuse to receive it. Why? Are they again misguided by someone?

The Court also said that those who are challenging the land acquisition were not born when acquisition was done, and had no knowledge about the facts of acquisition. The dispute has been raised only at the instigation of some leaders and is not bonafide, which is apparent from the fact that since last more than 60 years, no body objected to the acquisition of land, make in the year 1957-58. The court has been keeping aside the fact that the Raiyats have been protesting against the land acquisition since 1957-58 and the government also didn't try again to acquire the land in last 50 years. Meanwhile, the acquisition process was again started in November, 2009 since then, the villagers are protesting against it. It is lie to say that the Raiyats who are protesting are not aware about land acquisition attempted in 1957-58. There are many old people present in the village, who had taken part in the protest in 1957-58. They keep telling that how they had chased away the officers who had come to their village for acquisition of their land.



The High Court has also said that the State should deal with the scrupulous elements effectively to have the progress of the state of Jharkhand for which state of Jharkhand was carved out from the state of Bihar and the establishment of these institutions will also substantially help the public of the state of Jharkhand. The Court should know that the state of Jharkhand was a result of the historical autonomous movement of the Adivasis and Moolvasis therefore; the development should not be done over their graves. The fact is the Adivasis and Moolvasis were never against the development. They have surrendered thousands and thousands acres of their fertile lands that's why the state has the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Bokaro Steel Plant, TATA Steel, Power Projects, Irrigation Projects, Mega Dams and Mining Projects. However, the fact is the majority of the Adivasis didn't even taste the development. Why? Are judges aware, sensitive and honest while dealing with the cases of these people?

The Raiyats of Nagri and the people who are supporting the Nagri Movement are not against development at all, but they oppose

the forceful and illegal acquisition of agricultural land. The People have never opposed the so-called prestigious institutions – IIM, IIT and Law University. Instead, they have also given the option to the state government to shift these institutions to Kutte village, which is situated merely at a distance of 3 km south from Nagri village, where 1900 acres of barren land available. A prestigious school 'Sphere International' has been built up on rocky land on Ranchi-Khunti highway then why these so-called prestigious institutions should be built up only on fertile land? Will these institutions not grow if built up in the barren land? However, a billion dollar question remained unanswered is development for whom and at what cost? The High Court should also find out the answer of above questions before helping the state in land grab.

The Jharkhand High Court said that so far the land of University is concerned, most of the land is not cultivable land and it was not under the cultivation, and further the documents placed on record by the applicants cannot be said to have any relation with the land in question which is handed over to the University. It further says that in fact out of the acquisition land if anybody has cultivated for a short period here and there that will make no difference and will not create any rights to the person. The question is if the land is not cultivable and was not under the cultivation, then how did the villagers of Nagri survived for last 60 years? Were they eating soil and mud for their survival? The court is also not ready to accept the revenue record, Jamabandi (tax of land), land entitlement papers, which villagers had produced in front of the Court. However, the same Court accepted the revenue record produced by the University merely for last six months. Why? Is it not a result of biasness?

The Court says that since the villagers are poor therefore, the government didn't oppose the



Baiga girls of Orissa

payment of compensation with 15 percent interest and in that situation when such interest rate was not prevailing at that time. The fact is that it has been mentioned in the Land Acquisition Act 1894 section-34 that when the amount of such compensation is not paid or deposited or before taking possession of the land, the Collector shall pay the amount awarded with interest there on at the rate of 9 per annum from the time of so taking possession until it shall have been so paid or deposited. It has been also provided that if such compensation or any part thereof is not paid or deposited within a period of one year from the date on which possession is taken, interest at the rate of 15 percent per annum shall be payable from the date or expiry of the said period of one year. Since, the Court claims that the acquisition had been done in 1957-58 in that case, the Court should have asked to the government to pay 9 percent interest in the deposited amount instead of 15 percent at one time. Why is the Court always taking the side of the government? The Court has also said that most of the applicants have received the compensation, which is of course again a lie. The truth is out of 153 cultivators, only 25 cultivators of a particular community had received the compensation. The court also states

that the applicants are in possession of the land because of non-payment and non-receiving of the compensation amount, which is completely baseless. The cultivators are determined to protest their land therefore; they are resisting for saving their agricultural land and had always opposed the compensation.

The Court has stated that some persons are misguiding the villagers and imprinting a picture that thereafter the state of Jharkhand will have to starve out and starvation will be because of the non-availability of cultivable land. The court should know that the majority of Jharkhandi people especially the Adivasis depend on agro-forest for their livelihood. Hence, if they are alienated from the livelihood resources, they'll die due to starvation and it has already started. In fact, the Jharkhand Government has signed MoUs with national and multinational companies for 104 me g a

projects. If these MoUs are materialized approximately 2 lakh acres of land will be acquired, and of course, the most part of the land will be agricultural. Consequently, 10 lakh people will lose their livelihood resources and displaced. What will happen to their future? Therefore, the people of Jharkhand are against of conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes. However, people are not against of development projects if these are being built on the barren land and with the objective of maximum benefit to the local people. The Saranda Forest is crucial example, where more than 50 legal iron-ore mining projects are running but that fact is local inhabitants are not benefited. Why? Though the people are not opposing the so-called prestigious institutions but the question need to be answered is how many Adivasis will be benefited from the IIM, IIT and Law University too?

The population of the state has been growing very fast therefore, the government should think of how to feeding these masses in future, precisely, because the agriculture lands have been converted for non-agriculture poses in the state very fast. If the Government does not save the agriculture land,



will it feed its people with iron, mud and stone? Therefore, the Government must think for judiciously use of the land. How can Government decide to give any amount of land to the private companies? For example, the Jharkhand Government has signed MoU with the Arcelor Mittal Company allowing the company to acquire 25,000 acre of land for an integrated Steel Plant. Similarly, the TATA STEEL was allowed to acquire 24,500 acre and list goes on. On the other hand, thousand acres of land remain unutilized in BSL, HEC and TATA, etc. Are these companies coming to the state for developing it or their intention is to make an empire in the state? Irony is, on the one hand, the state government spends crore of public money for conversion of barren land into agricultural land and the agriculture land is transferred for non-agriculture purposes on the other. Is it not the misuse of public money? Why the Court is quit in these matters?

The Jharkhand High Court seems to be much worried about the future of those students, who have come to the state from the outside for their studies. The Court has mentioned in its order that there are large number of students still living in hostels provided by some authorities of the State Government but by charging huge amount of rent resulting into heavy burden upon the students and otherwise also. But at the same time the Court seems to be non-sensitive towards the children of Adivasis of Nagri. Why? Why is the High Court not worried about the livelihood, education and future of Adivasi children? There are thousands of children in Nagri village, who have been protesting on the road after deserting their schools to save their land because they are well aware that if land is snatched they will have no future.

Do these children also

have right to education as provided in RTE Act 2009? The Indian Constitution guaranteed equal rights to everyone. But why the Judiciary is biased against the Adivasis? Are these children not the citizens of India? Indeed, it's very clear that the Judiciary is completely against of the Adivasis.

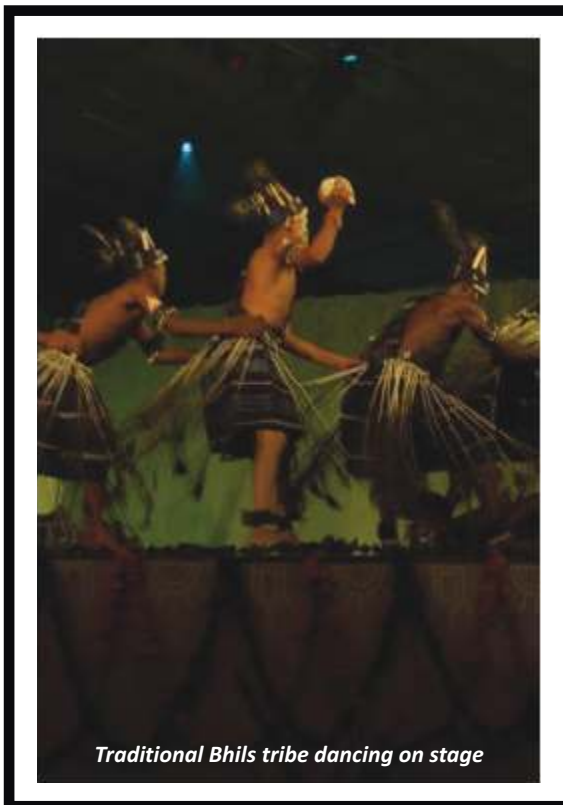
Ironically, the Law University states in its vision paper that it will develop the 'Center of excellence for Advocacy of Human Rights with special focus on Tribal Rights'. The moral question is how can the Law University advocate for the rights of Adivasis (tribals) after snatching their livelihood resources for building its centers of excellence? Will it not be an attempt of rubbing salt on Adivasis' wound? People like Justice Prakash Tatia must read a famous story of Munshi Premchan i.e. 'Panch Parmeshwar' before hearing these kinds of cases so that they would be able to deliver justice to the people and also protect the Indian Judicial system. The Justice V R Krishna Iyer once told in the Supreme Court that the "Judges

cannot render justice to the poor because they don't understand their socio-economic problems. They are from a different world". The case of Nagri has proved that justice V R Krishna Iyer absolutely right.

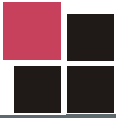
On 14 July, 2012, the students mostly outsiders studying in Law University asked us that why are we opposing the construction of Law University at Nagri? If they don't get the University Campus their future will be at stake? They said that the people elect the government and the acquisition has been done by the same Government therefore, how it can be illegal and forceful? After patiently hearing their queries, I responded them that we are not opposing the Law University but the illegal and forceful acquisition, and we have also given the several options to the Government. But they were not convinced with my answers. However, when I asked them that how many acres lands they have? They responded that each one of them possess some patches of land and houses as well. I immediately asked them to surrender their land to me so that I'll talk to the government and the Law University would be at their door. They were mum and went back to their hostel. This is one of the living examples, which proves that the elite class is always ready to harvest at any cost and they don't bother about the marginalized people. And of course, the Indian Judiciary is dominated by them only. If the Raiyats of Nagri village are unable to protect their land, the Adivasis of Jharkhand will not only lose their faith in the India Judiciary but they will also have no faith in the Indian democracy.

Concluded

Gladson Dungdung is a Human Rights Activist and associated with the Nagri People's Movement.



Traditional Bhils tribe dancing on stage



If not now,



then when?

The Positive Power of Crisis

★ Charles Hugh Smith

If there is any demarcation with profound implications going forward, it isn't the line between the 1% and the 99% or the line dividing the Status Quo into two safely complicit ideological camps: it is the divide between those who squarely face the burden of knowing the present is unsustainable and those who flee into the comforts of denial. Those who accept the burden of knowing are part of the solution,

those who cling to denial are part of the problem.

Those who accept the burden of knowing do not necessarily have answers, but they are alert to alternatives and potential solutions. Those in denial can only hope that reality can be buried for a while longer. Thus we have pronouncements that "the euro is irreversible," that progress is being made, and so on. Nothing has been fixed, but those clinging to denial are comforted that crisis has been pushed forward once again.

Pushing problems under the rug doesn't solve them; they only get worse. This is the positive power of crisis: only in crisis do human beings

“Pushing problems under the rug doesn't solve them; they only get worse. This is the positive power of crisis: only in crisis do human beings actually change.”

actually change. As long as "enablers" are around to protect them from the consequences of their actions and choices, addicts are free to pursue their destructive (to themselves and others) ways. The addicts can be sociopaths or they can be "normal;" the unifying characteristic is their terror in facing the end of the Status Quo, even when the Status Quo is patently destructive and unsustainable.

In the Status Quo, the "enablers" include everyone who

gains if the Status Quo continues unchanged, as they are hoping to collect their share of the unpayable promises that have been issued to buy political support or silence, i.e. complicity. The “handlers and enforcers” of the neofeudal Status Quo—the political and financial Elites and their Upper Caste of managers and apparatchiks—are consciously shoving problems under the rug, in the hopes that some sort of unknown magic will restore the elixir of “growth” that has reliably bailed out the corrupt, increasingly fragile skimming operation (the Status Quo).

The Internet boom bailed it out in the 1990s, and the global housing bubble bailed it out in the 2000s. Now the skimming operation has run out of miracles, and its true nature—it is fundamentally a cargo-cult—has been revealed. Central bankers and their political toadies are in effect praying for a miraculous return of prosperity by painting radio dials on rocks and dancing around the campfire late at night.

The process of shoving structural problems under the rug takes two forms: one is to manipulate data and news flow to

“manage perceptions” that all is well, that the Elites have the will and power to force the system back to “set point.” The Machine’s visible failure to do so after four years of ceaseless “fixes,” stopgaps, reassurances, pronouncements and increases in complexity suggests not that it has the power to do so, but that it has lost the ability to repair the boilers with policy/intervention duct-tape.

The other is propaganda: announcing that the latest “fix” will do the trick, or more perniciously, that the present crisis is not an “unrecognized Depression” but merely another “business cycle” recession. Human habituate rather quickly to a range of “normal,” and so the substitution of manipulation for accountability becomes “normal” over time. The “new normal” isn’t just a decline in purchasing power and employment; it is the slow loss of institutional legitimacy as the lies and obfuscations pile up. But since the underlying dynamics are continuing to expand, masking the problems only increases the fragility and vulnerability of the system as the extremes are pushed ever farther out

Rather than fear the crisis, we should embrace it, for it is only in crisis, when all the lies, half-measures, excuses and backstops have broken down, is positive transformation possible.

the curve. For example: if too much leverage is the problem, the Status Quo solution is to increase leverage and hide the increase in opaque derivatives, offshore banking accounts and “dark pool” trading.

Now that collateral has vanished, the leverage in the system is near-infinite. The Status Quo “solution” is to issue new phantom assets to replace the assets which have become recognized as illusory. How many iterations of the game can be run before some non-linear second-order effect causes the sandpile to collapse? Rather than fear the crisis, we should embrace it, for it is only in crisis, when all the lies, half-measures, excuses and backstops have broken down, is positive transformation possible.



PBI Demands

Action Against the Gas Cylinder Agency and Government Officials



Ghatanji (Vidarbha, Maharashtra) : Proutist Bloc India took up the cause of aggrieved people here who are continuously being harassed and tortured by Lakhmai Cooking Gas Agency , and demanded governmental intervention in the matter. They did roadside dharna (sit-in) to focus the demand so that the grievances of the common man is effectively addressed.

The said gas agency is rendering very poor service, and for two to three months does not supply the gas cylinder to the consumers. Customers are thus forced to visit agency's shop to purchase the cylinder. Here also they have to wait in the queue for long hours sometime even for two days to get the cylinder. But highhandedness of the agency knows no bounds. The customers are forced to even pay cartage though the agency does not deliver the cylinder at their (customers') doorsteps. The agitationists demanded to award license to an honest agency to resolve this corrupt situation.

PBI Vidarbha Chairman Madhukar Nistane submitted memorandum to the District Magistrate accompanied by several prominent citizens and demanded that the license of the agency should be cancelled due to its anti-people activities. It was also said in the memorandum that if the agency is not efficient enough to handle the large population of the area, an additional agency should be given license so that there would be no excessive pressure on the existing one. The memorandum also urged the government to take action against the government inspectors for dereliction of duty who are responsible for ensuring proper and regular supply of gas cylinders to consumers. There is an unholy nexus between the cylinder agency and the inspectors and therefore people have to face this problem regularly.

After the agitation, government machinery has swung into action and as a result the agency is now providing better service to consumers,.

Speaker after speaker cited various instances of irregularities having been committed, and raised their voice strongly for stern action without loss of time against these anti-social offenders who are playing a dirty game with the public money.

They also submitted a memorandum in this connection to the District Magistrate.



PBI's Movement Against Corruption In City Development Projects



Ghatanji (Yawatmal, Maharashtra) : Proutist Bloc India's activists of the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra state staged demonstration demanding speedy enquiry into the irregularities and illegalities committed in the construction of roads and drains under District Council's plans.

The agitation was led by PBI chairman of Vidarbha, Madhukar Nistane. Civil society members in big number had also

joined the agitation.

They had chosen October 2,2012 for launching this auspicious campaign since the city was celebrating birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. Venue of the demonstration and sit-in was outside Gilani High School building.

Besides Madhukar Nistane , Gode, Domale, Achuyuv Bhai, Vasant More, Kadar Bhai, Prafulla Raut, Mohan Jagtap , Shankar Aade, Gyaneshwar Sonadwale, Sarang Kahale, Jagdish Ghondale, Dinkar Mankar and Naresh Kuntalwar strongly demanded investigation into these manipulation and malpractices, institution of criminal cases against the erring officers and contractors and cancellation of the license of contractors.

Speaker after speaker cited various instances of irregularities having been committed and raised their voice strongly for stern action without loss of time against these anti-social offenders who are playing dirty tricks with public money.



UPSF Conventiaon at Hyderabad



Hyderebad : The state unit of Andhra Pradesh organised a national convention of Universal Proutist Students Federation at Hyderabad on 10-11 November 2012. They also took out a procession passing through the important roads of the city.

Speakers in the convention highlighted the problems faced by the student community, and the students' role in rebuilding a new India free from the filth of corruption and exploitation. It was emphasised in the convention that the students are being used as tools by the political leaders, and therefore they are unable to play effective and meaningful role in the national reconstruction. It was also stressed that the successive governments after independence in 1947 have failed to chalk out a comprehensive all India education policy and education system . As a result thereof, the education system is directionless and it is unable to inculcate the robust spirit of national character with global spirit in students. Besides , the greatest problem faced by the student community is the pathetic state of job market. Large number of qualified students are jobless and government is unable to formulate policies to provide hundred percent job to the students who have graduated from the universities. Not all who are fortunate to get job are satisfied with their job, and therefor the resourceful amongst them turn to foreign countries in search of better opportunities leading to the problem of brain drain. The situation faced by the academic community is thus horrible, and the leadership of the country is apathetic to their woos and problems.

It was resolved by the convention to organise and unite students for launching a genuine student's movement which gives proper direction for proper channelisation of students' energy and is able to keep political traders out of the pious temple of learning.





Let the Suffering of Each be Shared by All

ERÁ KÁNNÁY BHÁUNGÁ RUDHIRETE RÁNGÁ
HATÁSHÁY BHÁNGÁ SAB HÁRÁ--,
ERÁ HATÁSHÁY BHÁNGÁ SAB HÁRÁ--,

EDER NEIKO DRIPTI NEIKO PÚRTTI
NEIKO DIPTI DISHE HÁRÁ--,
HATÁSHÁY BHÁNGÁ SAB HÁRÁ--,

EDER CALO NIYE JÁÍÁLOK SNÁNETE
BASÁÍÁ DII SAPHAL MÁNETE,
SAB APÚRTI DÚR KARE DII
MAMATÁR DÁKE HRIDI BHARÁ--,
HATÁSHÁY BHÁNGÁ SAB HÁRÁ--,

EKER VEDANÁ SABÁR VEDANÁ
SABÁKÁR EI VASUDHARÁ--,
HATÁSHÁY BHÁNGÁ SAB HÁRÁ--,
ERÁ HATÁSHÁY BHÁNGÁ SAB HÁRÁ--,
ERÁ KÁNNÁY BHÁUNGÁ RUDHIRETE RÁNGÁ
HATÁSHÁY BHÁNGÁ SAB HÁRÁ--,

Soaked in blood
Crestfallen, they break down in tears
Crushed, having lost everything –
They are crestfallen.

They have no pride, no sustenance
No light on the lost path.

Let us lead them to bathe in the ocean of light
Let us restore their lost dignity
Let us remove all their deprivations
Let us fulfill all their needs.
With our hearts overflowing
Let us give them love.
Let the suffering of each be shared by all
For this world belongs to us all.

Purport: Those downtrodden people, whose lives are filled with weeping, who have no aspirations, whose existences have no charm of vitality – let us guide them on the path of light, let us educate them, let us fulfill their demands and their needs, let us restore their lost dignity with our hearts overflowing with love. Let the sufferings of each be shared by all, for this world belongs to us all.

(Translated from Bengali original)

ETERNAL SONG OF The Proutists

- Shrii P.R. Sarkar

*Morality is the demand of the day.
'Prout' - the cry of the suffering humanity.
Wise you be, may not or may,
If sincere, success a certainty.
Fee fy fo fum.
Expel the demons from physical stratum.
Fee fy fo fum.
Expel the exploiters from economic stratum.
Fee fy fo fum.
Expel the brutes from psychic stratum.
Fee fy fo fum.
Expel the parasites from spiritual stratum.
Human body is to serve one and all,
Human mind to attend Cosmic Call,
Human spirit at the altar Supreme,
Surrender and be Supreme.*



Join PBI for a Poverty-Free and Crime-Free India



Subhas Chand Tyagi
Chairman, Proutist Bloc India

Our dear country India - rich in its cultural and spiritual heritage - is passing through all round crises today. There is horrible poverty everywhere, purchasing power of common man is on continual decline, corruption always raises its ugly head. No political party, nor a political leader, has proved equal to the challenging task before the nation. Consequently crisis is deepening, and the soul of humanity here is profusely bleeding.

In this deep crisis of national disaster on all fronts, Proutist Bloc India has appeared on the political scene to rid country of the dragon of immorality, poverty and exploitation.

I appeal everybody to enrol themselves as a member of this party and strengthen the power of moralist forces. Your inspired cooperation is a must for the success of this moralist political movement.

Come One

Come All

Contact Address - JD-5, Khirki Ext. Main Road Malviya Nagar,
New Delhi - 110017 Contact No. - 9212069074, 9811426644, 9212199658