

PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis



Ameeri Rekha (Wealth Limits)

Unlike the right to live, think and speak,
the right to property is not a natural right.
Nobody is born or dies with any physical wealth.

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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 Philosophy.

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 and 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

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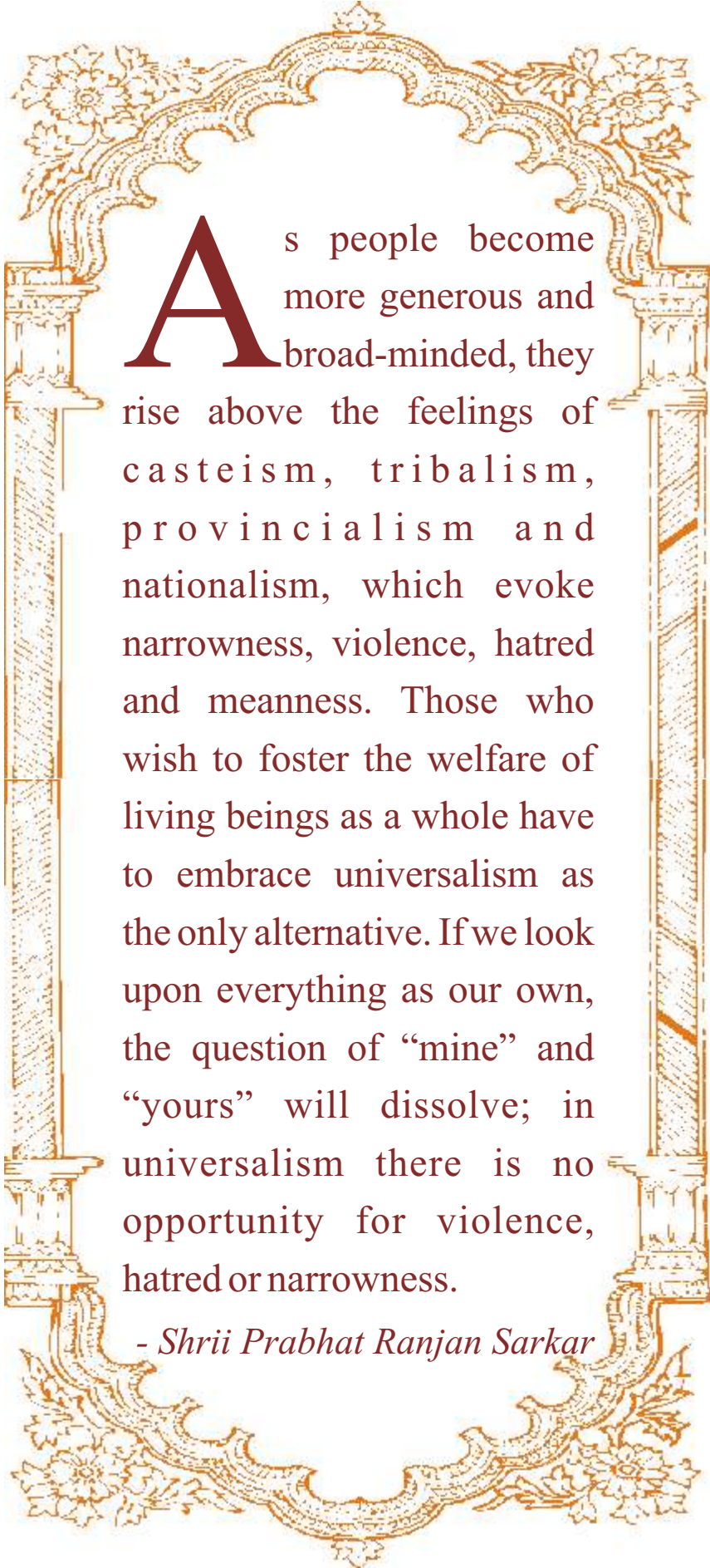
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Fundamental Principles :

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.



As people become more generous and broad-minded, they rise above the feelings of casteism, tribalism, provincialism and nationalism, which evoke narrowness, violence, hatred and meanness. Those who wish to foster the welfare of living beings as a whole have to embrace universalism as the only alternative. If we look upon everything as our own, the question of “mine” and “yours” will dissolve; in universalism there is no opportunity for violence, hatred or narrowness.

- Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Political Warfare In India

How directionless and valueless politics is being played in India is crystal clear from recent events.

In Jammu & Kashmir, the formation of the government is still a muddle. Lack of a simple majority by any of the parties, allowed them to work out every permutation and combination to bring an elected government into existence after elections. This has not succeeded thus far. Even if a combination is able to get the required majority for formation of a government, it is difficult to predict how unstable the government will be.

It is due to this reason, that the unparalleled political scientist, Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar has said that the Chief Minister and Prime Minister should be directly elected. In such a situation, the CM will complete his five year term. He can make his cabinet from elected members as in the American system of elected governors of states. This can give effective and stable government and the people will not remain in suspense like today.



Similarly we find a totally valueless politics in operation from the events in the pre-election Delhi scenario. There is a great trend of defection and induction of potential candidates from one party to the other. Kiran Bedi had earlier announced that she will not join politics and is now in the fray for heading the upcoming Delhi government. All such happenings do not add glory to an already degenerating Indian polity.

Governments which come into existence with the support of such unstable, motley crew of legislators cannot give direction or lead either the state or the country towards true development. It is high time that people no longer accept passively such a state of affairs.

A movement is being launched to bring awareness to the people that politics (rajniiti) without morality (niiti) is an anathema and only serves the vested interests and the corporate opportunists who always dominate behind the scenes in a society devoid of higher values and ideals.

We need a moral and committed leadership and well-defined policies for all-round welfare of the downtrodden. Mere slogans and verbiage are of no help and such a situation throws the gauntlet before the righteous and lovers of the people.



RELIGIOUS EXPLOITATION IN CAPITALISM

The history of the adroit traitors of the vipras, the moneyed class is drenched in blood and sweat of the kshatriyas the brave noble warriors, who have been insidiously manipulated. These have been exposed in Shrii Sarkar's discourse and how they rose to ascendancy in a capitalistic society under the guise of democracy and electoral freedom.

Arup Saha, Howrah

PRICE OF PROGRESS

The cover story by Sri Ram Jethmalani is very thought provoking. While it is true industrial development has its benefits, it cannot be at the total exclusion of the people and their environment. There must be proper adjustment for balanced growth. Using repressive methods of the state complicates matters further.

Ravinder Ahuja, Saharanpurl

FIGHTING DISPLACEMENT

How remarkable are the

thoughts of wise old simple village folk who value their environment. Javed Iqbal must be congratulated to bring the plight of poor adivasis to the fore.

Sandip Verma, Chandigarh

WORLDS OLDEST PROFESSION

Arun Prakash's well researched article is an eye opener. It is absolutely true. All efforts must be made by society to eradicate this. Legalizing will only make matters worse than what they are at present.

**Joanna Saunders,
Iowa, USA**

LABOUR REFORMS OR OPPRESSION

Surendra Pratap has given a clear insight into this vexing social issue. While labour reforms are required, care must be taken that they should benefit the poor workers much more than the rich owners of factories and enterprises.

Aksa Sabu, Cuttack

NUCLEAR REVOLUTION

The treatise on Nuclear Revolution makes for very good reading. The writer has very nicely explained how love for suffering humanity, animals and plants is the only way for society to progress.

Carl Soares, Lisbon

Author of the article is TN Das and not Prof Michel Chossudovsky. Inadvertent error is regretted - Eds.

POPULATION CONTROL LIFE AND DEATH

The recent tragedy in Chattisgarh where many unsuspecting women lost their lives in a family planning programme due to neglect and over worked surgeons show how dangerous such mass methods are. Shalu Nigam has laid the case very beautifully to highlight the plight of such unfortunate women in rural areas who have to bear the brunt of such schemes.

Jassi Kaur, Bhatinda



The Falcon and the Branch



Once there was a king who received a gift of two magnificent falcons. He gave the precious birds to his head falconer to be trained. Months passed, and one day the head falconer informed the king that though one of the falcons was flying majestically, soaring high in the sky, the other bird had not moved from its branch since the day it had arrived.

The king summoned healers and sorcerers from all the land to tend to the falcon, but no one could make the bird fly. He presented the task to the member of his court, but the next day, the king saw through the palace window that the bird had still not moved from its perch.

Having tried everything else, the king thought to himself, “May be I need someone more familiar with the countryside to understand the nature of this problem.” So he cried out to his court, “Go and get a farmer.” In the morning, the king was thrilled to see the falcon soaring high above the palace gardens. He said to his court, “Bring me the doer of this miracle.”

The court quickly located the farmer, who came and stood before the king. The king asked him, “How did you make the falcon fly?” With his head bowed, the farmer said to the king, “It was very easy, your highness. I simply cut the branch where the bird was sitting.”

We are all made to realize our incredible potential as human beings. But at times we sit on our branches, clinging to the things that are familiar to us. The possibilities are endless, but for most of us, they remain undiscovered. We conform to the familiar, the comfortable, and the mundane. So for the most part, our lives are mediocre instead of exciting, thrilling and fulfilling. Let us learn to destroy the branch of fear we cling to and free ourselves to the glory of flight!

Author Unknown

Sadvipras will install qualified persons in power, the social order evolved by virtue of their leadership will give due importance to one and all. In this new society based on Neohumanism, everyone will find their life worth living. All will regain their lost positions of honour.

Neo Humanism of the Sadvipras

SHRII SHRII ANANDAMURTI

To sadvipras [spiritual revolutionaries] the value of human life surpasses all other values. So states and scriptures, societies and religions, acquire significance only in so far as they develop humanity to the maximum through learning, culture, physical health and economic plenty. It is for the sake of developing humanity that civilization

has so many institutions of different kinds, that states take their various forms, that theories proliferate, and that the scriptures abound in ordinances and regulations. What in the world does the state stand for, what is the use of all these regulations, and what are the marvels of civilization for, if people are prevented from manifesting themselves, if they do not get the

opportunity to build good physiques, to invigorate their intelligence with knowledge, or to broaden their hearts with love and compassion? If, instead of tending to lead human beings to the goal of life, the state stands in the way, it cannot command loyalty, because humanity is superior to the state. According to Rabindranath Tagore, "Justice and law at the cost of humanity is like a stone instead of bread. Maybe that stone is rare and valuable, but it cannot remove hunger."

It is customary to give preference to social value(1) over human value. Sadvipras want to strike at the root of this custom. For



them, human value takes precedence over social value. Human beings form the society, and hence human value must lay the foundation for the social value. In other words, those who show respect to human value will be entitled to social value. It was mentioned earlier that human value means nothing but to treat the joys and sorrows, hopes and aspirations of human beings sympathetically, and see them merged in Cosmic Consciousness and established in divine majesty. And if one is to elevate oneself to that sublime height, he or she will have to be supplied with an environment suitable to his or her physical, mental and spiritual existence. It is the birthright of everyone to make headway in their trifarious existence. It is the duty of society to accord recognition to this human right. Society has failed to do its duty, and that is why life is full of sorrow and suffering.

No one can say for certain that no great person might have emerged from among those wayward urchins whom we are wont to slight and hate. Women who have turned to prostitution for the sake of their physical existence might have grown into noble personalities if their agony had been appreciated sympathetically, and if they had been rehabilitated by society. But since society has nothing to do with human value, a good number of great personalities are withering away in their embryonic stage. The sadvipras will undertake to revive this neglected section of humanity. To them no sinner is contemptible, no one is a rogue. People turn into satans or sinners when, for want of proper guidance, they are goaded by depraving propensities. The human mind goaded by depraving propensities is satan. If their propensities are sublimated, they will no longer be satans; they will be transformed into gods. Every course of action of society ought to be judged with an eye to the dictum "Human beings are divine children."

Thus the purpose of the penal code which will be framed by the sadvipras will be to rectify, and not to punish, a person. They will knock down the prisons and build reform schools, rectification camps. Those who [are] inborn criminals, in other words, those who perpetrate crimes because of some organic defects, ought to be offered treatment so that they may humanize themselves. And regarding those who



commit crimes out of poverty, their poverty must be removed.

The significance of society lies in moving together. If in the course of the journey anybody lags behind, if in the darkness of night a gust of wind blows out anyone's lamp, we should not just go ahead and leave them in the lurch. We should extend a hand to help them up, and rekindle their lamps with the flames of our lamps.

*Vartiká laiýá háte calechila ek sáthe
Pathe nibe geche alo pare ache táí
Tomra ki daya kare tulibena hath dhare
Ardhadanda tar tare thamibena bhái.*

[While marching together with lamps in our hands, someone's lamp has gone out, and he is lying beside the road. Brothers and sisters, will you not stop for a moment to lift him up?]

Stop we must, otherwise the spirit of society is in jeopardy.

A rsi [sage] has said: *Samamantrená jáyate iti samájah* ["Society is the collective movement of a group of individuals who have decided to move together towards a common goal"]. That is, whether people are *pápii* or *tápii* [sinners or victims], thieves, criminals, or characterless individuals, they are so only superficially; internally they are filled with the potential for purity. The principal object of the sadvipras is to explore and bring this potentiality into play. They will accord human value to everyone without exception. Those who have done hateful crimes must be punished, but sadvipras will never

hate them, or put an end to them by depriving them of food, because sadvipras are humanists. The pandits puffed up with vainglory could turn their attention to their books instead of attending on the ailing non-Hindu Haridas, but Chaitanya Mahaprabhu found it impossible to remain indifferent to him. He took Haridas in his arms and nursed him carefully, and thus showed respect to human value.

However, when the question of social responsibility arises, it must be considered with great care. Irresponsible people cannot be entrusted with social responsibility, because those who shoulder social responsibility will have to lead humanity on the path of development, and correct the ways of sinners. If they themselves are of evil mentality, it will not be possible for them to discharge their social responsibility. It has been said: "The collective body of those who are engaged in the concerted effort to bridge the gap between the first expression of morality and establishment in universal humanism is called society."⁽²⁾ So social responsibility should be entrusted to those who are capable of discharging it creditably. If moralism is the starting-point of the journey of society, then those who are at its helm must be moralists. And since society aims to establish universalism, those people must be universalists. And if the gap between moralism and universal humanism is to be bridged, spiritual sādhanā is a must, so those people must practise rigorous sādhanā. Their

philosophy of life must be, "Morality is the base, sādhanā is the means, and life divine is the goal."

This great responsibility must never be entrusted to those who are themselves criminals. Unless and until such people correct themselves, they will not be given any social value, though in no way will they be denied human value. At present social value is given importance, but those who are selected to discharge social responsibility do not possess the aforesaid qualities. They have occupied their posts on the strength of their money or on the basis of patronage, but this has not resulted in any collective welfare. That is why there is an instruction in our social scripture:

Do not be misled by anyone's tall talk. Judge merit by seeing the performance. Remember, whatever position one is in offers sufficient opportunity to work. One whose character is not in accordance with Yama-Niyama should not get opportunity [to become] a representative.... to [vest] an incompetent person with power means to push society towards destruction knowingly and deliberately.

The sadvipras will install qualified persons in power, and the social order which will be evolved by virtue of their leadership will give due importance to one and all. In this new society based on Neohumanism, everyone will find their life worth living. All will regain their lost positions of honour.



Massacre of Adivasis in Assam

Major lapses were found in the security arrangements in those areas while visiting the camps and affected villages.

* Bondita & Sangeeta

The massacre of 23rd December 2014 where numerous people were severely injured, killed, houses set on fire leading to the displacement of a large number of Adivasi people mainly Santhals from their settlements, inflicted terror on the entire state. Women in Governance (WinG)-Assam and All Adivasi Women Association of Assam (AAWAA) conducted a fact finding investigation from 2nd January to 6th January 2015.

On the 23rd December and subsequent incidents more than 80 Adivasis were brutally massacred by the National Democratic Front of Bodoland belonging to the Songbijit faction {NDFB (s)} in the districts of Sontipur, Chirang and Kokrajhar. The militants indiscriminately opened fire on the Adivasi villagers without giving them any chance to escape. A resident of No. 9 Phulbari of Bishwanath Chariali commented that the incident was a pre-planned act of the faction because they targeted only one particular community i.e. Santhals (Adivasis) especially those residing at the border areas of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. He said that



A girl breaks down after losing her dear ones in firing by tribal armed miscreants

they have been living in these villages for more than 45 years. These villages come under forest area, so they don't have permanent land revenue certificate. This is the first time they were attacked and

displaced from their villages.

The FF team was informed by the village people and Adivasi leaders in Kokrajhar district that there was prior information with Assam Police about this plan of



Another face of tragedy

killing Adivasis ahead of the incident, which was communicated to an Adivasi leader over phone to inform the people to stay safe rather than tightening up securities in those areas. The fact finding team found major lapses in the security arrangements in those areas while visiting the camps and affected villages. WinG-Assam and AAWAA members visited Pakriguri (Serfanguri), Lungsung and Ultapani areas of Kokrajhar where the incident took place on 23rd December. The areas being very backward socially and geographically became the main target for attack where several innocents died and injured. In Serfanguri 5 persons were killed and 4 were injured, in Lungsung 8 were killed and 5 were injured and in Ultapani 12 were killed and 4 were severely injured. The Assam police administration also failed to take quick action to bring back the dead bodies. According to sources in Lungsung, the police from Bismari Police Station reached the spot 20 hours after the incident. It was a total failure on the part of police administration to provide security to the Adivasi villagers.

Out of those killed in the firing, there were 26 women and 18 minor children in the three districts. There were approximately 8902, 72082, 19077 inhabitants staying in the

relief camps in Sonitpur, Kokrajhar and Chirang districts respectively. For retaliation to this incident many houses of the Adivasis and Bodos were burnt leaving aside the houses of other communities like the Karbis and Nepales. Relief camps were set up in the affected districts and many people fled from

their homes and stayed at the camps out of fear. If the past history of 1996, 1998, and 2010 is looked at, BTAD has a history of ethnic violence, bloodshed and killing. But despite this the government failed to take it as a lesson or made a road map to prevent such violence. The IDPs of 1996 and 1998 victims were in the relief camps till 2007 in Kokrajhar and Chirang districts and their names were enlisted in the voter list under the camps. Residents in the Saralpara camp told to the members of the FF team that they demanded a permanent security camp in Ultapani after 1996 and 1998 violence. The FF team witnessed that till 6th January 2015 no security provisions were made available in the affected areas.

In Hatijuli (Jungle Basti) and Shantipur area of Batashipur, Dhekiahuli 6 persons (3 men, 2 women and 1 nine year old girl) were brutally killed and two were injured. One house was set on fire. On 24th December 2014 mass rally of around 15000 people came out on the street of Dhekiajuli with the dead bodies in protest against the NDFB(S) for the killing and the police for their insensitive handling of the situation to bring back the dead bodies. The protesters were carrying bow and arrow, lathi etc. Police could have used the means of tear gas, lathis to control the agitated

mob, but instead the Police opened fire on the mob, which resulted in death of 3 innocent protesters. The OC of Dhekiajuli PS told the FF team that the agitated protesters damaged public properties, properties of the police station, threw stones at the police, but apparently none of the police personnel got injured in the attack and the FF team did not notice any damage to the police station. Dhekiajuli police registered a case no 739/14 /u/s 147/148/149/353/307/336/325/427 IPC R/W Section 4 P.D.P.P Act against the violent mob but no case is being filed against the police till the date of visit for the killing of 3 innocent protesters by police.

WinG and AAWAA members visited many camps and observed the situation of the people staying there. It was observed that most of the camps were either in open fields or in school buildings. In Deosiri area, one relief camp which was earlier in a school was shifted to an open field whereas the police camp was still there in the school. It was observed that police were occupying some of the classrooms when classes were going on. In the Bodo camp at Dakhin Simla Bagan in Chirang district, a woman resident shared that Bodo and Adivasi communities have been living together for many years in their village, there is inter-community marriages, and they really don't know the reason of the recent attacks. In Ultapani camp in Kokrajhar, one Bodo woman told that when they heard the sound of bullets they were running here and there as they might also get killed by the insurgents. Another woman told that they were staying in the camp due to fear of elephant as no one is there in the village. The fact finding team saw that the inhabitants of the camps of Biswanath Chariali area wanted to return to their homes but they were afraid of going back due to the feeling of insecurity as no sufficient security was provided in the affected villages. They were



A house burns and people fleeing trouble affected areas

worried about their land, houses, crops, paddy, cattle, poultry which was left abandoned in the village. They said that the Sonajuli security camp was not sufficient enough to provide security to the inhabitants and their property. The FF team members while walking towards 9 no and 10 no Lakhipur lane of Phulbari, the place of occurrence, which is around 15 kms away from Tinisuthi camp, could feel the sense of insecurity because on the whole way no police, security personnel were seen by the team.

An incident of Samukjuli Church gate camp in Bishwanath Chariali caught the eyes of FF team where a 9 months pregnant lady delivered a baby in an open tent at night on 2nd January. Prior to the delivery she was checked by the visiting doctor in the day time, but the doctor did not advise to shift her to the civil hospital. Her delivery was conducted by other elderly ladies in the camp. After delivery only the ASHA worker came and then she was shifted to the civil hospital. Next day on 3rd January when FF team visited the camp, the on-duty doctor present in the camp was not aware of the delivery. The doctor came to know about the delivery from the members of FF team. It was noticed that the Adivasi camps were overcrowded and people were living in a very unhygienic condition. It was also observed that health facilities were available in the camps nearer to the town. WinG and AAWAA members observed that no lady police officer was stationed in any of the relief camps when most of the inhabitants were women, girls and children. The security issue was questionable in these camps. Most of the camps had no electricity and insufficient

security personnel, many of the inhabitants shared their feeling of insecurity to the team members.

After visiting many camps it was found that there was no proper monitoring over the distribution of government relief. In-charge personnel of camps like Shantipur, Deosiri said that on 5th of January 2015, government relief viz. rice, pulses and other food stuffs were distributed only once on 28th Dec'14. Moreover sources revealed that District In-charge of Chirang asked the displaced people to return to their homes. The district in-charge promised to provide them relief if they return to their homes. But the provisions of security in the affected areas were almost negligible that led to fear in the minds of the people to go back to their homes. The condition of the affected Bodo people in Namora relief camp situated in a river bank in the border of Assam and Arunachal was very pathetic. There were no proper sanitation, water and health provision. Government even did not supply sufficient Tarpaulin sheet for which people had to improvise with their clothes as shelter over their heads.

In Bishwanath Chariali, the FF team found that an assessment of the burnt houses was conducted by the district administration whereas in other areas in Dhekiajuli, Kokrajhar and Chirang no such process was started. The recent attack by the NDFB(S) is a big blow to the security of the state. It has clearly indicated that the government has no policy to prevent conflict. The security of the life of people especially women and children are at stake in the state. WinG Assam and AAWAA visiting Balidanga and No.9 Phulbari observed that the

people had lost their 10-20 bighas of food grains which were either burnt out in the open yard and also in the paddy fields, or getting destroyed by the cattle. In many houses, their belongings were also burnt and destroyed. People were not able to go back to their homes to husk the paddy due to fear. There were reports from the villagers about their missing livestock. The people in the affected area would face food insecurity in the coming days as their crops were either burnt or destroyed. Similar situation was found in Chirang and Kokrajhar districts as well.

Our Recommendations

1. Immediate provision of Security by government in the affected areas so that people feel safe to stay in their houses.
2. Sufficient security in Camps. Women police should be appointed in the camps.
3. Immediate provision of power to the areas and relief camps.
4. Immediate compensation to the families of those who died and injured in extrajudicial firing by NDFB(s) and police.
5. Government should develop a proper rehabilitation policy and immediate step for resettlement of the conflict affected people.
6. Immediate step should be taken to disarm the surrendered/non surrendered militants and put a ban on the supply of small and illegal arms for their self protection.
7. Proper dialogue with all parties in the armed conflict to address and resolve the root cause of conflict for sustainable peace in the state by ensuring participation of women in conflict prevention and post conflict reconstruction process.



Two-thirds of slum dwellers of the world are squeezed in a kind of urban no-man's land – a case of urbanization without urbanity, where the affluent live in walled and gated communities alongside slum tenements.

Millennium Slum Dwellers

* Arun Prakash

According to UN Habitat report 'The Challenge of the Slums' as of 2012 around 863 million people or 33% of the world's urban population live in slums. By conservative estimates, a billion people currently live in slums and more than a billion people are informal workers, struggling for survival. Slums are informal habitations heavily populated mired in squalor, lacking reliable sanitation services, clean water supply, reliable electricity, timely law enforcement and other basic services. These may be shanty houses or poor quality brick and mortar homes that have over the



New York slum 1890 right children at a Paris slum circa 1913

years deteriorated. Slums were common in the 19th and early 20th centuries in the United States and Europe.

More recently they are found mostly in urban regions of developing and undeveloped parts of the world. They are also found in developed economies. The world's largest slum city is in Mexico City.



Mexico City slum right rich and poor coexist in Rocinha Favela, Brazil



Even into the new millennium such unresolved issues such as poverty and social justice and equity

mainly poverty, high unemployment, rapid rural-to-urban migration, economic stagnation and depression. Politics, natural disasters and social conflicts are also important reasons. Slums mostly start at the outskirts of a city. Over time, the city may expand past the original slums, enclosing the slums inside the urban perimeter. New slums sprout at the new boundaries of the expanding city, usually on publicly owned lands, thereby creating an urban sprawl mix of formal settlements, industry, retail zones and slums. This makes the original slums valuable property, densely populated with many conveniences attractive to the poor.

Slum areas are characterized by substandard housing structures. Shanty homes are often built hurriedly, with materials unsuitable for housing. These poor quality homes cannot withstand heavy rains, high winds or earthquakes. Paper, plastic, earthen floors, mud-

and-wattle walls, wood held together by ropes, straw or torn metal pieces as roofs are some of the materials of construction. In some cases, brick and cement is used without adequate planning and design flouting municipal building codes.

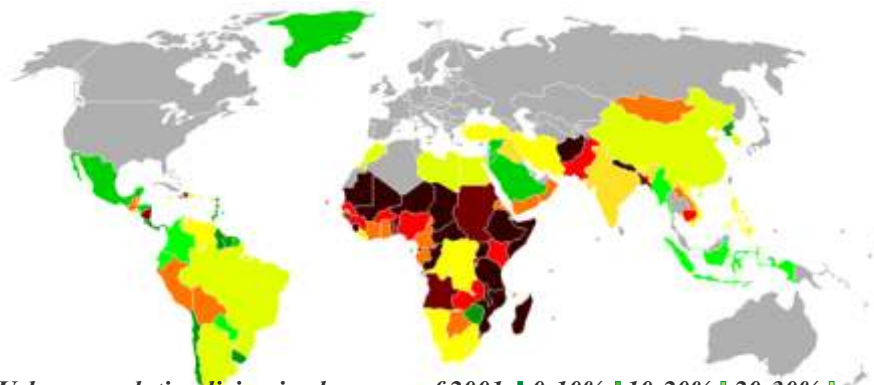
Overcrowding is another characteristic of slums. Many dwellings are single room units, with high occupancy rates. Five and more persons may share a one-room unit; the room is used for cooking, sleeping and living. Overcrowding is also seen near sources of drinking water, cleaning, and sanitation where one toilet may serve dozens of families. In a Kolkata slum in India, over 10 people sometimes share a 45 m² room. In Kibera slum of Nairobi, Kenya, population density is estimated at 2,000 people per hectare or about 500,000 people in one square mile.

To make matters worse there is lack of or inadequate public



continue to haunt mankind, still very little attention is paid to these slum dwellers.

What has caused these slums to sprout and grow over the last two hundred years and continue to scar right thinking humanity's conscience? These mega-slums of today were largely created in the 1970s and 80s. The reasons are



Urban population living in slums, as of 2001. ■ 0-10% ■ 10-20% ■ 20-30% ■ 30-40% ■ 40-50% ■ 50-60% ■ 60-70% ■ 70-80% ■ 80-90% ■ 90-100% ■ No data



Slum in Haiti devastated by earthquake 2010

infrastructure. From safe drinking water to electricity, from basic health care to police services, from affordable public transport to fire/ambulance services, from sanitation sewer to paved roads, new slums usually lack all of these. Established, old slums sometimes garner official support and get some of these infrastructures such as paved roads and unreliable electricity or water supply. Slums often have very narrow alleys in which emergency vehicles e.g. ambulances or fire tenders etc cannot go in. Also there is no routine garbage collection and rubbish accumulates causing serious health hazards. Other hazards are, slum sites on tumbling hillsides, next to toxic waste dumps, living in flood plains, leading to every year's rising toll from natural disasters. What we have is two-thirds of slum dwellers of the world squeezed in a kind of urban no-man's land a case of urbanization without urbanity where

the affluent live in walled and gated communities alongside slum tenements. Such areas are ignored by government officials.

In many countries, local and national government often refuse to recognize slums, because they may be on disputed land, or because of

tend to get minimal or slow attention. Most of the slum dwellers have low socio-economic status. Due to lack of skills and education as well as competitive job markets, many slum dwellers face high rates of unemployment. The limit of job opportunities causes many of them



Slum in Delhi and right in Dharavi, Mumbai, India where home and pottery unit is the same

the fear that official recognition will encourage more slum formation and seizure of land illegally. With poverty and informal economy, slums do not generate tax revenues for the government and therefore

to employ themselves inside the slum or in developed urban areas near the slum. This can sometimes be street vending, working as maids and help in households without a working contract or any social security. Such people number almost a billion. And considering that sometime around 2050 or 2060, human population will probably be around 10 to 10.5 billion people and, 95% of this growth will occur in the cities of the south.

Prout's founder Shrii PR Sarkar commented on society's neglect of such poor helpless people and how writers ignore them in their



Kibera slum Nairobi, Kenya right slum in Cape Town South Africa

literary works. “These conservative writers will compose poems about seas, mountains and moonlight but it will offend their pens to write about the endless humiliations, the low standard of living and the vulgar dirtiness of the neglected, uneducated society of the villages the abominable life of corrupt women, the obnoxious environment of the slums, the carnal cravings of antisocial human beasts all these they seek to avoid, because they are unacceptable by the standards of “decency” and “decorum”. He suggested, “Rather than give equal wealth to all, ensure that everyone is guaranteed the minimum requirements of life. To bridge the gap between the more affluent people and the common people, we have to increase the minimum requirements of all. Besides increasing the maximum amenities of meritorious people, we also have to increase the maximum amenities available to common people. What constitutes both the minimum requirements and the maximum amenities should be ever increasing”.

Prout's founder also warned that such congested living increases immorality as people do not get physical and mental space for solitude and reflection. This naturally retards or stops their mental and spiritual growth.



Slums built on swamp land near a garbage dump in East Cipinang, Jakarta, Indonesia

What is required to eradicate these slums is to have a Proutistic form of economy in which, as Prout's founder said people will not chase jobs, but jobs would chase people. This would be accelerated by Next economic empowerment of the villages and people there would have no reason to drift towards urban areas in search of jobs and be at the mercy of the wealthy urban elites. Prout also advocates collective block level planning

whereby the development of an area is by the locals themselves and not by outsiders who bring in their money and create slums. Viewed from a psychic level it becomes obvious that it is necessary to establish a universal spiritual family a universal social order must. A quick way to do this would be by a nuclear revolution i.e. keeping the goal as the Cosmic Consciousness, the nucleus of creation and controlling all the three nuclei of the universe physical, psychic and spiritual and usher in rapid social change. This way the global crisis of exploding slums slumification of planet Earth - with no hope for the future, driven mainly by man's greed and partly by apathy would go out of control and ignite a spontaneous revolution purely for human survival at severe costs. Such portents are dark indeed but avoidable.

A slower way would be by making people conscious of Proutistic ideas in a democracy, which will affect the outcome of elections. Does mankind have time for that?



When you are taking responsibility for the entire globe, solving the problem of malnutrition is also your sacred duty. What is the cause of this problem? The cause is irrational distribution in the economies of the world. The long-term solution to this economic problem is PROUT, but the immediate food shortages themselves must be solved as an urgent necessity.

- Shrii PR Sarkar



SUPPRESSION

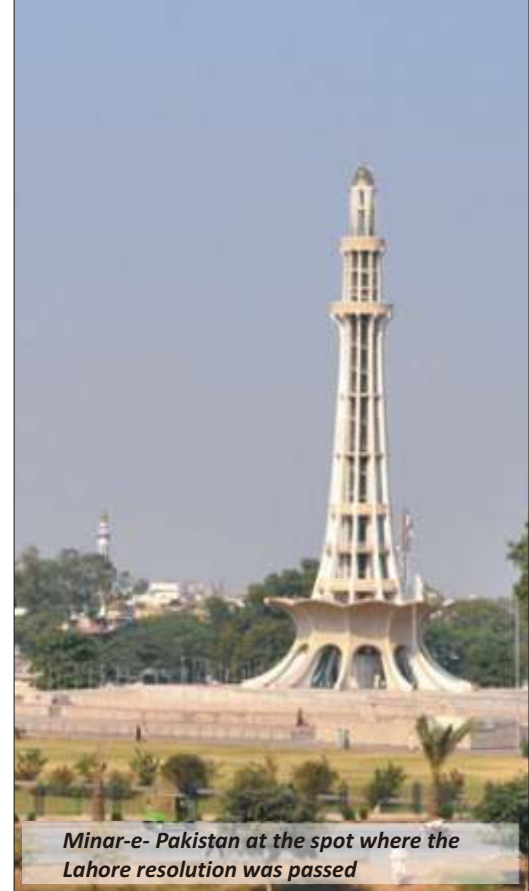
The historical record notes that Pakistan was created based on the so-called two-nation theory based on Indian Hindu and Muslim nationhood, despite the rejection of the idea by the provinces of Sindh, NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa KPK), Balochistan and Siraiki speaking people of Southern Punjab (Multan) that together form roughly ninety percent of geography and seventy percent of the population of Pakistan.

The founding political party of Pakistan, the All India Muslim League (AIML), never won elections in British India in Sindh and the KPK and did not win contested elections in Balochistan. It was only East Bengal (now

Bangladesh), where the AIML was founded in 1906, that the party won elections in 1946.

If the composition of AIML's Central Working Committee (CWC) is reviewed, one finds that it only included one leader, M. A. Jinnah who was born in Sindh to a Gujarati family. The rest of AIML's leadership was from Northern India, especially from the pre-partition United Provinces (UP) that today form the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Uttarakhand; Delhi, Punjab (today Indian Punjab), the Central Provinces (CP) comprising today's Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh states, and the East Bengal. There was no Baloch or Pashtun member of the committee.

Pakistan was demanded by the



Minar-e-Pakistan at the spot where the Lahore resolution was passed

The Colonisation of Sindh

✳ Zulfikar Shah



Muslim leaders at the All India Muslim League Working Committee session in Lahore March 23, 1940 in which it was resolved to create a separate state of Pakistan

Pakistan was demanded by the population and leadership of the undivided Indian provinces that today do not form Pakistan - by the Muslim minority population and their aristocrat leadership from UP, CP and today's Indian Punjab. The creation of Pakistan by forcing together states that were against the very idea of Pakistan was a historical blunder committed by the colonial British rulers against the will of the people.

population and leadership of the undivided Indian provinces that today do not form Pakistan. Since Sindh, Baloch, Pashtun and Siraiki Muslims formed majorities in their historical motherlands; their interests were secure and almost unchallenged within undivided India. Pakistan was demanded by the Muslim minority population and their aristocrat leadership from UP, CP and today's Indian Punjab. The creation of Pakistan by forcing together states that were against the very idea of Pakistan was a historical blunder committed by the colonial British rulers against the will of the people.

The Hindu Maha Sabha, Sindh League, Sindh United Party, Unionist Party of Punjab, Sindh Sagar Party, Hur Jam'at (Sindhi), Azad Hind Army, NWFP Congress and Parliament of the autonomous Balochistan were against the Partition of India. However, the rest of the Indian political parties remained in favour of the partition of India.

After Partition in 1947, the state of Pakistan was taken over by those who migrated from Muslim minority provinces of undivided India and settled into newly formed Pakistan.

Sovereign Sindh and Balochistan

Sindh and Balochistan were once united as the Kingdom of the Sindh, but have thousands of years of history as independent sovereign countries.

The British invaded the Sindh province in 1843 and Balochistan in 1854 and made treaties in which Britain promised to protect them from invasion if they opened up the Indus River as a route to Kandahar in Afghanistan which they wanted to expand their imperial trade in opium. The British violated these treaties first in the mid-1880s and then again when the states were annexed by Pakistan in 1947 and 1948 respectively.

Sindh waged four wars against the British in 1843, 1843-1857, 1890-1899 and finally in 1940-1943. The last war although waged for the freedom of Sindh, was carried in understanding with Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose by Pir Pagaro Soriah Badishah, Syed Shabghatullah Shah. In the last war against colonial rule, at least twenty thousand Sindhi combatants, known as Hurs, were killed by British military, with thousands of Sindhi families were sent to concentration camps in Sindh, Rajasthan and Bengal as they put down the rebellion of the so-called "banned tribe". The leader of the Hurs, Pir Paga Soriyah Badshah was hanged, along with a number of Sindhi freedom fighters and guerrilla commanders. Thousands of Sindhis were killed by British Forces (army and air force), and their families were jailed in the concentrations camps in Sindh, Rajasthan and West Bengal. Some of the fighters remained in Pakistani prisons until 1965, eighteen years after the British departed the Indian subcontinent.

Muhajarization

Since August 14, 1947, the Pakistani state has undergone the process of Muhajarization - a process in which people non-indigenous to Pakistan's territory took over the whole state machinery. The Pakistan Army was largely carved out from Muslim soldiers and officers of the Punjab Regiment of the British Indian Army - who mostly hailed from the area which is now the Punjab state of India. The civil bureaucracy was from Delhi, United Provinces of undivided India that are now UP, Bihar and Utarakhand as well as Central Provinces that are now Madhya Pardesh, Telangana and

the fact that Partition began in 1947. In 1948, Urdu speaking refugees (Muhajirs) from India attacked Sindhi Hindu settlements in the Ram Bagh area of Karachi and Hirabad area of Hyderabad cities in Sindh, thus caused a mass exodus of Sindhi Hindus to India. Sindh Chief Mimnister Ayub Khuhro and Pakistan Governor General Jinnah took action against the violators. Jinnah said that the criminals must be punished for their offense. Both Jinnah and Khuhro were unheard. Khuhro's Sindh Government was dismissed. AIML's Punjabi and Urdu leadership, both composed of refugees from the areas of today's



Mass migration of Hindus from Sindh after partition and independence

Seemandhra. AIML leadership hailing from these areas took over party affairs in newly-created Pakistan. AIML's local leadership from Sindh and Punjab was forced to quit the party within the first seven years of the Partition of the Indian subcontinent.

During Partition, Jinnah asked Sindh Government to take action against miscreants and protect Hindus. But Prime Minister Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan, an AIML leader who migrated from divided India to Pakistan, dismissed the Sindh Chief Minister. That was the reason Sindhi Hindus started their mass migration from Sindh to India in 1948 despite

India, asked Jinnah to avoid the business of the state and take rest in the Ziarat area of Balochistan. Jinnah was having acute asthma and he was sent on leave by his party to Ziarat, which usually remains at below zero temperature even in the hottest days of summer thus hastening his death.

Militarization

The Pakistan Army waged war against India first in 1948 over Kashmir without approval from Governor General Jinnah. This is the foundation of the militarization of Pakistan. Moreover, democracy was not popular with the immigrant leadership of AIML since they had



no demographic following in the provinces of Pakistan; therefore they preferred and supported the non-democratic mode of governance in Pakistan. Fatima Jinnah, Jinnah's sister, fought the elections against first military dictator General Ayub Khan, who not only manipulated the election results, but also dubbed Fatima Jinnah an Indian agent. It was the first time Pakistan's intelligence agencies were given the task of playing a role in manipulating election results and defeating civilian leaders. Over the period of sixty-seven years, Pakistan's military has become not only the power-hub in itself; it has also become a business and industrial oligarchy. Today, the largest area of prime real estate, the major volume of industrial investment and non-industrial as well as services capital is controlled by the army's military corporation. The military does not only take a major share from the country's budget, but also receives retirement benefits, pensions and other perks from the civilian portion of national budgets. Due to ethnic Punjabi dominance in the Pakistan's Army, Punjab also gets the main share of resources from the country's defense budget. Similarly, the civil and other security departments of state, are full of Punjabis and Punjab gets the major chunk of fiscal resources in terms of salaries, retirement funds, pensions and other

benefits. Thus, a multi-pronged system of exploitation has been in place for sixty-seven years.

Demographic Colonialism

Punjabi internal-colonialism in Pakistan is an ugly and brutal copy of early and mid-twentieth century imperialism. Following the examples of the British, and to some extent the French, colonizers, Punjab shifted its population to Sindh and Balochistan provinces. It orchestrated the migration of Hazara people from Afghanistan into Balochistan and allied with them; simultaneously, it allied with the Urdu-speaking migrants from India in Sindh. This was done in a bid to cast out indigenous people out of Sindh. The same model was applied in Siraki-speaking Multan (present South Punjab) that either has remained independent historically or has been part of Sindh. The settlement of ethnic Punjabis in South Punjab was a bid to convert it into a Punjabi land.

The state organism in Pakistan has been exclusively Punjabi, with the junior partners like the Urdu-speaking population from Sindh, Hazara from Balochistan and the ethno-lingual Hindko-speaking community from Hazara division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). This chemistry suited a Punjabi internal-colonial power domination and exploitation of Sindhi, Baloch, Pashtun and Siraiiki people. Hence, in the military generally and its

formations including the Sindh Regiment, Baloch Regiment, Frontier Forces and Punjab Regiment as well as border security forces like Pakistan Rangers Punjabi soldiers and officers with a smaller number of Urdu-speaking Muhajirs have predominated. Frontier Constabularies of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, and the Bajwar Forces of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have Pashtun majorities only because of the Afghanistan border.

The sovereignty of Sindh has been violated in Pakistan at various times. Karachi was illegitimately separated from Sindh against the will of the Sindhi nation in 1948. Some historical parts of Sindh were separated in late 1960s and annexed with Punjab. Punjab Police has recklessly been attacking bordering villages and towns of Sindh illegally similarly to what Pakistan Army does at the Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan. At least 10 such incidents have been reported by the Sindhi newspapers in last six months.

The status of province-hood of Sindh was canceled and a unitary political system was adopted. Reading, writing and name-tags in Sindhi and Bengali languages were banned during 1960s. Hundreds of thousands acres of fertile lands of Sindh that became arable due to the commissioning of Guddu, Sukkur and Kotri barrages in Sindh on the river Indus were allocated to Punjabis as well as gifted to military officials and Punjabi civil bureaucracy. The financial assets of Sindh were handed over to Punjab. Even the archeological assets of Indus Valley Civilization that were found from Mohenjadaro and other sites of Sindh were shifted to Lahore.

The water rights of Sindh are being violated by Pakistan and Punjab has been illegally constructed barrages on the Indus River despite the objections by the lower riparian Sindh. The Pakistani establishment still seems to be keen on the construction of controversial

Kalabagh Dam, which was thrice rejected by Sindh Assembly as well as the Provincial Assemblies of Kyber Pakhtunkhuwa (KP) and Balochistan.

Multi-National Companies (MNCs) extract Uranium and Copper (Australia), Oil and Gas (USA, UK and EU countries), Coal (China) and Gold (extracting companies and their country origin is kept secret) from Sindh because Sindh is one of natural resource richest belt of South Asia. Unfortunately, Sindhis are not only refused employment opportunities in these MNCs, the royalties of these resources are taken by the federal government. Even the funds allocated for the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) are not spent on the development in the districts of Sindh.

Before 1947 Partition of India, Sindh was having an internationally acclaimed cricket team, which even defeated some international teams in the test matches, the most popular milestone being the defeat of Australian cricket team in Karachi. Sindhis are denied participation in the Pakistani Cricket, Football and Hockey teams.

The demography of Sindh is being changed. An intentional mass migration of Punjabis from Pakistani Punjab, Afghan people, Biharis from Bangladesh, and Rohangyan Muslim from Burma are being settled in Sindh in a bid to

convert Sindhis into minority on their historical homeland. Fake Permanent Residence Certificates (PRCs) and Domiciles are issued to non-Sindhi outsiders so that they may get the employments on the Sindh quota as well as resources of Sindh. Even the victimization of Sindhis Hindus in Sindh is being done to force their migration from Sindh to India and elsewhere in lieu of that non-Sindhis from within Pakistan and outside can be settled in Sindh.

It has been widely evident that the Census in Pakistan has been a tool of demographic fallacies so that Punjabi and their allied ethnic groups may fallaciously maintain a numerical majority over the rest of the ethnic-nations in Pakistan. In almost all census reports in Pakistan, the numbers of Sindhi, Baloch, Pashtun and Sikaikis have been artificially reduced so that their share not only in state-organisms, but also their strength in the eyes of international community as well as regional forces may be minimized. Thus, a deliberate attempt was made to divide Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pukhtunkhuwa for the maintenance of Punjabi hegemony in Pakistan.

Feudalism and Urban terror-lords

The much touted Feudalism in contemporary Pakistan is the result of militarization. In fact, the military wanted to create fiefdoms in the

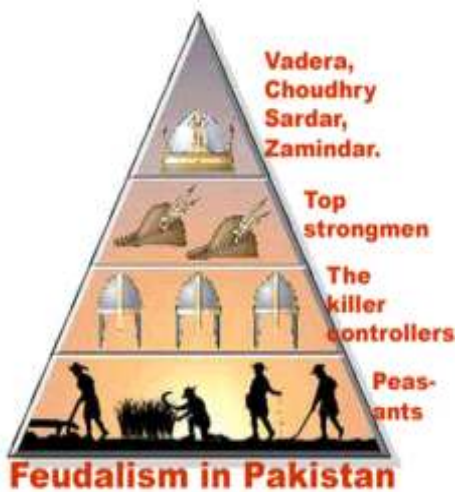
districts and sub-districts of Sindh, South Punjab and parts of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhuwa so that the power of the military may remain unchallenged and freedom movements in Sindh and Balochistan as well for Siraikistan in Multan (South Punjab) could be countered. Simultaneously, ethnic terrorism was created in Karachi; hence the city was virtually handed over to terror-lords. Lahore, Quetta, Peshawar, Multan and Faisalabad were handed over to the urban mafia and the land grabbers.

If the Pakistani police, Pakistan Rangers and the military stop supporting these elements, no feudalism, urban and rural fiefdoms, urban terrorism or ethnic leadership can survive in Pakistan. Today, the military's occasional anti-Feudalism jargon is echoed by some urban racial-ethnic political parties; however the reality behind this discourse is that a significant cadre of rural leadership from Sindh, Balochistan, Siraiki Southern Punjab and KPK is looking for transformative reforms in Pakistani politics and the state. They also uphold secular and liberal values. In Balochistan, they have been waging a war of independence; in Sindh, they want to get rid of military interference and Punjab's hegemony; in Southern Punjab, they struggle for Siraikistan and in KPK, they are fighting with the Taliban.

Salafization

Salafis (supporting an Islamic state), who were against the creation of Pakistan before 1947, started controlling the state apparatus and state affairs later on. Although militant Salafism was a result of the West-USSR Cold War; it had heinous internal aspects. The Pakistani establishment used Salafi extremism against the freedom movement in Bangladesh earlier; later on, they were strengthened in Siraiki South Punjab to counter the Siraikistan province movement. This was also practiced in Balochistan against the Baloch freedom movement, and now it is





being done in Sindh to counter a possible war of independence of Sindh against Pakistan.

Exploitation

The history of federalism in Pakistan is the history of Punjab's exploitation of the Sindhi, Baloch, Pashtun and Siraiki nations. If Sindh is taken as an example, the whole internal-colonial matrix of Pakistan would become cognizable. Sindh is the richest natural resource economy in comparison with the rest of the provinces of Pakistan and India as well as the South Asian countries like Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Sindh has been contributing two-thirds of Pakistan's overall economy and revenues. In return, it has been taking back less than a one-eighth share of its own contribution to the federal government. If the two indicators inter-provincial remittances and flight of capital are reviewed, the traits of exploitation become crystal clear. Punjab receives internal remittances from Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, out of which about ninety percent comes there from Sindh alone. Whereas, remittances from Punjab to rest of the provinces together are near to non-existent. On the other hand, if the data concerning trends in the flight of capital are reviewed, one finds that over the last sixty-seven years, the flight of capital is directed towards Punjab with increases in each

succeeding decade. Hence, Sindh, the province which contributes the most in economic and fiscal terms to both the federal government as well as Punjab province, has negligible participation in the state-organism. The rest of the provinces show a similar, if less great imbalance.

Demoralization and Criminalization

A majority of the criminal gangs in Sindh and Balochistan are state-supported. They are not only used as pillars of a black economy of drugs and weapons, but also for damaging the peaceful fabric of civil society, harassing unwanted or disliked people and communities and to demoralize as well as criminalize Sindhi and Baloch society whenever their freedom movements and struggle against military dominance in Pakistan are strong. These criminal gangs became organized and active during General Zia's military regime in the 1980s. The establishment have been using them to create crime, insecurity and disorder in Sindh so that the economic growth of the province should be slowed down and the flight of capital from Sindh to Punjab be stimulated. They have also been used by the establishment to harass Sindhi Hindus, so that they may be ethnically cleansed from their motherland. The other examples of demoralization are simple, but very strategic. During the peak years of the anti-military movement in Sindh (1983-1986),

the Pakistani establishment facilitated a BBC story on Sindh, in which unmarried girls of a few families of Syed / Shah (Muslim) lineage were forced to marry the Koran, in other words, prevented from a physical marriage for life. These cases were highly publicized although they were exceptional - limited to less than a dozen cases among the population of four million.

This, no doubt, was a human rights violation and crime on the basis of superstitions, however those instances were few (today this practice is abandoned) and were extraordinary highlighted in the international media to defame Sindhi society internationally since Sindh was waging war against the military for the freedom of Sindh during 1983-1986. Simultaneously, when the Baloch freedom movement was at its peak in the late 2000s, the issue of burying girls alive was much publicized, while issues like honor killing and child labor in Sindh and Balochistan were also manipulated at various times in the media. Another aspect of this demoralization are the fallacious facts and figures concerning human rights violations, in which establishment-guided and Punjabi-led human rights bodies have been trying to portray Sindh and Balochistan as gender-insensitive societies. The realities are different, however. Punjab has a heinous history of victimizing women if data



for last three decades are reviewed. The highest number of honor killings, rapes, acid attacks on girls and child labour incidents are reported every year from Punjab.

Truth Emerges

Chief Minister of Sindh Government Qaim Ali Shah has said that Sindh is being exploited and victimized. He said that even after contributing 72 percent oil and natural gas in Pakistan, Sindh is given a return of only 22 percent and Punjab province is being given 45 percent; however the natural resources contribution of Punjab in the federation is a paltry 6 percent. He further said that the cooks and Imams of the mosques in the oil resources companies are being hired from outside Sindh. He said that Sindhis are being treated as beggars in Pakistan. (He was hinting at Punjabistan).

Sindh Chief Minister said this while talking to a public gathering in Jhol Tahsil (sub-district) of district Sanghar. There is a mass movement in Sanghar and other districts of Sindh for the employment rights and natural resources in Sindh. Sanghar, being a stronghold of Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) and Pir Pagaro's Hur Jammāt, recently created a greater public pressure for the natural resources rights. Sindhi people, mostly led by Sindhi nationalists, have been massively protesting for royalties, employment and other rights associated with the natural resources of Sindh.

In an unprecedented public statement, Sindh Government minister on August 24, 2014 has admitted that Pakistani armed forces have recently abducted the dissenting political parties' activists in Sindh from their houses and later on killed them in a fake encounter.

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) Sindh Minister Javed Nagori has said that Pakistan Rangers, an armed force under the command of Pakistan Army, is abducting activists of various political parties from Liyari, Malir and other parts of



Karachi, the capital of Sindh, and killing them extra-judicially in the fake encounters, as reported in a Sindhi daily 'Awami Awaz'.

He further said that since Pakistan Rangers is a federal armed force and take orders from the Centre, therefore the Sindh Government has no practical control over such actions. He mentioned, according to the journalists of Karachi, that Government of Sindh conveyed its objection to the Centre concerning such unlawful actions of the law enforcement agency, which remained unheard by Islamabad.

Malir and Liyari, along with other districts and townships of Karachi, are ethnic Sindhi and Baloch majority areas of the city. Many Sindhi and Baloch political activists have been killed in the fake encounter so far in these areas. The majority of Sindhi activists killed in the fake encounters were associated with Jeay Sindh Mutahida Mahaz (JSQM), Jeay Sindh Mutahida Mahaz (JSMM) and Jeay Sindh Tahreek (JST). A high scale secessionist uprising has been seen in Sindh province, a historical land, during the last ten years.

Over 100 dissenter Sindhi political activists have been killed in 2014 either by the armed forces associated intelligence agencies or state-sponsored terrorists and sharp shooters. Out of these 100, 40 have

been killed directly by the military associated agencies or directly by Pakistani armed forces.

In November alone, five mutilated dead bodies were thrown out by the Pakistan Army related agencies prominent among them were Waheed Lashari, Paryal Shah and Afzal Shah, the peaceful dissenters associated with the secessionist political parties Jeay Sindh Qomi Mahaz (JSQM) and Jeay Sindh Mutahida Mahaz (JSMM).

In addition with these, some murdered activists were members or the leaders of Jeay Sindh Tahreek (JST), Jeay Sindh Qomi Mahaz-Arisar Group (JSQM-A), Jeay Sindh Mahaz (JSM) and at least one leader of Sindh Taraqi Passand Party (STP).

Meanwhile, over 300 have been enforcedly disappeared during June-November 2014; some of them were released however. Besides, Pakistani armed forces opened fire on the students of Sindh University, Jamshoro late in the November causing injuries to at least 20 students. Armed forces also offended girl-students of Sindh University in the month of November because they were protesting against enforced disappearances.

At least two leaders of major political parties of Sindh were killed

that included Maqsood Qureshi of JSQM, a Sindh freedom movement, and ex-Senator Dr. Khalid Mehmood Soomro, and leader of Jami'at-e-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI-F) Sindh Chapter, a centre-left of the moderate right wing party.

Year of mass movement

Year 2014 has proved to be a period of peak movement for the freedom, sovereignty and right over the natural resources. On March 23, JSQM organized Sindh Freedom March in Karachi demanding freedom of Sindh and seeking United Nations (UN) and international community's intervention for that matter. At least five million people attended the mammoth rally.

The majority of Sindh observed black day on August 14 the day Pakistan was carved out from united India in 1947 against the legislative and popular will of the people of Balochistan, Sindh and NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa - KP) province. The citizens hoisted black flags everywhere. Dozens of the Sindhi nationalists were arrested because they hoisted black flags, and some were arrested allegedly for setting Pakistani flags on fire. In urban hubs of Sindh, Pakistani armed forces made insurrection of Sindhi settlements, hoisted Pakistani flags and tore down black flags as well as secessionist parties' flags.

During the months of

September and October, hundreds of thousands Sindhis took to the streets for the sovereignty of Sindh because the Punjabi Pakistani establishment was planning the division of Sindh to escape possible secession like the British tried to divide Bengal to forestall the possible secession of Sindh.

November witnessed a rise in the secessionist Sindhi nationalism. JSQM started inter-cities Sindh Freedom March, which again attracted thousands. JSQM, JSQM-A, JSMM and STP mobilized masses against extra-judicial killings and enforced disappearances of the activist. Qomi Awami Tahreek (QAT) attracted thousands of Sindhi for its Sindh Integrity Movement. JSQM, JSMM, JSQM-A, JST, STP, JSM and QAT also organized protests for the employment rights of Sindhis in the natural resources exploiting companies, royalty and ownership of the resources as well as against the victimization of Sindhi Hindus by the state sponsored miscreants.

Pakistan Muslim League - Functional (PML-F) led by Pir Pagaro also organised massive movement for the employment and royalty rights in the natural resources especially in Sanghar District, where an armed conflict was also reported between Sanghar residents and the armed forces. JUI-F also held protests around the natural resources. JSQM also held a

major campaign for re-opening of the closed schools, and its student wing Jeay Sindh Students Federation (JSSF) mobilized students against the installation of armed forces in the educational institutions of Sindh.

Sindh Government-Pakistani Federation conflict

For the first time after 1960s, Sindh Government and Sindh Assembly have started talking about the exploitation of Sindh by the federation, especially by the Punjab province.

On October 23, Sindh Chief Minister (CM) Qaim Ali Shah said that Sindh is being exploited and victimized by the federation of Pakistan as well as by Punjab. In a one-on-one meeting with the Prime Minister, Shah complained him that the federation has always avoided and/or delayed granting the Sindhi quota in the provincial grants. On November 24, he wrote a letter to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif for the constitutional share of Sindhis in the constitutional quota for the employment in the civil bureaucracy of Pakistan.

In the letter, he said that according to the constitution of Pakistan, Sindh has to be given proportionate share in the federal civil services. He wrote that quota has been violated since decades regarding Sindh and Sindhis. He also raised the issue in which Central Board of Selection (CBS) has cancelled the promotion of three officials for the scale/grade 21.

At the moment, he wrote, there are two Sindhi secretaries in the federation out of total 60 federal secretaries. The spokesperson of CM while pointing to the Punjabi and Urdu speaking community that the federation prefers non-Sindhi officials in the Government of Sindh.

The newspapers also mentioned that the senior Sindhi bureaucrats have said that the Punjab is unconstitutionally dominating the civil bureaucracy against the Article 27 of the



Pakistani constitution. According to a news story in the daily 'Kawish', at least 9 senior bureaucrats have been discriminated in the promotions. On November 26, Sindh CM requested the Chairman of the Pakistani Senate Standing Committee on Planning, Development and Reforms that Sindh should be given its due and judicious fiscal and monitory share in the Pakistan federation's income. On November 25, Sindh Finance Minister Murad Ali Shah said that the federation is doing injustice with Sindh in financial terms. He said that the Federation takes in 1.25 trillion every year from Sindh but still the funds due for the development of the province were not been received.

On November 26, Sindh Information Minister Sharjil Memon said that the Pakistani federation is issuing a lesser share to Sindh from the National Finance Award (NFA) by as much as 30 per cent. He said that Sindh's share in NFA is already lower. He mentioned that federation has deduced 60 billion rupees of Sindh's share this year.

Earlier on June 18, he said that the federal government has reduced 50 per cent share of Sindh from National Finance Award, a financial distribution from the collective pools of taxes to the province. He said that the people of Sindh will further suffer in terms of revenues due to deficit budget this year.

In May 2014, the daily 'Kawish' had a story revealing that after already monopolizing the Pakistani federation, the Government of Punjab has written a letter to Government of Sindh that the Punjab province as well as other provinces has right over the revenue as well as services tax generated by the sea-ports of country's that exist mainly in Sindh province only.

The landlocked Punjab province of Pakistan demanded that sea-ports of Sindh and Balochistan should geographically be included in the Federal Territory and be detached from the provincial boundaries of Sindh and

Baluchistan. Such a letter was a move to separate Karachi and Gawadar from the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan and giving them to the virtual control of Punjab in the name of the federal government. A move of this kind will further sharpen the ongoing conflict between the provinces and foster the freedom movements in Sindh and Balochistan.

On November 27, the Federal Finance Minister said in the Parliament (National Assembly) of Pakistan that Sindh does not have rights over the revenues from Karachi. He mentioned that surprisingly, the Punjabi-dominated Pakistani federation is exercising the right over the revenues generated from Karachi, capital city of Sindh. The revenues of Lahore by contrast will belong to Punjab. The minister said that the Federation collected 1198 billion rupees from Karachi but Sindh was given 89.9 billion rupees.

On November 20, Chairman of the Standing Committee of Senate of Pakistan has said that Oil and Gas authorities should do justice to Sindhis because neither they are being given employment in the resources extracting companies in operating in their own land nor are the funds meant for development through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) are being spent on the areas. The Chairman of Committee Mohammad Yousif said that district Sanghar is an example for that.

Besides, Defence Housing Authority (DHA), a business corporation of Pakistan Army has unlawfully got 40000 acres of urban land of Karachi for private business profiteering.

Sindh Ekta Divas

Sindh celebrates Sindh Ekta (Unity) Day annually on December 7. The province mourned on the day in



Sindh Ekta Divas poster

2014 because Pakistani armed forces associated intelligence agencies have extra-judicially killed at least seven Sindhi nationalists, most of them were secessionists.

Over 300 were arrested between June and September this year, some of them were booked in the alleged cases of burning flags of Pakistan as well as cases of treason due to making public speeches for the freedom of Sindh.

Thousands gathered in each city of Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas as well as other cities and towns of the province December 7. They demanded the intervention of international community and the United Nations to prevent ethnic cleansing, extra-judicial murders and involuntarily disappearances of Sindhi activists by the Pakistani armed forces.

Conclusive Decade

It is widely believed among the Sindhi, Baloch, Pashtun and Siraiki peoples that the ongoing decade will be a conclusive one for Pakistan. Contemporary Pakistan as well as its entire history as a state is replete with crimes against humanity against the Bengali, Sindhi, Baloch, Pashtun and Siraiki people. Freedom movements in contemporary Pakistan suggest that at least Sindh and Balochistan are bound to emerge as separate sovereign countries sooner or later. This would not only serve the interests of tens of millions people in Pakistan, as well as peace in Afghanistan, India, Iran and Central-and-South Asia, but also engender a liberal, tolerant and secular world citizenry. For the victims of starvation in the Thar Desert this cannot come a moment

India's Nuclear Nightmare: The Village of Birth Defects

The difficulty is that you can't get uranium without bringing up two dozen other radioactive materials, which are far more dangerous. Gordon Edwards Alowati (in white and blue shirt) and Duniya Uram were born with birth defects and cannot care for themselves. Their older sister Budhini (background) wonders if it's because their father worked in India's oldest uranium mine.

✱ Raveena Aulakh

Duniya Uram wants to go outside. The veranda is only 10 metres away, but it is a struggle. Her face is streaked with sweat in the 45C heat as the 16-year-old crawls across the cement floor, putting one thin forearm in front of the other. Halfway, she stops to take a deep breath, then continues to the mesh door at the veranda. She uses her head to open it. What should have taken a few strides takes five minutes. As always, her brother Alowati, 18, follows. Their older sister Budhini, 26, looks on grimly.

"My parents were sad when they found that Alo ... wasn't OK," she says. "But they never thought the next (child) would be the same." Neither Alowati nor Duniya can walk, nor can they hold anything; their limbs dangle lifelessly. Their legs are skeletal, their arms slightly stronger. Their knees and elbows are rubbed raw from crawling. They can't speak in sentences and gesticulate loudly when they want something. They can't feed themselves. They need help to bathe and use the toilet.

Children with birth deformities like Alowati and Duniya live on almost every street in Jadugora, a leafy town surrounded by hills and rivers in eastern India, as well as in neighbouring villages. There are



Alowati (in white and blue shirt) and Duniya Uram were born with birth defects and cannot care for themselves.

young women who have had multiple miscarriages, and men and women who have died of cancer.

No one knows why.

Now, a Jharkhand court wants to unravel the mystery of what is happening in Jadugora, the hub of India's uranium mining industry since the late 1960s. Uranium is at the core of India's energy ambitions. Demand for electricity in India is increasing rapidly, fuelled by the country's phenomenal population

and economic growth. The subcontinent was the fourth-largest energy consumer in the world after China, the United States and Russia in 2011. Coal is the country's primary source of energy, providing about 68 per cent of electricity. Gas and hydroelectricity each supply 12 per cent.

Mithun Patro's mother came home one day last summer to find the teen collapsed on the mud floor. "I cannot be with him all the time,"

she says. "How will we eat?"

But coal reserves are limited, and gas and hydro are considered unreliable. For instance, if the monsoon season is weak, hydroelectric power output drops. And the country's energy experts say nuclear power is cheaper than coal in the long run. Today, nuclear power provides less than 5 per cent of India's electricity. The aim is to make it 25 per cent by 2050. This month, Australia signed an agreement giving India access to its vast supplies of uranium.

But activists say Jadugora is paying the price for India's nuclear dreams. The city of 20,000 is 1,400 kilometres from New Delhi in east India's Jharkhand state. Jharkhand is one of the poorest areas in India but one of the richest in biodiversity and natural resources, with vast unspoiled forests and pristine rivers. It has some of the country's biggest reserves of coal, iron ore, mica and limestone. It also has uranium.

Large deposits of the radioactive element were discovered in the late 1950s, leading to the creation of the publicly owned Uranium Corporation of India Limited. Mining started in 1967. Thousands of tonnes of low-grade uranium ore are mined every year 1,000 kilograms of ore are needed to extract just 65 grams of usable

uranium. At Jadugora, the ore is mined, milled, refined into yellow cake and sent to the Nuclear Fuel Complex in Hyderabad, a 1,000-kilometre trip south by road and rail. There, the yellow cake is converted into uranium oxide, processed into nuclear fuel and sent to one of India's almost two dozen reactors.

It sounds simple and precise. The deformities, the miscarriages and the sickness around the mine are anything but. When mining started in Jadugora, workers went into the bowels of the earth and came up with uranium ore. They dug with shovels, hauled the ore back to the surface in pails. Despite new technologies, hundreds of workers still do that.

The Indian city of Jadugora has large reserves of coal, iron ore, mica and limestone. It also has uranium.

Until a decade ago, miners took their uniforms home to be washed by their wives or daughters, says Xavier Dias, a political activist who has worked for decades with the indigenous people who made up the majority of the mine's workforce. "They never wore masks then ... or boots. Or even gloves." The workers were free to take building materials from the mine and even waste material, which they used to build their homes, he says.

When people began to notice that young women were having

miscarriages, witches and spirits were blamed. Prayers were said to ward off the "evil eye." But people had lesions, children were born with deformities, hair loss was common. Cows couldn't give birth, hens laid fewer eggs, fish had skin diseases. "If you ask the tribals (as the indigenous people are known) who have lived there for decades, long before uranium was discovered, they will tell you that they lived healthy lives, drank from the rivers, ate fruits and vegetables ... and they never saw the inside of a hospital," says Dias.

"The difficulty is that you can't get uranium without bringing up two dozen other radioactive materials, which are far more dangerous than uranium itself," says Gordon Edwards. He is a professor of mathematics at Vanier College in Montreal, president of the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility and one of the best-known opponents of uranium mining. When the ore is crushed and the uranium is extracted with acid, the waste and 85 per cent of the radioactivity that was in the ore ends up in tailing ponds, says Edwards. Each particle of radioactive tailing "remains toxic for hundreds or thousands of years."

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency says that high intakes of uranium "can lead to increased cancer risk, liver damage, or both. Long-term chronic intakes of uranium isotopes in food, water, or air can lead to internal irradiation and/or chemical toxicity." Pregnant women and their fetuses are at particularly high risk from consuming contaminated food and water, says Edwards. Long-term exposure can cause genetic damage so that "even future grandchildren or great-grandchildren can suffer the effects."

Is this what is happening in Jadugora? Is radiation at the crux of the mystery of children with deformities and miscarriages? Or is it a strange coincidence? Mining conditions began to improve in the mid-1990s. Workers were no longer





allowed to take their uniforms home they were washed at mine laundromats. They now wear protective boots and gloves, Dias says.

But much remains the same. For example, the process to extract uranium requires its conversion into slurry. The leftover sludge is sent to tailing ponds, which are supposed to contain the radioactivity. In Jadugora, tailing ponds take up more than 65 hectares and they are all uncovered with easy access for people and animals. A few homes stand fewer than 50 metres from the pond's edge. There are some no-trespassing signs, but children still play cricket or hopscotch nearby. Another tailing pond a few kilometres away sits beside a busy street with pipes constantly delivering more sludge.

The tailing ponds tend to overflow, especially during monsoon season, say villagers. If that happens, radioactivity can seep out and contaminate the groundwater and rivers. River water is used for washing and bathing, sowing and irrigation and sometimes for drinking.

Trucks filled with yellow cake or mine waste trundle day and night along the highway. The cakes are covered with flimsy plastic covers; sometimes bits of rubble fall off. The Uranium Corporation of India

Limited has always maintained there is no radiation pollution in Jadugora and that its mining operations have nothing to do with the health issues. The company did not respond to several telephone requests from reporters seeking interviews about workers, tailing ponds and health concerns.

The Jharkhand High Court is also looking for answers. In March, it sent a notice to UCIL asking for an explanation for the deformities, cancers and miscarriages around the Jadugora mine. It based the notice on local media reports, which included shocking pictures of children who were sick or deformed. (The demand was made by the court unilaterally, without a filing by officials or victims, in what is known as a *suo moto* action.)

According to local reports, UCIL told the court that the radiation emitted through its mining is under permissible limits and contained within a safe zone. The court refused to accept the submissions because they were old.

In August, the court also asked that the company disclose the radiation levels and the presence of any heavy metals in soil and water in the cluster of villages around Jadugora. It also asked UCIL to explain how it ensures the safety of those who live near radioactive waste.

The answers are due in November.

Those at the forefront of the fight aren't hopeful. "It is not that we have no expectations ... we just have no history (of answers) to go by," says Ghanshyam Birulee of the Jharkhandi Organization Against Radiation, which has been seeking answers from UCIL and the federal government since the 1990s.

Birulee's father, Jayram, worked at the Jadugora mine from 1963 to 1975. Birulee remembers his father bringing his uniform home for his mother to wash. "That wasn't all: My father used to bathe once a week ... he slept like that (possibly contaminated) every day. There were no safety rules in place, no regular health checkups for miners."

Jayram died of lung cancer a few years ago. A 2007 report by the Indian Doctors for Peace and Development, a non-profit, found a far greater incidence of congenital deformity, sterility and cancer among those living within 2.5 kilometres of the mines than those living 35 kilometres away. Young women in villages close to the mine sites were also twice as likely to have a child with congenital deformities, the study said.

But UCIL has in the past cited a 1998 government-funded study that found no water contamination and said that illnesses in Jadugora could not be traced to radiation exposure. Critics, like Dias, say the study was conducted by the Mumbai-based Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, tainted by its association with the nuclear industry. There has never been a comprehensive health study. That would require counting the dead and the sick, assembling genetic and medical histories, collating the results of doctors' exams and testing for water and soil contamination at people's homes.

It would take several years, and require a small army of professionals. Budhini Uram lives roughly three kilometres from the centre of Jadugora. She spends all day, every day taking care of her younger siblings Alowati and

Duniya. (Their mother is gone; Budhini won't discuss the circumstances.) She wakes them, helps brush their teeth, bathes them, feeds them three times a day and takes them to the washroom. If they want to watch TV, she turns it on. If they want to sit on the veranda, she brings them out. If they are cranky, as they frequently are, she sits and tells them stories. She has no idea if they understand a word.

Their father Pahari was 52 when he died in 2007 after working at the Jadugora mine for 20 years. For months before he died, he had a wracking cough and an intermittent fever. He built a two-storey cement house with a grassy backyard that has a well and a bathroom with a Western-style toilet. There is a TV in the living room. The kitchen is in the backyard so the smoke doesn't make Alowati or Duniya sicker. Once a month, Budhini takes Alowati and Duniya to the bank to get their pension money about \$150 a month for both which started after her father died. Alowati and Duniya hate going out. They scream and cry. Duniya once tried to jump out of the auto-rickshaw taking them to the bank. Budhini dreads it all month.

After the Ranchi court order, Budhini was surprised by a first-ever visit from two mine officials. They asked her for a list of things that would make life easier for her siblings. "I said I wanted running water in the house and two wheelchairs. I also asked them that the pension be in my name so I don't have to drag these two every month. It is really hard. I was very reasonable, right?" They told her they would get back to her. That was in May. She has heard nothing since.

Mohammad Yusuf lives a few kilometres east with his parents and three sisters in a two-room mud hut painted bright blue. There is no electricity. They cook outside in a clay oven. They draw drinking water from a well, wash their clothes in a pond. Mohammad is 13 but looks 7. Like Alowati and Duniya, he drags himself forward with his elbows.

Mariam, his mother, says Mohammad has never walked without support. He can barely talk and they don't know if he understands what they say. "I desperately wanted a son and he came ... after three girls and this was it," she says, as she wipes away tears. The girls have taken him to a hospital in Jamshedpur, the closest big city. Doctors told the family they don't know what is wrong.

A few huts away lives Usha Gope. Her son, Sunil, is 10 and though he can walk and talk, his eyelids are turned inside out, his white-grey eyes constantly water and his vision is weak. Sunil rubs his eyes constantly. A few minutes later, he asks his mother if he can go back to sleep. "It is the only time that I think he is not in pain," says Gope, cradling a year-old girl who looks normal and healthy. "But who knows. She may turn out to be a cripple, like Mohammad."

Most of the families with disabled children don't know what is wrong or why. For most, it is what fate has dealt them. Their children never leave home they eat when they are fed, leave the bed when they are assisted. Sometimes, they aren't safe even at home. Mithun Patro, 19, almost died last year because he was left alone too long. His arms and legs dangle and he is as thin as a scarecrow. He doesn't talk but gestures with his head and eyes. His mother, Mani Patro, 52, is his only caregiver. They live in Jairo Bhutto, a village about 10 kilometres away that has no roads. While families of children with deformities will tell their stories to reporters, the families of women who have been unable to get pregnant or who have had unexplained miscarriages often don't.

Since Jadugora's health problems made the local newspapers, few families receive marriage offers for their daughters. In a country where not being able to bear children is such a stigma that women are either thrown out by their in-laws or banished to their parents'

homes, Jadugora women are now tainted and unwanted. Bhanumati Kalindi is 24, an age in rural India when young women are already married and bearing children. She is pretty, cooks well and is respectful. But Sushaso, her mother, says when she has tried to find a groom for Bhanumati she has been rebuffed by families as far as Ranchi, 250 kilometres away.

"They think because my husband worked at the mine and died of a stomach tumour, there is something wrong with my daughter, too," she says. She points out that she gave birth to four children and "none of them have any deformities." "I have been looking (for a groom) for four years," she says. "Maybe it will never happen." Budhini Uram knows marriage will never happen for her. "What are the chances?" she asks stoically one afternoon. She has too many things against her: her father worked at the mine for 20 years, fell sick suddenly and died, and she has two siblings with severe deformities.

Her two younger sisters and two older brothers are all married and have healthy children. But the marriages took place before Jadugora made headlines. Budhini, like others in Jadugora, is aware that the court is asking for explanations. She is more optimistic than most. But she is pragmatic, too, when she says it will not change her life. "I would like to get married and have my own family but what will happen to these two if that happens? There is no one to look after them. I will always be with them."

She washes the cups, puts them away in a rickety kitchen cabinet. The electricity, which cuts out intermittently, kicks back on and the ceiling fan starts swirling. Alowati and Duniya, who have been sitting on the porch, see the lights go on and want to come in. Budhini scoops up Duniya by her arms and carries her in.

Alowati, as always, quickly follows.



Unlike the right to live, think and speak, the right to property is not a natural right. Nobody is born or dies with any physical wealth.



Ameeri Rekha

(Wealth Limits)

* Ravi Singh

Poverty, unemployment, corruption, economic depression, price rise, population explosion and increasing crime are great challenges before India and most countries of the world. Most of these existed in India when it got freedom from the British rule. People believed that they would soon be free from these problems too, but 67 years later, we are still grappling with them and seem to be losing the fight. Despite so many movements and struggles in the name of getting rid of these problems by different well-meaning people, we are heading nowhere. The frustration among people is mounting leading to frequent and violent outbursts.

It is against this backdrop Proutist Bloc, India demands 'Ameeri Rekha' or 'Luxury Limits' i.e. a ceiling on the accumulation of physical wealth by an individual, as suggested by the first fundamental principle of PROUT: *No individual should be allowed to accumulate any physical wealth without the clear permission or approval of the collective body.*

While the imposition of a ceiling on the accumulation of wealth may seem dictatorial to many indoctrinated by capitalist propaganda, it can be justified on the

following basis:

a) The right to property is not natural: Unlike the right to live, think and speak, the right to property is not a natural right. Nobody is born or dies with any physical wealth. Everything air, water, land, light, sun, moon and, even our body and mind is a gift from Nature; we have done nothing to earn them. Nobody, therefore, can claim the ownership of anything; we have only the usufructuary rights i.e. the right to use.

Except a few western and European countries, the native cultures of Asia, Africa, America and Australia consider the Supreme

Being the master and owner of the universe. The right to property came into existence around the end of the 18th century when England and some other European countries witnessed the historical Industrial Revolution based on looting India and the slave economy. Scrambling for more and more profits, the capitalists exploited everything aggressively land, water, forests, minerals, flora and fauna, and even their fellow human beings. Their dominance in the social and political life of the times made the right to property so sacred. Previously all Western and Islami religions had condemned the greed of capitalists as had Indian



writers from the Mahabharata to Canakya.

b) Physical wealth is limited: The Earth has plenty yet limited resources. Ideally they should be used for more than 7 billion human beings and countless other beings. However, if they are concentrated in the hands of a few people, the rest of humanity will have to live a hellish life. A little data below shows that this has already happened :

On the one hand

- ❖ Only 1% of the world's population owns 46% of the world's wealth.
- ❖ The wealth of 3 richest persons of the world is equal to that of 48 countries put together.
- ❖ The richest 85 people own more than the collective wealth of 3.5 billion people i.e. half of the world's population.
- ❖ In America, only 400 people possess more than half of Americans' wealth. In fact, just 3% Americans hold 95% of privately held land in America. Similarly 3% Britons own 75% of privately held land in Britain.

On the other hand

- ❖ One third of the world's poor live in India. 42% Indians earn less than 75 rupees a day.
- ❖ About 50% of Indian children are underweight and malnourished.
- ❖ According to WHO, every year 98,000 people in India die from diarrhea as they have no access to clean drinking water .
- ❖ About 35,000 children die from hunger and related diseases everyday around the world.

This leads to a clear conclusion that the present socio-economic system ,which allows for unrestricted accumulation of wealth, is utterly unjustifiable as well evil, and therefore Ameerī Rekha or Wealth Limitations is completely justified. Ameerī Rekha will have the following effects:



Removal of Poverty: When there is a limit to which a person can accumulate, the excess will flow to others, leading naturally to the removal of poverty. Besides, PBI (Proutist Bloc, India) proposes the following measures for the removal of poverty and healthy growth:

- The minimum and maximum income of a person must be fixed.
- The minimum income must be high enough to purchase basic requirements such as food, clothes, shelter, education and medical care.
- More talented, hardworking and honest people should be given greater salary and incentives to a certain limit. The maximum must not be more than 10 times the minimum. The ideal ratio is for the maximum to be 5 times the minimum.
- The gap between the two must be gradually reduced, but not completely done away with. Complete equality, like extreme inequality, is unnatural and discourages the meritorious and the hard working, causing the fall in the quality and quantity of production. The economies of communist countries like Russia are the best example of this impractical approach.

Removal of Corruption: Man needs money to fulfill his present needs and the future or emergency needs. If he continues to accumulate money even after earning enough for both the needs, it means he has fallen prey to a mental disease, in which he is drawing pleasure out of sheer accumulation. Accumulating money has become a number game for him from 1 million to 10 million to 100 million and so on the diseases continues.

If I told you that a friend of mine is fond of caps. He has a good collection of caps; he has caps piled up everywhere in the drawing room, on the sofa, on the table; in the bedroom on the bed, in the bed, under the bed; in the bathroom, in the toilet, in the kitchen, on the roof, in the courtyard, in the backyard and now he is planning to buy one more flat to store more of his caps, you wouldn't hesitate much in declaring him mad. In sharp contrast to this, the people who are equally and madly engaged in accumulating money are respected and seen as role models in our society. But what is the difference between collecting caps and hoarding the wealth that you won't use? Just think -- if hoarding grains, fruit, vegetables, oil etc. beyond a certain limit is unethical and illegal, why should hoarding of the 'means' to acquire these commodities be just and legal?

Money can fulfill your 'need', not your 'greed'. The corruption in



every community is caused by the people who are suffering from the mental ailment called avarice or greed. The people - government officials, politicians or businessmen - who need money to maintain their social status and luxurious lifestyle commit scams; it is they who give or take bribes. The corruption caused by common person under some compulsion can be easily done away with, but the corruption bred by towering greed can be checked only when there is a ceiling on wealth.

A question can arise here: how can the income or expenditure of a person be watched and controlled? It is, of course, a difficult task, but in this age of sophisticated technology, it is not impossible. Can't it be regulated like our phone's talk time and internet data? It is also difficult to regulate mafia activities but does that mean we should give up trying? In reality, the system of hoarding wealth by corporations and their stockholders is nothing but a legalized mafia a far more dangerous mafia than the illegal ones.

Cure for Economic Depression:

The world is passing through a severe economic depression. The shopkeepers are worried about falling numbers of footfalls. Markets are crammed with goods and services but there are no buyers.

For example, newly constructed houses are not selling although millions of people are forced to sleep under the open sky. In a country like America the number of vacant homes (18.6 million) is more than the homeless people(3.5 million).

An economic depression occurs when a large portion of available money is concentrated in a few hands and the greater part of the population is partially or fully deprived of 'purchasing power'. In this situation when the goods

produced in the factories don't get sold, the capitalists cut down the production and lay off or retrench their employees declining the purchasing power of the people further.

The solution is 'keep the money rolling'; let it not lie unused in a few pockets. Like a pool of stagnant water, stagnant money too gives rise to the diseases like economic depression, unemployment, poverty, crime etc. This is because recent research has shown that high levels of wealth distorts the thinking of the brain and causes increase tendencies towards immoral behaviour. To make our economy function smoothly, we must ensure that money reaches each and every member of society so that they have sufficient purchasing power to buy the goods and services needed for a good life. And the first step in this direction is Ameerikha.

Solution to Unemployment:

According to *Global Employment Trends Report 2012 of the International Labour Organisation*, the world needs 400 million(40 crore) jobs in the next decade. India alone needs 44 million (4 crores & 40 lacs) additional jobs between 2015 and 2020 at an annual rate of a



little less than 9 million (90 lacs).

Do we have these jobs? The answer is 'no'. Can these jobs be generated? The answer is 'yes'. With so many industries, schools, colleges, hospitals, roads, railway tracks, bridges, canals etc. waiting to be built all over the country and a large army of skilled and unskilled people desperately willing to be employed, it is possible to tackle the problem of unemployment. But the government does not have sufficient money to invest in these projects and thereby create employment. So,

through FDI [foreign corporate investment] and PPP [corporate partnerships], it invites investment from big capitalists, who have zillions at their disposal. They do invest but with an intention to earn more and more out of less and less. And since employment generation is not their goal, they withdraw the moment they sense any danger to their profits or investment leaving everybody else in the lurch.

Moreover, the people with money want to make more money quickly and easily, so they tend to invest in speculation instead of productive activities. John Eatwell, one of the leading specialists in finance at Cambridge University, estimates that, in 1970, about 90% of international capital was used for trade and long-term investment—more or less productive things—and 10% for speculation. By 1990, those figures had reversed: 90% for speculation and 10% for trade and long-term investment.

The solution is Ameerikha. Let nobody accumulate so much wealth that they hijack the entire economy. Let nobody possess such vast sums of money that the entire development process is subject to

government



the people

their whims and desires. Once this is done, there will be socialization of wealth and there will be enough money for production and development leading to more and more employment opportunities.

In the course of the 20th century, we have learned that when people are denied social and political rights, they turn to crime or become victims of social violence. The same is true with regard to economic rights. To have a dignified job that provides one with the purchasing power for decent housing, medical care, food, clothing and other basic necessities is the right of every human being. To give *svaraj* (self-rule) to every community in their economic life is the only solution to unemployment. This starts with the Ameerikha or luxury limit.

Decline in crime rate: Besides the psychological causes, the lack or the excess of money is a chief cause of crime in our society. While the people without sufficient money for their basic necessities get into crime under compulsion, the people who possess excess of wealth get entangled in crimes as they have all the time and resources to allow their baser instincts to go wild.

Today, if you are good at studies and lucky enough to grab one of the few available jobs; or if you have lots of money for starting a business and have the ability to survive with big sharks of the business world, you can hope to make a living for yourself. But the question arises: what is the option for those who can't do so? Don't they need food, clothes, shelter, education and medication? Isn't it natural for them to adopt unlawful means to earn a living? So it would not be wrong to say that a limit on the accumulation of wealth i.e. Ameerikha and a guarantee of the fulfillment of basic necessities will put an end to the economic disparity responsible for increasing crime.

It is simplistic to say that Ameerikha alone will solve every problem we are facing today. In fact, we will have to bring about many other radical changes in our socio-economic setup, but Ameerikha i.e. the principle of social control over limited physical wealth will lay the foundation for economic democracy and the economic independence of every community, every bioregion (*samaja*) and every country.



Manufacturing Malnutrition

* Sachin Kumar Jain

The present development paradigm has wrought havoc on the sustainable livelihood of tribal communities and thrown them asunder. This precisely is the reason this community has fallen prey to hunger and social insecurity.

The educated people say that the tribal children are falling prey to malnutrition. In all the government schemes, tribals have been labelled as marginalised, backward or indigenous communities. Apart from these groups, the rest of the society is deemed developed! However, there is more to this than meets the eye.

The Baiga and the Gond tribals from Dindori, Mandla, Balaghat, Sidhi and Seoni Districts of Madhya Pradesh used to harvest twenty-five types of mushrooms, five types of honey, twenty-eight types of tubers and forty-five types of vegetables. These produce ensured their food security and protected them from severe illness. The government will have to impose a blanket ban on deforestation in order to give back communities their lost heritage and wealth. Tribal communities can harvest Amla (Indian Gooseberry), medicinal plants, tamarind, chironji, harra-behada, tendu, mahua from the forest which provide a tangential economic base to their livelihood. Thirty years back 56 types of grains were found in the fields and homes of the tribal communities in Mahakoshal region of Madhya Pradesh. Today, people know mere 28; of the 28 types of tubers, people now know about 13 while only 21 and 27 fruits and vegetables are left in the collective psyche of the people. The community, which the government classifies as backward, was using 262 types of ingredients in their cuisine. So who is backward and poor?

Barkobai, living a life of misery due to displacement in Singrouri in Balaghat district of Madhya Pradesh says, "Look brother, you have come from Bhopal; we listened to you; now you listen to us: you displace us from forest and the "roti" or the livelihood has been washed away. Government is content to throw some grains and instigate infighting amongst us. But enough is

enough; we are being told that we have encroached upon the land, vacate it now; we have been living here for centuries, how come we became encroachers? Illegal? Somebody tell us where to go, now we cannot enter the forest, cannot take animals to graze, cannot worship our gods in the forest; we used to get tubers to satisfy our hunger, it has been taken over by the government!”

The present development paradigm has wrought havoc on the sustainable livelihood of tribal communities and thrown them asunder. This precisely is the reason these communities have fallen prey to hunger and social insecurity. The total land under irrigation in Madhya Pradesh is about 37 per cent of cultivated land. But the tribal dominated areas and districts have less than 10 per cent of land under irrigation. Their land is undulating, on the hills and plateaus. These produce ragi, kodo, kutki, sanva, and lesser known pulses etc., often termed coarse grain. In reality these are fine and smaller compared to their famous counterparts like rice and wheat and have better nutritional value. The yield (per acre) of these crops is low compared to the other widely used modern day crops (though the absolute yield of so-called coarse grain per acre is

low, the return on investment is very high because of the low external inputs and less risk of failure). Despite low yields, the tribal areas contribute to 90 per cent of the nutritional produce in the state. Thus, despite lack of irrigation, the area produces sufficient nutritious food.

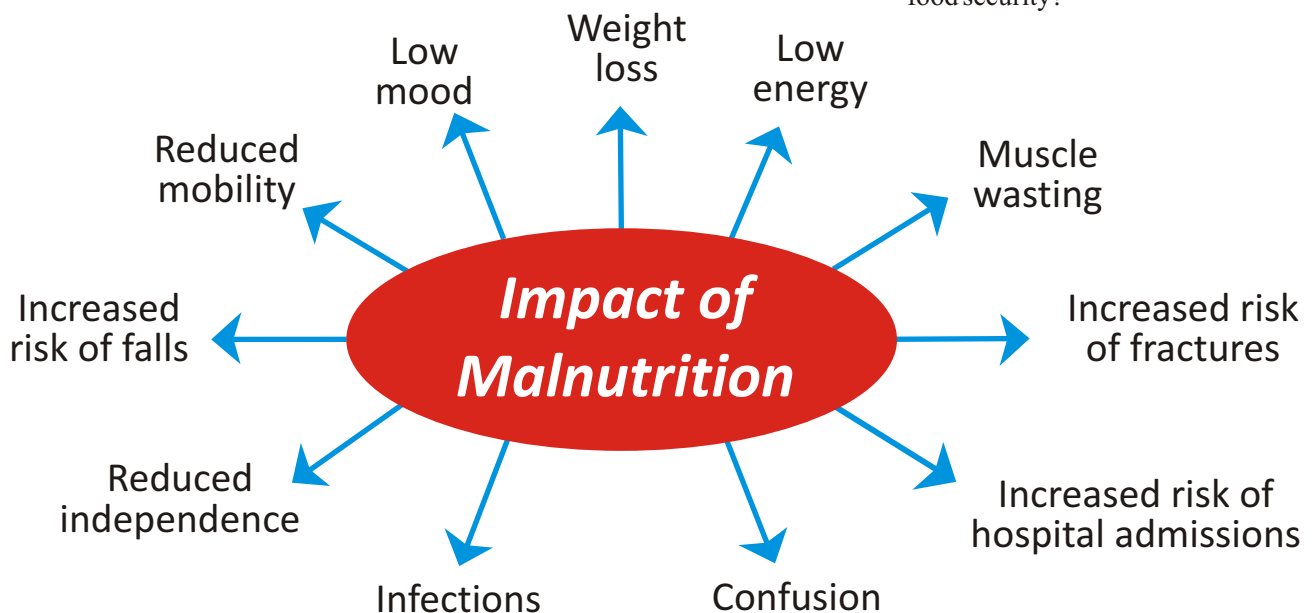
Talking about irrigation, it is generally overlooked that the areas with less or no irrigation facilities and less relief work have often evolved rich nutritional traditions and practices giving rise to a robust economic system. Why this narrow focus on wheat and rice? We all know (if not, it is time we learn) that 100 g rice has 6.8 g of protein and 0.7 milligram iron while Bajra (sorghum) has 10.6 g protein and 16.9 milligram iron. Wheat has 11 milligram calcium while ragi or nachani have 344 milligram calcium per hundred gram. Why do we tend to forget such basic nutritional facts?

It is often reported in the newspapers that the tribals are sustaining themselves on grass. This is an evidence of ignorance combined with urban arrogance! What the newspapers denigrate as grass is in fact a high protein food source called Sanva. It contains more protein and iron than wheat per unit weight and can withstand abrupt climatic changes. If we

ensure that the local nutritious grains are produced and consumed and reach the platter of the tribal, malnutrition can be banished!

Bhaiyalal, a farmer from Gurva village in Betul District says, “Don't talk of those government schemes; the officers give us wheat and rice seeds and advise us to cultivate these crops; they tell us that we'll get good price for our produce. When there is no water in the field, how can we manage these water-thirsty crops?”

Lamtu Baiga from Dindori says, “The officers have no idea about the agricultural practices of the Baigas. They came and distributed rice seeds. They don't have kodo-kutki (millets) seeds; they neither asked nor did they try to understand what we cultivate. Our community cannot live without eating kodo-kutki and drinking 'pej' (soup) of maize. Now, who is ignorant, who is backward and who is immature? Women in our homes eat the last, not occasionally but as a custom, every day. So she will eat the leftovers. If there is nothing left, she goes hungry. Please give a serious thought to this: when there is nothing left for her to eat, is she going to cook food just for herself? I would say, no, not at all! A double workload, at home and outside, and excluded from the 'right to eat', is this not the story of women vis-à-vis food security?”



It is generally believed that the women do not perform a productive role in progress and livelihood of family. The fact that 70 per cent of the backbreaking toil in the farms is done by the women, flies in the face of this effervescent myth. Just put the household work in proper economic perspective, translate it into equities of production and it becomes evident that if the women shy away from doing this labour-intensive work at home, the entire social system will come apart, leading to economic consequences as well as social disintegration. Despite this, women are discriminated against in terms of eating priorities. It is eulogised that a woman who eats last, after feeding every member in the family is an ideal woman/wife/mother. This norm is so deeply entrenched that in case of paucity of food supplies, the boys and male members are served first and the girls and female members eat last. The main earning person or the head of the family, invariably a male member irrespective of his role in economics of the family, decides the priorities and is responsible for distribution of food. The girls are always persuaded and regimented into moulding

themselves as sacrificial goats, as the epitomes of sacrifice. In the families where the women work and earn, the norm is to hand over the salary or the money earned to the male members of the family. Besides, there is such an immense workload at home that the women rarely get time to eat properly.

Studies have shown that the women observe fast for two to three days a week or more; the reasons for such fasting is not entirely religious, cultural or spiritual; lack of sufficient quantity of food supply in the family compels the women to forgo food in the guise of fasting. Besides, the religious scriptures are full of what the women should and should not eat. For example, rich food is taboo for the widows. The (il)logic being, why should a woman eat such food when her husband is no more! Such a woman, it is decreed, should lead a frugal life revoking all earthly goods! It is also felt that eating such food will raise sexual urges in the woman. In some communities, women are allowed such food before puberty, after which their proscription is enforced.

In some communities there are strict norms to feed pregnant women less food, otherwise, as the myth



goes, the foetus will not get enough space in the womb stuffed with food! Another reason is, the full meal would make her obese and put her off work at home and in the field. Besides, several rituals are observed during the seventh month of pregnancy in almost all states of India. During this time the pregnant women is fed with sweets made out of coarse and fine flour, ghee, guar beans etc. After this, the woman has to compulsorily eat these things regularly till delivery. At the same time, the pregnant woman is proscribed milk or milk products, groundnut and any product which has whitish tinge and/or is sticky in nature. The dais (midwives) believe that these products create a thin layer around the foetus prolonging the delivery or making it complicated. Food grains like bajra and fruits like papaya are also included in 'strictly prohibited' category perceiving these as full of calories, this belief that these food products are harmful in pregnancy is a myth. In Gujarat, milk products like curd find no place in the pregnant women's platter. The local social customs are replete with suggestions to avoid these things. At the same time, the pregnant women are fed guar beans, sweets made from resins, parsley etc regularly. These products are believed to give



strength and milk potential in the breasts.

Post delivery, the women get specially prepared food for a few days. Why do women get special food during the pregnancy and immediately after deliver for a few days? Because, the society is interested in the birth of a healthy child and its wellbeing. But it sounds thoughtless to believe that healthy children can be produced by feeding the women just for 9 months of pregnancy!

Festivals and celebrations could further strain women. During these days, special dishes are prepared and women have to work overtime for this. Besides, these festivals require women to fast and work too. For example, there is a tradition of fasting during July-August in Gujarat. This is also the season of cultivation and farm work is at its peak. Fasting during this time, while continuing to work in the field and at home, could be detrimental to women's health.

It needs no further proof that women not only live a life of secondary importance in eating but are systematically pushed into hunger and starvation through a system of traditions and customs. What I mean is we should understand the system which keeps some people hungry in order to control the reins of power. **As a nation we are not a struggling economy that we cannot buy food and that the land is not so degraded that crops cannot be raised on it! It is all about power. If people get enough food, good food, nutritious food and on time, the body and mind would be in perfect harmony and the able minds would start reflecting on the prevailing social situation. They might talk about equity and equality and about capacities and all those ideas which our capitalist society would loath to discuss, leave alone accept!**

However, in every epoch it seems that somebody throws a stone in the water, which creates ripples all around. Embers from the pits of

dead hope sparkle for a while before extinguishing into oblivion. The society penalises not only those who dare to bring about changes but also those who silently wish for a change. The system is harsh on women and their counterparts, the men who are part of their lives, are the arbiters in this process.

Malnutrition is a word that had been coined by technical experts. Simply put, it means, the situation that arises out of not getting enough to eat. Let's have a look at the sources of our food, its entry points.

Food is linked to employment. If people have employment, they will get food. The country should create twenty five million job opportunities per year. In reality, a mere two to three million jobs get created. Despite the fact that more than a quarter billion people in India are dependent on agriculture, the

government spends the least on this sector. Instead, the government drains two thirds of its treasury on sectors employing just 10 per cent of population.

The central government launched the policy of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in 2004-05. Under this policy, the government will acquire hundreds of thousands of acres of land for a few companies to set up factories. The government claims that this will usher in an era of mass employment - lots of people will get jobs and development will set in.

Every company putting up its factory in the SEZ will get a 100 percent tax holiday for first five years. The next five years the tax rebate will come down to 50 per cent and in the next five year period, the company will have 50 per cent tax rebate on the profit earned through





exports. And that is not all: the companies will get 100 per cent income tax exemption for 10 to 15 years. In 2010, the government acquired 510,370 acre land for 194 SEZs. Employment to 550,000 people was claimed through these SEZs which comes to 2 persons per acre. So think it over and decide for yourself, is it the right developmental choice where, in addition to land, the government is exhausting water and destroying forests?

Agriculture contributes 14 per cent to the Gross Domestic Product while it provides employment to 67 per cent of the population. So if there is a crisis of unemployment, it would transform into, as a corollary, a crisis of production.

As per the Economic Survey of India (2012), the total grain production in the country stood at 244.8 million tonne in 2011. About 61.469 million tonnes (25.1 per cent of the total production) was distributed through ICDS, Public Distribution System (PDS) and Mid-Day Meal programme. For last two years, many experts, apart from the agriculture minister and corporate representatives, have

repeatedly said that it is not feasible to implement a nationwide universal National Food Security Act as we don't produce the required quantity of food grains. Next, it was said that, if such a universal programme is implemented across India, the government will have to buy the entire produce of the farmers. This is not true.

About 78 per cent of Indians do not get adequate nutritious food and do not have the buying capacity; so cheap rationing is a necessity. The truth is, the government need to procure only 55 per cent of the food grains produced to address hunger and malnutrition; the remaining 45 per cent would be available in the market (for those who can buy it).

As per the Economic Survey of India (2012), the availability of pulses in 1961 was 69 g per person per day which has come down to 31.6 g per person per day in 2010-11. The government is immune to these stark findings. We have to keep in mind that the children's capacity to fight disease is greatly marred by protein deficiency. At present, only 16 per cent of land producing pulses is irrigated. The edible oils too, are not within easy reach of people. As

of now, we import 50 per cent of our edible oil needs. A mere 27.1 per cent of our oilseed farming is under irrigation.

In 1951 we were producing 50 million tonne cereals which has increased five fold since then. But the government fiddles with the statistics with regard to food supplements. It is hard to believe that development sans agriculture can bring food security in the country.

In 1961, the average availability of foodgrains per person per day was 399.7 g. At the time of ushering in the New Economic Policies, the availability was 468.5 g. Since then there has been either a sustained downfall or stagnation in production. In 2010-11 the average availability of grains per person per day has come down to 407 g. Thus the development has taken us back to a situation prevailing in 1961.

The fact is, the government always shied away from taking fundamental steps to tide over the agriculture and food crisis. In 1950-51, agriculture contributed 53.1 per cent to the gross domestic product. This has come down to 13.9 per cent in 2012. On the other hand, the services sector contribution increased from 30.3 per cent to 59 per cent. Successive governments have maintained that 56 per cent population is still dependent on agriculture, and this has to change - a sizable part of this section needs to be shifted to other sectors, and are trying hard to do that.

This has taken the shape of facilitating big multinational companies' entry in the agriculture sector, to turn hundreds of thousands of hectares of land into corporate farming, to turn agriculture into an industry where only big money and sharks can operate, in the process annihilating the small and marginal farmers and turning them into cheap labourers in cities. The government is preparing a roadmap for this shift, making the life of a farmer into a hell. This is pushing the farmers to commit suicide - one farmer commits suicide in India every half an hour!

The government is moving towards corporatisation of governance and has slackened the restrictions which, hitherto, safeguarded the interest of small traders, small farmers and the majority of people. It has allowed foreign companies to invest directly in retail trade, and as a consequence, the big companies will capture the retail trade and decide what is (or is not) sold in the retail market. In other words, these multinational companies will decide what we should eat and wear. This will bring in profound changes in lifestyles and practices. The next step would be to influence and bring about changes in production. In India over 50 million retail trading families in sync with 200 million farming families run the market, effectively keeping the interests of the general public in proper perspective. Now, big foreign companies will decide what will be sold in the market and what will be sown in the fields of India.

Anthropometric Definitions of Malnutrition

Stunted: Stunted growth refers to low height-for-age, when a child is short for his/her age but not necessarily thin. Also known as chronic malnutrition, this carries long-term **developmental risks**.

Under-weight: Under-weight refers to low weight-for-age, when a child can be either thin or short for his/her age. This reflects a

combination of chronic and acute malnutrition.

Stunted and Under-weight children are most likely to suffer from impaired development and are more vulnerable to disease and illness. Mothers should monitor their babies' growth from birth by taking them monthly to the local clinic where they will be weighed and have their growth plotted on a chart. This should ensure that correct information and advice are provided to mothers support the appropriate growth of their babies.

Wasted: Wasted refers to low weight-for-height where a child is thin for his/her height but not necessarily short. Also known as acute malnutrition, this carries an immediate increased risk of morbidity and mortality. Wasted children have a 5-20 times higher risk of dying from common diseases like diarrhoea or pneumonia than normally nourished children.

Based on anthropometric criteria, acute malnutrition can be divided into severe or moderate. Children with acute malnutrition need immediate medical attention. A child suffering from severe malnutrition is at risk of dying if not treated immediately.

Marasmus: When children do not get enough energy-giving food their bodies become thin and they feel weak. Children with marasmus look old and wrinkled. Their skin is



dry and their faces are thin, with sunken cheeks and large eyes. Their abdomen looks swollen. They present sagging skin on legs and buttocks. Children with marasmus cry a lot, are very irritable and have increased greedy appetite. They are liable to all kind of disease.

Kwashiorkor: When children do not get enough variety of the right kind of food, for example when they eat only cereal-based porridge, their bodies (especially their stomachs and legs) swell so they may look fat. Micronutrient deficiency, particularly anti-oxidant nutrients (Vitamin A, C, E and selenium, beta-carotene), might be a probable cause. Sores develop on their skin and at the corner of their mouths. Their skin becomes pale and starts to peel off. Kwashiorkor children are most likely to lose their appetite and an interest in their surroundings.

Kwashiorkor children present with what is called pitting oedema in both feet and lower limbs. Oedema can also expand to the whole body.

Marasmus and kwashiorkor symptoms can be combined. A child suffering from these conditions is at risk of dying.

All these types of malnutrition are on display all over India particularly in the so-called tribal areas. This not a social problem, it is a deliberate social crime done in cold blood that cries out for justice.





Parallel Journeys

Turkey's AKP and India's BJP

“That political developments in India and Turkey have occasionally mirrored each other is in some ways surprising, since the historical trajectories of the two republics have little in common.”

* Amitav Ghosh

Back in March 2013, when I received and accepted an invitation to visit Bogazici University, I did not for a moment imagine that my arrival in Turkey would follow hot on the heels of a historic election in India. But so it did: I landed in Istanbul on June 1, 2014, five days after the swearing-in of India's new Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). For the Indian National Congress, which has long carried the banner of secular nationalism in India, the election was a humiliation an unprecedented defeat, at the hands of an organization that is closely associated with Hindu-nationalist groups, some of which, like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), have even been banned in the past. The outcome of the election, while not a surprise, was still a moment of reckoning for those such as myself, whose revulsion at the dynasticism and corruption of the Congress was outweighed by concerns about the BJP's right-wing economic program and its espousal

of religious majoritarian politics. The prime ministerial candidate's record during his tenure as Chief Minister of Gujarat was itself the greatest of these concerns, especially in relation to his conduct during the anti-Muslim violence that

had convulsed his state in 2002.

Before 2014, no Hindu-nationalist party had ever won an outright majority of seats in India's legislature. That the BJP had now come to power with a mandate far larger than predicted was clearly a sign of an upheaval in the country's political firmament. How had this come about? What did it portend for the future? It was only when I arrived in Istanbul that it struck me that Turkey had been through a similar moment eleven years before, in March 2003, when an election had brought in a new Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the founder of the Justice and Development Party (AKP). He too was heir to a long tradition of Islamic opposition to his country's dominant secular-nationalist order; his party had also been closely linked with formerly-banned religious organizations. He had himself been accused of inciting religious hatred and had even served a brief term in prison.

The margins of victory too were oddly similar: in 2003 Prime Minister Erdogan came to power with 32.26% of the popular vote and 363 of 550 seats in Parliament. In 2014 the coalition of parties headed by Prime Minister Modi won 336 of 543 parliamentary seats; his own



Turkey's Justice and Development Party and its leader



party's share of the vote was 31%. The parallels are striking. In both cases, an entrenched secular-nationalist elite had been dislodged by a coalition that explicitly embraced the religion of a demographic majority. Secularism was itself a point of hot dispute in both elections, with the insurgent parties seeking to present the concept as a thinly-veiled means for monopolizing power and discriminating against the majority. But the ideological tussle over secularism and religion was a secondary matter: the winning candidates had both campaigned primarily on issues related to the economy and governance, promising to clean up corruption and create rapid economic growth.

The parallels extend even to biographical details. Recep Tayyip Erdogan was raised in straitened circumstances in a poor part of Istanbul; his parents were immigrants from the small town of Rize, on the Black Sea, and he had earned money in his childhood by selling 'lemonade and pastry on the streets'. Narendra Modi was born in the small town of Vadnagar, in Gujarat, and as a child he had helped his father sell tea at the local railway station. Later, he and his brother had run a tea-stall of their own. Both men have been associated with religious groups since their early youth and both profess a deep

personal piety. Both also have claims to physical prowess: Recep Tayyip Erdogan was a semi-professional footballer, and Narendra Modi has been known to boast of his 56-inch chest. Both leaders are powerful orators; both exert a charismatic sway over their followers and maintain an unchallenged grip on their party machinery.

National Parallels

This is by no means the first time that political developments in India and Turkey have mirrored each other. In the late 1960s and early '70s both countries were shaken by left-wing student radicalism and trade union unrest. The next decade, similarly, was a time of deepening conflict between the state and minority groups: Kurds and Alevis in the case of Turkey; and Sikhs, Kashmiris, Nagas, Mizos and a host of others in India.

Between the years 1975-77 India went through a period of brutal repression under a State of Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi; in Turkey the coup of 12th September, 1980, led to mass imprisonments, torture and killings. In both countries the violence reached a climax in 1984: in Turkey an all-out war broke out between the army and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK); it was in this year too that the Indian army stormed the Golden Temple in Amritsar, which

was followed by the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the massacre of thousands of Sikhs.

The parallels continue into the 1990s. In December 1992, an agitation launched by the BJP and its allies culminated in the tearing down of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, by a mob of Hindu activists; this in turn led to months of rioting and thousands of deaths. In Turkey, in July 1993, a gathering of prominent Alevis, was attacked by an Islamist mob in the town of Sivas: dozens of men and women were killed. In both cases it was the inaction of the authorities that permitted the violence to escalate.

The 'liberalization' of the Turkish and Indian economies also occurred in tandem, in the 1980s and '90s. It was in these decades too that the secular-nationalist establishment of both countries began to suffer major setbacks, with religious parties steadily gaining ground.

That political developments in India and Turkey have occasionally mirrored each other is in some ways surprising, since the historical trajectories of the two republics have little in common. Unlike India, Turkey was never colonized; to the contrary it was itself a major imperial power until the First World War. In the second half of the 20th century, Turkey's politics differed from India's in that they were



AKP Party meeting in Turkey

dominated by the army. As a close ally of the United States, Turkey's international alignments were also different from India's through those decades. Perhaps more significantly, in material terms Turkey is (and has long been) far better off than India: its people are more prosperous and better educated, and its infrastructure is more 'advanced' in almost every respect. Indeed Turkey is effectively a First World country while India ranks in the lower levels of almost every index of 'development'. Moreover India, with more than a billion people, is vastly larger than Turkey with its population of 77 million.

Yet the two countries do have at least one very important commonality: both are multi-ethnic and multi-religious, with very marked differences between regions. It is for this reason perhaps that the transition to nationhood was accompanied by similar traumas in both India and Turkey: indeed it could be said that it is in their dreams and nightmares, their anxieties and aspirations, that their commonalities find their most eloquent expression. Both republics were born amidst civil conflict, war and massive exchanges of population. In no small part was it due to these experiences that secularism came to attain an unusual salience in the two countries: it was considered indispensable for the maintenance

of peace and equity within diverse populations. But secularism was thought to be indispensable also to the aspirations for material advancement that lay at the heart of the Kemalist and Nehruvian projects. For the elites of both countries there was little difference between 'secularism' and 'secularization': the ultimate aspiration was for a general progression towards what Nehru liked to call the 'scientific temper'. This was thought to be essential to the attainment of modern ways of living, as exemplified by the West. But since religion plays an important role in the lives of the vast majority of Indians and Turks, secularism was always an embattled aspiration, in both countries. Yet, through the latter decades of the 20th century, even as the banners of secular-nationalism were beginning to look increasingly tattered, their bearers somehow managed to retain their hold on power in both Turkey and India.

Historic Elections

This does not mean, of course, that religious parties never had any taste of power before the ascent of Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Narendra Modi. Just as Erdogan's advent was presaged by two former Prime Ministers, Turgut Özal and Necmettin Erbakan, so too was Narendra Modi preceded as PM by another leader of the BJP: Atal

Bihari Vajpayee.

Why then did the elections that brought Erdogan and Modi to power seem so pivotal? In part it was because these elections had each been preceded by a tectonic shift in the political landscape; a development that was most notably evident, in both cases, in the collapse of the traditional left. In Turkey this collapse came about well before the election of 2003. This is how Jenny White, an anthropologist, puts it: 'In previous decades, the Turkish left had carried the banner of ideological resistance to economic injustice. But the left had fallen victim to a double knockout punch: the post coup military crackdown and the global decline of socialism. Both left- and right-of-center parties abandoned the terrain of economic justice for more global issues. Islamist institutions and party platforms took over the role of the left as champions of economic justice...'

A similar dynamic was at work in India ten years later, most notably in my home state, West Bengal, where a Left Front, led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist), had been dominant for more than three decades. But in the latter years of its rule the Left Front had come to be seen as corrupt and subservient to moneyed interests. Its rupture with the class that had brought it to power – small and marginal farmers – was set in motion by an effort to bring heavy industries into the state. This resulted in a series of land disputes between small farmers and corporations: by intervening on behalf of the latter, the Left Front sealed its own fate. In the election of 2014 the left parties suffered a defeat so catastrophic as to all but eliminate them as a major factor in national politics. This is undoubtedly a radical break for a country where the left has often held the balance of power.

But there was a break also in the nature of the support that Erdogan and Modi were able to mobilize: they both succeeded in extending their bases beyond

traditional religious groupings. Erdogan, for example, was able to draw on the resources of the vast network of educational, social and media-related organizations created by Fethullah Gülen, a religious figure who is in many respects quite different from traditional Islamist leaders. So too was Modi able to enlist not just the old Hindu-nationalist organizations like the RSS, but also a number of gurus, godmen and pundits who have recently risen to prominence like Ramdev and Ravi Shankar. Among them are some who have created new constituencies of Hindu activists in universities, tech companies and the like. This enabled the BJP to counter some of the charges that had proved most effective against religious conservatives in the past: that they are obscurantist and old fashioned; that they are a hindrance in the march to modernity; and so on. Instead, the BJP (like the AKP before it), was able to turn the tables on the secularists: it succeeded in presenting itself as *more* modern than its opponent, being less statist, less corrupt and less tainted by the past. That the BJP's Prime Ministerial candidate was a self-made man, not a dynastic scion, was frequently cited to suggest that he would bring a new dynamism to the country's politics.

The similarities in these two political careers are such as to suggest that something more than

coincidence is at work here, something systemic. Erdogan and Modi are men of their time and have both come to power by riding a wave of neo-liberal globalization: their rise is proof that an economic ideology, when wrapped in a packaging of religious symbols and gestures, can have a tremendous electoral allure.

The process by which the neo-liberal program was sacralized in Turkey has been described thus by the scholar Cihan Tugal: 'Starting with its establishment in 2001, the AKP's ideologues presented it as the expression of an economic shift, but they did so using a quite spiritual language. Nazif Gurdogan, a conservative ideologue and a member of a predominantly elite religious order, interpreted this party (in Sufi language) as the representative of the 'forces of light' against the 'forces of darkness'. He further defined the latter as proponents of centralized, hierarchical, and rigid organizations based on trust, transparency, and distribution of authority. In political economic language he saw the party as the agent of flexible capitalism against organized capitalism represented by the nationalized sectors of the bourgeoisie. Religious civil society... combined its forces to sacralize the AKP's economic program. Without this spiritualization, neoliberalism could not be sustained.'

Or, as another student of

Turkish politics has put it: '... greater access to global resources, wealth accumulation, and communication technologies has redirected 'political Islam' toward an increasingly rationalized, post-political manifestation of something that might be termed 'market Islam.'

That this shift took longer in India than in Turkey is perhaps partly attributable to Hinduism itself: it is no easy matter, after all, to superimpose an ideology of 'growth' and consumerism upon a religion in which asceticism and renunciation are foundational values. But over the last two decades an emergent alliance of right-wing economists, revisionist thinkers and electorally savvy politicians and strategists has pulled off the seemingly impossible. Through a re-branding exercise of the sort that contemporary corporations are so adept at, they have successfully invented and sold a new product 'Market Hinduism'.

As with many other re-branded products the goods are actually rather shop-soiled. They consist of pretty much the same set of ideas that motivated 19th century opium traders, many of whom were devout evangelical Protestants, to claim that by smuggling drugs into China they were merely upholding the divinely-ordained laws of Free Trade, and thereby doing God's work.

The irony a terrible one for people of a genuinely spiritual bent is that this ideology has the power to impoverish the religions that it touches, emptying them of all that is distinctive in their traditions. Instead it infects those religions with ideas that are not only 'secularized' [or materialistic] but are also directly opposed to many of the values that have historically been cherished by every religion.

Are there any portents for India in Turkey's experience of AKP rule? I believe there are.

The first lesson is that the Narendra Modi's tenure is likely to pose many surprises for liberals, left-wingers and others opposed to the BJP. As Cihan Tugal writes: 'The first three years of AKP rule were a



liberal's dream. The party passed many democratic reforms, recognized the existence of minorities hitherto rejected by official discourse, and liberalized the political system.'

Just as Erdogan was able to distance himself from his predecessors' posture in relation to minority groups, it is perfectly possible that Modi too will take a different stance towards some of India's troubled regions.

Equally, there may be some surprises ahead for New Delhi's security hawks. Just as the AKP's former Foreign Affairs Minister (and current PM), Ahmet Davutoglu, was able to engineer some significant changes in Turkey's relationship with its neighbours, Narendra Modi too may be able to alter the regional dynamic in southern and eastern Asia. There are signs already that under his leadership India's relations with China and Bangladesh will take a different tack.

In matters of governance, it is generally accepted that Erdogan has been more efficient and effective than his immediate predecessors. It is quite likely that this will be the case with Modi as well.

But what of Narendra Modi's core promises: growth and economic expansion? Here the eleven-year time lag between Erdogan's election and Modi's may be of critical importance. Through Erdogan's first term as Prime Minister, Turkey's Gross Domestic Product grew at an average rate of 7.2%. But this probably came about because of a global upswing that happened to occur at a time when 'emerging' economies abounded in low-hanging fruit. In India too, the economy was expanding at similar rates in that period, under a Congress-led government. But after the global economic downturn, there has been a marked slowing of growth in both India and Turkey. It would seem that unlike Prime Minister Erdogan, who had the good fortune to come to power with a favorable economic wind behind

him, Narendra Modi's ascent has coincided instead with a strengthening downdraft.

What will happen if expanding expectations of growth are hemmed in by a tightening horizon of possibility? If the Turkish experience is any indication, the likelihood is that the attempt to pursue old strategies of 'growth' will become increasingly frenzied. More malls will be built and more public lands will be sold off; real-estate bubbles will proliferate, accompanied by revelations of corruption; the privatization of natural resources will accelerate, perhaps even leading to the sale of rights to rivers. At the same time, grass-roots opposition will be suppressed and every effort will be made to silence environmentalists. But only for a brief period will it be possible to get away with this. At a certain point people will push back, as they did in Turkey, during the Gezi Park protests of 2013.

Indeed the one area in which there is certain to be headlong growth is that of protest a whiplash effect, ironically, of the same neo-liberal wave that has brought the AKP and the BJP to power. For it is now evident that the very currents that send tsunamis of capital and information hurtling around the world also have the effect of throwing up sand-bars of protest, many of which self-consciously mimic each other. But governments



have also been quick to learn: from Hong Kong to Seattle, Istanbul to London, the powers-that-be have found ways to contain and ultimately disperse these movements. As a result their principal effect is often merely to bruise the egos of whichever leaders they happen to be directed against.

When protests break out in India, as they surely will, how will Narendra Modi respond? Will he take a leaf out of Erdogan's book and become more authoritarian and repressive? Will he retreat into Sultan-ish isolation? Will political pressures ultimately lead to a break between him and some of the organizations that helped to bring him to power (as has been the case with Erdogan and the Gülenists)? Only time will tell.

No matter what Modi's response, the contradictions between neo-liberal promises of growth and the constraints of the environment will not go away. Not only will they cause domestic disruptions, they will also impinge, with increasing insistence, on matters deemed to be 'external'. Thus has the AKP's ambitious foreign policy been disastrously waylaid by events beyond its borders, most notably by a conflict that has, to a significant degree, been shaped by climate-change: the civil war in Syria, which was triggered by the catastrophic drought that began in 2008.

India, like Turkey, happens to be located in a region that is exceptionally turbulent, both politically and climatically. It is more than likely that the BJP's foreign policy will also be susceptible to similar disruptions.

Indeed perhaps the most important lesson of the Turkey's recent past is that the world is now entering a period of extreme volatility, when governments will be so overwhelmed by crises and firefighting requirements that they will be less and less able to implement coherent programs and policies.



The Toxic Substances Control Act of 1976, which hasn't been updated since its creation, excludes drugs and pesticides. Chemical safety net is more hole than net.



Medicine

Pollution

* Mike Adams

The "innovative" and "challenging new compounds" created each day by commerce are threatening the planet in which we live, scientists say. More and more traces of pharmaceuticals are being discovered in our lakes, rivers and soil daily, and their effects are pretty much completely unknown. For once, a lack of regulation on the government's part is largely to blame. The "environmental spread of pharmaceuticals" is totally ignored by the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA), allowing these man-made pills to end up everywhere, including our drinking water.

The Toxic Substances Control Act of 1976, which hasn't been updated since its creation, excludes drugs and pesticides. Under the law, the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) is required to maintain a registry of industrial compounds that may be potentially toxic, but advanced safety testing of those materials is not required, according to a report by *The New York Times*.



"Congress has not sent an environmental law to the president's desk in 18 years." Only a fraction of the estimated 84,000 compounds registered have been tested for their safety on humans, prompting scientists and environmental groups to call for serious revisions, in which the risk assessments of suspect compounds are performed.

"Our chemical safety net is more hole than net," said Ken Cook, president of the Environmental Working Group. "Where does that leave us in terms of scientific understanding of what drugs to regulate?" Anne Womack Kolton, vice president for communications at the American Chemistry Council, which represents chemical



manufacturers said, "Think about the world 40 years ago. It was a vastly different place. It's common sense to revise the law and make it consistent with what we know about chemicals today."

The American Chemical Society maintains a database of chemical substance information containing more than 89 million organic and inorganic substances and 65 million sequences dating back to 1957. An estimated 15,000 new substances are added each day, many of which are poorly understood, scientists say. In an essay published in the journal *Environmental Science & Technology*, Dr. Jerald L. Schnoor, a University of Iowa professor of civil and environmental engineering, wrote about the way older compounds are being altered in the environment. Some substances become even more toxic after they are broken down by plants or animals. Chemical contamination in the environment is growing at an exponential rate, scientists say. For example, polychlorinated biphenyls, or PCBs (which are banned in the U.S. but keep

showing up in the environment), are broken down into even more "toxic metabolites," reported the *Times*. Another example is chlorpyrifos, a highly toxic organophosphate insecticide that when ingested by animals become 3,000 times more potent, according to *Beyond Pesticides*.

Minnesota Zumbro River laced with traces of prescription pills.

While investigating the chemistry of the Zumbro River of Minnesota, environmental health scientists were surprised at the "sheer range and variety" of

prescription drugs they found. Relatively high levels of acetaminophen, an over-the-counter painkiller that causes liver damage in humans, the antibiotic anti-convulsive carbamazepine, caffeine and pesticides were among the contaminants found. "We don't know what these background levels mean in terms of environmental or public health," said Deborah Swackhamer, the investigation's lead scientist.

The U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) tracks chemicals in waterways, sediments, landfills and municipal sewage sludge, which are often converted to fertilizer. Steroid hormones and triclosan (an antibacterial agent banned in Minnesota) were found in sewage. The antidepressant Prozac has shown up in fish, causing them to be anxious, anti-social and even homicidal, reported the *Scientific American*.

"We're looking at an increasingly diverse array of organic and inorganic chemicals that may have ecosystem health effects," said Edward Furlong, a USGS chemist. "Many of them are understudied and unrecognized."

- ❖ 67 people are as wealthy as the world's poorest 3.5 billion people
- ❖ Each of these people has as much wealth as 52 million of the poorest people
- ❖ 28 or 42% of them come from the United States
- ❖ Germany and Russia have 6 of these elites
- ❖ US has 30% of the world's wealth
- ❖ Europe has 32% of the world's wealth

Source : Oxfam International

PBI Contesting Delhi Elections



Renu Poddar
Constituency
MATIALA



Baijnath Sah
Constituency
NAJAFGARH



Birendra Jha
Constituency
RITHALA

**Kamleshwari
Mistri**

Constituency
DWARKA

Four candidates of Proutist Bloc, India have filed their nomination papers for ongoing Delhi State Assembly Elections. Candidates are Smt. Renu Poddar from Matiala Sh. Baijnath Sah from Najafgarh, Sh. Kamleshwari Mistri from Dwarka and Sh. Virendra Jha from Rithala Constituency. Election Campaign is spearheaded by Sh. Amitabh Verma, President, Delhi State Committee with the active support of the National Committee of PBI.

Indian political scene has witnessed the rise and fall of various parties and leaders in the electoral politics, but it is yet to witness the success of a party or leader at the hustings with the corresponding success in bringing genuine happiness and peace to people in general.

In spite of all the challenges of present day politics, PBI candidates are determined to give their best and spread Proutistic ideas during the election campaign and come out with flying colours.

All Proutists are requested to actively participate during election campaign and extend every possible assistance for its success.

Prout Newsletter being Released 'Global Impact: Prout News and Commentaries'

Proutist Universal Global Office is publishing a quarterly e-newsletter called "Global Impact: Prout News and Commentaries". The purpose of this online publication is to share the work of Proutists throughout the world, learn about new programs and strategies, encourage PROUT commentaries on current events and topics, and deepen our understanding of theory and practice through insightful analysis.

Proutists from around the globe—Brazil, Germany, Guatemala, India, Korea, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, USA, and Venezuela—have contributed their amazing experiences in the field. From Nigeria, we learn about how AMURT workers are effectively applying Prout strategies in rural areas. And our analysis section cuts through the smokescreen of austerity programs being imposed by global financial institutions on debtor nations and offers some Prout alternatives.

To receive this quarterly newsletter, please go to the link : <http://eepurl.com/bal2a1> and sign up. For more information about the newsletter and how you can submit your articles, please contact :

Dada Maheshvarananda, PU Global Office, Copenhagen, Denmark
email : globalimpact@prout-global.org



SOCIETY AND SOCIAL UNITY

Shrii Shrii Anandamúrti



Society is like a company of pedestrians going on a pilgrimage. Suppose one among them is attacked by cholera, do the rest go on their way, leaving him behind? No, they cannot. Rather, they break their journey at the place for a day or two, relieve him from the disease and help him to acquire strength in his legs. Or, they start out anew, carrying him on their shoulders. If anyone runs short of his subsistence, others give him their own. Together, they share everything with all. Together, they stream ahead, singing their leading chorus. In their eagerness to go ahead with others, they forget their trifling differences which in their families might have lead to negative exchanges and court cases, even down to three generations.

The essence of cooperation born of moving together, aims at widening or expanding the mental being of a person by striking down one's barriers of meanness again and again. And hence, I reiterate that society is like such a batch of pilgrims gathering a strange power of mind in travelling together and with its help, solving all the problems of their individual and social life.



Accepting Poison Bestowing Nectar

JE AGNI SPHURLINGA DHRÁY
CHAÁLE TÁHÁR DHÁRÁY EGIYE
CALE JE VAHNI SHIKHÁ RÚPE ARÚPE
BHUVAN BHARIYÁ SATATA DOLE
TÁHÁR DHÁRÁY EGIYE CALE

SE PRÁÑA SHAKTI KEO NEVÁTE
PÁRE NÁ

ÁÁ

SE PRÁÑA SHAKTI KEO NEVÁTE
PÁRE NÁ

SE PRAYUKTI KEU BUJHIÁ UTHE NÁ
SE SAMSTHITI MÁJHE ÁCHE TAVA
KARUNÁ SARVA BHÁVE ÁR SARVA
KÁLE
TÁHÁR DHÁRÁY EGIYE CALE

ETO LIILÁ EKÁ TUMI KI RÚPE
KARIYÁ JÁO ÁÁ
ETO LIILÁ EKÁ TUMI KI RÚPE
KARIYÁ JÁO KONO BÁDHÁ
VIPATTITE NÁHI THEME JÁO
HALÁHALA NIJE NIYE AMRTA
VILÁYE DÁO TÁI TAVA NÁME NATA
SABE NIKHILE
TÁHÁR DHÁRÁY EGIYE CALE

JE AGNI SPHURLINGA DHRÁY
CHAÁLE TÁHÁR DHÁRÁY EGIYE
CALE

The fiery sparks You have
Scattered upon this earth
Their flow goes on moving forward.
The flame of the fire You ignite
Visibly and invisibly
Goes on eternally
Burning, flickering in the wind
Filling the entire world.

That vital energy,
That power of Your heart
Can never be extinguished.
Those mysterious ways in which You work
No one can even begin to understand.
And established within each of those ways
Is Your boundless compassion
In all feelings, in all beings, at all times.

O such wondrous, divine play
You go on performing
With this beautiful Form of Yours
Never, ever pausing
For any obstacle or affliction.
Poison you receive, you keep for Yourself
And You distribute nectar (to all)
That is why at Your Name,
Everyone in the whole world
Bows before You.
Their flow goes on moving forward.
The fiery sparks You have
Scattered upon this earth
Their flow goes on moving forward.

(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,
Of sincere, success a certainty.
Fee fy fa fum.
Expel the demons from physical stratum.
Fee fy fa fum.
Expel the exploiters from economic stratum.
Fee fy fa fum.
Expel the brutes from psychic stratum.
Fee fy fa 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.

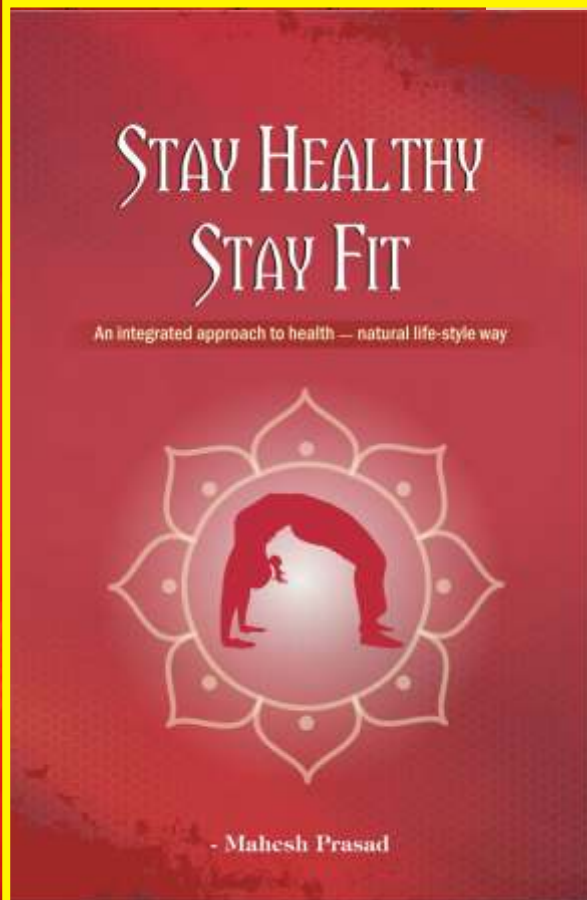
In this deep crisis of national disaster on all fronts, Proutist Bloc India has appeared on the political scene to rid country of the dragon of immorality, poverty and exploitation.

I appeal everybody to enrol themselves as a member of this party and strengthen the power of moralist forces.

Come One

Come All

**Contact : 9212069074, 9212199658, 9811426644, 9999626164
visit us at : pbi.org.in**



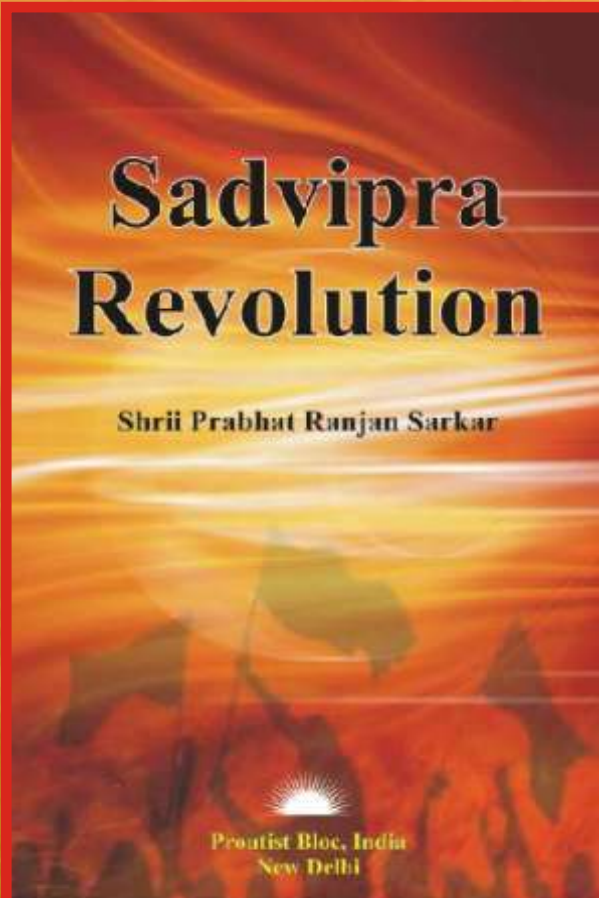
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