

# PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis

## BHARAT RATNAS

### THE CLEAN INDIA ARMY EVERY INDIAN MUST MEET

The workers describe entering a manhole as a descending into hell. Once inside there is nothing but darkness. Anything could happen to the worker. There are poisonous gases - methane, nitrogen, ammonia and hydrogen sulphide - generated by the decaying organic matter. These toxic gases have been the cause of many deaths.



# I SHALL CREATE A NEW EARTH

CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI  
 ATIITA KE ANKARÉ THEKE,  
 KÁNDATE NÁHI CÁI  
 EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 DUHKHER SMRITI SUKHER GIITI  
 JÁ NIYE THEKECHI  
 HÁSI KÁNNÁR CUNII PÁNNÁR  
 E KATHÁ BHEVECHI  
 TADER ÁBÁR TENE ENE,  
 MAN KE KENO BHOLÁI  
 EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,

ATIITE JÁ GHATÉ GECHÉ,  
 JÁ GHATÉ CALECHE  
 MODER MANER MAINJÚSÁTE  
 JÁ JAME RAYECHE  
 TÁDER EBÁR SARIYE DIYE  
 PRAGATIR GIIT GÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,

NOTUN USÁR PRATIIK MORE?  
 EGIYE SHUDHU RAI  
 DUHKHE SHOKE BHAGNA BÚKE  
 KÁTAR NÁHI HOI  
 LAĀBO MORÁ GAĀBO DHARÁ  
 MÁNI NÁ KONO MÁNÁI  
 EGIYE CALE JÁI,  
 CALO BHÁI EGIYE CALE JÁI,

Let us go, O brothers  
 Let us move forward  
 Move forward.  
 To be marked by the past  
 And keep on crying --  
 I do not want to do this anymore.  
 Move forward.  
 Let us go, O brothers

Sorrowful memories, joyous songs  
 Whatever I have kept with me  
 Laughing and crying,  
 Like rubies and emeralds  
 These stories I now am thinking -  
 Why should I keep bringing them  
 Pulling them around?  
 Why should I let my mind  
 Become lost in them  
 Move forward.  
 Let us go, O brothers

Whatever happened in the past  
 Whatever is happening now;  
 In the casket of my mind  
 Whatever has collected  
 Removing it all once again  
 I am singing the song of Progress.  
 Move forward.  
 Let us go, O brothers

Only the symbol (Pratiik) of  
 The new dawn remains in front of me.  
 Sorrow, grief and heartbreak  
 Shall not distress me  
 I shall fight, create a new earth,  
 without heeding any  
 Restrictions or obstructions.  
 Move forward.  
 Let us go, O brothers

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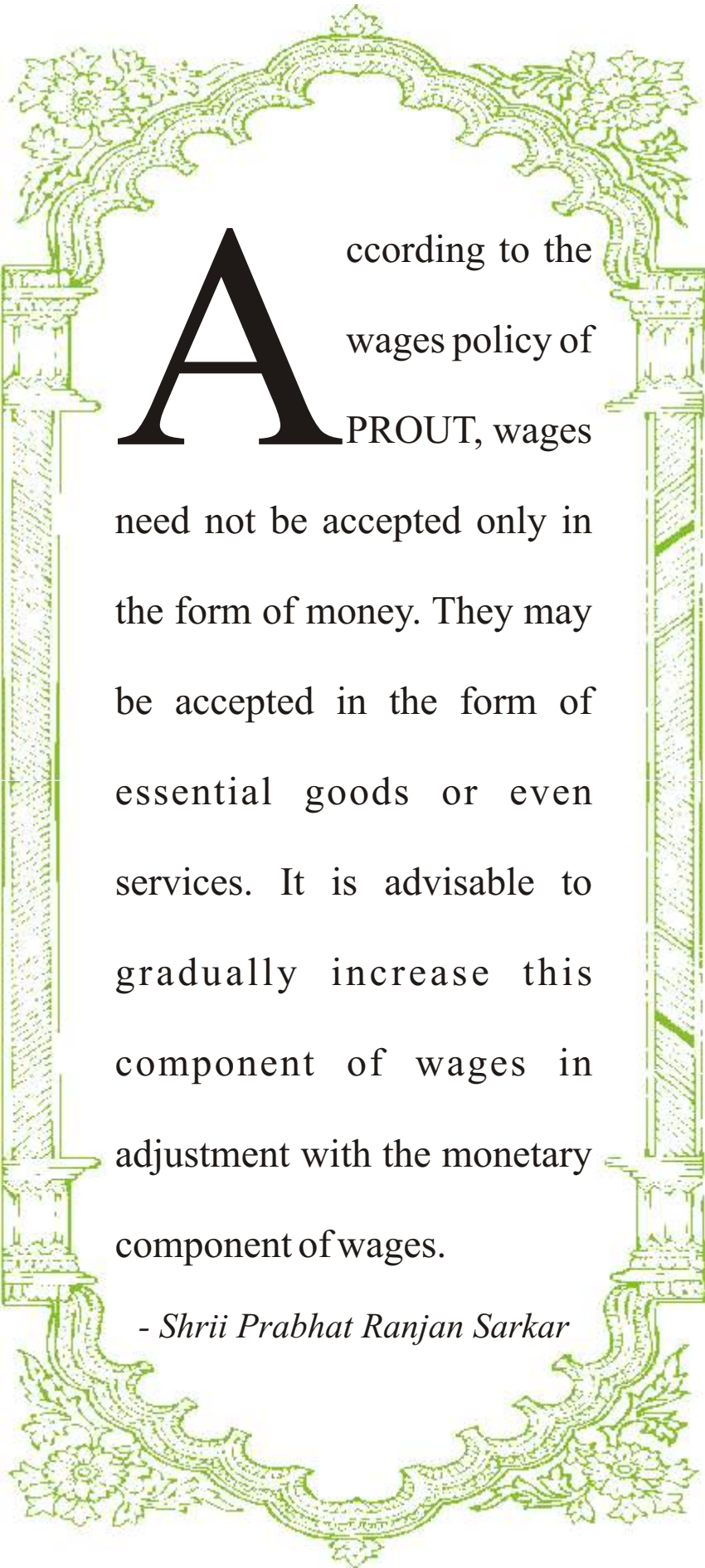
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## Fundamental Principles :

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.



According to the wages policy of PROUT, wages need not be accepted only in the form of money. They may be accepted in the form of essential goods or even services. It is advisable to gradually increase this component of wages in adjustment with the monetary component of wages.

*- Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar*

# New Year Resolution To Love Without Limit

At a time in history when there is so much agony, so much criminality on this planet we still feel the warmth of joy as the New Year dawns. This year let us all vow to follow one resolution – to love without limit.

In the last year we have seen the fires of hatred burning across the globe. Religious hatred, caste hatred, racial hatred, nationalistic hatred, language-based hatred and so many other types of hatred are burning in the hearts of so many people. The media has worked overtime to demonize people and rouse poisonous passions from the past and has been successful. The people are endlessly divided based on religion, ideology, race, caste, sub-caste and no end seems in sight.

And when we use our rationality and discrimination we find that behind all this venom of hate lies malevolent capitalists. The Carlyle Group is the largest military company in the world and on its board were the Bush family and the Bin Laden family. One family promotes Christian fundamentalism and the other Islamic and in the end both families go laughing to the bank together while their innocent followers kill each other. A BJP MLA indicted for the Muzaffarnagar riots due to which thousands of Muslims were displaced and who defended the killing of a Muslim falsely accused having eaten cow's meat was found to be a partner in one of the largest Muslim-Indian meat exporting companies to Muslim countries. From this we can see that for money those who get political power by promoting hatred of Indian Muslims will enter into business with foreign Muslims.

And it is not just with politicians do we find hypocrisy. Spiritual people who preach about how humanity is one and indivisible and about universal love can often be found making hateful statements against people of other religions. Yogis who proclaim that Brahma (Consciousness) is everywhere are found to harbour sentiments against some people based on their religion or caste. Those who are enraged when a cow is killed are making buffalo meat India's number one export. When buffaloes give more milk than cows are they not our true mothers? Those who boast of being tolerant are intolerant of those who contradict them.

Let all this hypocrisy come to an end this year. Let us take the resolution that no matter what happens, we will never ever hate any person on this planet although we may work to remove them from power. Let us take the resolution that our love will fill others' hearts with joy and not just our own. Let us take the resolution that our love will make us fight to end this violent economic system that exploits, starves and degrades innocent human beings across this planet. Let us take the resolution that our love will reach out to the countless innocent plants, animals, rivers and fight to save them from destruction. Let our love be as limitless as the sky and let everyone be soothed by it and freed from all narrow sentiments. Let our love be as powerful as a tsunami to tear down the mansions of the exploiters. Let our love become victorious over the forces of hatred. Let these words of the propounder of PROUT, Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar come alive in our lives:

**“Dharmic [righteous] people love all because to them everyone is the progeny of Supreme Consciousness and this cosmos is His creation. That is why it is verily the duty of every Dharmic person to establish a relationship of love and affection with each being created by Him and to express that love by serving society.**

**You shall always remember that you have come into this world for the practice of Dharma [sublime righteousness] and to generate friendship, love and affection in the human society. Those who stick to the path of Dharma shall be victorious for eternity.”**

**COMING ICE AGE**

The two articles you had on this topic were indeed eye-opening. To learn about Global Cooling due to the diminishing power of the sun was comprehensible. However the first article by Shrii Sarkar was truly prophetic. Since the fall of communism we have been in a void and now the void seems so much darker and filled with new wars and climate disasters. The drastic changes in the collective mind predicted we are seeing today in the form of so much fear and hate. It is a tragedy that no ideology has had the moral courage to come forth and replace the ideological void this article talks about.

**Ravi Tamang, Leh**

**HIJACKING OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION**

What a revelation of the ultimate betrayal. Everyone knows how during World War 2, many Congress partymen profited in the black market even during the great Bengal famine. Everyone knows how the British bankrolled the communists, the Muslims extremists and the Hindu extremists. These were the foul inheritors of the British Raj. Ultimately all parties created by these malevolent groups have leeches off of the Indian body politic for more than half a century. Political parties are the root cause of all evils in society today. The question the article raises needs to be answered – can this corruption of the Constitution be challenged in Court.

**Claude Pinto, Panaji**

**FOOD SCARCITY**

You know for food, monkeys, wolves and crocodiles will kill each other. That is natural. That we can understand. But look at human beings. They will do such scientific studies, they will preach so much about morality and tolerance but they will behave more barbarically than animals. No animal kills out of hate for the religion of another animal. No animal robs and destroys other animals like human beings do.

The ultimate question this article forces us to face is how do we stop human himsa that is destroying our planet and thus forcing innocent people to start robbing and killing each other? How many more will starve and be killed while we watch in sinful silence?

**Fatima Ghani, Delhi**

**FEMINIZATION OF URBAN POVERTY**

The fact is that the victimization of women in the New Economy since the “liberalization” (i.e. recolonization) of the Indian economy is not an accident. Women are deliberately targeted for exploitation. After all why should only husbands be able to exploit their wives' slave labour. Every business should also have the chance to exploit poor women. Many women thought that by coming to the city they would escape the slave labour and abuse of rural casteism. This however goes against traditional values. All the petty exploiters working for the corporate have created a new version of the old exploitation of women in the casteist villages. The more things change, the more they remain the same.

**Chinmay Patel, Surat**

**DROUGHT IN CHATTISGARH**

We do not need to be a professor to understand that by cutting down the forests we are essentially committing suicide. But the state of Chattisgarh has sold its soul to the mining mafia who are destroying the land. Some heartless farmers and the majority of the elites of Chattisgarh did not care about those who were being tortured by the Salwa Jadhums and the Naxals in Bastar. But just see their heartlessness has come back to haunt them as they reap the consequences of turning a blind eye to the destruction of forests and those who live in them. We hope that the Chattisgarh farmers can learn not just to unite with each other but with all the other suffering people in Chattisgarh.

**Hemachuda Dom, Ranchi**

**WEST PAPUA COLONISATION**

Indonesia suffered tremendously under Dutch imperialism. However the Indonesian elites who took over after the great massacre of Communists and progressives as usual diverted the rage of the people by invading other islands. Indonesia does not really exist. It is essentially as this article says a colony of Western corporations and their governments. West Papua and Papua New Guinea should become one country and the rule of the Indonesian army and western capitalists must end. This requires a true independence struggle. This is not just a struggle in Papua but a struggle against Australia, the US and other nations. But above all it requires a genuine love for humanity on our part. Love makes people act to save those they love. So if we do not act to save our brothers and sisters in West Papua, it simply means that we have no love. And if we have no love, it means we are not alive – we are the living dead.

**Zachary Downs, Perth**

**AXING OF NUTRITION BUREAU**

You know we vote for people who do not believe we have the right to exist. They reduce all budget programmes for those who are being starved by our government who has cut funding for them while giving huge tax breaks to the corporations who are responsible for so much corruption and violence. The government's own minister (Maneka Gandhi) has commented that she is not able to pay anganwadi workers let alone expand their activities to stop children being stunted and being killed because of our chorpatis' business houses. The author is right indeed to say that for the government – no news is good news. We watch our TVs and are afraid of a handful of terrorists and ignore the real terrorists who are bringing so much suffering and death to hundreds of thousands of small babies across the country.

**Chotti Munda, Ranchi**

## THE ORGAN PLAYER

This is the story of a poor organ player who lived around 200 years ago in a farming community on the cold forbidding coast of one of the Shetland Islands. He played morning and evening at the local church and with what little the kindly pastor would spare from the small donations received by the church, he barely could manage to feed his wife and children. He was so poor that friends would tease that he was poorer than the church mouse. Still he was very affable and laughed a lot.

And he played the organ very well. So melodious did the notes of the organ sound off his flying fingers – Bach’s hymns to the Lord, those few who attended the congregation and few who passed by would listen spell bound. At times the only one listening in was the pastor himself. That did not worry the organ player as he would just lose himself in the magic of the sounds resonating from the cold and hard stone walls of the tiny church.

Those were difficult days. Besides being poor, people were oppressed children wore off their lives laboring in factories, and Europe was full of sectarian wars. The quiet farming community though outwardly peaceful couldn’t remain unaffected. People started leaving for the promised land if they could raise money for the boat ticket to cross the Atlantic. Others left the farms to work in coal mines and factories. The hard life became harder.

One night the pastor after a long day went to bed and soon fell fast asleep. He dreamt of being in heaven with angels singing and dancing to melodious notes of an organ somewhere far away. He had a smile on his face and was enjoying himself thoroughly when he suddenly woke up. The angels had vanished but surprisingly not the melodious notes. It was coming from his own church. It was very late at night and he wondered how. Wide awake he slipped on his robe and stepped out into the cold night air into the church. What he saw mesmerised him. The organ player unmindful of anything else was playing away to his heart's content. The pastor did what he only could. He kneeled on the floor, closed his eyes and listened intently. So melodious were the notes, warm tears couldn’t help falling down his face on the cold hard floor with stray thoughts percolating his mind.

*Notes of the organ resonate away and beyond  
The cold hard walls of cathedral stone  
My fingers fly warmed by thy touch  
So who may hear the north wind moan.  
From the sea frothing at the distant reefs  
Whose sprays freeze dark rocks to white  
While snows in the meadow glint for thee  
With firs in downy stir in lovely light.*

After a while he did not know how long, the music stopped. The pastor opened his eyes and found the organ player smiling at him shyly and said, “Sorry to have woken you father, with so much ailing the world I thought I’d play and cheer up the Lord”.

**Arun Prakash**



# THE RULE OF RATIONALITY

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

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“You should chalk out programmes for [PROUT's] materialization and implementation within a short period.” - Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

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This solar system is sufficient in its potentiality to maintain, nourish, feed and supply material for existence not only to human beings but to all its living beings.

Due to our folly or undeveloped thinking, we could not give proper solutions to the problems of material existence. Now our planet is just like a hidden treasure. We have to utilize this hidden treasure for the maintenance and sustenance of all the living beings of this universe.

This earth of ours is passing through a critical juncture. The solution is of immediate necessity. It brooks no delay. That is why our PROUT is to be propagated throughout this universe, especially on this planet of ours. You should chalk out programmes for its materialization and implementation within a short period.

You know, economic life,

political life and social life are not everything for living beings and human beings. They have also got a mental world and a spiritual world. For development and progress in the mental and spiritual worlds, our Neohumanistic ideology(1) is to be propagated everywhere. Spiritual life controls all other arenas of human life.

The physical body is made of the quinelemental factors.(2) For this, quinelemental science is to be applied to cure certain ailments associated with the physical body. To remove physico-psychic ailments, bio-science is to be developed utilizing the new theory of microvita.(3) Microvita may function as positive or negative physico-microvita. Spiritual microvita should also be utilized. Microvita theory should be properly utilized.

There is also cultural life. Tendencies are of either a degenerating or an exalting nature, that is, they are either of a depraving or an elevating nature. We should

encourage the elevating tendencies and discourage the depraving ones. In certain parts of this world, depraving tendencies such as pornography exist. Simply protesting will not stop these things: we will have to do something positive to check it. Such positive action will create a new stir in the human mind. Pornography and other depraving tendencies will be completely discouraged and checked. That will be our course of action. We have to create new literature, new books, new music, new songs... We have to chalk out a programme and act accordingly.

Innocent human beings are at the mercy of devouring demons. The animals are also at the mercy of human demons. Even the plants are at the mercy of human demons. These demons destroy forests without planting new ones and thus create new deserts. There is folly in their thinking as well as their





**This earth of ours is passing through a critical juncture. The solution is of immediate necessity. It brooks no delay. That is why our PROUT is to be propagated throughout this universe, especially on this planet of ours.**

economics. 300 years ago there was no desert in South America; 150 years ago there was no desert in India. Innocent human beings are at the mercy of human demons. We must solve this problem. We must solve this problem through PROUT, Neohumanism, microvita, art, literature, songs, music and spiritual sadhana. This is the panacea to solve all these problems.

There may be a shortage of petroleum but elements for creating petroleum are available in the world. We will be able to produce synthetic petroleum.

What we want is the rule of rationality. Human society is one and indivisible. Apparently there is heterogeneity but in essence there is homogeneity. For instance, in the Middle East there are Muslims, Jews, Christians, Semites and Blacks. But they all belong to the same supreme race – they are all the progeny of the Supreme Progenitor. This is what the spiritual philosophy of Ananda Marga says. Only due to dogmas, people think in terms of heterogeneity. There is only one ideology in the world which is not only all-embracing but also all-pervading.

Both the problems and their solutions have been pointed out.

Now it is our bounden duty to carry this message to all nooks and corners of this world. The wind is blowing in our favour. We should carry the message to each and every particle of marrow of this living world.

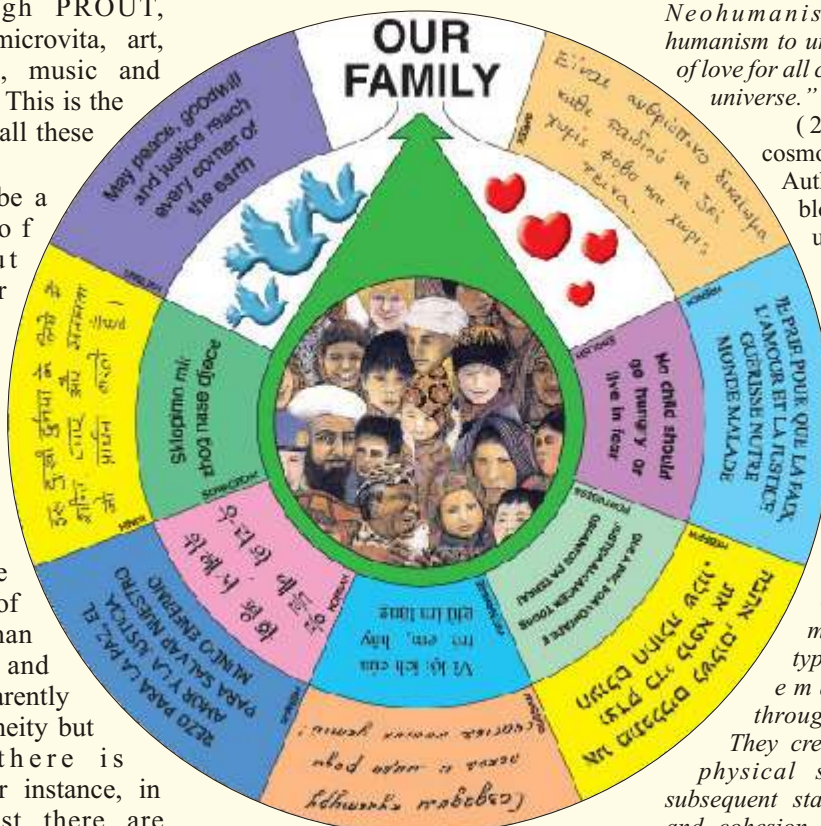
*is elevated to a devotional sentiment, a devotional mission, to the realm of devotional ideation – when the underlying spirit of humanism is extended to everything, animate and inanimate, in this universe – I have designated this as “Neohumanism”. This Neohumanism will elevate humanism to universalism, the cult of love for all created beings of this universe.”*

(2) As per the cosmological theory of the Author, the five building block of the material universe are the solid, liquid, luminous, aerial and ethereal factor. – Eds.

(3) In the discourse “Crude and Subtle Microvita”, the Author explains this as follows, “Microvita is a very subtle being. Of the three types of microvita, the crude type are instrumental in emanating life throughout the cosmos.

They create a stir within a physical structure. In the subsequent stages, through clash and cohesion, enormous changes take place in the physical structure.

This process led to the emergence of the dinosaurs, mammals and finally intelligent human beings. Subtle microvita, which are too subtle to come within the scope of a highly developed microscope, are divided into two categories. One category functions within the world of perception through inferences such as sound, touch, form, taste and smell, and the other category functions directly within the subtler realm – that is, within the human mind.”



**Footnotes**

(1) In the discourse “Devotional Sentiment and Neohumanism”, the Author defines it as follows, “All molecules, atoms, electrons, protons, positrons and neutrons are the veritable expressions of the same Supreme Consciousness. Those who remember this reality, who keep this realization ever alive in their hearts, are said to have attained perfection in life. They are the real bhaktas [devotees]. When this devotional cult(3) does not remain confined to a mere practice, but instead

# *Mind Control:*

## *Manipulated by the "Crisis of the NOW"*

What you're about to read here is a revealing look at the psychological mechanism presently being used by government and media to achieve near-absolute control over the population. I'm calling the concept the "Crisis of the NOW."

\* Mike Adams, Henry Giroux and Brad Evans

The "crisis of the now" involves an incessant, strategic bombardment of the population with a never-ending stream of contrived crises that demand immediate attention in the present. This psychological bombardment is waged primarily via the mainstream media which

assaults the viewer by the hour with images of violence, war, emotions and conflict. Because the human nervous system is hard wired to focus on immediate threats accompanied by depictions of violence, mainstream media viewers have their attention and mental resources funneled into the never-

ending "crisis of the NOW" from which they can never have the mental breathing room to apply logic, reason or historical context.

To protect the propaganda from scrutiny, no person is ever allowed the luxury of reflection. Logic and reason are condemned. Critical thinking is derided. Historical context is obliterated by the repeated intrusion of the now, and whatever happened just a few short years or months ago is actively rejected (or memory holed) if it does not reinforce whatever present-day delusion is being pushed as "fact."

Similarly, the future is entirely off limits and never allowed to be explored in the mainstream media because doing so would require *reason* and forward thinking... two things which are never tolerated because they would reveal the inevitable failures of today's insane policies, such as running the country on debt and hoping it will somehow not matter down the road.

**Mentally Corralled Like Cattle**  
With the past erased from the minds



of the masses, and the future off limits, the *crisis of the now* become the only psychological reality in which the public is allowed to operate. To remember the past gets you labeled a "relic," and to project current events into the future makes you a "conspiracy theorist." Only the *crisis of the now* is allowed to be entertained: riots in the streets, the aftermath of a staged school shooting, a terrorist act, controversial statements of politicians.

The media demands that you focus on the NOW but forget the past. No historical context is allowed to be recognized (or even taught) because it might interfere with the *crisis of the now*. For example, in any discussion of vaccines, you are never allowed to remember that the entire medical establishment was once dominated by "Big Tobacco science," and that even the Journal of the American Medical Association used to run full-page ads touting the amazing health benefits of smoking cigarettes.

Remember the ad, "More doctors smoke Camels than any other cigarette?" This was achieved by the tobacco industry infiltrating all the science journals, giving money to universities, and engaging in "scientist-for-hire" activities to push their poisons under the "scientific" claim that smoking cigarettes posed no health risks whatsoever. The exact same tactic is used today by the biotech industry to push toxic GMOs and deadly herbicides chemicals like glyphosate.

### **Not Allowed to Apply Logic to Any Crisis**

Logic is the enemy of the propagandists. Because of that, no serious discussion or debate is ever allowed on any subject that the propagandists seek to control: vaccines, Genetically Modified Organisms, martial law, national debt, terrorism, jihadis and so on.

"[I]n order to sustain gigantic false realities, there are honest debates that must never happen," writes Rappoport in *Matrixology*

101: debates that never happen. "They would reveal too much. They would shine a spotlight on vast contradictions. They would expose official storytellers to withering criticism." To further explain his point, Rappoport reveals that AIDS is diagnosed in people today through the detection of HIV antibodies. If a person carries antibodies, they are assumed to be carrying HIV and assumed to be sick and diseased. But if an AIDS vaccine were developed, like all vaccines it would cause the body to produce antibodies to HIV, thus causing an HIV-vaccinated person to be diagnosed as having AIDS, too. So how can HIV antibodies mean you're "sick" in the first instance, but simultaneously those same antibodies mean you're "well" if they appeared after a vaccine?

"Millions and millions of antibody tests have been given to people around the world," writes Rappoport. "The antibody test is just one of a number of enormous issues in modern medicine that, if opened to real debate, would cause a seismic shift in society...assuming there were enough listeners who could track the lines of reasoning."

But reason is the enemy of the propagandists, and almost nobody knows how to think with clarity anymore because such skills are rarely taught in schools or universities. That's why the *crisis of the now* is always presented in a way that shuts down logic and reason, engendering an emotional response to whatever events are being thrown at you, most of which are pure, fabricated theater: The green screen ISIS beheading videos, CNN's green screen faked location shots from the Middle East, the wildly faked narrative of polar bears being "stranded" on floating pieces of ice (polar bears are great swimmers), staged White House photos from the "war room" as America's former CIA buddies are hunted down and executed by special ops teams, and so on.

Every crisis is structured to evoke an emotional state of mind

that shuts down all reason and critical thinking. Once this is achieved, the minds of the masses are hammered with whatever political programming messages are desired at the moment.

### **Creating Crisis Where None Exists**

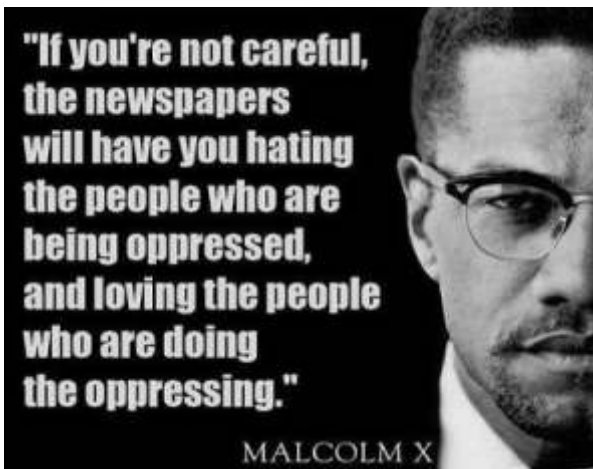
Sometimes the crisis of the day must be so wildly exaggerated and overhyped that the exercise strains the bounds of believability... such as the US Centre for Disease Control-directed measles panic waged by the mainstream media over a mild infection that killed no one and was never even considered a crisis until just the last few years when the vaccine industry shifted into "totalitarian science" mode. The point of the exercise was to instill extreme fear in the population, followed by the introduction of a vaccine mandate law which we now know is called SB 277 (California).

Once again, the *crisis of the NOW* shut down all reasonable thinking and even encouraged the public to abandon their own core human rights principles such as the idea that people have the right to decide what medical interventions they wish to endure, and that no government can force an injection on a parent or their child without informed consent. Through fear and crisis, the media even persuaded pro-choice women to become anti-choice on the issue of vaccines. No government has any right to interfere with a woman's body, it seems, unless that government is pushing a vaccine.

Thanks to the *crisis of the NOW*, every argument in favour of medical choice was steamrolled into oblivion: ethical arguments, scientific arguments, human rights arguments, legal arguments and the entire realm of reason.

But the classic *crisis of the NOW* which caused Americans to abandon all reason and surrender to police state totalitarianism was, of course, the terrorist attacks of 9/11.

The 9/11 attack was seized upon by the media and the government to wage what can only



be called a psychological warfare assault upon the American people as preparation for the passage of the original Patriot Act. That's the Bush-era law that legalized government surveillance of the American people, turning America into the totalitarian police state it remains today.

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent media campaign of instilling extreme hatred among the citizenry, Americans were ready to wholly support almost any law that claimed to "stop terror," even if it meant surrendering key liberties in the process.

Key to achieving all this was the elimination of selected facts from the memory of the American public. To this day, for example, almost no American remembers that three buildings, not two, were destroyed in New York City on 9/11, and the third building was not struck by any airplane at all. All questions about this third building -- WTC 7 -- have since been banished from any public discussion. No one is allowed to ask how a concrete-and-steel building could suddenly collapse, in perfect symmetry, with the kind of precision that can only be achieved with carefully engineered and pre-planned demolitions.

### **The Next "Crisis of the Now" is Being Planned Right Now**

To achieve almost any desired political outcome, all the global controllers have to do is wait for the right crisis (or stage it themselves), then roll out a pre-planned wave of

mental assaults structured around a *crisis of the now*.

Whatever the desired political outcome or agenda, **there is a crisis that can help it be achieved**, and that crisis will be so emotionally impactful that it will trap viewers in the NOW and utterly shut down the logic parts of their brain that can

contemplate the past and the future.

In effect, your conscious focus is being time-shifted into the urgency of the present so that you forget the past and don't calculate the future. Only with those parts of your brain shut down can the controllers steer you in their desired direction.

### **Propaganda is the Art of Overwhelming Logic**

To allow the public the luxury of reason is to lose control of their conclusions, you see. From the point of view of the controllers, allowing people to think for themselves runs too high a risk that people might not make decisions that violate their own self-interests. Yet the most important principle of exerting power over the people is to make sure that corporations and governments can convince people to *make decisions that violate their own self-interests*.

### **Psychological "Deletion" of the Real Threats to Your Life, Liberty and Happiness**

By trapping people in the crisis of the now, all critical thinking is nullified and replaced with raw emotional states that are very easy to manipulate and control through strategic media propaganda. At the same time, the real threats to your life, liberty and happiness are psychologically "deleted" from your mind. For example, if I told you that ISIS terrorists wielding swords were killing 44 Americans a day with gruesome beheadings, you would totally believe that because you've

been programmed to do so by the media. You'd get angry about it and call for more "national security" forces to protect us from those scary ISIS people.

However, right in our own cities there are people suffering from violence and abuse. Why is that not an Emergency for us? This is because we have been trained to ignore the corporate-government terrorism against the poor that is a part of daily life. We do not feel it is a threat. Instead the media makes all people afraid of the poor. When the poor people protest, the media trains even poor people to think of the protestors as savage animals and are taught to be afraid of them. We have to be afraid of everything above all we have to be afraid of foreigners, people of different religions because this way, the poor people of this world will never be united by the moralists of the world.

The fact is that even in America countless people suffer from severe poverty created by this Global Economic Depression manufactured by Larry Summers and other corporate elites as Greg Palast has shown. These are the real threats facing humanity that no one want to face because we are trained by TV, mobiles and the internet to live isolated lives filled with paranoid fears and petty desires. The Depression makes us live in the NOW of trying to survive working two low paying jobs and also trying to survive on the streets where the criminals and the police are both against you. This way we become like hunted animals and cannot think, cannot care about others and above all cannot unite.

Until something is associated with a strong emotional response, it doesn't exist in the consciousness of the masses. Everything that's "real" is first constructed out of pure emotion, then pushed into the minds of the masses via the *crisis of the NOW*. Only then does it count as real, and from that point forward it can be leveraged to pass new laws that further erode the rights and liberties of the people.

This is why the No. 1 tool of mind control from the mainstream media is emotional manipulation of the viewers. Emotional coverage can be authentic in cases where the crisis is real and attention is justified, but emotional manipulation is usually contrived in order to evoke a response for the sole purpose of manipulation.

All this gets back to the work of America's original propagandist Edward Bernays. He understood decades ago that you don't sell cigarettes by touting their benefits; you sell them by anchoring them to powerful emotional states reflecting positive self image. Similarly in 2015, you sell vaccines not by discussing anything resembling real science, but by catapulting emotional stories involving poor, innocent children who were stricken by the chicken pox -- the horrors! -- even if such stories are entirely fabricated. The truth behind the propaganda is irrelevant. What matters is its emotional impact. And because emotions override reason, those of us who attempt to cite the real science on issues like vaccines are fighting a losing battle. As the CDC has long proven, the real science doesn't matter. What matters is the narrative painted by the vaccine industry to evoke a charged emotional response as a form of mind control.

**Solutions and Defenses**

The defense against all this is to practice the ability of stepping back from the emotional tapestry being woven by the propagandists and evaluate the real logic behind the reports.

This is not easy to accomplish, but it can be achieved if you're determined to see things more clearly. Sometimes, the mere passage of time can diminish the emotional impact and achieve greater clarity.

This is precisely why the mainstream media repeatedly pounds the fear imagery into your head every few hours as we saw after the 9/11 attacks. You couldn't turn on a TV anywhere in America without

the video of airplanes striking the twin towers being blasted into your psyche, and this went on for weeks! Not all emotionally-charged warnings are fake, of course. Many truly emotional crises do exist and do warrant action on our part. The key is to be able to discern the difference between real vs. fake threats. There's a shortcut to achieving this, and it's simpler than you think: Assume that any agenda being pushed by the mainstream media is false. This "default" stance is usually correct (but not always). The logical way to approach this is to

assume they're lying to you, then demand they prove they aren't. A very powerful question to use for this purpose is one of my favorite questions of all time: "How do you know?"

If the mainstream media asserts that unvaccinated children are causing vaccinated children to be stricken with measles, simply ask the question, "How do you know?" To answer this question, they would have to demonstrate the mechanism by which their original assertion could take place. Overall, the best defense against emotional

The graphic features the Department of Homeland Security logo in the top left corner. The title "HOMELAND SECURITY TERROR THREAT LEVEL" is centered at the top in white text on a dark blue background. Below the title are five horizontal bars of different colors, each representing a threat level with associated actions:

- HYSTERICAL** (Red bar): APPROVAL RATING CRITICALLY LOW, CREATE IMMEDIATE DISTRACTION
- EXAGGERATED** (Orange bar): AXE ITEMS FROM BILL OF RIGHTS, DETAIN TOKEN MUSLIM SUSPECTS
- FABRICATED** (Yellow bar): ANNOUNCE VAGUE BOMB THREAT FROM EVERYDAY HOUSEHOLD ITEM
- SPECIOUS** (Blue bar): ENTHRALL PUBLIC WITH ZEALOUS RHETORIC ABOUT FREEDOM-HATERS
- UNSUBSTANTIATED** (Green bar): MAINTAIN PARANDIA THROUGH PATRIOTIC CALLS FOR VIGILANCE

manipulation is to get really good at asking lots of questions. Be persistent.

### Do You Know Anyone Who Can Still Think Critically?

Share this article with any friends you might have who still maintain the ability to think critically. It is people like you who will be required to save the nation and save the planet. The day that America and every other society must either stand up and fight for her freedoms or be overrun by corporate fascism is fast approaching. You can count on the fact that at least 90% of the population will be emotionally mind controlled as all this plays out, but the good news is that revolutions never require more than a small percentage of the populace taking action to protect their collective futures against tyranny.

### Liberating Our Minds

We must try and provide an incisive and timely critique of the state of global politics, especially the unequal distribution of power, wealth and opportunities most apparent in the world today. It is within this historical conjuncture and the current savagery of various regimes of neoliberal capitalism that we conceived the need to develop a paradigm that focused on the intensification of what we called the

politics of disposability.

This requires us to look at the ways in which more and more individuals and groups (such as tribal people, slum dwellers) are now considered excess garbage by the onslaught of global forces that no longer offer the possibility of alternative futures. The future agenda of population control through mass deaths by a planned Economic Crisis is the single greatest evil and fundamental truth everyone is afraid to face. The morbid anxieties of the age do not simply represent a fusion of mass violence, politics and power, but signify a new historical conjunction, in which violence takes on a defining political moment and framing device, which points to a historical shift and a new historical configuration.

Citizens, as Gilles Deleuze foresaw, are now reduced to data, consumers and commodities and, as such, inhabit identities in which they increasingly become unknowables, with no human rights and with no one accountable for their condition.

There is something, however, more at stake here than the contemporary plight of those millions forced to live in intolerable conditions. What makes the contemporary forms of disposability so abhorrent is precisely the way it

shapes disposable futures. The future now appears to us as a terrain of endemic catastrophe and disorder from which there is no viable escape except to draw upon the logics of those predatory formations that put us there in the first place. Devoid of any alternative image of the world, we are merely requested to see the world as predestined and catastrophically fated.

We take heart from the fact that people will resist what they find patently intolerable. We also understand that no regime for power can be totalizing. Human beings have this remarkable capacity to reimagine the world and show remarkable love for their fellow citizens, despite the catastrophes and horrors of the times. We must keep hold of and blossom that all too human sensibility - or else the battle is truly lost. What nihilism is after all is a willingness to succumb to the idea that the world can no longer be economically, spiritually, culturally, politically and ethically transformed for the better.

Central to our notion of resistance and educated hope is the belief that human power to act is a product of education and that at the heart of any viable notion of politics is the recognition that politics begins with attempts to change the way people think, act, feel and identify themselves and their relations to others. There is more to agency than the neoliberal emphasis on the "empire of the self" with its unbridled narcissism and unchecked belief in the virtues of a form of self-interest that despises the bonds of sociality, solidarity and community. Truth erupts in the educational awakening, the moment when the rules are broken, taking risks becomes a necessity, self-reflection narrates its capacity for critically engaged agency and thinking the impossible is not an option but a necessity for survival. Today we need a renaissance of creativity, sublimity and morality to create a new human psyche that can liberate this planet from slavery to capitalist bestiality.





## 8<sup>th</sup> Principle of Economic Democracy

### Block-Level Planning

**T**he eight principle of Economic Democracy is that Planning should function on various levels such as the block, district, state, national and global levels, but block-level planning will be the basic level of planning. Block-level planning is essential for economic decentralization, so it should be adopted in all blocks. There should be provision in the constitution for block-level planning for socio-economic development.

The amount of natural and human resources varies from block to block; hence separate economic plans will have to be made for each and every block. There should be a block-level planning board in every block for this purpose. The block-level planning body will prepare a plan for the development of the block and accordingly implement the local developmental programmes. Above the block level there will be a district-level planning board. Thus, from the block level upwards, there will be planning boards to prepare and implement the local plans and programmes. It must be remembered that planning should be of ascending order, starting at the block level, and including all the levels of a socio-economic unit.

#### Commentary:

Economic plans and programmes should never be imposed from the top. On the contrary, there must be adequate scope for them to emerge from the grass roots. Each and every economic plan should be prepared in the concerned local area. For example, the economic planning for Pundibari in the Cooch Bihar District of Bengal cannot be formulated sitting at Begunbari in Jalpaiguri District. The developmental plan for Pundibari must be prepared in Pundibari itself on the basis of the intelligence, expertise and resources within the locality. While formulating economic plans and programmes, the hopes and aspirations of the local people must be taken into consideration.

Thus, to develop an area economically, planning must start at the grass roots level – the direction of economic development should be from the bottom to the top, not from the top to the bottom. The latter approach is impractical and a utopian myth.

Proutistic economic planning is based on the ideal of the welfare of all. This guiding ideal will illuminate the path of socio-economic liberation for human beings. Capitalist planning is not based on collective welfare but on individual or group interests. A principal characteristic of capitalist exploitation is that capitalists gain control over the raw materials in a region in the pursuit of profit. This should not be allowed to continue. Rather, available resources must be utilized for the socio-economic development of local people.

In drafting the economic plan of a particular region, local engineers, economists, scientists, professionals, technicians, farmers, industrial labourers, intellectuals and other specialists should be consulted, but the responsibility for implementing the economic plan should be in the hands of local moralists chosen by the local people. They will have to play the leading role. The duty for materializing each and every item of planning should be vested in those established in morality and spirituality. They will mobilise the people to develop participatory economic planning for every subdistrict (block, *upabhukti*).

In Proutistic economic planning, every section of society will come within the scope of planning and in the execution of the planning collectively. Not only will it be possible to fulfill the economic hopes and aspirations of the local people, but individual, group or party interests will get no scope to control the economy. Through this approach, it is possible to effect the all-round growth of individuals and the collectivity. The formation of such a socio-economic environment will not only fulfill the material needs of human beings, but will also provide a firm foundation for their psychic and spiritual elevation.

Those powers which directly relate to economic decentralization should be in the hands of the states or the concerned lower level bodies. If this is not done, it will not be possible for them to materialize the economic programmes that are vested in them by decentralization. So the first step in decentralized planning is to make an economic plan according to the needs of the lowest level.

Proutistic economic planning will reorganize the structure of the population on a scientific basis from the very outset. A floating population will have to either merge its individual socio-economic interests with the interests of the region or return to its own region. Those who share a similar cultural legacy and uniform socio-economic potential will then be well-established in each region. In every region, socio-economic problems can be solved by the maximum utilization and rational distribution of the resources and potentialities in that region.

Economic planning should include the following factors – the cost of production, productivity, purchasing capacity and collective necessity [needs]. Each block should be made economically sound so that the entire socio-

economic unit will be self-sufficient. Only then will a country or federation become economically strong and developed in the real sense.

At each and every level of planning, there should be short-term and long-term planning. In all cases, the maximum time limit for short-term planning should be six months, and the maximum time limit for long-term planning should be three years. Short-term and long-term plans should be drafted in such a way that they are complementary to each other. The immediate goals of planning at each level are to guarantee the minimum requirements of the local people, eliminate unemployment, increase purchasing capacity and make socio-economic units self-sufficient.

This is why Prout's mission is **“Know the area, prepare the plan and serve the people.”** A proper approach to planning will take into account all the relevant factors before development schemes are implemented. And in this process of endless intellectual, physical and social labour, so many obstacles arise both internally and externally and so we are bound as how will the mission of service through giving people the economic freedom to govern their own economy – how will this mission to fight for this right survive in the face of vilification, persecution, lack of knowledge, personality conflicts and so much more?

The answer is that when people's actions are supported by their physical energy and actional faculty but not by their spiritual energy, they become easily tired in the process of work. But when they plunge into activity with cent percent of their energy and move forward with a clear plan of action, fixing a high ideal before them, all their actions become successful, and their lives are fulfilled. This is called devotion (*bhakti, ishq-e-haqiqi*). With this mystical love alone it will be possible not just end exploitation but to restore economic *pramā* (dynamic balance and equilibrium).

To restore balance in the triangular matrix of forces (*lokatrikona or pramatrikona*) of the physical stratum, the following four factors should be considered:

- 1) The physical demand at present and the physical demand in the foreseeable future.
- 2) The physical supply at present and the physical supply in the foreseeable future.
- 3) The maximum utilization of land.
- 4) The Five Fundamental Principles of PROUT as they apply to the physical stratum.

For example, while trying to solve the food problems of any socio-economic unit, the sub-triangle of agriculture will have to be created. A proper irrigation system may have to be introduced, and high-breed varieties of seeds may have to be used. By extensive cultivation of land, using tractors and necessary fertilizers, three or four crops may be harvested every year. The proper crops for the proper soils will have to be selected. Agricultural cooperatives and agricultural producer cooperatives will have to be started, and farmer brigades will have to be formed. Agriculture should be conducted on the basis of the principle of consumption, and not the principle of profit. There should be a proper preservation and distribution of agricultural products. A proper balance in the matrix of forces (*lokatrikona or pramatrikona*) of agriculture will help establish balance in the matrix of forces (*lokatrikona or pramatrikona*) in the physical stratum.

In the same way, if there is a perfect balance in the sub-triangles of the substrata of the mental and spiritual realms, there will also be a balance in the *lokatrikona or pramatrikona* in the psychic and spiritual strata.

When all the matrices of forces of the physical, psychic and spiritual strata collectively form the final causal matrix of forces (*lokatrikona or pramatrikona*), its central point will coincide in a perfect balance with the central point of the supreme Cosmic triangle of forces (*gunatrikona*) in the Cosmic Nucleus. A perfect state of balance will be established between individuals and the collectivity, and between the collectivity and the Cosmos. This supreme balance in all spheres will bring a perfect state of *pramā* everywhere. That will be the stage of all-round welfare, progress and perfection for all humanity, for the entire living world.

On the full moon on May 1984, Shrii Sarkar gave us a clarion call to take up the responsibility for this form of all-round service saying,

**“Human beings will have to draw up all sorts of plans and programmes for the collective welfare of universal humanity. This will accelerate the speed of their movement and enable them to easily remove the thorns from the path. Obstacles are inevitable on the path of movement. In fact, in all actions, auspicious and inauspicious, obstacles arise, but the innate force lying in each thought and every action, from the cosmic perspective, provides the necessary stamina for forward movement. Let us not forget this fact.”**

He further revealed the internal revolution in our *weltgeist* or world consciousness saying,

**“The entire humanity must be looked upon as one integrated existence – and move collectively towards the all-round perfection of human life. All actions are bound to confront obstacles. It has to be borne in mind that the nobler the task, the mightier the obstacle. For human emancipation, there is no other way but to march ahead crushing the towering peaks of obstacles with a benevolent intellect and collective endeavour.**

**Hence I reiterate, go ahead with courage and unity. You have to move on ensuring real justice to all individuals and all geographical people.”**

And this mission starts with bringing economic liberty and economic democracy to every community, every region, and every country of this planet. This is the foundational mission of present day human civilisation on this planet we call ‘Earth’.



# The French Republic Taken Hostage

The war which has now spread to Paris is incomprehensible for those French citizens who are ignorant of practically all the secret activities of their government in the Arab world, of its unnatural alliances with the Gulf dictators, and its active participation in international terrorism. These policies have never been discussed in Parliament, and the major media have rarely dared to take an interest in them.

\* **Thierry Meyssan**

For the last five years, the French people have been hearing about distant wars, but without ever understanding what they meant. The Press informed them about the engagement of their army in Libya, but never about the presence of French soldiers on mission in the Levant. My articles on this subject are widely-read, but perceived as some sort of Oriental aberration. Yet nobody seems to have any quarrel with what I write. But neither do they pay any attention to my warnings about the alliances concluded by the French government.

Now, suddenly, the unheeded truth surfaces. France was attacked on the night of Friday 13th November 2015 by several commandos who massacred at least 130 people in five different areas of Paris. The state of emergency was decreed for a period of 12 days over the whole territory, and may be

extended by act of Parliament.

The French Press interprets these acts of war by linking them to the attack made on Charlie Hebdo, although the operational modes were completely different. In January, the attack was aimed at killing specific people, while in this case, it was a co-ordinated attack on a large number of people chosen at random. We know today that just before the January attack, the editor-in-chief of Charlie Hebdo had received a "gift" of 200,000 Euros from the Near East in order to continue his anti-Muslim campaign; that the killers were linked to the French intelligence; and that the origin of their weapons is hidden by the Official Secrets Act. I have already demonstrated that the attack was not an Islamist operation, that it was immediately exploited by the government to restrict the rights of the French people and further justify French involvement in Anglo-

American imperialism in the Middle East. To get back to the war which has just spread to Paris, it has been a shock for Western Europe. It cannot be compared to the attacks in Madrid in 2004. In Spain, there were no shooters, no kamikazes, but 10 bombs placed in 4 separate locations. The type of horror which has just exploded in France is the daily lot of many populations of the "Greater Middle East", and has been since 2001. And comparable events can be found elsewhere, like the three days of attacks in six distinct locations, in Bombay, 2008. Even if the assailants of the 13th November were Muslims, and even if some of them shouted "Allah Akbar!" as they killed passers-by, there is no link to such earlier attacks, to Islam, or to an eventual "War of Civilisations". These commandos had clearly received the order to kill at random, without first enquiring as to the religion of their victims.

# Hegelian Dialectic

## Agenda

Centralization of power

## Thesis

Manufactured terrorist threat

## Anti-Thesis

Repressive police state

## Synthesis

Removal of freedoms, transfer of power from the many to the few

### **No direct link with the Charlie Hebdo affair**

In the meantime it has become known that at least since mid-August there were warnings that a public place, like a music hall, might be singled out for a terrorist attack. Early October this year, *Paris Match* repeatedly warned from a 9/11 French-style attack. This leads to conclude that the French authorities were at least warned. Now, the police say some of the dead terrorists were known to them, had a police record – but not necessarily linked to jihadism. Rules are in place in France since this blood-soaked Saturday morning – a swat of civil rights suspensions, including searches without warrants, curfew, government control of media, increased surveillance, strict border controls, road blocks and traffic control, suppression of protests and manifestations – and more.

Early Saturday afternoon, the media reported that a Syrian passport was found at one of the shooting places. It is beyond belief that the passport was intact while the person holding it was blown into a thousand pieces. German Interior Minister Thomas de Maiziere said it may have been planted. This was a false flag give-away. As people started making the connection with

the ‘lost ID’ of one of the ‘terrorists’ in the Charlie Hebdo get-away car, and the intact Saudi passport in the rubbles of the 9/11 twin-towers, and in an attempt to save some of the credibility of the made-up stories, the Syrian passport trove was downgraded as having been found on the body of a Syrian refugee. Just like the New York and London terror attacks, on the same day as the Paris attacks there was a multi-site simulation of a terrorist attack involving first responders, police, emergency services and medical personnel.

On 7 July 2015, around 200 detonators, 40 grenades and one ‘pile’ of plastic explosives mysteriously disappeared from a military installation in southeastern France. Abdeslam Salah is wanted in connection with the Paris attacks of 13 November 2015. According to Associated Press, Salah was stopped by police in a Volkswagen Polo with two others men shortly after the attacks. The officers let him go. Salah has lived in the Brussels suburb of Molenbeek, which was home to Abdelkader Belliraj, who is a terrorist who worked for the CIA and the French and Belgian security services. In the 1990s, Abdelkader

Belliraj worked for the main Belgian intelligence agency, the Sûreté de l’État, and he had dinner with Osama bin Laden less than two weeks before the September 11 attacks. Abdelkader Belliraj (said to be currently in jail) is a Belgian-Moroccan terrorist who has worked for the CIA and the French and Belgian security services. Belliraj’s home is in Molenbeek St Jean, in Belgium.

Adding more weight to the false flag suspicion is the fact that just two weeks prior to Friday’s attack on October 29th CIA Director John Brennan met with his French counterpart along with UK’s MI6 former chief and former Israeli national security advisor. Additionally on Monday Brennan admitted that the international intelligence community expected a terrorist attack in Europe.

Prior to the attacks in Paris, France’s worst terrorist attack was in 1961 when a bomb was planted on a Paris-Strasbourg train killing 28 people. There was a big media campaign blaming communist militants. Years later the truth came out that the United States had carried out several attacks across Europe which were blamed on communists. This was called Operation Gladio. The 1961 attack was carried out by the "Organisation of the Secret Army" (Organisation de l’armée secrète). The OSA grew out of NATO’s ‘stay behind’ paramilitary groups (known collectively as Operation Gladio) that were tasked with preventing European nations from siding with the Soviet Union and thereby posing a direct threat to US global hegemony. An hour after the terror attack French President Hollande blamed the attack on ISIS, even before the group claimed responsibility of the attack. How did he know ISIS was behind the attack so soon? The massacre in Paris is reported to have occurred at 21:16 CET. By 23:06 Wikipedia had an article up that is extremely detailed, containing statements from a former French President and a complete outline of events at several

locations, matters that the press had not by then reported. This version of the Wikipedia reported what President Hollande speech at 23:58, as if it's a fait accompli, when he's writing at 23:06, before it happened? The 23:18 Wikipedia version includes discussions of the hostage-taking, complete with an approximate number of hostages involved (60), as well as detailed accounts of events at several locations. It even has a detailed bibliography. How could your average Wikipedia author have done this incredible piece of work and in less than two hours? Obviously this was not your average Wikipedia author.

In the same way, it is absurd to take at face value the motive claimed by Daesh against France – even if there is no doubt about its implication in this attack. Indeed, if the terrorist organisation had wanted to “avenge” itself, it would have struck at Moscow. To truly understand this attack we have to understand how Syria was abused as a French colony.

### The Sykes-Picot Agreements

During the first World War, the British, French, and Russian Empires secretly agreed to share the colonies of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Ottoman Turk Empires, once they were defeated. After a round of secret negotiations at Downing Street, Sir Mark Sykes - advisor to the War Ministry and superior officer of "Lawrence of Arabia" - and the special envoy from the Quai d'Orsay, François Georges-Picot, decided to share the Ottoman province of Greater Syria between them, and informed the Tsar of this decision.

The British, whose Empire was principally economic, appropriated for itself the oil-fields which were then known, and also Palestine, with the intention of setting up a colony there for Jewish settlement. Their territory extended across what are now the states of Palestine, Israel, Jordan, Iraq and Kuwait. Paris, at that time divided between the partisans and opponents of

colonialism, was prepared to sanction a form of colonisation which was at the same time economic, cultural and political. It therefore appropriated the territories which correspond to today's Lebanon and Syria. Half of the population of this region was at that time Christian, whom France claimed to have been “protecting” since the reign of François 1st. Finally, the holy sites of Jerusalem and Acre were supposed to be internationalised. But in reality, these agreements were never completely implemented, partly because the British had undertaken certain contradictory engagements,

but especially because their intention was to create a Jewish state in order to continue their own colonial expansion.

The British and French “democracies” never publicly debated these agreements, because they would have shocked the British population, and would have been rejected by the French population. The Sykes-Picot Agreements were revealed by Bolshevik revolutionaries who discovered them in the Tsar's archives. They provoked the fury of the Arab peoples, but the British and French populations did not react to the crimes of their governments.

## LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

[A portion of the following appeared in our Second Edition of yesterday:—]

### REUTER'S TELEGRAMS.

#### THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO SYRIA.

PARIS, WEDNESDAY.

The *Moniteur* of to-day gives an account of the review of the troops who are to leave for Syria.

The Emperor addressed the troops as follows:—

“Soldiers,—You leave for Syria. France hails with joy an expedition the sole aim of which is to cause the rights of justice and humanity to triumph. You do not go to make war against any foreign Power, but to assist the Sultan in bringing back the obedience of his subjects, who are blinded by the fanaticism of a former century. In that distant land, rich in great reminiscences, fulfil your duty,—show yourselves the worthy children of those who once gloriously carried into that country the banner of Christ. You do not leave in great numbers, but your courage and your prestige will supply the deficiency, because wherever the French flag is seen to pass, nations know that a great cause precedes it, and a great people follows it.”

The *Moniteur* also publishes a decree creating a special cadre of naval lieutenants, with fixed residence.

8 28 P.M.

The Bourse has been quiet.

Rentes have been quoted 68*l.* 35*s.*, but closed at 68*l.* 15*s.*, or 10*s.* lower than yesterday.

## The French Colonial Ideal

French colonisation began under Charles X with the bloody conquest of Algeria. It was a question of prestige which was never validated by the French, and led to the revolution of July 1830.

But the idea of colonialism only appeared in France after the fall of the Second Empire and the loss of Alsace-Moselle. Two left-wing politicians, Gambetta and Jules Ferry, proposed embarking on the conquest of new territories in Africa and Asia, since they were unable to liberate Alsace-Moselle, now occupied by the German Reich. They united with the economic interests of the right wing parties linked to the exploitation of Algeria.

Since diverting the nation's attention from their failure to liberate the national territory was not a particularly glorious motive, the friends of Gambetta and Ferry

top civil servants such as François Georges-Picot. While very few French citizens were interested in colonisation before the first World War, they were far more numerous during the period between the two World Wars... in other words, after the restitution of Alsace and Moselle. The Colonial Party, which by now was no more than the party of blind capitalism wrapped in a cloak of Human Rights-ism, attempted to win over the population by staging a number of huge demonstrations, like the sinister Paris Colonial Exposition of 1931. This fever reached its peak with Léon Blum's Popular Front in 1936.

## The Colonisation of Lesser Syria

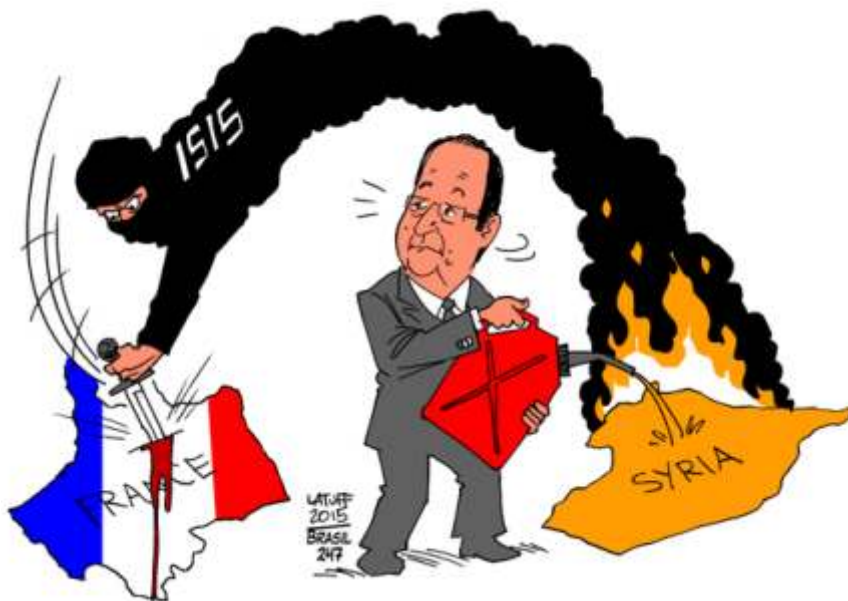
After the Great War and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Sharif Hussein of the two Mosques of Mecca and Medina proclaimed the independence of the Arab people. In

were attempting to create a unitary, multi-religious, democratic and independent state.

US President Woodrow Wilson had reconciled his country with the United Kingdom around the common project of the creation of a Jewish state, but was opposed to the idea of colonising the rest of the region. Before leaving the Versailles Conference, France made sure it was granted a mandate by the Supreme Inter-Allied War Council, during the San Remo Conference, to administer its zone of influence. Colonisation had now found a legal alibi – the Levantines had to be helped to organise themselves after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

The first democratic elections were organised in Syria by the provisional Arab government. They awarded the majority in the Syrian General Congress to a handful of minor despots with no real political affiliation - but the assembly was dominated by personalities of the nationalist minority. The Congress adopted a monarchical, bicameral Constitution. When the French mandate was announced, the People rose against Emir Fayçal, who had decided to collaborate with the French and the Maronites of Lebanon, who supported him. Paris sent an army under the orders of General Gouraud, a member of the Colonial Party. The Syrian nationalists join battle with him at Khan Mayssaloun, and were crushed. Colonisation had begun.

General Gouraud first of all separated Lebanon – where he had the support of the Maronites – from the rest of Syria, which he attempted to rule by dividing and opposing the different confessional groups. The capital of « Syria » was transferred to Homs, a small Sunnite town, before being restored to Damascus, but colonial power remained based in Beirut, Lebanon. The colony was awarded its own flag in 1932. It was composed of three horizontal bands, representing the Fatimid Caliphate (green), the Umayyad Caliphate (white) and the Abbasid Caliphate (black) – these were symbols of the



wrapped the idea up in a fog of catalysing rhetoric. They claimed not that it was a question of satisfying expansionist or economic appetites, but of “liberating oppressed peoples” and “emancipating inferior cultures”. That sounded more noble.

They went on to acquire the support of powerful businessmen, military leaders, geographers and

conformity with the promises of Lawrence of Arabia, he proclaimed himself King of the Arabs, but was quickly brought to order by the perfidious England

In 1918, his son, Emir Faisal 1st of Iraq, proclaimed a provisional Arab government in Damascus, while the British occupied Palestine and the French occupied the Mediterranean coast. The Arabs

Shia Muslims for the first, and the Sunni Muslims for the other two. The three red stars represent the three Christian minorities, Druze and Alawite.

France intended to make Lebanon a Maronite state, because the Maronites are Christians who recognise Papal Catholic authority, and to make Syria a Muslim state. It continually attacked the Christians of Lesser Syria since they are mostly Orthodox Christians.

During the same period, the government of the Popular Front decided to separate the town of Antioch from "Lesser Syria", and proposed to attach it to Turkey, which was done in 1939. By doing so, Léon Blum aimed at ridding himself of the Orthodox Christians, whose patriarch occupies the Chair of Antioch, and whom the Turks would be sure to repress.

Finally, the division of France during the WWII put an end to colonisation. Philippe Pétain's legal government struggled to hold on to the mandate, while Charles de Gaulle's legitimate government proclaimed the independence of Lebanon and Syria in 1941.

At the end of the WWII, the provisional Government of the Republic implemented the programme of the National Council of the Resistance. However, the Colonial Party opposed the independence of the colonised people. On the 8th of May 1945, there was the massacre in Sétif (Algeria), under the command of General Raymond Duval, and on the 29th of May, the massacre of Damascus, under the command of General Fernand Olive. The city was bombed by the French aviation for two days. A large part of its historic souk was destroyed. Even the Assembly of the Syrian People's Congress was bombed.

### **France has Been a Terrorist State Since At Least 2011**

In principle, states always deny their participation in terrorist groups. However, the French Foreign Minister, Laurent Fabius, declared in December 2012, during the

"Friends of Syria" conference in Marrakesh, that Al-Nusra, the Syrian branch of Al-Qaïda, had "done a good job".

Because of his status, M. Fabius knew that he did not risk being taken to court to answer for supporting an organisation listed as "terrorist" by United Nations Security Council, but he took a serious risk for his country by dropping them into the cauldron of terrorism with this statement.

In truth, France had been implicated on the side of Al-Qaïda at least since the beginning of 2011. At that time, the United Kingdom and France had signed up for the US project called "the Arab Spring". The goal of this operation was to overthrow all the secular Arab régimes and replace them with dictatorships run by the Muslim Brotherhood. Although London and Paris had discovered this operation while it was on-going in Tunisia and in Egypt, they had previously been solicited for Libya and Syria. In Libya, with the help of the Italian Special Forces, they organised the massacres in Benghazi, and then, with the help of Al-Qaïda, the capture of the Libyan arsenals. I can attest to the fact that in August 2011, while I was under the protection of Khamis el-Kadhafi, NATO assaulted the capital, and the Hotel Rixos, where we were staying, was attacked with cries of "Allah Akbar!" by a unit of Al-Qaïda. They were called the Tripoli Brigade, and were commanded by Mahdi al-Harati and supervised by operational French officers. The same Mahdi al-Harati was present with his commanding officer, Abdelhakim Belhaj, the founder of the so-called "Free Syrian" which was in reality a section of Al-Qaïda, fighting under the French colonial flag.

In Syria, the presence of French officers supervising armed groups while they were committing crimes against humanity is widely attested. France then went on to play an extremely complex and dangerous game. In January 2013 - in other words, one month after Laurent

Fabius' public support for Al-Qaïda in Syria - France launched an operation in Mali against the same Al-Qaïda, provoking the first reaction against its agents infiltrated in Syria. You, of course, have never heard anything about all that, because although France has democratic institutions, its current policy in the Arab world has never been publicly discussed.

In violation of article 35 of the Constitution, it decided to enter into war with Libya and Syria after only a few hours of superficial parliamentary debate - at the most - and without a vote. The French parliamentarians thus discarded their mandate to exercise control over the Executive as far as foreign policy was concerned, apparently believing that this was a private domain of the President, and without real consequence for daily life. However, as anyone can now see, on the contrary, peace and security, one of the four Human and Citizens' Rights of 1789 (article 2), depend upon it directly. The worst is yet to come.

In the beginning of 2014, while the liberal US hawks were working on their plan for the transformation of the Islamic Emirate in Iraq and Cham into what was going to become Daesh (ISIS), France and Turkey transported munitions to Al-Qaïda so that they could fight the Islamic Emirate - this point is attested by a document presented to the Security Council on the 14th July 2014. However, France later joined this secret operation, and participated in the international anti-Daesh (ISIS) Coalition, which, as everyone now knows, contrary to its name, did not bomb Daesh, but delivered weapons to it for a year. The situation evolved further after the signature of the 5+1 agreement with Iran. The United States suddenly turned on the terrorist organisation and pushed it back to Al-Hasakah (Syria). But it was only in mid-October 2015 - a month ago - that France began to fight Daesh. Not to stop the massacres, but to conquer part of the territory it

occupies in Syria and Iraq, and install a new colonial state which is to be called Kurdistan, even though the Kurdish population will be largely in the minority. In this perspective, France sent its aircraft-carrier – which has not yet arrived – to support the Marxist-Leninists of the Kurdish party YPG against its ex-ally Daesh. But what does this ideological reference mean when the project is to create a colonial state? We are currently witnessing the second reaction. Not from al-Qaïda in Syria this time, but from Daesh in France, on the instructions of France's unmentionable allies.

### **Who Directs Daesh (ISIS)**

Daesh is an artificial creation. It is nothing more than the instrument of the policies of several states and multinationals. Its principal financial resources come from petrol, Afghan drugs – of which the French have not yet understood the implications on their own territory – and Levantine antiques. At the end of November 2015, the Iraqi army captured a group of ISIS fighters and found an Israeli colonel who was leading them. In October 2014 US Vice President Joe Biden told a Harvard gathering that Erdoğan's regime was backing ISIS with "hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of tons of weapons." Everyone agrees that the stolen

petrol freely crosses Turkey before being sold in Western Europe. Bilal Erdogan, the son of the Turkish President has been accused of making millions by selling this oil. Sümeyye Erdoğan, the daughter of the Turkish President apparently runs a secret hospital camp inside Turkey just over the Syrian border where Turkish army trucks daily being in scores of wounded ISIS Jihadists to be patched up and sent back to wage the bloody Jihad in Syria, according to the testimony of a nurse who was recruited to work there. Given the quantities involved, there can be no possible doubt about Turkish support for Daesh. A Turkish newspaper has been punished for reporting that Turkey's National Intelligence Organisation (MIT) has been smuggling weapons into Syria. Turkish citizen Ramazan Başol, captured in August 2015 by Kurdish People's Defence Units, YPG, as he attempted to join ISIS from Konya province (ISIS training centre in Turkey), told his captors that said he was sent to ISIS by the 'İsmail Ağa Sect,' a strict Turkish Islam sect reported to be tied to Recep Erdoğan.

Turkey plays a key role in the US-Qatar-Saudi backed gas pipeline route designed to circumvent Russia and Iran, as an intended gas hub for exports to European markets. It is

only one of many potential pipeline routes involving Turkey. "Turkey is key to gas supply diversification of the entire European Union. It would be a huge mistake to stall energy cooperation any further," said David Koranyi, director of the Atlantic Council's Eurasian Energy Futures initiative and a former national security advisor to the Prime Minister of Hungary.

Three weeks ago, a spokesperson for the Syrian Arab Army revealed that three planes, respectively chartered by Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, had exfiltrated Daesh combatants from Syria and taken them to Yemen. Once again, there can be no possible doubt concerning the links between these three states and Daesh, in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the UN Security Council. France has had record military sales in the last one year and the majority of its sales have been to Saudi Arabia, another supporter of Daesh.

Following the first Geneva Conference in June 2012, I explained in depth that a faction within the US state apparatus was waging its own policy, contrary to that of the White House. At first, this conspiracy was directed by the head of the CIA, which was the co-founder of Daesh in 2007, General David Petraeus, until his removal in handcuffs the day after the re-election of President Barack Obama. Then it was the turn of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who was prevented by an unfortunate "accident" from completing her mandate during the period of presidential transition. Finally, the combat was continued by ambassador Jeffrey Feltman from his offices at the UNO, and by General John Allen, at the head of the phoney anti-Daesh Coalition. This group, a part of the US "deep state", which had never ceased from opposing the 5+1 agreement with Iran and fighting the Syrian Arab Republic, maintains its members within the Obama administration. Above all, it can count on the



multinational corporations, whose budgets are greater than those of the states themselves, and who can finance their own secret operations. In particular, this is the case of the petrol company Exxon-Mobil (the true owner of Qatar), the investment fund KKR, and the private army Academi (ex-Blackwater). The latter is a company directly linked with the US military in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere.

France has thus become a mercenary state working for these multinationals.

### France, Object of Blackmail

On the 11th November 2015, French Prime Minister Manuel Valls declared that France was engaged against terrorism. On the 12th November, the Observatoire national de la délinquance et des réponses pénales (National Observatory for Delinquency and Legal Response) - attached to the Ministry of the Interior – published a report stating that terrorism has become the second preoccupation of the French people, after unemployment.

On the morning of the 13th November, in Nanterre, the Minister for the Interior, Bernard Cazeneuve, presented a 20-part plan to limit the arms traffic. Clearly, the government was expecting the worst, which implies that France was in negotiation with the organisation that attacked it. France made engagements that it did not respect, and is now certainly the victim of blackmail by the terrorist leaders it has betrayed.

An exercise simulating terrorist attacks was carried out on the very morning of the attack by the hospital emergency services. A coincidence that had already been revealed during the attacks of the 11th September 2001 in New York and Washington, those of the 11th March 2004 in Madrid, and also the 7th July 2005 in London.

### Provisional Conclusion

The successive French governments have created alliances with states whose values are opposed to those of the Republic. They have



successively engaged in secret wars on their behalf, and then retreated. President Hollande, his private Chief of Staff, General Benoit Puga, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Laurent Fabius, and Fabius' predecessor Alain Juppé, are today the objects of blackmail from which they cannot extricate themselves without revealing the mess in which they have implicated their country, even if this exposes them to the High Court of Justice.

On the 28th September, at the United Nations, President Putin, addressing the United States and France, exclaimed: "I would like to ask those responsible for this situation – 'Are you at least aware of what you have done?' But I fear that this question will remain unanswered, because these people have not renounced their policies, which are based on an exaggerated self-confidence and the conviction of their exceptional nature and their impunity". Neither the United States nor France listened to him. It is now too late.

### State of Emergency

In response to the attacks, Laurent Wauquiez, leading figure of the parliamentary right, paraphrased Saint-Just (who killed so many in the French Revolution). "There is no liberty," he declared. "for the enemies of France and the Republic." General Vincent Desportes, former director of the École de guerre, adopted an American idiom popularized by the country and western singer Chris LeDoux: "Freedom isn't free." "It

must be paid for somehow," Desportes added, "precisely by restricting liberties. This is the state of emergency".

Due to the activities of a handful of people who carried out the November 13 attacks, social protest has effectively been banned; police have received arbitrary powers to carry out searches and seizures and the state has given itself enormous powers to detain individuals without a warrant and dissolve organizations. The right to demonstrate, the right to freedom of movement, the right of expression, and the right to strike are now going to depend on the decisions of prefects [unelected, government-appointed local administrators]. The ruling party aims to make this state of affairs permanent, moreover, by passage of a constitutional amendment.

Business groups have already called for employers to use the state of emergency to monitor the workplaces and denounce "radicalized" workers to police. The law on "intelligence" has been used to massively extend surveillance against, amongst others, trade unionists and journalists. Broad popular opposition to austerity (making the people suffer for the crimes of banks) and to imperialist war can find no expression in the political establishment, which views the sentiments of the vast majority of the population with hostility and fear. Under these conditions, the social basis for capitalist democracy is collapsing.



# Indian Coasts Up for SALE



Our 7,517-kilometre long coastline is a contested space. Competing for space on the coast are growing cities, towns, industries, power plants, resorts and roads. The need for such development puts huge pressure on the coastal areas, and also demands that informed tradeoffs be made between conservation and development.



\* Nihar Gokhale

India's 7,517-kilometre long coastline is a contested space. Cities, industries, power plants, resorts and roads compete with some of the most rare flora and fauna in the world. What is needed is an informed trade off between conservation and development. But the process for environmental clearance is a scandal, 80% of sale projects have been cleared; only 8% have even been visited.

## The Problem

State Coastal Zone Management Authorities clear almost 80% of the projects put before them. At times, only 15 minutes are spent to consider a project. To make matters worse, the reports on which these decisions are based are provided by the promoters of the project themselves. The authorities visit the site for very few cases. In many states, the authority spent just 5% of its time monitoring violations.

The Hawksbill Turtle is a migratory turtle that visits India on the beaches of Tamil Nadu, Odisha and the Andaman & Nicobar

Islands. It has been prized by humans for centuries, with earliest records of the turtle dating back to 5th millennium BC China. The Hawksbill is now a critically endangered species, and among the diverse flora and fauna that dot the beaches, mangroves and coral reefs along India's coast.

But this 7,517-kilometre long coastline is a contested space. Competing for space on the coast are growing cities, towns, industries, power plants, resorts and roads. The need for such development puts huge pressure on the coastal areas, and also demands that informed tradeoffs be made between conservation and development. However, an 'informed trade-off' is one of the hardest things to come by. Over the past few years, governments at both Centre and states have claimed that environmental clearances are the greatest deterrent to India's economic growth. This is clearly a red herring. A three-year research recently concluded by the Centre for

Policy Research, New Delhi, has established that, on an average, nearly 80% of project proposals put before the State Coastal Zone Management Authorities, or SCZMAs, are cleared. These bodies are mandated to assess development projects coming up within 500 metres of the coast. India's coastal zone violations will most likely get regularised, unless we repair our CRZ institutions.

Getting these numbers is itself a herculean task. The data on clearances is buried deep inside scores of meeting minutes, and have to be painstakingly accessed through requests under the Right to Information Act. But the real scandal is the process of clearance itself, not just in the debate over the percentage of approvals. The SCZMAs literally seem to have no time to check proposals or monitor violations in coastal areas. In a clear breakdown in logic, while giving clearances they also rely on information and impact assessments provided by project developers



themselves.

Short on time Consider this: a state authority considers 15 proposals on average in a meeting that lasts half a working day, according to the CPR report, which studied nine state-level authorities' decisions from 1999 to 2014. This works out to just about 15 minutes for each proposal in a meeting: it's lesser actually, since meetings also include discussions about conservation measures, violations of orders, drafting coastal zone management plans, etc.

For a body that is entrusted with protecting India's coastal ecosystems, this appears abysmally less. This is especially so since the projects being appraised include everything from repairs to houses to thermal power plants and factories coming up near the coast. In some authorities, there is also little time to prepare before the meetings. Mangaraj Panda, a former non-government member of the Odisha Coastal Zone Management Authority, said that documents related to the project proposals, such as EIA report, are given just one or two days before the meeting, leaving little time to consider the proposal. "After getting a lot of proposals in one meeting I raised objection and from my second meeting onward the project document with EIA etc. in bunch [was] delivered to us one or two days (in advance)," Panda said. "Members (are) hardly able to go through the proposals and formulate opinion," he added. Not surprisingly, only 8% of the projects were found to have undertaken a site visit, in the CPR study. The rest are based on details of environment impact provided by the project developers themselves, or third party agencies commissioned by them to do study the environmental impact.

This may not paint the entire picture, since developers have an incentive to under-report the impact of their projects, and may not even have full knowledge of the impacts. This affects not just the impact on species, but also on traditional

livelihoods. "The SCZMAs are completely dependent on what is said to them by the project developers. If the EIA report says that there is no fishing in the vicinity, there is no way for the authority to know if it is right or wrong," said a former member of the National Coastal Zone Management Authority.

Field visits seem to take place only when an issue gets politicised or there is a court case "They might do their study in the off season and report that there is no fishing. But there is no process for the state-level authority to see the ground reality. Field visits seem to take place only when an issue gets politicised or there is a court case associated with it," the member added. An SCZMA member said, on the condition of anonymity, that the field visits are conducted by the project developers, who also organise lunch and travel for the authority members. In one instance, they had stopped the operation on the day of the visit, so the members could not determine the environmental impact it might cause.

The trend has continued beyond CPR's study period. For instance, at its 97th meeting on 23 January 2015, the Maharashtra Coastal Zone Management

Authority (MCZMA) had 74 items on its list, including their final approval for the Shivaji Statue project in Mumbai, besides beach resorts, anti-erosion bunds in Mumbai and over five dozen cases involving projects in bay areas of Maharashtra. Nevertheless, 80% of projects received by the nine state authorities were approved.

### Violations - The Norm, Not the Exception

With less time on their hands to inspect project proposals, the authorities have even lesser time to engage in monitoring violations. According to the CPR report, the Goa authority spent a third of its time in discussing violation and compliance of its orders - the highest among all states. Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Karnataka spent under 5% of their time. This is pertinent because if violations are not identified, they may get regularised in new coastal policies. The Coastal Zone Management Plan or CZMP, is a master plan of the current situation on the coast based on which authorities take decisions. The new CZMP is due in January 2016. This means that authorities have just about seven months to identify all violations. But given their current state, it appears the tortoise may lose the race.



# The Paradox of Liberation

## Secular Revolutions and Religious Counter Revolutions



"In essence, the liberators were alienated from the people they came to liberate. They were the privileged children of the empires they sought to overthrow."



\* Michael Walzer

Michael Walzer turned 80 this year, as vital, productive and intellectually alive as ever. After 28 books, hundreds of articles, decades of teaching at Princeton and Harvard, editing *Dissent* as a nonsectarian voice of the democratic left, his work remains an essential reference point in academic and public discussion of the most pressing ethical dilemmas in international politics.

You can't teach a class about just war and the ethics of

intervention without using his *Just and Unjust Wars* (1977); you will not think clearly about whether justice is local and national or universal and cosmopolitan unless you have read his *Spheres of Justice* (1983); you can't understand the vexed relationship between religion and politics without pondering *The Revolution of the Saints* (1982). His work may range widely, but his allegiances have remained stubbornly persistent. He has never wavered in his commitments to a secular, pluralist "democratic left,"

to an Israel that makes peace with the Palestinians, and to a social theory that is practical, focused on issues, and rooted in specific historical cases and situations. "I follow the maxim about political life," he has said, "that nothing is the same as anything else."

He's also said,

with disarming but false modesty, that "I have always had difficulty sustaining an abstract argument for more than a few sentences." In fact, his work manages to combine extended abstraction with masterful use of comparative examples. He shies away when called a public intellectual, but he is a genuinely democratic thinker, with a true teacher's vocation for developing complex and nuanced arguments that he takes care to make as clear as he can. A book by Walzer will always be a pleasure to read, even when you find yourself shaking your head in disagreement.

His latest project, first delivered as lectures at Yale, takes him back to preoccupations that have defined his work for 50 years: why the democratic left condescends to religious conviction; why secular revolutions beget religious counterrevolutions; why in Israel, David Ben-Gurion's founding vision of a secular civic state, granting equality to Jews and Palestinians alike, is now in retreat before an increasingly intolerant and exclusionist political culture.

While Israel remains the



central focus of *The Paradox of Liberation*, Walzer has made a major contribution to the question of what's happening there simply by arguing that Israel may not be so special after all: the same kinds of problems may be occurring in other states created by national liberation movements. He compares what happened to Ben-Gurion's vision with what befell Jawaharlal Nehru's in India and Ahmed Ben Bella's in Algeria.

In all three cases, he asks, why did secular liberation movements fall prey, within a generation, to a religious counterrevolution? What does this tell us, he asks in turn, about Zionism, the Indian Congress Party and the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN)? What was it about religion that these movements failed to understand?

The paradox of liberation, Walzer argues, is that the liberators looked down on the people they came to liberate. None of Kant's "crooked timber of humanity" for these revolutionaries: they all believed that the timber made crooked by oppression could be planed straight as a board. Liberation was always an ambiguously dual project: to free the people from the colonial power and then to free them from their own submissiveness and psychological subjugation.

The Algerian FLN's Soummam conference platform of 1956 positively seethes with scorn toward "the torpor, fear, and skepticism" of the Algerian population in general. The revolutionary militants of the FLN vowed that they would shock their people into militant consciousness and awaken "their national dignity" after a century of colonial occupation. If it took bombs and the assassination of collaborators with the French to do this, so be it. Through this trial by fire, Frantz Fanon, the Algerian revolution's leading theorist, proclaimed, "a new Algerian man" would be born.

The Zionist revolutionaries took a similarly millenarian view of

liberation: not just to throw out the colonial oppressors, in this case the British, but to create a new kind of Jew. In 1906, for example, Ze'ev Jabotinsky wrote that Zionism's "starting point is to take the typical Yid of today and to imagine his diametrical opposite.. Because the Yid is ugly, sickly, and lacks decorum, we shall endow the ideal image of the Hebrew with masculine beauty." Zionism's weird streak of anti-Semitism, Walzer allows us to see, flowed directly from its idea of what liberation had to be about. Achieving national independence was not just winning self-government, but using state power to throw off the dead weight of subjection burdening the very soul of the Jewish people.

This took the measure of the harm that the sufferings of exile had done, but at the same time it condescended toward the sustaining beliefs of the Jews the revolutionaries came to free. The roots of this condescension, Walzer argues, lay in a deep misconception about religion. In exile, in the diaspora, the Jewish faith had not always been the willing accomplice of subjection and accommodation, as the Zionists too often seemed to believe: Religion had also been a source of resistance and affirmation.

In the Indian revolution, too, religion was dismissed as an obstacle, never truly seen as a potential resource to fuel revolt. Nehru argued that the major challenge of freedom was not just throwing out the British, but liberating the vast mass of the population from the stranglehold of India's religion and their prevailing "philosophy of submission to the prevailing social order and to everything that is." Once religious traditionalism was challenged by a humane, progressive reformist state, Nehru thought, its illusionary comforts would vanish, in his words, "at the touch of reality."

The other leaders of national liberation movements believed the same, though as Walzer points out, there were nuances. The FLN

conceded that a free Algeria would be an Islamic democracy. The Zionists acknowledged, sometimes reluctantly, that their movement's support among the Jewish masses depended almost entirely on the ancient biblical call, repeated in everyday worship, to remember Jerusalem. Whenever the Zionist leadership forgot the biblical warrant for a return to the Holy Land, as the Zionist leader Theodor Herzl appeared to do when he gave serious consideration to accepting a British proposal to settle the Jews in Uganda, the Jewish masses in the shtetl responded with incredulity and anger. There was only one Zion, the one promised in the Bible.

The secular leaders of national liberation realized they could only succeed if they had support from Islamic, Jewish and Hindu traditions among the poorest and most desperate of their supporters; yet their accommodation of religion was tactical and condescending rather than sincere. The secular revolutionaries believed that history was a story of modernization and that freedom would inevitably win in a battle with superstition, prejudice and backwardness. In such a story of progress, religion was a vestigial attachment, "a haven in a heartless world" as Marx so condescendingly put it, a haven bound to crumble in the face of the ruthless forces of global capitalism and the relentless pressures of a modernizing secular state.

In the liberationists' desire to purge their people of the timorous, abject, accommodating, credulous aspects of their character, they sowed the seeds of their own undoing. There were strengths - endurance, solidarity and faith - in traditional Islamic culture in prerevolutionary Algeria, just as there was wisdom accumulated in the Jewish experience of the diaspora, just as there was a language of freedom and national pride in Hindu traditional consciousness. For the national liberation movements, Walzer argues, none of these religious



Ahmed Ben Bella, First president of Algeria (1963-1965)  
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traditions seemed useful. Instead, they were seen as obstacles to overcome, dead weights to be thrown off. Once the revolutionaries seized control of the state, they were confident that they could use state power to safely relegate faith to a politically innocuous private sphere, while educating a new post-liberation generation to do without religion altogether.

In essence, the liberators were alienated from the people they came to liberate. They were the privileged children of the empires they sought to overthrow. All of them learned the doctrines of modern society and reform from their colonial oppressors. During their battles against the colonialists, they all sought support for their rebellions from secular intellectuals on the other side. It was as if the inner validation they valued most had to come, oddly enough, from the empires they were seeking to overthrow. Ben Bella prized the decoration he received as a veteran of the French army. It's hard to know who was more of an Anglophile, Chaim Weizmann, the first president of Israel, or Nehru, India's first prime minister. Nehru (Harrow, Trinity College, Cambridge and the Inns of Court) confessed to John Kenneth Galbraith that he was the last Englishman to rule India.

Once these Westernizing revolutionaries seized power, once

they took control of the state, Walzer argues, their rule proved to be a painful reckoning with the stubborn force of religious traditionalism. In this reckoning, they were forced to shed many of their liberationist illusions. The deepest one was that a secular, egalitarian citizenship could transcend religious, caste and tribal divisions.

The Algerian revolutionaries promised a single secular code for all Algerians. By 1981, they had conceded jurisdiction over family matters to sharia law. By the late 1980s an Islamist party was challenging the secular revolution in the name of Islamic democracy. In 1991, faced with this challenge, the regime abolished democracy in order, it said, to save the revolution. Barred from democratic politics, the Islamists then went to war against the regime and it was only after a bloody battle, lasting from 1991 to 1997, that the old revolutionary order prevailed, now more autocratic and reactionary than ever. Their revolution had prevailed but at the price of all the ideals for which the revolution had been fought, and though the Islamists were eventually defeated, Algerian society is now more Islamized than ever.

In Israel, the story is different. Democracy survived and for the Jews who made aliyah, their transformation into Hebrew-speaking Israelis kept alive, at least for them, the Zionist idea that political liberation could also deliver inner transformation. But otherwise, Zionist ideals are in full retreat. In December 1947, Ben-Gurion said: "In our state there will be non-Jews as well, and all of them will be equal citizens, equal in everything without any exception, that is, the state will be their state as well."

Who could honestly say that this promise of equality has been kept in Israel today?

Walzer is not clear about how this failure came about. Being surrounded by unremitting Arab hostility on all sides certainly didn't help, but that can't be the whole story. Walzer's essay lacks a full

historical analysis of the decline of the inclusive Zionist ideal. One reason surely is that after the astounding victory in the Six-Day War in 1967, hubris led the victors to ignore Ben-Gurion's warning that holding on to the newly occupied territories posed "a terrible danger" to the future of the Jewish state. Ben-Gurion, then out of power, was ignored and the pragmatic, secular Zionism that he stood for was steadily displaced by an ever more religious and messianic settler movement for whom the territories were not a dispensable trophy of victory, as Ben-Gurion thought, but the heart and soul of biblical Israel.

Walzer, for his part, essentially fingers the religious fundamentalists, particularly the ultraorthodox settlers, those whose first loyalty was to their faith, not to their state or even to Israeli democracy, and whose ultimate allegiance was ethnic, particularistic, exclusionary and, though Walzer does not use the term, sometimes downright racist. These people have no interest in tolerance for Muslims, secularists or anyone else, because they do not want them in the state at all. They want a home in their own image, faithful in all particulars to religious law.

The ultrareligious, especially the settlers, are the usual suspects in this debate about what happened to the Zionist dream. It may be that Walzer forces the division between secular Zionists and Orthodox fundamentalists in such a way that he leaves little room for those in between, religious Zionists who live their faith but are committed to defending a pluralist and democratic Israel. Walzer does not give much room in his analysis to people like this, but they exist and they may be the source of what hope there is for reconciliation between politics and religion in Israel.

Turning to India, Walzer tells the same story of an inclusive and egalitarian secular ideal being defeated by religious counter-revolution. He compares Ben-Gurion's Zionism to Nehru's vision

of a secular civic democracy transcending confessional and caste ties. In post-independence India, Nehru insisted, Muslims must be given “the security and the rights of citizens in a democratic state.” In reality, independence took place against the backdrop of a murderous partition and horrendous communal bloodletting. Gandhi met his death in 1948 at the hands of a Hindu supremacist assassin enraged by his gestures of friendship toward Indian Muslims. Today's rulers of India, the Hindu nationalist BJP, began under the leadership of Vajpayee by governing inclusively, but no one forgets that they are actually the ideological descendants of the Hindu supremacist who killed Gandhi. Today Godse the killer is openly honoured across the country.

These are not the heirs that the makers of the 1947 midnight hour in India could have expected. The members of Nehru's first Cabinet were committed to containing Hinduism, not elevating it. They were secular reformers determined to confront religious traditionalism head-on. They discovered that support for traditional practices was not only entrenched among the Indian masses but also among the nationalist elites of the Congress Party. These Hindu elites closed ranks against the likes of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (a graduate of the Sherborne School for Girls and Oxford), the minister of health who wanted to wipe out purdah, child marriage, polygamy, bans on intercaste marriage and laws of inheritance that discriminated against daughters and wives. All of these practices were abolished by legislation, yet 80 years later many survive in one form or another in India.

B.R. Ambedkar, who had risen through the Indian independence movement from poverty as an untouchable outcast to become the drafter of India's first constitution, remarked irritably in 1951, “I do not understand why religion should be given [a] vast expansive jurisdiction so as to cover the whole of life.”

“What,” he asked pointedly, “are we having this liberty for?” When Hindu members of the Congress Party rose up against Ambedkar's attempt to control the effects of Hindu religious law, Nehru backed down and Ambedkar quit in disgust.

Here surely is a case where secularists gave in to traditionalists. Yet what exactly is the moral that Walzer wants us to take from his story? Sometimes, as in this case, he suggests that the national liberation movements failed because they gave in too often, while at other times, he argues that they gave in too little. Overall, his conclusion is that “it is the absolutism of secular negation that best accounts for the strength and militancy of the religious revival.” Had the modernizers sought a compromise with religion, he suggests, they might not have provoked the counterrevolution that came a generation later. “Traditionalist worldviews,” he writes, “can't be negated, abolished, or banned; they have to be engaged.” But the secular modernists did “engage.” Nehru sold out the radical modernizers in his own party, let sharia law stand and tolerated Hindu customs; Ben-Gurion never took power over marriage and divorce away from the religious authorities. The hard men in the FLN capitulated on sharia within a generation of taking power.

In fact, you could argue - and this is the position taken by Marxist critics like Perry Anderson - that the secular revolutionaries weren't “absolutist” enough. The revolutionaries, in this view, never had the stomach, or even the

desire, to take on the holders of traditional power. They deferred far too much to religious authorities, traditional landowners and privileged castes. Had they been more Jacobin, more ruthless in their attack on tradition, superstition and privilege, they might have forged an egalitarian civic culture robust enough to keep all three permanently in their proper place.

Instead, in India at least, the Congress Party legislated a purely formal legal equality for citizens, leaving caste and religion intact so as to ensure that the vast electoral power of the masses unleashed by democracy would never threaten the property and privileges of the Indian elites. In the compromise that governed India after 1947, the

# The Paradox of Liberation

Secular Revolutions  
and Religious  
Counterrevolutions

Michael  
Walzer

Author of *Just and Unjust Wars*

Indian state was never secular, Anderson argues, since Hinduism was clearly privileged, but Muslims and Christians were accorded full confessional freedom, so that intercommunal violence could be kept to a minimum.

Like Walzer, Anderson sees nationalist parties being dragged under by the “confessional undertow” of the social struggles they unleashed and selling out their original principles, but unlike Walzer, he argues that the nationalist movements sold out, not to religious authority, but to class privilege, and once they did so the classes in charge, in each of these societies, had no difficulty in rallying the demons of faith to defend customary and unequal distributions of power. The problem with this is that Anderson's explanation reduces faith to an instrumental device in the service of class rule.

Religion is not a reliable servant of the powerful. When religious doctrine contests the very supremacy of the secular state and the legitimacy of its law and secular moral custom, it is a threat to the powerful and a threat to their social order. If anything, the three revolutionary movements - Algerian, Indian and Israeli - underestimated the radical challenge that religious fundamentalism posed to each.

Then the question becomes, what could the revolutions have done differently? Walzer thinks the revolutionaries were naive to believe in the inevitable triumph of secularism, but they were right to “engage” religion, to seek to enlist or co-opt its authority in the founding of their new states. Yet Walzer fails to ask whether the fundamentalist strains of these traditions - Hindu, Jewish and Islamic - were ever really willing to “engage” with secular revolution. The fundamentalist strains of these faiths never accepted the supremacy of the secular state in the first place.

Fundamentalists of all faiths have an objection to the epistemology of democracy itself, to

the idea that political truth is contestable and is arrived at through public debate. They also have an objection to the fundamental moral norm of democratic debate, that there are no enemies in a free politics, only opponents. For a true fundamentalist, truth is divinely received and when a political opponent denies it, he becomes an enemy, to be dealt with, if necessary, by the sword. These epistemological and moral positions - which make it essentially impossible for radical Islamic fundamentalists to accept democracy - do not feature in Walzer's discussion, but they may have made it impossible for secular nationalists to find common ground at least with the extreme fundamentalists among their religious opponents.

To this Walzer would say, what else could the revolutionaries do, but compromise with faith in traditional societies so deeply ordered by religious custom?

What is the moral of this story? One way to read Walzer's essay, though he does not say this himself, is that the “democratic left,” his secular egalitarian idealists, failed to create a powerful and convincing political culture that would offer what religious faith still offers to those who remain in the tent, i.e., a spiritual home.

Another possible meaning to Walzer's story is that the relationship between secular revolution and religious counterrevolution is not negative and antithetical, but positive and symbiotic. Secular revolutions may not succeed fully, but to the degree that they do, they make it impossible for religious counterrevolutions to entirely turn back the clock. Where secular revolutions fail, their failures leave nothing behind to restrain the fundamentalist impulses that lead the religious into extremism when they gain power.

This becomes clear if you think about cases that Walzer does not consider - the secular revolutions that failed. In Iran, the failure of the Shah's autocratically secular

modernization prepared the way for the furious intolerance of the Shia revolution. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood's failure to govern inclusively when it finally won power can be seen as a consequence not just of its intolerance, but of the failure of every secular leader from Nasser to Mubarak to lay the foundations of a political culture of pluralism and inclusion. Perhaps only in Tunisia is there a remaining hope, in the Middle East, that a constitutional order can emerge in which Islamist and secular parties can compete peacefully for power.

If the story Walzer tells seems to be one of defeat, it needs to be said that, in the cases he cites, the story is not over, indeed is never over. This is because, in fact, the secular revolution initially succeeded, and in doing so, laid down political expectations and a political culture that fundamentalism may not be able to uproot. In Israel, the religious and the secular, the Orthodox and the non-Orthodox believers are still fighting, mostly peacefully, over what kind of society their country should become. In India, Narendra Modi rose to power by trafficking in Hindu extremism, but the actual exercise of power has so far forced him to respect Nehru's legacy of intercommunal accommodation. However, the atmosphere in the country is moving towards religious conflict. In Algeria, the revolutionary gerontocracy is aging, and the Islamists are waiting for their time to come. When it does, however, those who still remember the secular revolution's achievements will not surrender, without a struggle, to Islamic theocracy.

In other words, the successful secular revolutions that overthrew empire have not finished their work, and neither have the religious counter revolutions that rose to contradict them. Only a pessimist would believe that the ultimate outcome is a foregone conclusion and only a dogmatist would want final, crushing victory for either side.



*The Poorest Areas Civil Society (PACS) programme, which works in seven of India's poorest states to help socially excluded communities to claim their rights and entitlements more effectively, gives a glimpse of the success its campaign received in Bettiah district of Bihar.*

# Land Rights and Justice are Still Possible

**T**he villagers of Salaha stand in front of their land, flying the Indian flag proudly as a reminder of their triumph. The tricolour flag of India is mounted on top of a peepul tree in the pastoral village of Salaha, located in the Bettiah district of Bihar. It was erected on the day that the dalit villagers took control of 30 acres of land that was rightfully theirs. “It is a sign of our triumph against the zamindars [land owners] and

farmers who have encroached upon our lands for decades,” explains villager Sohan Ram. Thanks to the work of PACS and partner Samagra Shiksha Evam Vikas Sansthan (SSEVS) this is the first time that dalits, like Sohan, have been able to acquire land and they are rightly proud of their achievement.

## **Forced to Work on their Own Land**

In the feudal district of Bettiah, the upper caste land-owners (who

constitute 30% of the population) own 90% of the land, whilst 90% of dalits are landless.

Although many dalits have a record of their land rights (Parcha), provided to them under the Bihar Land Ceiling Act (1961), they do not have actual possession of their land. Instead, they are forced to work as agricultural labourers on their own land by the traditional landowners. They are paid paltry wages and the working conditions are exploitative.



Members of the 25 families who were given their homestead land titles



Dalit villagers celebrate their success

“167 people got their Parcha under the Land Ceiling Act way back in 1991-92,” explains Sohan. “But our lands were occupied by powerful landlords and we could never oppose them individually.”

### Fighting for their Rights

But times are changing... the dalits and mahadalits of Salaha village are, all of a sudden, showing boldness to acquire their land for themselves, thanks to efforts taken by PACS partner SSEVS. Through the PACS programme, SSEVS has been working with Salaha village for over 2 years. They have helped the villagers to mobilise themselves into a land rights committee, which they named Lok Sangharsh Samiti (LSS). Sohan is the District Coordinator of LSS. “After forming LSS, we are now strong and united,” he says. “There is a new-found vigour among people to set things right.” Through the committee, Sohan and the other 11 members promote awareness amongst dalits about their rights and also educate them about the benefits of availing government schemes.

Indeed, back in 2012-13, they submitted an application for possession of homestead land to the District Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Magistrate in Bettiah. As a result, 25 families got legal ownership of homestead land. Moreover, all the homestead land titles were granted in the wife’s name (rather than joint titles with husbands) to ensure effective and independent land rights for

marginalised women.

### 5000 People Join Together

The major work of the committee has been to help the dalit villagers to gain possession of the lands for which they already have land records.

In April 2015, the villagers (under the leadership of Sohan) went to meet the then Chief Minister of Bihar and submit their application for land possession. But the group was lathicharged (beaten with lathi sticks) by the police and 214 of them were arrested and kept in custody for 12 hours.

The following month, LSS submitted an application to the District Magistrate (DM) with a warning that, if he didn’t give them occupancy within 15 days, they

the entire dalit population of Salaha seized 30 acres of land adjoining their village. They were supported by a crowd of 5000 people from other villages and panchayats who surrounded the land, shouting slogans. Together, they ploughed and levelled the land, and sowed seeds.

The next day the zamindar who used to cultivate the land threatened to shoot them and take back the land. But, as Sohan Ram says, “We were not frightened; we told him that we were even prepared to die to get possession of our land. We will cultivate it and reap the harvest.”

### Not Giving Up Hope

For the villagers of Salaha it’s a long battle. Although they now have possession of the land that is rightfully theirs, more than 100 cases under the Land Ceiling Act still need to be resolved.

Backed by LSS and the PACS team from SSEVS, the villagers are relentlessly fighting for their rights through dharnas (sit-ins), satyagrahas and rallies.

Mohan Ram – a resident of Salaha village – says, “Land is our only hope for a living. If we get land, there will be food on our plates, our children can study, and our families can live in dignity. That’s why we are fighting till our last breath.”

And the flag on the peepul tree in the middle of the village is a symbol that land rights and justice are possible. It’s a sign of achievement, pride and freedom. A reminder not to give up hope.



As leader of the village land rights committee, Sohan was responsible for mobilising the Salaha villagers,

would organise a Satyagraha (Gandhian-style non-violent resistance) and seize the lands themselves. Since the DM didn’t take any action, the villagers ended up taking matters in their own hands.

On June 25, 2015, as proposed,



# AUTOMATION AND OUR JOBLESS FUTURES

Education has seen a shift from education as an investment to education as an expense. Governments throughout the world have been reducing their expenditures in education, as they deal with increased social security costs.

\* Sohail Inayatullah

## The Challenging Forecast

A recent report by the Foundation for Young Australian provides three dramatic forecasts. These are:

- 44 per cent of jobs will be automated in the next 10 years
- 60 per cent of students are chasing careers that won't exist
- Young people will have an average of 17 different jobs

## Back to the 1990s

While forecasts like these are normally reserved for predictive futurists, the dramatic nature of disruption that the world has experienced the last twenty years has made change the norm. If we go back twenty years ago to the early 1990s, a number of significant changes were just beginning that have been instrumental in creating the world we live in today. These included:

1. the fall of the Berlin wall, the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the eventual integration of much of Eastern Europe into the European Union.

2. The beginning of the World

Wide Web creating now a world where the pivotal issue today is the virtual entering the material world - "leaving the screen", the creation of the internet of things, persons and systems - the full digitalization of information and the perhaps the realization of the hundred year dream of the HG Wells' *The World Brain*.

3. The beginning of the human genome project, creating a world where prevention becomes the norm and every Australian born in 2025 could receive a full life map of personalized genetic risk factors.

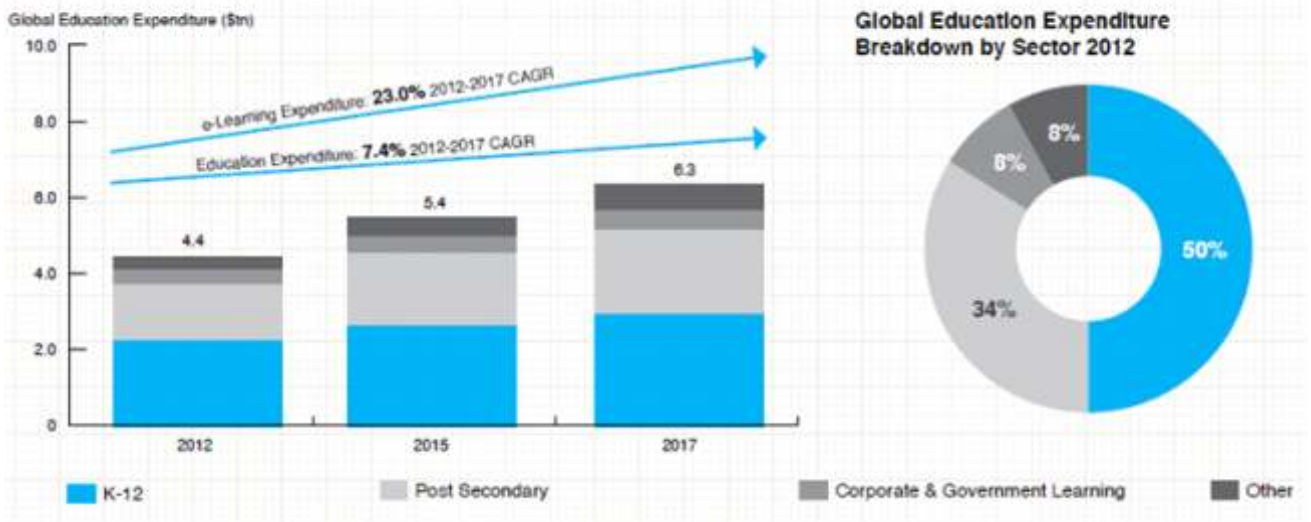
4. The rise of China (and to some extent India), with China moving from a peripheral global economic player - from twenty billion in foreign reserves to nearly four trillion and rapidly becoming the largest economy in the world.

5. The beginning of ageing throughout the Western world and East Asia, leading to a number of issues including depopulation with entire European villages for sale for under 100,000 euros, lifelong learning, and the quite dramatic shift from there being enough young

people to pay for the pensions of the aged, to there being a lack of young people to pay for pensions. The lack of young people impacts not just the superannuation formula (the worker-retiree ratio) but decreasing enrolments in the education sector, among other factors.

6. The beginning of what we now call international terrorism with the Arab CIA recruits eventually becoming Al-Qaeda, uniting with the Taliban, and further disruptions in Iraq and Syria leading to the rise of *Daesh*. The result of the inability to find a geopolitical solution then leading to the largest refugee crisis in Europe since World War Two, indeed, calling into question the entire European project. With Russia now joining the war in the Middle-East, we can easily anticipate Afghanistan 2.0.

7. The 90s also began the great boom - from globalization, from the peace dividend, and from the imagination of the "end of history," of social and political conflict. But history as it turned out would not end, instead, a global financial crisis resulted, caused by:



- the shift of the world economy to China,
- disintermediation created by the new digital and robotic technologies,
- the shift from coal and oil to the new renewables,
- lack of global and national regulation of financial institutions, and,
- speculative bubbles in housing.

The result for education has been a shift from education as an investment to education as an expense. Governments throughout the world have been reducing their expenditures in education, as they deal with increased social security costs and security costs (from the reality and the imagination of international terrorism).

To deal with the new reality of decreased government subsidies, in 2015, universities find themselves moving toward virtual learning with the intention of having more students with less labour costs, and continuing to expand to new areas - the emerging markets where the demand for education is insatiable. At the same time, to deal with drop in government funding, there is the continued casualization of the workforce, with more being demanded for less. In Australia, "casualization" is now 60 percent of the higher education workforce (Luyt et al., 2008). Comparing the university to the garment industry, Patricia Kelly calls casual lecturers

"piece workers of the mind" (Kelly, 2011).

### The Next Ten Years

These trends are unlikely to stop in the next ten years. The number of students enrolled in higher education, for example, is likely to double to 262 million by 2025, with most the growth in developing nations such as India and China. Over 8 million of these students will travel to other countries. The market size for global education was 2.5 trillion dollars in 2011 and is now 4.4 trillion us dollars. It is expected to continue to grow with e-learning projected to grow by 23%.

We can thus expect more digitalization and virtualization (and with holograms and virtual technology) far more high-tech-soft touch experiences. We can also expect the continued globalization of education with providers at high school and university levels coming from all over the world, competing for the student dollar. Disruptions are likely. Perhaps it will as with uber, airbnb and other aspects of the sharing economy, where formal providers - the universities - are disrupted by peer-to-peer app based networks. The means a world where learning is, where you want it, when you want it, how you want it, and at cheaper costs. Education may also be disrupted by the major players - Alibaba, Google, Facebook - who could offer degree courses not just for employees or training but

doctoral courses. Of course, national accreditation remains the barrier. While this barrier may be feudal, the debate in the next ten years will be can it be broken, can the castle walls of the university be breached by the new tech "bedouins". They may be innovators or barbarians but the castle will be challenged.

And, youth expect this to be so. Having grown up in digital environments where the user and connectivity adds value, these digital natives will be in positions of executive power throughout the world by 2025-2030. While there are always pendulum shifts to the "good old days" of industrial, in 15 years ipads and iphones will not be considered new technologies, but like chairs and tables, part of the infrastructure, what is expected. The tension between new technologies and traditional worldviews will have been resolved. But this is far from guaranteed.

### Alternative Futures

#### Four possible scenarios are likely.

First: TEACH AND TRAIN FOR THE 1950s. In this future, educators assume youth - high school and university students - will have one job, one career and live in one nation. The story line would be: "teaching for jobs that no longer exist." Thus, the educational system in this future will be unable to meet the challenges of the major disruptions. For students and

teachers, it will be like living in a prison cell (wasting their time and when they are free, they will be irrelevant).

Second: ADD A FEW COURSES ON COMPUTERS AND WORLD LANGUAGES. In this future, through national broadband networks, the speed of access to information changes, but there is no real change in infrastructure. Academic hierarchy continues. Classrooms remain ordered in rows. Knowledge is about repeating information. The story line would be: "too little, too late". For students, they will face a disconnect between virtual world/peer-to-peer networks and the formal industrial educational system. They will be physically in class but mentally far away.

Third, TEACH AND TRAIN FOR EMERGING INDUSTRIES. In this future, high schools and universities, indeed, the entire educational system teaches for the likely emerging futures. Curriculum will likely be focused on the following areas:

- robotics
- bio-informatics
- peer to peer
- care for ageing
- meditation and emotional intelligence
- software design
- city design
- 3d printing
- the internet of everything

• solar and wind energy, including smart houses and cities

The tag line for this future is: "high-tech, high touch." Students find their needs meet, they are excited about education and blend easily between formal high school and university and their own virtual peer to peer learning frameworks.

The fourth future is more radical and is titled: TEACH AND TRAIN FOR A WORLD AFTER JOBS.

This future takes the forecast by the Foundation for Young Australians seriously concluding that the emerging efficiency, collaborative and sharing economy will likely dominate by 2030. It is a world where the ideals of the PROUT movement are truly successful. Robotics, the internet of everything and major disruptions will make education no longer about jobs but about purpose, adaptability and meaning. Instead of working more, "work" is done through advanced technologies or shared or done far more efficiently through internet apps which allow for real time transparent and traceable information on everything (car sharing, food sharing, home sharing, for example). The passing on of knowledge between generations will not be data based but about the sharing of emotional, spiritual and new forms of intelligence. It would be a post-scarcity world, where current - 2015 - way of acting and

being would be disadvantageous. The tag line for this scenario is: "strangers in a strange land."

Students will find this world both exciting and threatening. Exciting as it opens up many possibilities but threatening in that they will need to adjust to and create new forms of physical and knowledge infrastructure. It will be easy to fall into old patterns - knowledge for the strengthening of narrow viewpoints (ego, family, caste, religion) instead of knowledge for planetary neohumanism.

Education would have been disrupted in this scenario. The castle would have been breached. The knights - the professors - could go back to what they truly love - reflecting, learning, teaching, and the creation of new knowledge.

Would it become an ecological playground? Perhaps. But once the moat goes down, it is unclear what will emerge afterwards. Perhaps the villagers outside the castle walls may storm inside, or perhaps they will welcome the new global brain.

We shall see. In the meantime, believing that tomorrow will be like today is a precursor to obsolescence.

*The writer is Professor, Tamkang university, Taiwan; the University of the Sunshine coast, and Business School, the University of Melbourne. Director, metafuture.org*

## BY THE NUMBERS

Baxter is cheaper and more quickly deployed than are traditional robots. In a decade, it might be able to tackle tens of millions of manufacturing and service jobs.

How much it costs

**BAXTER**

**\$22,000**, all in

TYPICAL INDUSTRIAL ROBOT:

**\$100,000**

plus another

**\$200,000**

or more in programming costs

How long it takes to get running

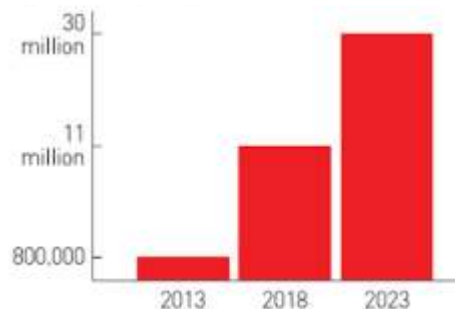
**BAXTER**

to unpack and set up, plus five minutes to train on the first job

TYPICAL INDUSTRIAL ROBOT:

**Months**

How many jobs Baxter could potentially replace in the U.S.



# SPIRITUALLY RUDDERLESS

**Once upon a time, the planet was festooned with local cultures: socio-cultural systems on a human scale. This is not the world we live in now.**

\* **Robert C. Koehler**

**A**nother deep cry, followed by a shrug. The world is at war, at war, at war. But it only hurts them, the helpless ones, the anonymous poor, who absorb the bombs and bullets, who bury their children, who flee their broken countries.

Sixty million people have been displaced by the current wars, the highest number of uprooted since World War II. But who cares?

“In the face of blatant

inhumanity, the world has responded with disturbing paralysis.”

The words are those of Ban Ki-Moon, executive-secretary of the United Nations, who, along with Paul Maurer, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, issued a joint cry of anguish last week: Things are worse than they’ve been in a long time. Not only are wars tearing apart Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Nigeria, South

Sudan and other countries, but the conflicts seem to be increasingly lacking in moral constraint.

“Every day,” said Maurer, “We hear of civilians being killed and wounded in violation of the basic rules of international humanitarian law, and with total impunity. Instability is spreading. Suffering is growing. No country can remain untouched.”

These words may be factually accurate, but you can’t really call them a “warning.” A warning can only be addressed to someone with the power to change course, make different decisions, and sidestep the looming disaster.

“. . . the world has responded with disturbing paralysis.” What else has “the world” ever done? The momentum of human annihilation cannot be interrupted. Oh, I hope such a statement is inaccurate, but in this moment, all I can see is that we’re trapped in the geopolitics and economics . . . of Armageddon. The world’s national leaders are inadequate stewards of humanity and the needs of Planet Earth. Politically, the world is sliced into nation-states, which fiercely prowl their perimeters, guarding their own



interests from both external and internal threats. This behavior is called war, and war, in point of fact, has no rules, humanitarian or otherwise. Peace has rules. War has only a goal: victory.

Stir in economic interests — the force called money — and the pot really starts to boil. The interests of money transcend national borders. Its agents and stewards, the global corporatocracy, serve only the interests of economic growth, which has even fewer moral constraints than nationalism. Unchecked economic growth is tantamount to the consumption of the planet, not just physically (using up its resources, ravaging the environment), but culturally and spiritually as well.

Once upon a time, the planet was festooned with local cultures: socio-cultural systems on a human scale. People had a participatory relationship with the world in which they lived.

Under such conditions, perhaps the words of Ban Ki-Moon and Paul Maurer could constitute a real warning. People could take heed and rein in manifestations of blatant inhumanity. They could assume a sense of behavioral responsibility that reached seven generations into the future.

### **This Is Not the World We Live In Now**

Writing about the crushing impact of global economic development /exploitation on local cultural integrity, Helena Norberg-Hodge, founder and director of the organization Local Futures and co-director of the documentary, *The Economics of Happiness*, talked about the changes she has witnessed in a region of northern India called Ladakh.

“In part, the Ladakhis’ confidence and sense of having enough emanated from a deep sense of community: people knew they could depend on one another,” she wrote at *Common Dreams*. “But in 1975 . . . the Indian government decided to open up the region to the process of development, and life

"I will permit no man to narrow and degrade my soul by making me hate him."

- Booker T Washington

began to change rapidly. Within a few years the Ladakhis were exposed to television, Western movies, advertising, and a seasonal flood of foreign tourists. Subsidized food and consumer goods — from Michael Jackson CDs and plastic toys to war videos and pornography — poured in on the new roads that development brought.”

The local economy and the local culture got swallowed, over the course of several decades, by what she called “the consumer monoculture.” The resulting changes were more than just superficial. People, you might say, started to become spiritually rudderless.

She described what this can look like: “For more than 600 years,” she wrote, “Buddhists and Muslims lived side by side in Ladakh with no recorded instance of group conflict. They helped one another at harvest time, attended one another’s religious festivals, and sometimes intermarried. But over a

period of about 15 years, tensions between Buddhists and Muslims escalated rapidly, and by 1989 they were bombing each other’s homes.”

And so we begin to get at the deeper forces at work in today’s world. Consumer monoculture centralizes the power to act. We can consume the news — read about war, read about climate change — but where then in our distress, if indeed this is what is aroused, do we turn? What do we do? Perhaps we blame “them.” At both the macro and the micro levels, humanity turns to violence. This is the all-purpose solution of the powerless.

And the world convulses at what may be the dawn of World War III. Sixty million people have been displaced by the current wars. We reach into our souls, looking for the force that is larger than war.

*Robert Koehler is an award-winning, Chicago-based journalist and nationally syndicated writer. His book is *Courage Grows Strong at the Wound* (Xenos Press).*



# BHARAT RATNAS

## THE CLEAN INDIA ARMY EVERY INDIAN MUST MEET



The workers describe entering a manhole as a descending into hell. Once inside there is nothing but darkness. Anything could happen to the worker. There are poisonous gases - methane, nitrogen, ammonia and hydrogen sulphide - generated by the decaying organic matter. These toxic gases have been the cause of many deaths.



### \* Shriya Mohan

#### The Inhumanity

- About 21 million people live in Mumbai, generating 7,000 tonnes of daily waste
- The city has 38,000 'conservancy workers', which is the innocuous term for those employed in waste disposal

- The municipality engages 4,357 labourers to clean 54,600 manholes and open sewage lines
- Most of these belong to the Mahar caste of Dalits
- Across India, there are 12 lakh manual scavengers.
- Among them, 9,600 deaths are

reported each year

- It was a 13 May 2014 article in the Mumbai Mirror that brought a definitive change to Sudharak Olwe's life. The article, about five sewage workers, described what happened to them when they got into a manhole, at Mumbai's Usha Nagar Culvert on the Eastern Express Highway, to remove gunny bags from 35 feet under the sewage pipeline:

"Sameer, Rajesh and Dhaneshwar were the first to enter the chamber by means of a rope. Ravindra and Panchonan, who followed them, came out citing difficulty in breathing. After waiting for some time, site supervisor Shivanand Chavan called in the cops. By the time the fire brigade personnel entered the chamber, wearing gas masks, Sameer, Rajesh and Dhaneshwar had died."

Olwe was filled with



repulsion. Repulsion for the words 'chamber', 'breathing difficulty' and worst of all 'conservancy workers' - the term used for them, all of which reeked with a pungent odour of legitimising what has got to be the shittiest job in the world.

Remember that time when you stepped on a tiny bit of dog poo and grimaced, running to the nearest tap to have it all washed up? The feeling of that stuff touching even the sole of your shoe left you disgusted.

What does it take to be bare naked and dive into a pit that is two storeys deep and full of sewage waste? What does it feel like for the stinking slush to be entering the pores of your skin, the parting between your lips - no matter how tightly you keep them folded, from entering your nostrils despite holding your breath and from seeping into your tightly shut eyelids and feeling its warm stickiness settle heavily on your hair, submerging you in the dark finality of its hellish void?

### **Olwe Picked Up His Camera to Find Out.**

#### **A caste fated to live in manholes**

It wasn't sympathy that moved Olwe. It was the more burning question of identity. Belonging to the Mahar caste of Maharashtra, a sub-caste of the Dalits just like Sameer, Rajesh and Dhaneshwar and Mumbai's 38,000 conservancy workers, Olwe felt that he missed becoming one of them by a wisp of fate. The feeling was overwhelming. "I had to get to know my brothers," he says.

There are 21 million people living in Mumbai, generating 7,000 tonnes of daily waste. In the western suburbs alone, where Olwe shot most of these photos, this waste comes gushing through 65 kilometres of *bignallas*, 56 kilometres of small *nallas* and finally settles into 52 kilometres of box drains, before getting released into the ocean. Some of the drainage lines are deep enough to accommodate a double decker bus.

The Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) currently



**Once inside, there is nothing but darkness. The worker could pass out from inhaling some toxic gas, or be carried away in the rush of water and waste**

engages 4,357 labourers to clean 54,600 manholes and open sewage lines manually, using iron rods and spliced bamboo sticks.

"Once they descend below they are disconnected from the world above," says Olwe.

In his photo book, "In search of dignity and justice, the untold story of conservancy workers", published last year by Spenta Multimedia and supported by the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, he writes:

*The workers describe entering a manhole as a descending into hell. Once inside there is nothing but darkness. Anything could happen to the worker. He could slip in the knee-deep water and slime and lose consciousness, or be carried away in the rush of water and waste. And there are poisonous gases - methane, nitrogen, ammonia and hydrogen sulphide - generated by the decaying organic matter. These toxic gases have been the cause of many deaths.*

There are two ways the workers check for toxic gases. One is by throwing a lit match stick into the hole. If there are any gases, it will burn and they begin their descent after the fire subsides. The second is by checking for cockroaches, which are not known to die easily. If there are no cockroaches, then they throw in the lit match stick for the gas to escape. Sometimes all tactics fail.

**BMC's numbers suggest that in the last six years, 1,386 conservancy workers have lost their lives at work.** Recent numbers revealed by the BMC themselves suggest that in last six years, 1,386 conservancy workers have lost their lives at work. With the growing number of deaths every year, the solid waste management or SWM department of the civic body has now commissioned a study to assess the reasons for it.

According to a 2007 estimate, at least 22,327 men and women die in India every year doing various kinds of sanitation work. The Planning Commission sub-group on Safai Karamcharis says there could be about 12 lakh manual scavengers across India, picking human faeces with their bare hands. Of these 12 lakh manual scavengers, 9,600 deaths are reported each year.

Assuming they don't die in a manhole, death awaits outside in the form of various diseases, the most common being jaundice and tuberculosis from the bacteria they ingest. Then there are also liver related diseases that workers suffer from after years of consuming cheap alcohol before they dive in.

"How else can such a job be done in your right senses? You have to numb your senses to go down there," says Olwe. It is no surprise



then that the average lifespan of a conservancy worker, assuming he does not die at work, is a mere 45 years, by which time the tormented become the tormentors at home. **Abusive, full of self-hatred and contempt for life, the bitterness they live with is perhaps more toxic than the sewage they are covered in each day.**

### **When Illegal Becomes Acceptable**

Isn't this work illegal? According to Olwe, the laws banning such work exist only on paper and seem far removed from the complex reality staring at the face of these workers every day.

Take the case of The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Act, which was passed in 2013. The Act prohibits any manual handling of human waste before its decomposition. Importantly, the Act includes unsanitary work done in septic tanks, sewage lines, and railways latrines, roping in thousands of sewage workers of the kind Olwe has photographed under the ambit of the Act.

It also instructs every local authority, cantonment board and railway authority to survey insanitary latrines within its jurisdiction and identify manual scavengers. Owners are to be held responsible for the conversion of all

dry latrines into sanitary ones.

According to the Act, current sewage workers would have to be assigned other work on the same payment, an uphill task considering the job fetches them at least Rs 15,000 a month. It also entitles them to livelihood skill training, concessional loans for a new enterprise and to be provided with a residential plot with financial assistance to build a house - all of which, if not done, would mean penalties that could go up to Rs 5 lakh. This way, the Act envisages curbing open defecation within three years.

Incidentally this is the second attempt at doing away with the shameful practice of manual scavenging. The first, passed in 1993, was called Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act. It was hardly implemented. And like this one, things never changed for the 750,000 families that still work as manual scavengers.

At a manhole level, status quo appears far safer than a total ban. Let's get real. Who will give a stinking sewage cleaner any job outside of sewage cleaning? Some workers feel scared that the 2013 ban would eventually snatch away their only hope for a livelihood.

The authorities say that when a drain is blocked, it is only a human

being who clears the blockages. No long pole or machine will suffice. With such a law, who will dive in to keep the city's sewer lines unclogged? This is what they ask pointedly.

"We've woken up to this problem late. The existing drainage systems in most metro cities was laid out more than 100 years ago. These drains were designed in a fashion that involved manual cleaning. Changing the sewage system structurally is a mammoth task requiring huge investments that state governments are lethargic to undertake," says Vivek Gupta, a Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal and an activist who worked closely on drafting the 2013 bill banning sewage work.

Gupta says the bill, being the prerogative of the state to implement, requires all states to take certain hard decisions sooner or later for the benefit of society.

### **The Stench Isn't Easy To Get Rid Of**

One morning, when Olwe went to meet the families of conservancy workers at south Mumbai's Antop Hill, he saw a huge mound of debris and spotted a big crowd gathered around it. Someone was calling the police and there was much commotion. Acting on a gut instinct, he pushed his way through the crowd and stood at the foot of the ripe smelling pile of garbage.

What he saw haunted him for many months after. It was a dead baby. Thrown into the garbage just like a used rag cloth. Yes, it was a girl. And from the look of it, she looked like a healthy baby just born earlier in the day and perhaps thrown just a few minutes ago. The police arrived soon and ushered away the baby. She was taken straight to a hospital and pronounced dead. The photo and several others in his body of work on conservancy workers went on to win National Geographic's All Roads Photographers Award in 2005.

Before Olwe went to the United States to receive the award, he had an overarching discomfort in



being its recipient. Won't my photos expose a shameful side of India to the world? That's when he sought advice from senior photographer Raghu Rai, who reminded Olwe that he was an ambassador of the conservancy workers first and not India.

Dead babies, rotting street dogs, road kills, sanitary napkins drenched in blood, glass, needles, medical waste, diapers full of shit - there is nothing that these workers haven't touched with their bare hands and unflinchingly carried over their head to the dumping ground. And Olwe captures it all so vividly that makes one wince.

From a photo of a dead dog being picked up out of a garbage bin to a man neck deep inside a man hole full of sewage to a family of conservancy workers living on a tiny little stairway landing in which they raise their two kids, to the various desperate living and working conditions of these families trapped in this livelihood for generations, Olwe gives the profession the panoramic view it deserves.

### **So Why Do They Do It?**

There is a simple answer. In a country that gives you no choice, you do the work that you are allowed to do. Babasaheb Ambedkar, born a Mahar, had preached one way of dissolving the caste system. He told the Dalits to migrate far and wide, inter marry into various castes and

get employment in diverse fields of vocations. This way, he envisioned, the Dalits could eventually liberate themselves from the burden of their caste.

When the Mahars of Konkan, sick of cleaning human shit, gathered the guts to move to Mumbai in search of employment, the entire city's sewage was waiting to embrace them. The jobs in all the various categories of conservancy work across India are reserved for the Scheduled Castes. There is 100% reservation in Mumbai for SCs like the Mahars. The job passes from husband to wife to child, for generations.

In the city of Chennai, 95% of the 10,000-odd conservancy workers hail from one particular caste, the Arunthathiyar caste, and are condemned to manually handle the 5,000 tons of solid waste that is produced by the city every day. The same goes for Delhi, Bangalore and other large cities.

Dr Shailesh Kumar Darokar, Associate Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, says in Olwe's book, "We have not let go of our past but simply re-invented it; we are still guilty of perpetuating caste hierarchies and even making them stronger by having caste-based occupations and that too in the public sector."

### **Blighting the Youth**

Sunil Yadav does not believe in

heaven and hell. But he knows what hell feels like. "Narak" is the word he uses to describe what it was like the first time he waded through open sewers with floating garbage and dead rats when, at 25, he took over his father's job as a municipal conservancy worker in Mumbai.

Part of an almost entirely Dalit taskforce, Yadav figured that, much like Babasaheb Ambedkar's pursuit of an education, he, too, would have to study further to better his lot.

But a decade on, with four degrees under his belt, Yadav, who pursued an MA in globalization and labour at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), continues to work as a conservancy worker with the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC). While Yadav, now 36, is currently working on an MPhil at TISS, he spends his nights cleaning Mumbai's garbage.

Yadav, who grew up in the slums around Arthur Road in the 1980s, during the heyday of Mumbai's underworld, says he felt the full force of social inequality when he joined the BMC. After his MA degree, when he applied for better positions in the civic body for which he was well qualified he was rejected even though there were vacancies, he says.

"I could not afford to quit work and study because I have a family to support," he says. He hopes that, someday, his degrees will get him a less degrading job.

Yadav, whose family has been involved in conservancy work for three generations, recalls his father coming home drunk after a day's work and routinely beating up his mother.

"My mother believed in Ambedkar and wanted all of us to study hard," says Yadav, who studied till Class X in a municipal school, but failed his SSC exams. He went to work as a delivery boy at a share firm, carting 300kg of shares across the country in the pre-Internet era. He also worked as a security guard and an office boy. It was only when his father suffered a stroke that Yadav took over his job. "Even to get



that job, I had to pay Rs. 2,000 as bribe to push the file," he says.

When he got time off from cleaning the city's garbage, Yadav would pore over newspapers. He came across an advertisement issued by the Yashwantrao Chavan Maharashtra Open University (YCMOU) offering those who failed the Class X exam the opportunity to pursue a degree if they cracked the university's entrance test. Yadav credits his general knowledge for the ease with which he breezed through the exam.

He went on to do a B Com and a BA in journalism from YCMOU, a diploma in social work from Nirmala Niketan, and a master's degree in social work from Tilak Maharashtra University before he joined TISS and bagged another MA.

Now, Yadav lives in a pint-sized room in a Chembur chawl with his wife and two daughters. He says his wife has been very supportive of his studies. He is still bitter about being denied study leave when he was pursuing an MA at TISS. "The BMC's rules and regulations allow



for 24 months of paid study leave. Very few people know about it. Usually only bureaucrats in the department avail of it. But when I applied for it, the civic authorities said they could not give it to someone like me," says Yadav.

His colleagues and professors at TISS did their utmost to support

him in his quest for study leave. Yadav did not get the two-year break, only three months of leave when, in the course of his MA, he was selected to travel to Johannesburg by a Swiss development agency. Yadav still wants to fight inequities with his education, like Ambedkar. He does not want to give up his job, but aims to challenge the system from within. Whether he will live long enough to do so is the unspoken question.

The 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to which India is a signatory, defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."

Is this not then a genocide we have collectively allowed, in the name of a *swachh Bharat*?

Frederick Douglass



You degrade us and then ask why we are degraded. You shut our mouths and ask why we don't speak. You close your colleges and seminaries against us and then ask why we don't know.

# SOFT LOANS TO SUGAR BARONS

## 'ELIGIBLE' SUICIDE TO FARMERS



Maharashtra government conceded in the state assembly that 722 out of 1300 farm suicides by 30 June were indeed 'eligible' suicides.

### ★ Samar

1300 farmers killed themselves in Maharashtra by 30 June, as per state government's own admission, with half of the year to go. Ongoing drought in Marathwada was supposed to deepen the crisis and so it did with toll reaching 997 there alone by 30 November 2015. The total toll for the state has crossed 2400 as against 1981 farm suicides it admitted in 2014.

The government also concedes that many of these are in fact 'eligible' farm suicides, i.e. the land was in the victim's name and there was indeed evidence of

indebtedness. Even if one forgets the absurdity of such 'eligibility criteria' that deny women, who hardly ever have lands in their name in patriarchal societies, and landless labourers even after death, the numbers are significant.

Maharashtra government conceded in the state assembly that 722 out of 1300 farm suicides by 30 June were indeed 'eligible' suicides. Revenue officials have also admitted to 626 out of 997 farmers' suicides in Marathwada being 'eligible' for suicides and therefore deserve compensation. That it is yet

to start compensating them is just another fact.

It is not, however, always that slow in dealing with distress, not when it affects the sugar mill owners at least. Poor guys owed sugar cane farmers, many of whom figure in the farm suicides statistics, just about Rs 2,532.49 crore to Maharashtra farmers whose sugarcanes they bought and did not pay for. They could not because of falling sugar prices of course, as Union Minister for Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution (hereafter Food Minister) Minister Ram Vilas

Paswan told Lok Sabha in February. "The outstanding sugarcane dues are mainly on account of low realisation from sale of sugar," he had said in a written reply to a question. The fact that not a single sugar mill owner has reportedly committed suicide unlike thousands of farmers is beside the point.

People in the power are not always heartless and so ran to address the crisis. Well aware of the crisis and its impact on farmers, the Union Government had approved a Rs. 6,000 crore interest-free loan to sugar mills to enable them to clear cane arrears payable to farmers way back in June this year. The gazette notification for the same was issued by the Department of Food and Public Distribution.

This was, interestingly, not the first such package for sugar mill owners to bail out farmers- the incumbent union government had given interest free loans of Rs. 4,400 crore to sugar industry for paying cane arrears in June 2014 as well, soon after coming to power after the general elections in May 2014.

This is not to suggest that the ones in power before them were any less concerned over the agrarian crisis ensnaring live of thousands of farmers including those cultivating sugar cane and not getting paid despite selling that to the mills for crushing. It had also approved interest free loan of Rs. 6,600 crore for the mills and that too exclusively for clearing sugarcane arrears.

It is just that not much of the interest free loans seem to have reached the farmers if one goes by the data provided by the government itself. The total payments sugar mills owed to the farmers in June 2014 was pegged at 11,000 crore. The amount, as per Food Minister Ram Vilas Paswan's own admission again, rose to Rs 16,364 crore by February 2015 and to a whopping Rs 21,000 crore by April. Out of these arrears, Uttar Pradesh sugar mills owed the farmers the maximum at Rs 7,870.57 crore, followed by Maharashtra at Rs 2,532.49 crore and while the same stood at Rs

2,154.97 in Karnataka.

The government, of course, makes the claim that the money owed by the sugar mills have come significantly down to Rs 12,248 crore at the end of the 2014-15 season. Have a cursory look at the figures and the lie gets busted. The arrears that stood at Rs. 11,000 crore at the end of 2013-14 seasons reached to Rs. 12,248 crore at the end of the 2014-15. That is a clear increase of Rs. 1248 crore from last season, not a 'reduction', significant or otherwise because of whatever relief measures the government claims to have pressed in service.

Where did all the money given to the sugar mills for helping the farmers go, then? Though the answers to that question are not very clear, it seems to have been used to keep the sugar mills afloat, most of them privately owned with a very small chunk being under cooperatives. Their might be more leakages as evidenced by the admission of officials themselves, take this statement attributed to a senior government official from the co-operative and marketing department of Maharashtra quoted in this media report for instance-

"Banks should ensure that the amount is given to farmers only. Banks need to play a crucial role. Otherwise, it happens that the money is taken from the government but never reaches the farmers. We hope that all sugar mills will implement this decision in the larger interest of the farmer community,"

Another possibility is part of the funds getting actually paid to the farmers for what the mills owed them for their produce from past years. Even that, however, does not change their predicament as they would need to spend that money for meeting the expenditures warranted from the last year as well - be it on education of their children, marriages and other social responsibilities, money required for everyday needs and also on medical needs- routine as well as urgencies.

Clearly, such soft loans to sugar mills cannot address the crisis of the

farmers, crisis they have to deal with day in and day out with payments for their produce a year, or more, later! Sugar mill owners can wait for government bailouts for sure, farmers do not have this luxury is a fact that keeps surfacing in farm suicides statistics. Add to this the fact that many of the private defaulters do not have their businesses confined to sugar industry alone. Many of them have a very diverse portfolio that includes huge profit making businesses based even on the byproducts of the sugarcane crushing – ethanol refineries for instance.

Why do the governments, then, keep bailing out the industrialists and not the farmers? The answer to this question is simple – the industrialists are indispensable to the system that masquerades as democracy in India, the farmers-divided over a hundred fault lines-are not. The industrialists fund political parties and their electoral campaigns, farmers cannot. Further, helping 'industry' goes well with the dominant 'growth and development' discourse propagated by powers that may across the world whereas helping farmers comes under 'subsidies' that need to be done away with.

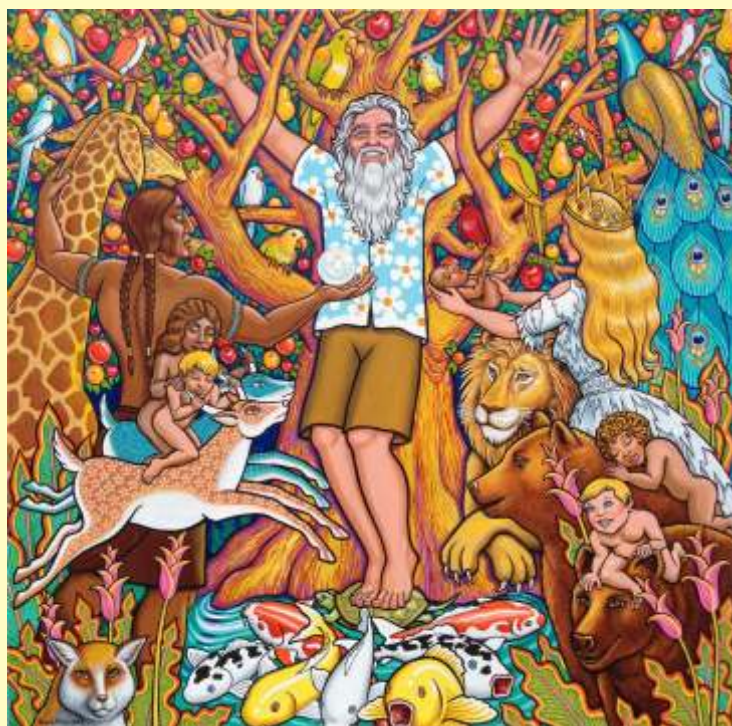
Sadly, with so many farm suicides, the state of affairs cannot continue without having serious consequences to both - the society and the republic. And the republic cannot solve the farm crisis by bailing out sugar barons. It needs to come up with something that addresses the real problems ailing both the farmers and the industry which too, undoubtedly, had seen sugar prices crumbling down. Keeping mills afloat with public money and thus making farmers keep growing sugarcane with diminishing to no returns and thus getting forced into killing themselves cannot be a solution to the problem.

*Samar is Programme Coordinator  
- Right to Food Programme Asian  
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# To Save Humanity

*Shrii Shrii Anandamúrti*

**W**ise people say that in the past there have been so many crises in human society. Crisis is quite natural for something moving. Wherever there is movement, there is struggle – struggle against the inertia of the earth. In the past, there have been crises in the course of movement, crises in different branches of civilization, crises in the realm of education, and so on. But nowadays, the entire human society is facing the crisis of civilization as a whole, and particularly a crisis in the field of



existence. Human society is now to decide whether to live or to die. If this mud-slinging and intolerance are encouraged, humanity has no future – the future is dark, the future is sealed forever. But you know, I am not a pessimist. I am always an optimist. And I want all my sons and daughters to be optimists. And I want them to struggle against this death signal of humanity, and come out successful.

And I am sure that you boys and you girls must be optimists; and it is your duty to save humanity. And I hope you will be able to save humanity, because, just like me, you are also optimistic. You should know that great, or good, people are few in number, they are not many. They do not come within the scope of millions or billions. They are always few in number. And these few, they are the torchbearers of human society, they are the pioneers, they are the vanguards of human society. So it is your duty to save humanity. And those who are unable to shoulder their own bags and baggages – their responsibilities are to be shouldered by you. You should remember that the life of a spiritual aspirant is a mission. One's entire life is a mission, one's entire existence is a mission. And your mission is – what? To save humanity from this crisis. I hope you will be successful. And I not only hope, I am sure that you will be successful.

## PBI National Convention 2015 at Bhubaneshwar, Odisha

### Demand for 'Amiirii Rekha' (Ceiling on Wealth)



Proutist Bloc, India (PBI) held its National Convention at Institution of Engineers Auditorium, Madhusudan Nagar, Unit 4, Bhubaneshwar-I, Odisha on 20-21 November, 2015. It started with a rally comprising PBI activists from across the country including notably from the states of Odisha, Bihar, Maharashtra, Delhi, and Haryana. They marched from Exhibition Ground to the State Assembly raising slogans in favour of their demands. Addressing the processionists Dr. Kulamani Nayak, Kedar Nath Sahu and Rajesh Singh said that the condition of the farmers in the country has become the most pathetic, and Odisha is no exception. They said that PBI will intensify its movement for the Farmers' rights. Speaking to the media persons Kedar Nath Sahoo unequivocally expressed the demands of PBI and demanded expeditious action by the government in the direction of their fulfillment. A memorandum stating the below demands was also submitted to Chief Minister of Odisha and H'ble Governor by a delegation consisting of Rajesh Singh, Kedar Nath Sahoo, Anasuya MahaPatra and Shankar Lal:

**Amiiri Rekha to be Made:** In order to eliminate poverty there is need of Amiiri Rekha instead of Garibii Rekha.

**Right to employment should be made a fundamental right :** PBI strongly believes that the Right To Employment should be declared a fundamental right in the constitution.

**Agriculture should be given the status of industry:** PBI believes that farmers can get freedom from all their problems only if agriculture is recognized as an industry and has all the facilities enjoyed by the industry today.

**Prime Minister and Chief Ministers should be elected by people directly:** PBI demands that PM and CMs should be directly elected by the voters, who can then form their council of ministers/cabinet from the elected representatives irrespective of their parties. It will lead to greater stability, better representation and stop horse-trading.

**Usurpation of natural resources of Odisha must be stopped:** So far minerals and other resources worth Rs.60,000 crores have been drained out of Odisha. PBI demands that this money must be returned to the state and used for the emancipation of Odiya people.

The second session started with an invocation song followed by lighting of lamps and garlanding of the picture of PBI's founder, Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar.

In his inaugural speech General Secretary Rajesh Singh called upon all the moralists to get united and fight against economic, cultural and social exploitation. He emphasized that only PBI, through the application of PROUT, can solve all the burning problems of the country. Prof. Aditya Mohanty was Chief guest for this



# Activities

session. He exhorted audience to stand against the immoralists and wipe out filth from politics. In his views economic democracy is the only way to remove exploitation. He hoped that PBI will succeed in taking political power from immoralists and usher in a new era of politics. The audience applauded his views.

The day ended with a cultural programme by a group of small children, who presented classical and folk dances set to the tune of devotional songs composed by Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar. On the second day, the first Session was chaired by National Chairman Sh. Subhash Chand Tyagi with Sh. Kulmani Nayak, Chairman, Odisha State Committee, Madhukar Nistane, Convener, Vidarbha Samaj, Shiv Narayan, Chairman, Bihar State Committee, Sanehlata Das, Anasuya Mahapatra, Kedar Nath Sahoo, GS, Odisha State Committee on the dias.

Shiv Narayan exhorted the party workers to speed up the progress of the party in their areas. Expressing his satisfaction about the performance of the party in the recently held Bihar state assembly election he said that although the results are encouraging yet the victory of immoral forces in the elections shows that we need to accelerate our speed manifolds. National Chairman Subhash Chand Tyagi outlined the vision of the party and gave some precious guidelines about how that vision can be materialized. Drawing on the examples from the lives of great leaders of the Indian freedom struggle, Madhukar Nistane, a firebrand PBI leader and Convener of Vidharbh samaj emphasized the need of sacrificing personal interests for the larger good. General secretary of Odisha state committee Kedar Nath Sahoo in his fiery speech reiterated his resolve to fight against the exploitation of the people of Odisha and to form a Proutist government in the state at the earliest.

National movement secretary Kanhu Charan Behura gave the details of the various activities of the party in Odisha. He told that PBI is not just fighting for the rights of the people but also empowering them socially and economically by involving them in various cooperatives.

Besides, some of the party cadres who contested in the last Bihar state assembly elections, namely Sogarath Paswan, Ramesh Chandra, Ram Vilas Baitha and Bipin Kumar Yadav also shared the experience of their first electoral contest. In the second session, Rajesh Singh presented General Secretary's report, highlighting the various achievements of the party in the last one year. Some political resolutions were also passed unanimously. In addition, the new national committee of the party was elected, and a resolution was passed to hold the next national convention in Patna, Bihar in 2016. Manoj Chauhan was elected the Chief of Maharashtra State Committee and was entrusted with the responsibility to build up PBI structure in the State.

The highlight of the concluding session was the felicitation of some the prominent proutists and PBI cadres, namely Jaganath Lenka, Kedar Nath Sahoo, Shiv Narayan, Madhukar Nistane, Anusuiya Patra, Sneha Lata Das and Pitambar Bhuinya. Besides, some mementos were given to Aditya Pradhan, Shankar Lal, Rajshri, Chandrika and several others as an acknowledgment of their contribution to the consolidation of the party in the state.

In his concluding speech Acharya Santoshananda Avadhuta said that the time has come for the moralists to take the lead in the politics and defeat immoral forces. He further added that participating in the elections for the sake of participation is not the aim of PBI; the party will participate in every election with a firm intention to achieve a thundering victory. Rajesh Singh gave a vote of thanks to the Odisha State Committee for its brilliant cooperation in holding the convention successfully. The convention concluded amidst an atmosphere charged with an inspiring Proutist song by team Odisha.

## PBI National Committee 2016-17

### Chairman

**Subhash Chand Tyagi**  
9212069074

### Vice Chairman

**Dr. S. D. Dhotre**  
08805215521

**Arjun Narayan Chaudhary**  
09162208658

**Janmeji Rao**  
09448124546

**Naiim Khan**  
09300312169

**Dr. Janardan Singh**  
09695325051, 09793939850

### General Secretary

**Rajesh Singh**  
9811426644

**Movement Secretary**  
**Kanhu Charan Behura**  
09437164980

### Organising Secretary

**Raj Kishore Prasad**  
09934715219, 07301291921

### Finance Secretary

**Anandam**  
9899580056

### Public Relations Secretary

**Ravindra Singh**  
9999626164

### Publication Secretary

**Pranav Koul**  
9810625082

### Training Secretary

**Ganesh Bhat**  
09448479608

### Cadre Control Secretary

**Trilok Singh**  
09899416445

### Head, Women's Wing

**Anasuya Mahapatra**

### Head, Students and Youth

**Amit Chaudhary**  
09711994773

### Office Secretary

**Rajiv Kumar Singh**  
9650055058

### National Convener

**Acarya Santoshananda Avadhuta**  
9212199658



## A Brilliant PBI Activist Sahdeo Mandal Passes Away



**Sahdeo Mandalji (in circle) participating in demonstration of PBI activists outside Legislative Assembly of Odisha, few hours before his departure.**

Bhagalpur (Bihar) : Sahdeo Mandal, a sincere activist of Proutist Bloc, India died on 20th November 2015 at Bhubaneshwar (Odisha). Sahdeoji had gone to Bhubaneshwar to participate in the national convention of PBI there.

He had joined a big rally of PBI activists in front of Legislative Assembly of Odisha the same day and was also subsequently active during the programme of national convention being held at Institution of Engineers auditorium at Madhusudan Nagar.

The demonstration of PBI activists has demanded Amiri Rekha (ceiling on wealth) and submitted the memorandum to the Governor of the State.

Sahdeoji was an honest Police sub-inspector till his retirement from the government job. He was always helpful to the needy and was very strict to the unlawful elements.

He worked for PBI selflessly and did his best to raise the Party in his home district of Bhagalpur (Bihar).

Our sincere tribute to this veteran Proutist and best sympathy with the bereaved family.

## PBI Protest at Maharashtra State Assembly

On December 15th, PBI-Vidarbha launched a protest at Vidhan Bhavan in Nagpur. It was led by Madhukar Nistane, Annaji Rajedar and Manoj Chavan. The primary demand was that of a separate state for Vidarbha. An additional focus of protest was the alleged seizure of land from farmers by various vested interests.

A huge crowd gathered from all over rural and urban Vidarbha. All expressed the grievances and resulting demand that Vidarbha should be granted the status of a separate state. The need for the progressive development of Vidarbha, PBI leaders said could only be achieved if Vidarbha attained economic freedom from outside exploiters. All in the crowd expressed their bad experiences in obtaining their rights under the current Maharashtra government.

Many of the farmers who have been allocated their lands generations ago, still do not have any legal ownership papers. The drought and the corruption of local administration officials were the reasons for this negligence.

The people came from various places in their traditional dress to show their traditional culture. They protested peacefully and maintained discipline at all times. They handed their list of demands to Maharashtra Chief Minister Fadvanis, Minister Sanjay Rathod and Minister Eknath Khadse.





## PBI organises Farmers Agitation in Vidarbha

Ghatanji (Vidarbha, Maharashtra) : There was demonstration by hundreds of farmers here demanding legalising their occupation of land in the forests. The farmers have been tilling the land for decades and have been growing crops there. They are entitled to get the legal ownership of the land according to a law enacted in the year 2006. The law is to provide legal ownership of the land upto 5 acres and the government acted accordingly in case of tribals. But other poor farmers who have been tilling the land for several generations have been denied the right (*patta*) till now.

The farmers under the banner of Proutist Bloc, India (PBI) had demonstrated before sub-divisional office at the Ghatanji. Having found government authorities indifferent to their woes, they staged a massive protest rally at Nagpur on 15th December 2015. The agitation was led by Proutist activist Madhukar Nistane and President of the Farmers Agitation Committee Haribhan Pendor. They submitted the memorandum to the concerned authorities. They have also warned that they will continue the agitation and will organise bigger and more aggressive rallies shortly to force the government to accede to their demands.

Besides Madhukar Nistane and Haribhan Pendor, Manoj Chauhan also addressed the protestors. The agitation is likely to take a strong aggressive form in near future.



## Prout Literacy Camp in Puri

A Prout Literacy Camp was organized from 16 -20 December 2015 in Puri ( Odisa ), by Proutist Universal in association with Adarsh Odisha Foundation, Bhubaneshvar. The goal and objective of this camp was to develop a comprehensive understanding of the multiple dimensions of Prout. The audience was of local youth. The schedule of classes was designed in such a way that most of the major concepts of Prout given by Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar in the Prout In A Nutshell book series was covered.

87 persons from many Samajas participated in Camp. These included: Dr. Gunjan from Delhi University, Dr. Jai Shankar from Meerut, Acarya Ganesh Bhatt from Karnatak, Prof. R P Singh from Gorakhpur University, Engineer Adarsh from Raipur, Advocate Kedar Nath and Dr. Kulmani Nayak from Bhubaneshvar. All led discussions on various subjects of Prout.

In addition, Smt. Rajashree and Smt Nivedita, Director of Women's PROUT talked about the upliftment of Women. Acharya Animeshananda Avadhuta and Acharya Nityashuddhananda Avadhuta dealt with Social Cycle and the new social revolutionary of the age - the Sadvipra.

This programme was envisioned and planned by Ac. Rameshvarananda Avadhuta. The programme was organised by Proutist Universal and supported by Adarsh Odisha Foundation.

The next Prout Literacy programmes are being planned in Chattisgarh and Maharashtra with the aim of providing systematic training for basic Prout Education to Proutists and social activists all over India.



## Nepal Award for Nepal Relief Work of AMURT



On 10th December, the District Educational Officer (DEO) of Sindhupalchowk gave an Appreciation letter to the Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team. On the 15th, after the completion of the Great event, the DEO had lunch with AMURT at field office, alongwith his entire team. He was very happy and said that AMURT was doing a splendid job and amongst all the 40 NGOs and INGOs working at Sindhupalchowk, AMURT is number ONE. The project: "School Recovery & Women's Empowerment in Post-

Earthquake Nepal" has several sites in the most effected areas, far in the rural side. The local members of AMURT Nepal with different coordinators and officers (administration, project, community, education, construction, finance and liaison), work as one team and are highly respected by the locals as well as by the public institutions. "All deserve the accolades", said the DEO.

## AMURT Service in Tamil Nadu



The AMURT team comprised of Acharya Jyotishvarananda Avadhuta, Acharya Subhadiipananda Avadhuta, Acarya Saomyashubhananda Avadhuta, Avadhutika Ananda Tapasnigdha Acharya, Brother Chandramouly, Sridhar jii, Rajajii, Brother Yogesh, Brother Parthivel and others.

The team distributed food packets at Perangalatur of Kancheepuram District of Tamil Nadu. The Victims are shelter-less and took shelter along the Perangalatur roadside staying in temporary huts. The Victims badly need temporary shelter like tents etc.

TRIBUTE

## Honouring A Great Proutist



### Shrii Sarabjit Prakash

21st July 1932 - 28th October 2015

Shrii Sarabjit Prakash was born on 21st July 1932 in Lahore. After the partition of India, he shifted to Lucknow where he went to college. Later he went to the Imperial College of Engineering in London. Upon returning to India he joined his father's manufacturing company.

Sarabjitji learned meditation from an Ananda Marga monk in 1963. Ever since learning it, he was a sincere practitioner both times of the day. He was an ardent disciple of Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji (also known as Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar) who was affectionately called "Baba". Sarabjitji became an ardent propagator of PROUT after coming in contact with his spiritual master. From the very beginning of the publication of the English magazine PROUT in Delhi, he was supporting it financially. He continued supporting this magazine until the last breath of his life.

Having been pleased by the devotion and dedication of Sarabjitji, his spiritual master Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji stayed at his residence in Lucknow in 1964. One interesting incident during this visit speaks volumes of Shrii Sarabjitji's devotion. In the night after finishing dinner at around 11:00 PM, Baba expressed His desire to eat ice cream. It was winter season and at that time Lucknow was not a big city. All the shops were closed and no roadside ice cream seller was to be seen. Both Sarabjitji and his wife Shriimati Usha were feeling great pain at being unable to satisfy the wish of their Guru. All of a sudden, a thought struck Smt. Usha's mind. She used to keep milk and fruits in the fridge and when they became frozen into a solid mass, she would give this to her children as it was like ice cream. So she opened up her fridge and found that the milk and fruits that she had kept was almost solidified. She took it out and presented it to Baba with all humble devotion. Baba happily accepted it and finished it.

Later in February 1967 Sarabjitji visited Ananda Nagar and spent precious time with Baba. Sarabjitji was very fond of Ananda Nagar because it was so good for meditation and because of its natural surroundings.

Much later in the 1970s and 1980s, Shrii Sarabjit and his family had to face great hardship and had to sell ice cream for their livelihood. While recounting her experience, Smt. Usha told the editor of this magazine, "We fed Baba the ice cream, but today the ice cream is feeding us." Thus both husband and wife had great devotion and always felt blessed by the grace of their Master.

Shrii Sarabjit Prakash always remained associated with PROUT magazine and PROUT activities. Until two years ago, he was a frequent visitor to PROUT Bhavan in Delhi to oversee its production. He was also on the Editorial Board and used to write anonymous articles. He had deep knowledge of economic and finance issues. He wanted Shrii Sarkar's book to go to all the top economists. He himself bought several copies and mailed them to them. Shrii Sarabjitji was very impatient to see PROUT established as the guiding philosophy of the Indian economy and used to discuss at length how to bring it into practice.

A month before his demise, Shrii Sarabjitji arranged for the renovation of the meditation hall of PROUT Bhavan and converted it into a beautiful place of worship.

He deserves our best tribute for selfless love for suffering humanity and implicit faith and devotion in his master Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji. His work will continue to inspire the generations to come.

With best compliments from



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