

PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis

SOCIAL BOARDS

The Powerful Powerless



Continuous democratic reform is needed to keep the political machinery above the natural gravitation towards self-service. PROUT's augmentations will go a long way to solve the problems of systemic corruption and abuse of power.

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COME UNTO CONTAI!



ÁMÁR SAUNGE CALO BANDHU,
MAN PAVANERA NÁY
RASULPURER NADIR SHEŚÉ,
JÚN PUṬĒRI GÁY
MAN PAVANER NÁY

NADI SÁGARETE MESHE,
NIILÁKÁSHE BHÁLOBESE
PÁNKAORÍ BÁLI HÁSE,
SHIITER ÁVÁS CÁY
MAN PAVANERA NÁY

MÁNUŚA JETHÁY ATI BHÁLO,
MANE BHARÁ PRIITIR ÁLO
TÁDER MUKHEDUHKHERA KÁLO,
SAHÁ NÁHI JÁY
ESO TÁDER TARE TÁDER GHARE
RACI NAVA DHARÁY,
MAN PAVANERA NÁY
ÁMÁR SAUNGE CALO BANDHU,
MAN PAVANERA NÁY

O my friend come along with me
In my small boat
Releasing the winds of your mind.
Come to where the Rasulpur River ends
Into the village of Junput.

The river merges in the ocean
With such love amidst blue skies.
The coromant birds and Bali ducks
Smilingly look for shelter in winter.

The people there are very good
With minds filled with the light of love.
The darkness of misery in their faces
Is simply unbearable.
Come to their home
For their sake and welfare
Creating a New World.

(Translated from Bengali original)

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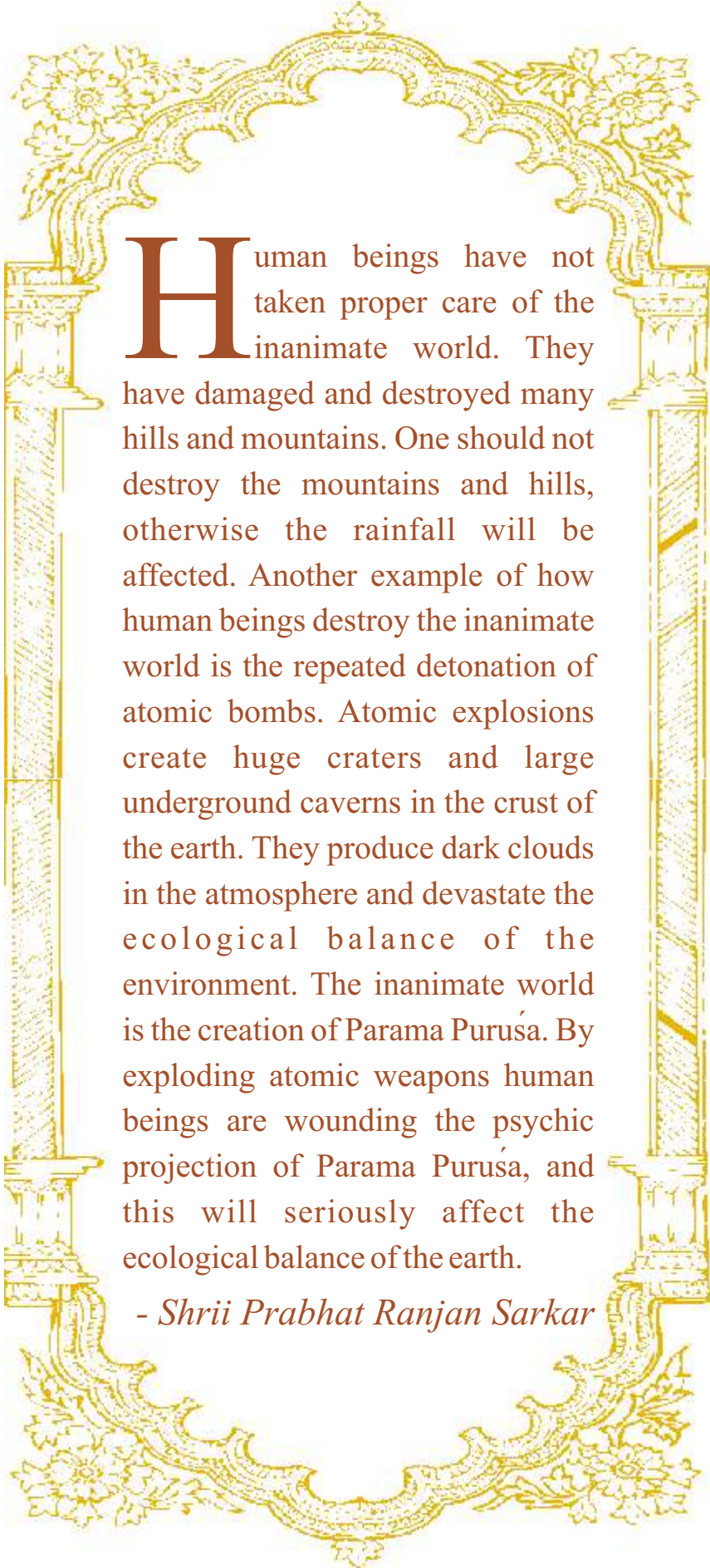
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Fundamental Principles :

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.



Human beings have not taken proper care of the inanimate world. They have damaged and destroyed many hills and mountains. One should not destroy the mountains and hills, otherwise the rainfall will be affected. Another example of how human beings destroy the inanimate world is the repeated detonation of atomic bombs. Atomic explosions create huge craters and large underground caverns in the crust of the earth. They produce dark clouds in the atmosphere and devastate the ecological balance of the environment. The inanimate world is the creation of Parama Puruśa. By exploding atomic weapons human beings are wounding the psychic projection of Parama Puruśa, and this will seriously affect the ecological balance of the earth.

- *Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar*

Wise People are in Minority

In the editorial of February issue the suggestion of Prout's founder Shrii PR Sarkar that for political stability people should elect the Prime Minister and Chief Minister directly. The recently concluded elections in Delhi reflected somewhat the above theme. The people of Delhi gave such a massive mandate to Arvind Kejriwal the Chief Ministerial candidate of the Aam Aadmi Party (The Common Man's Party) that practically demolished other big national parties in the fray.



Democracy which is defined as “Government of the people, by the people and for the people” is nothing but rule of the majority – in other words it is nothing but ‘mobocracy’ a term coined by Prout's founder. It is true since Government in any democratic structure is influenced by mob psychology. The majority in society are not wise. Wise people are in minority.

Though Delhi is a city-state and its Chief Minister is akin to a mayor of a large city like Shanghai or New York and its electorate of 13.3 million is a tiny fraction of the entire Indian electorate, it forms a microcosm of India representing the national middle class and also a huge migrant population from every corner of the country. This election could appear to be the portent of times to come on the democratic canvas of India. It is the right time for Proutists to step in with renewed efforts to bring Prout principles to the awakened masses in India.



NEO HUMANISM OF SADVIPRAS

Shrii Shrii Anandamurti's discourse about spiritual revolutionaries of the future should open the eyes of all the moralists of the world and unite them. Sadvipras are the only hope for the future to save society from going down further and move only ahead.

Samir, Dehra Dun

ASSAM ADIVASIS' MASSACRE

The onsite investigative report by WinG Assam and AAWAA on the horrifying January incidents in Assam has brought true facts into the public domain and not the official governmental version. All concerned in authority should pay heed to their recommendations so that such incidents should not happen in the future.

Chanu Boruha, Dibrugarh, Assam

MILLENNIUM SLUM DWELLERS

Arun Prakash's article explains vividly the light of poor slum dwellers all over the world. Their only fault is that they are not in a

position to earn enough money to better their lives. Gross economic inequality where wealth is concentrated in the hands of few is the only cause for such human misery. Prout economics is the only answer.

Jacy Tremor, Ohio, USA

COLONISATION OF SINDH

A very interesting and factual piece of historical research by Zulfikar Shah. The very act of creation of a state by partitioning it on religious lines was a mistake by the British. The bigger mistake was that major political parties like the Congress and the Muslim league accepted it and were deaf to saner voices from wise men, which were in the minority. And what was the result? With untold misery and bloodshed that affected the common masses soon after, followed by East Pakistan breaking away and 67 years after independence both India and Pakistan are at logger heads at each other spending so much money on defending themselves against each other; money that could have been used for the upliftment of poor

in all nations. It is still not too late to undo this and have a federated form of government all over South Asia based on the principles of Samaja as envisioned by Prout's founder Shrii PR Sarkar

Arun Prakash, New Delhi

INDIA'S NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE

Kudos to Raveena Aulakh on her investigative journalism. It is sad to learn about such birth defects but at the same time lightens the heart to hear about indomitable human will and courage in the face of adversity. The elder sister Budhini who looks after her physically challenged younger brothers Alowati and Duniya is a shining example.

Felicita, Goomla, Jharkhand

WEALTH LIMITS

One of the cardinal principles of the Proutistic form of economy is putting a ceiling on accumulation of individual wealth. Ravi Singh's well written article explains clearly why. The cartoons are very apt and complements well the article.

Carl Lindberg, Cologne, Germany



FOUR CANDLES



In a room there were four candles burning. The ambience was so soft you could hear them talking.

The first one said, "I am PEACE, however nobody can keep me lit. I believe I will go out." Its flame rapidly diminishes and goes out completely.

The second one says, "I am FAITH. Most of all I am no longer indispensable, so it does not make any sense that I stay lit any longer." When it finished talking a breeze softly blew on it putting it out.

Sadly, the third candle spoke in its turn. "I am LOVE. I have not gotten the strength to stay lit. People put me aside and don't understand my importance. They even forget to love those who are nearest to them." And waiting no longer it goes out.

Suddenly a child entered the room and saw three candles not burning. "Why are you not burning you are supposed to stay lit till the end." Saying this, the child began to cry.



The flame of Hope should never go out from our life and that each of us can maintain HOPE, FAITH, PEACE and LOVE.

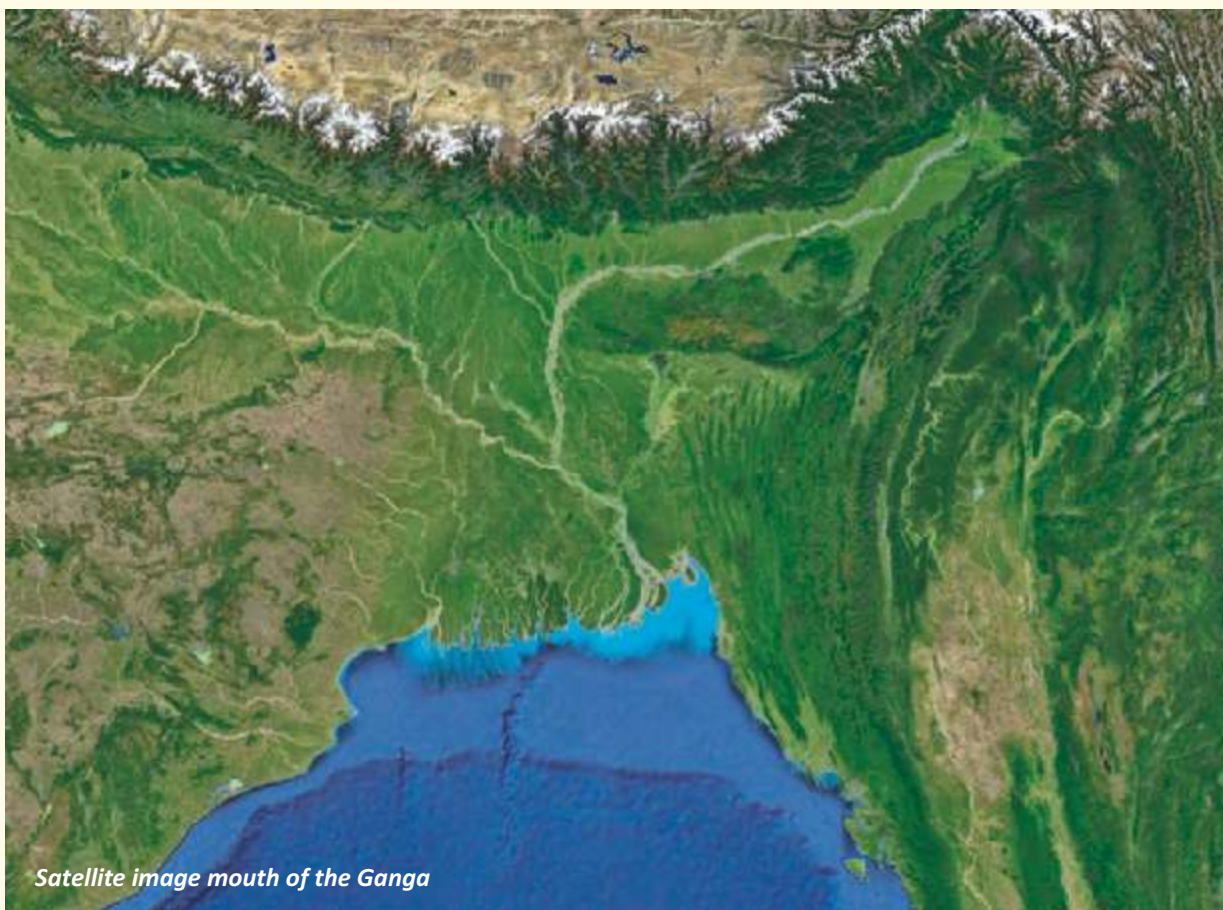
Author Unknown

Hope never abandons you. You abandon hope. Consult not your fears but your hopes and your dreams. Think not about your frustrations, but about your unfulfilled potential. Concern yourself not with what you tried and failed in, but with what it is still possible for you to do.

Understanding Coastal Economic Planning

Contai Basin Planning

SHRII SHRII ANANDAMURTI



Satellite image mouth of the Ganga

The Contai Basin is the area between the Rasulpur and Suvarnareka Rivers where they are about to merge in the Bay of Bengal. The Bengali name of Contai is Kánthi derived from the Sanskrit word *kanthiká*. The British changed [the name] Kánthi to Contai because to them Kánthi sounded similar to Kandi in Murshidabad District and

Kanthi [also] in Midnapore District.

In the Contai Basin, there are numerous natural resources which can be the basis for various large-scale, medium-scale and small-scale industries in the planned development of the area. Nature has generously allocated her resources to almost all the regions of the world on land, in water, in space, in the deserts, in the mountains, in the dense forests and on the bottom of

the sea. Nowhere has Nature been miserly in bestowing her wealth. By applying human intellect, wisdom, enterprise, mutual cooperation and commercial acumen, these natural resources can be fully utilized, and each region of the world can be developed agriculturally, industrially and commercially into viable self-sufficient socio-economic units.

Planning for the economic development of the Contai Basin should be included within the framework of block-level planning.(1) If this approach is adopted it will ensure integrated, balanced and multi-purpose developmental planning. Unfortunately, no government has so far taken a constructive approach to the socio-economic problems of the region or bothered to assess the actual amount of natural resources and economic potentialities in the Contai Basin. Economic planning must identify the particular problems of the Contai Basin and utilize the natural resources of the region to solve them.

Cyclones

Of all the problems affecting the area, the worst is the frequent occurrence of cyclones. The Contai Basin is a low lying area along the coastal belt of South Bengal. About 200 to 300 miles out to sea, depressions often form in the Bay of Bengal. As a result the human beings, animals, buildings, agriculture and natural environment of this area are regularly subjected to violent cyclones which cause untold loss of life and property. To control the fury of Nature,(2) there must be extensive afforestation in a strip one mile wide along the entire coast. In this strip trees such as *shishu* [*Dalbergia sissoo* Roxb.], cashew nut, jackfruit and hoop pine should be grown. These varieties of trees will create an artificial forest which will function as a natural wall to keep the powerful cyclonic winds and the destructive force of nature from wreaking havoc in the region.

A new kind of afforestation programme must be developed for this purpose. Such a programme will yield a number



Jackfruit trees

of benefits the cyclones will be resisted; the loss of agricultural land will be minimized(3); new forest resources will flourish; regular rainfall will increase; the production of cash crops such as cashew nut and jackfruit will develop; and the purchasing power of the people will be enhanced. If a village or settlement already exists within the coastal strip, it should not be destroyed. Rather, the afforestation should be done all around it and continued along the coast. If the pine trees are planted close together, the pores of the leaves will attract the rain clouds, and as a result there will be a profound beneficial change in the climate of the region.

The afforested strip will also greatly assist the prevention of soil erosion along the coast. In rural Bengal, large-scale soil erosion is called *khoyai*. The pine trees spread an extensive network of roots under the earth, compacting the soil particles and binding them tightly together.

Besides afforestation, there should also be large-scale cultivation along the coastal sand dunes of all varieties of melon (such as musk melon, deer melon and watermelon) and gourd (such as squat gourd). Their creepers will spread out across the surface of the dunes, hence soil erosion will be prevented.

(Melons grow best during the summer - the worst season for cyclones.) If sand dunes are kept uncovered, the winds from the ocean will blow the sand away and erode the coast line, reducing the area of land and encouraging the encroachment of the sea.

Marine Industries

In the Contai Basin there is enormous potential for large-scale marine industries. (4) For example, the cultured pearl, salt, iodine, phosphorus, oyster, conch shell and seaweed industries can all be developed.

Cultured pearls can be grown along the Contai Basin coast and sold in both the national and international markets, earning a lot of revenue. Other pearl based industries can also be established. This kind of enterprise will strengthen the rural economy of an undeveloped area. The cultured pearl industry brought prosperity to the fishermen along the coast of Japan. The Contai Basin has enormous potential for developing cultured pearls.

Within the one mile wide afforested coastal strip, salt manufacturing units may be established at various places.

Salt tanks may also be constructed at different points along the coast. This industry will create direct and indirect employment for hundreds of families, and the chronic unemployment problem of the Contai Basin will be alleviated to some extent. If the salt industry is developed, West Bengal will not have to depend upon Gujarat, Maharashtra or South India for its supply of salt. This will also help check the outflow of capital from West Bengal, so the state will experience overall growth.

In the Bay of Bengal along the coastal area of the Contai Basin there are many types of seaweed, which can supply iodine, phosphorus, potassium, sodium, sodium chloride and other valuable chemicals. On the basis of these chemicals, a number of chemical industries can be established in the region. Due to the abundance of iodine, pharmaceutical industries can also be developed.

Along the Contai seashore various types of beautiful oysters and conch shells are available, which can be utilized to make ornaments, house decorations, handicrafts and a variety of other products.(5)

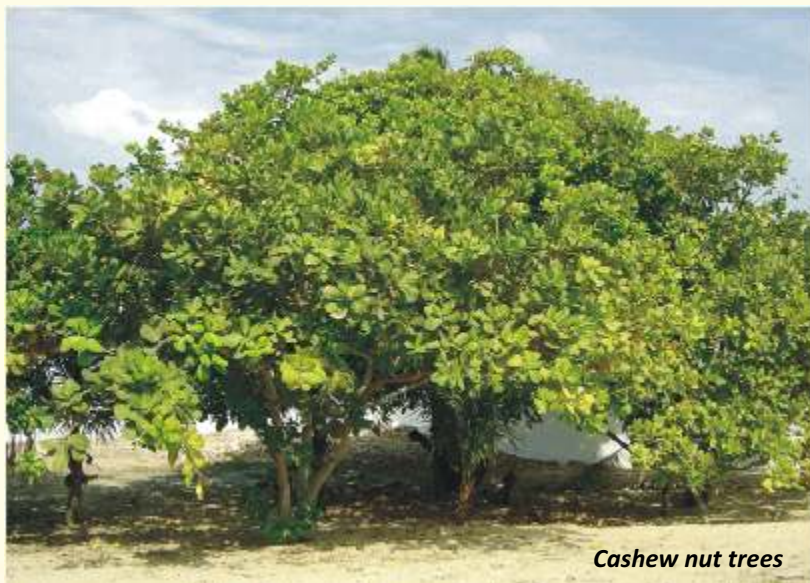
In the sea along the Contai

Basin many types of seaweed and aquatic plants grow which can be used to produce various medicines and protein rich foods. Seaweed processing factories can be built at various places along the coast. Most seaweeds belong to the grass family of plants, and vegetarians can eat the protein from seaweeds of this group. However, if the protein collected from a particular variety of seaweed causes an allergy in a person, then the protein of that variety of seaweed should be considered static [or forbidden] for that person. Pharmaceutical industries can be established to produce protein foods and protein tablets which can be used as both food and medicine.

Cash Crops

Cash crops such as coconut, squat gourd, melons of all varieties, cashew nut, jackfruit, chiku (sapodilla), betel nut, betel leaf and banana can be grown in abundance.

The soil of the southern and southeast portion of Midnapore District is saline, which is why coconut grows very well there. Large quantities of coconuts can be grown in the adjoining area of Contai for the same reason. The hybrid variety of coconut from Kerala produces fruits within only five years and can grow abundantly in the Contai Basin. The leaves can be used as fuel and the small branches as broom sticks. The kernels can be pressed to produce oil, thus the coconut oil industry can be profitably developed. Coconut oil can be used as both as hair oil and as an edible oil. A network of small-scale or cooperative coconut industries can be established in the Contai Basin to supply coconut oil throughout West Bengal and the northeastern states of India. Even the shell of the coconut can



Cashew nut trees



Picturesque Digha beach

be used to produce various commodities. Thus, in every village there is the potentiality to develop cottage industries.

Coconut milk can be bottled and sold in distant places as a cold drink, coconut pulp can be used in the sweet industry, and the trunk of the coconut tree can be used in the house building industry. Coconut husks are used in the mat and window screen industries, dehydrated coconuts are used in Ayurvedic medicines, while in Bengal there is a large market for coconut delicacies. These industries can also create a lot of income for the local people. In fact if coconuts are grown on a large scale in the Contai Basin, the local economy will be transformed automatically, and the standard of living of the people will be greatly increased.

The beach in the Contai-Junput-Digha region is very wide, so it is easy to grow squat gourd and melons profitably beside the seashore. Where the land does not become submerged by sea water, poor farmers can improve their economic condition by cultivating squat

gourd throughout the year. Melons can also grow in abundance. In hot countries like India, melons are in great demand. Melons and squat gourd are some of the popular cash crops of the area.

Cashew nuts are also a very profitable cash crop in India and abroad. The soil and weather of the Contai Basin is quite congenial for cashew nuts. Through the application of modern agricultural science, the quality of the cashew nut harvest can be greatly increased. Cashew nuts can be fried and packed or eaten raw, while cashew nut powder can be used to make sweets. The local farmers can earn a good livelihood by utilizing this valuable cash crop in various ways.(6)

Jackfruit is also a very lucrative cash crop. Jackfruit is very nutritious, so villagers can eat the raw fruit to improve their health, and the juice can be canned or bottled and sold in the market at profitable rates. Dried jackfruit seeds can be used as an alternative to potatoes.(7) Potatoes have been in use in Bengal and India for the last few hundred years, but prior to that the people of Bengal used jackfruit seeds as vegetables. The [nutritional] food value of jackfruit juice and seeds is

very high.

The soil and weather of the Contai Basin is very congenial for chiku (sapodilla). Chikus will grow abundantly along the coast as far as the salty sea air travels inland, but beyond that distance the fruits will not grow so well. Chiku is a nutritious, tasty and popular cash crop.

Besides these crops, abundant betel or areca nut, betel leaf and bananas can be grown in the Contai Basin. All these are profitable cash crops.

Infrastructure

Digha is the widest sea beach in the world. At some points the beach is two miles wide. Together with the creation of a forest along the Digha sea coast, a well-made road and a railway line should be constructed parallel to the seashore. If this is done, Digha will develop into an ideal resort for tourists from Bengal and other states of India. People from other countries will also visit Digha to enjoy the natural sea beach. If good hotels, healthy drinking water, the Danton-Digha railway line and cultural centres are arranged, Digha can become an extremely popular and attractive sea resort. This development will virtually eradicate the poverty of the people. Many new food stalls, vegetable markets and transport facilities will provide job opportunities for the local people.

A small distance from Digha an ideal port can be built at Bhograï at the confluence of the Suvarnareka River and the Bay of Bengal. The future of the Haldia Port is not very bright, so if a new port is established in the mouth of the Suvarnareka River, another large commercial centre can be added to the map of Bengal. All the commodities which are imported and exported through the Calcutta and Haldia



Making beautiful and intricate grass floor mats

Ports can also pass through this port, as well as all the agricultural produce, coconut, betel leaf, areca nut, melon, squat gourd, banana, etc., that can be grown in the Contai Basin. Once the port is developed, various new export industries can also be established in the Contai Basin area. The people of Contai will no longer rush to Calcutta, Durgapur, Tatanagar or Bombay in search of employment. In fact, if this port is constructed, the entire Contai Basin as well as the southern portion of Midnapore District will undergo an economic revolution.

The Howrah-Danton-Digha railway should also be constructed immediately. In the Contai subdivision there is no railway line. For the speedy development of this area, there must be a railway line between Danton and Digha, then passengers from Calcutta can travel directly to Digha. Once this railway line is established, the progress of the Contai Basin will be accelerated, facilitating the development of industry, trade and commerce throughout the subdivision. The Danton-

Digha railway will be the lifeline of the Contai subdivision. In fact, if the railway line is extended to Bhograi along the coast, then the trade, commerce and industry of the entire region will rapidly develop. For railway tourists, this area will become an attractive tourist resort.

Cooperatives

It is unfortunate that in the Contai Basin, which has abundant natural resources and enormous economic potential, no industries other than mat-making and weaving exist. During the last forty years, both the Congress and Left Front governments have proved to be totally negligent and incompetent, and both have failed to develop the economic potential of the Contai Basin. Today even the traditional mat-making and weaving industries are on the verge of collapse due to lack of capital.

The mat-makers should be encouraged to produce mat sticks on a cooperative basis through the provision of low interest loans, and proper marketing arrangements should be made so that they can sell their finished products throughout India. Their mats can also be sold to other countries which have warm climates. If this is done the poor mat-

makers will earn a decent living. Ninety percent of Bengal's mats are now produced in Midnapore District.

Likewise, the weavers of the Contai Basin should be trained to use power looms instead of outdated handlooms; then they will be able to compete with modern, large-scale weaving enterprises. The government should have encouraged the formation of weavers' cooperatives, but nothing has been done so far in this regard. Handlooms should only be used to make special items such as clothing adorned with high quality embroidery, but for all other items, the weaving industry will have to conform to modern standards and preferences. If the mat-makers and weavers are properly organized and these industries are modernized and developed, thousands of families will benefit economically.(8)

One of the sources of income for the fishermen of the Contai Basin is dried fish, which is exported to different markets in India and Bangladesh. The fish are usually dried in the open, so the bodies rot, creating a foul smell. This pollutes the atmosphere, and as a consequence negative microvita(9) attack the coastal area.

From the viewpoint of public health and welfare, this type of fish production cannot be supported. With the help of modern technology, dehydration plants should be built to dry the fish scientifically so that no foul smell is created in the atmosphere. Both cooperative bodies and the government will have to come forward to establish such factories.

According to the principles of psycho-economy(10), static(11) food production

should not be encouraged, but considering the traditional habits and psychology of the people, the system of producing dried fish should not be stopped immediately unless alternative sources of livelihood are arranged for the fishermen. But because of the importance of public health, and the air pollution, the production of dried fish which has a foul smell should be stopped as soon as possible.

Footnote

(1) A Block (*upabhukti*) in India is a subdivision of a district comprising about 100,000 people. As per the principles of PROUT, collective economic planning should be carried out at the block level freed from the whims of distant bureaucrats and capitalist corporations. Eds.

(2) As scientists have noted, all coastal regions face storms and rising ocean level due to Global Climate Change. Eds.

(3) In the discourse, "South Bengal", the Author notes, "Suitable steps have to be taken to save South Bengal from the detrimental influence of salinity. First, the soil has to be made free from salinity, and for that sweet water has to be brought from the rivers of Rárh, such as the Suvarnareka, Kangsavati, Damodar, Ajaya, Mayuraksi and Rupnarayana. The sweet water should be channelled through huge underground pipes so that the ponds, tanks, canals, rivers and rivulets will again be supplied with sweet water. At present, the rivers of Samatat (South Bengal) are extremely saline. All the rivers should be filled with sweet water except those parts near the confluence of the Bay of Bengal.

Once the soil gets back its natural composition and is free from salinity, it will be easy to produce four paddy crops in a year and various other cash crops. Moreover, when the soil and water

are desalinated, the degree of salinity in the air will also decline considerably. This will provide a congenial environment for improved agriculture, trade and commerce, and industrial development.

The amount of power needed to supply the industrial centres can be derived from the ebb and flow of the tides in the Bay of Bengal. Small-scale cottage industries can be started in every home in South Bengal so that even the women of the farming families can take part in industry. This approach will go a long way toward solving the widespread unemployment problem. South Bengal must be self-sufficient in power production, and windmills can also be used as a supplementary source of power generation.

The very survival of South Bengal depends upon its freedom from salinity. Most of the rivers and canals are now silted and reduced to stagnant reservoirs. They have to be reclaimed, and a proper drainage system must be built."

(4) Elsewhere the Author notes that "sufficient quantities of lime necessary for the house building materials industry can also be produced in the coastal areas of South Bengal from shells and oysters."

(5) In the discourse, "South Bengal", the Author states, "South Bengal must be self-sufficient in power production, and windmills can also be used as a supplementary source of power generation."

(6) Elsewhere the Author notes that if bone dust and water is added to the trees, the cashew nuts will be sweet. Floral nectar can be gathered from cashew tree flowers, which can also be utilized for the preparation of alcohol through fermentation for the pharmaceutical industry. Eds.

(7) The Author has noted elsewhere that fine fibres and high quality sugar can also be produced from jackfruit. In addition alcohol produced from it can create a host of alcohol based industries. Jackfruit seeds have two-and-a-half times more food value than potatoes. Honey and

natural paraffin wax can also be produced. The seeds of the jackfruit can be ground to make flour which can produce good quality bread. Manure from bio-gas plants is very beneficial for jackfruit plants. Eds.

(8) In the discourse "South Bengal", the Author notes, "small-scale cottage industries can be started in every home in South Bengal so that even the women of the farming families can take part in industry. This approach will go a long way toward solving the widespread unemployment problem.

(9) Microvita is the most minutest form of life. It exists in the transition between the physical world and the realm of the mental or psychic world. Negative microvita are more physical and exist in a form that is currently associated with the idea of a virus. These negative microvita harm the body or the mind of a person and afflict them with various ailments. Eds.

(10) Psycho-economics is a new branch of economics created by the Author. The second branch of this field is to create the economic environment to facilitate the development of the individual and collective mind and to bring about a dynamic equilibrium and equipoise (*pramá*) in them. In this way, people will develop mentally and spiritually and will be less prone to selfishness which is the seed of exploitation. This is especially important to consider when choosing one's food. Eds.

(11) This refers to the yogic categories of food comprising firstly sentient foods that are good for both the body and mind, secondly mutative foods that may be good for the body or mind but are not harmful and thirdly static foods that are harmful for the mind and may or may not be harmful to the body. Eds.

Principles of Proutist Economics

Today as so many people around the world are being thrust into poverty in the latest crisis of the Global Economic Depression, are we not honour-bound as human beings to ask why? Why is it that a few elite bankers playing with banks and stocks can destroy banks and corporations and then ask the people to pay the price by using the people's money to bail out these corporations? Why should poor people all over the world have to pay the penalty for the crimes of others? Why should poor people have to starve because Western speculators play games with the price of food? Before there was a dual policy of ruthless plunder for non-European nations and American corporate control for Europe

8

Eight Principles of Economic Democracy

As't'unga Artha Ganatantra

but now there is only one policy of using currency and stock speculation to drive countries like Greece into bankruptcy and then stripping the corpse of these national economies like wolves gnawing on the last bit of flesh of a deer. More importantly the people of formerly rich nations need to ask their conscience, why they have tolerated the economic immiserisation of countless people in the Third World and the Fourth World (world of stateless indigenous peoples or adivasis)? Similarly the rich and middle class in these poorer nations like India and Nigeria need to ask themselves the same questions. Now that the chickens have come home to roost, it is important that we must have genuine global brotherhood and sisterhood. This starts with facing the facts about economic tyranny and having the courage to dream and to fight for economic democracy for everyone, for every community in our global village. This is why our rallying cry is,

**Economy of the People, By the People and
For the People! O People, take back Your economy!**

Every freedom struggle begins with a vision of freedom and that is precisely what we are trying to ignite by discussing the principles of economic democracy with you. Evgenia Ginzburg, survivor of the Gulag stated that humanity spent the 20th century running between Hitler and Stalin. We can no longer afford to continue misery to millions by persisting in this two dimensional suicidal approach. In the pioneering discourse on Economic Democracy, Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, the propounder of the Progressive Utilisation Theory gave the mission of the freedom struggle of the 21st century in these words,

“In all the democratic counties of the world, economic power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and groups. In liberal democracies, economic power is controlled by a handful of capitalists, while in socialist countries economic power is concentrated in a small group of party leaders. In each case, a handful of people the number can be easily counted on one's fingertips manipulate the economic welfare of the entire society. When economic power is vested in the hands of the people, the supremacy of this group of leaders will be terminated, and political parties will be destroyed forever.”

These principles or dimensions of economic democracy are compiled from three seminal discourses by Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, the propounder of PROUT (Progressive Utilisation Theory), on Economic Democracy, Economic Decentralization and Block-level Planning. These different principles are interrelated and each principle upon deeper analysis will be found to state or imply the other principles. The commentary is also derived from the works of Shrii Sarkar. These principles are a kind of Yoga or Union.

The As't'unga Yoga popularized by Yogi Patanjali are the eight principles of attaining Union (yoga) of the unit Self with the Supreme Self. These eight principles are the principles by which the members of our local, regional, national, global and Cosmic Society will attain Union with each other in the form of a matrix of localized economies in order to create a Universal Family based on Universal Love that is called Ananda Parivara.

As Shrii Sarkar has revealed,

“We must have Yoga in all the three strata of life. If there is Yoga only in the spiritual stratum and there is no Yoga in the psychic and physical strata, what will happen? The very existence of human beings will become unbalanced, human equipoise will be lost. So we must have Yoga, or rather Yoga-oriented movement, in each and every sphere of life.

"The crudest portion of human existence is the physical body. Now, what is this physical body? For human beings there is the external physical body and there is the inner projection of the physical body in the mind. You see an elephant in the external physical world, and you see the projection, that is, the extro-internal projection of that elephant in your mind. But for the creating Entity, for the Causal Matrix, there is no external world, so there is no physical world. For Him there is a psychic world and a spiritual world. But, for human beings there are three worlds physical, psychic and spiritual. So, for us, our physical world is nothing but an ectoplasmic (mental) world of the Creator. While doing any work, while being engaged in any action we should remember the fact that whatever we see, whatever we do, is within the ectoplasmic scope of the Creator. This will be our Yoga in the physical sphere.

"Suppose there is a drop of water in an ocean. When the drop feels its unity with the ocean, the drop no longer remains as a drop, it becomes the ocean. But when it feels its separation from the ocean, it is nothing but a drop of water. So, when a human being feels his/her unity with the Supreme Lord and feels that he/she is not an ordinary person, but the blessed child of the Supreme Father and when becomes one with him, then he/she is no longer an ordinary person. He/she acquires immense power, immense vitality, infinite vitality and this is your Yoga in the physical sphere. You should always remember that a man or a woman is an ordinary person when separated from the Supreme Father, but he/she becomes Supreme when one with the Supreme. This we do with the help of our Guru Mantra. This is Yoga in the physical sphere.” (What is Yoga?)

How does this yoga in the physical sphere related to the path of social, economic, cultural and political justice? Shrii Sarkar explains saying

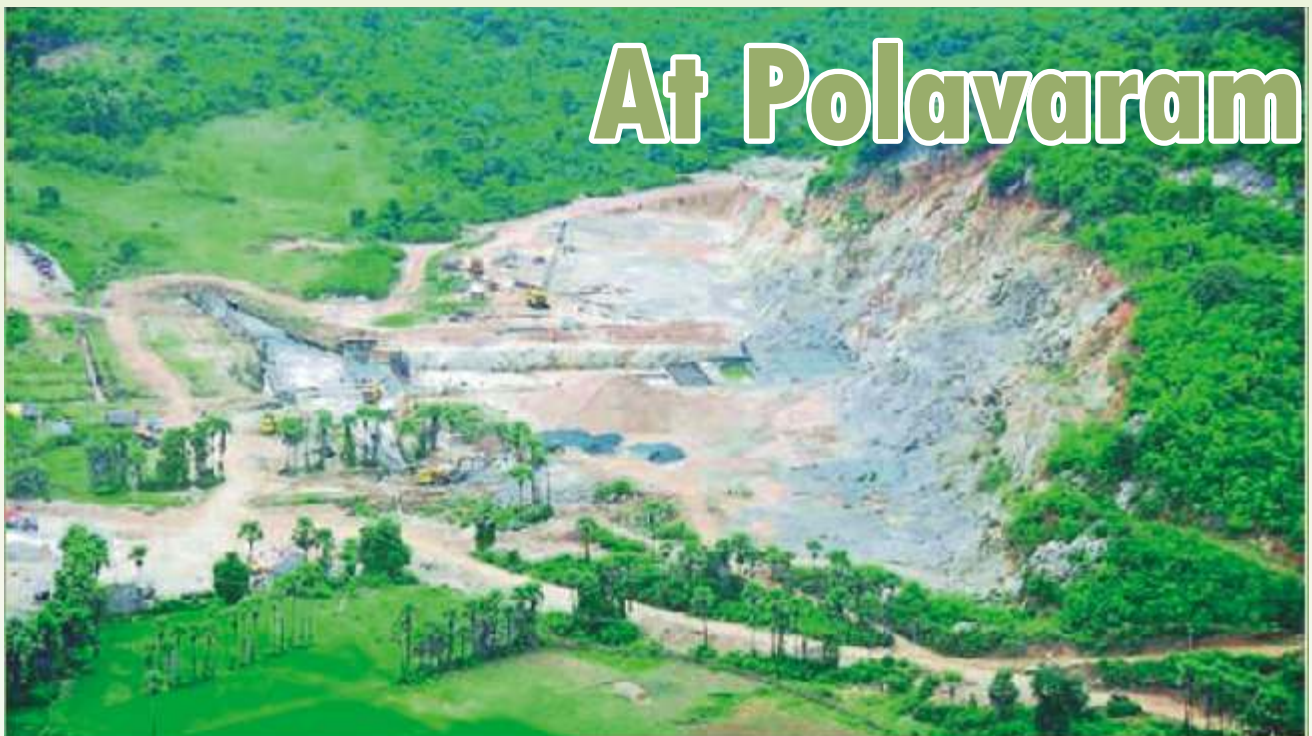
“To establish a heavenly kingdom in this mundane world, human beings will have to fight tirelessly against the internal and external demons. But this does not mean that the demons should become the object of ideation. Brahma Sádhaná (endeavour to merge the mind in Consciousness) is entirely different from *jáda sádhaná* (the pursuit of matter) because it focuses on the goal and not the clash. Spiritual aspirants who struggle to expand the self should never compromise themselves with those forces which try to thwart the process of supreme expansion. The path of self-expansion and righteousness (dharma sádhaná) is the path of valour. There is no place for inertness or cowardice on such a path.

In the social sphere, the perennial struggle of human beings should not be undertaken individually but collectively. Those who provide leadership in the social struggle must be established in Yama and Niyama (code of yogic morality). Such people I call *sadvipras* (spiritual revolutionaries).

How will *sadvipras* be created? They will be created in the continued endeavour to expand the self. By reciting holy scriptures or by acquiring a few Sanskrit titles, one cannot succeed in spiritual pursuit. Brahma (the Supreme) does not care who is of noble descent or high caste. The important thing is to continue sádhaná. One's life can only be properly evaluated in the light of that struggle.

The struggle in collective life, with the *sadvipras* in the position of leadership, will continue endlessly. *Sadvipra* after *sadvipra* will come: the torch carried by one will be handed over to the next. But the sádhaná of individual life is not endless it culminates in the attainment of Brahma [Consciousness]. Those who believe that they must first attain success in individual life before participating in the collective struggle will not succeed. They will never bring expansion in their individual lives if they ignore collective welfare. To be worthy of being *sadvipras*, individuals will have to concentrate on both intellectual and social development. Otherwise, no matter how lofty the word Dharma [sublime righteousness] might sound in theory, it will remain as a big hoax in the practical field. All spiritual aspirants must strive to become *sadvipras*, and that, too, from this very moment. If a person who takes bribes starts an anti-bribe campaign he will become an object of ridicule. One will have to make an earnest endeavour to develop oneself thoroughly; mere rhetoric will not do. Only those endowed with sincerity and devotion [mystical love] can be called righteous, and can successfully propagate Dharma.”

Ecological Disaster



There are no clear estimates available but the number of people going to be drowned or displaced by dam under construction across the Godavari River would be nearly half a million.

✱ Vidya Bhushan Rawat

The green mountains on the river Godavari are facing the wrath of human greed in the name of 'development'. Polavaram, a small town on the bank of beautiful river, is about forty kilometer from historic town of Rajmundry is witness to this mass destruction in the name of 'nation building'. The adivasis, dalits and other forest dwelling communities remain uncertain of their future as the big companies, bulldozers, and noise-making digging, grilling and penetrating machines run roughshod all over the forests. In the no entry zones there are indirect threats not to enter as 'blasting' is a regular affair. The Godavari flows serenely

between the two green hillocks and the aim of the 'engineers' is to link one to other and build up this huge dam which will provide water supply to 'coastal' Andhra people who control the economy of the state Telangana State as well as their home state of Seemandhra.

There are no clear estimates available at the moment, but the number of people going to be drowned or displaced by dam under construction across the Godavari River would be nearly half a million if some activists are to be believed. The submergence area is not just in Seemandhra and Telangana but also Odisha and Chattisgarh and indeed according to government's own

assessment it will be catastrophic. The entire project is ill-conceived, point out experts as it threatens displacement at a massive level. The government does not have the exact figure of the people but the enormity of displacement would be over two to four lakh people. According to Minister for Environment Mr Prakash Javedkar, "276 villages in Andhra Pradesh, four villages in Chhattisgarh and eight villages in Odisha are likely to be submerged." He said in a written reply in Lok Sabha that an area of 3427.52 hectares of forest land only in Andhra Pradesh is projected to be inundated according to Deccan Chronicle on August 13th, 2014.

Actually, reports are also suggesting that the number of villages being submerged in Chattisgarh may be much more than merely four as being informed by the minister.

He was replying to a question whether the government has conducted environmental impact assessment of Polavaram Dam project as well as the villages and forest land which are likely to be submerged and destroyed by it.

A report in The New Indian Express suggest that the government has actually duped the Dalit Adivasis and other forest dwelling communities as they have lost their land yet are given no rehabilitation. Most of the people living in the agency areas will be submerged says the report.

“The multi-purpose project would massively displace people numbering over two lakh (nearly four lakh unofficially) from over 300 villages in nine mandals of Khammam (VR Puram, Kunavaram, Chintur, Bhadrachalam, Velerpadu, Kukunur and Burghampad), Devipatnam mandal (East Godavari District) and Polavaram mandal (West Godavari), all of them in the Fifth Scheduled or tribal area, besides parts of Konta Block in Dantewada District of Chhattisgarh and Motu Block of Malkangiri District of Odisha, says the New Indian Express Report published on August 28th, 2014.



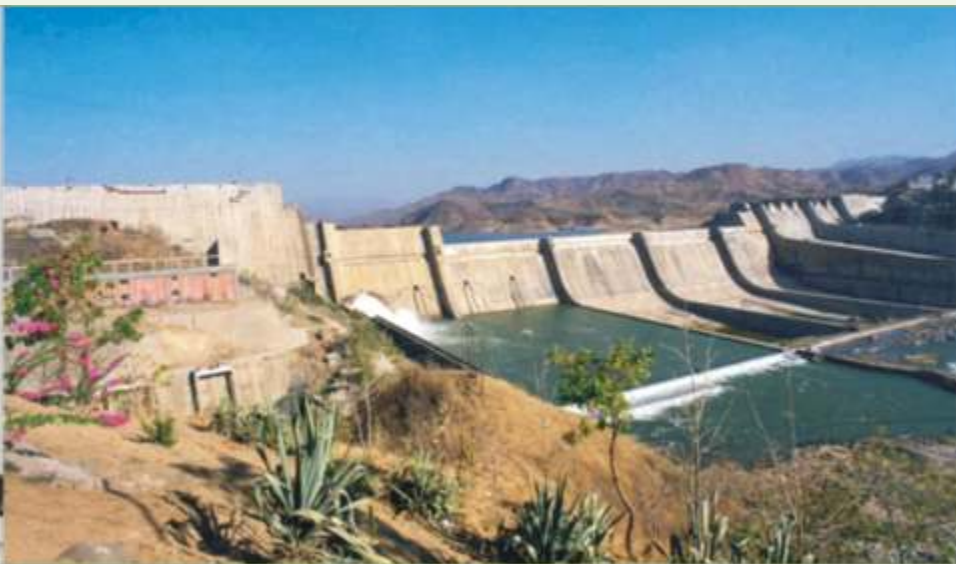
Polavaram dam under construction

The report suggests that Adivasi resettlement process under the Forest Right Act has not been completed and they are being displaced from their land in utter violation of the law. The problem is that a majority of them do not even know that there is such an Act and the officials are duping them on different front by false promises as well. The new central government began its reign by removing many of the protections of this Act.

The fact is, that while the Parliament has passed the Polavaram bill terming it as a National Project but those living in the area have a right to ask question

as whether they were asked about it or not. The project is designed but do the people know what this design is and how many villages exactly are being submerged? It is actually a clear violation of Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act-1996 which mandates the approval of the affected gram Sabhas or village councils. Furthermore it violates the special rights to adivasis under the Constitution which have been very well defined by the Supreme Court in the Samata Judgment upholding the supremacy of the Gram Sabhas in decision-making process falling in their zones. It is not known how many public hearings have been conducted in these regions as three states are losing over 300 villages. The fact is there are not even 20 public hearing planned on these issues which might have been conducted before 2006.

‘The people are living in uncertainty while the politicians have played caste card very well to dupe them. Today, Polavaram’s Dalit and Adivasis are trapped in vicious nationalism of Seemandhra and Telangana state. At the one side the state of Seemandhra got all the areas, which were part of Telangana around Bhadrachalam except the Ram temple. It was a bargain between the ‘temple’ and the





Adivasis so that the project does not get affected. The reasons are simple. The 'fruits' of Polavaram project will be enjoyed by the people of Seemandhra and it will be the Adivasis of Telangana who will be submerged the most. There would have been political turmoil and big protests against the dam but with this 'masterstroke', the authorities have 'successfully' and 'democratically' crushed the protest and opposition to the dam. Today, a visit to these areas reflect how people are thoroughly isolated. There are scant voices of protest in the Andhra Pradesh region, perhaps because it is assumed that the 'project' is going to fetch water to most of the Andhra Pradesh State. So, for the 'development' of one region of people, the nation is ready to slaughter those who nurtured a region. Most of the time, this sacrifice is sought from the Adivasis who have for years lived in the forest, protected it from being destroyed by human greed.

For a person in love with greenery, it is a depressing scene to visit the region and witness to its destruction. It is more painful process when you see organized destruction of these serene and peaceful zones where Adivasis have been living for centuries. As I visited

the region after nearly five years, when I visited the Polavaram area via Bhadrachalam the scene is more painful. The beautiful and serene Godavari flows along with the lead road to Polavaram town amidst absolute green patches of fertile land. Adivasis have been duped and there is an estimate that over four lakh people getting displaced due this project there is no plan to rehabilitate anyone. Most of them feel that Forest Rights Act has been violated because the Act guarantees that no Adivasi should be dislocated from the land of their ancestors. There are islands in the river with temples, where people go and offer their prayers. The landscape makes you fall in love with Nature. Green paddy fields with coconut trees, banana plantations greet you with open arms. They are the natural to this region which is importing the ostentatious, noisy North Indian Ganesha festival these days with huge hoardings everywhere and with youngsters asking for donation for their 'programmes'.

Forty kilometers away from Rajmandary is the small town of Polavaram with chaos on the streets and absolute rural populace unmindful of the huge catastrophe that this project might bring on them. Yes, with growing immigrant

population that come as work force for these projects, the business of liquor, meat and other illicit activities also grow that provide legitimacy to these 'developmental' projects. With its dilapidated structures all around, Polavaram is essentially an old and rural town with little facilities for growing urban youth who migrate to either Rajmandry or Vijaywada for higher education leaving older population in the villages. Many of the villagers in the submergence zone have been given small patches of homestead land here in the 'city'.

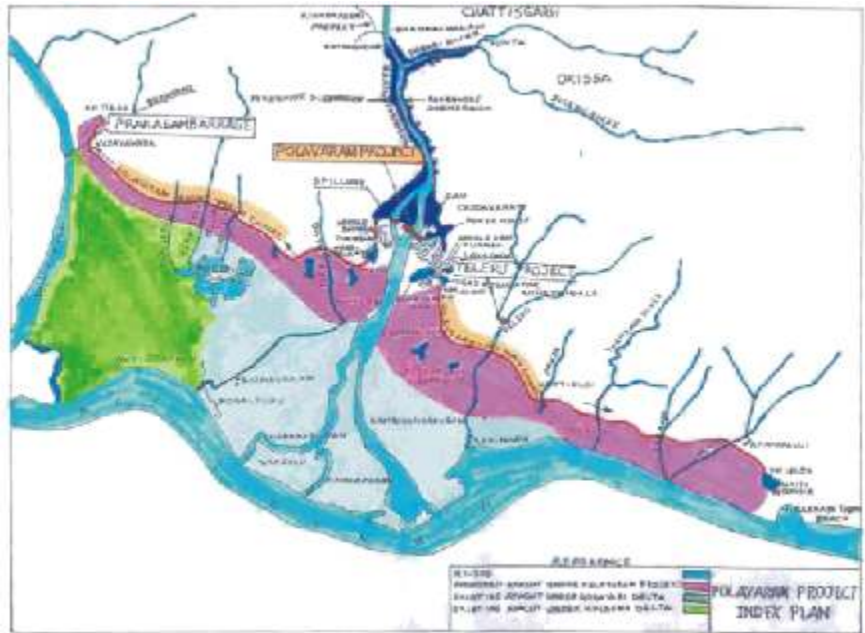
There are some of the most beautiful locations here in this area. Papikonda Hills are well-known tourist destinations where tourists go on a cruise through Godavari. It's a long journey of 9 hours on boat to the adivasi locations which are now tourist sites while all their right to live and to preserve their environment is being violated. As you move out of the tiny Polavaram town, the destruction process is very much visible. The beautiful hills between which Godavari flows are being systematically blown up and blasted. You see big trucks loads of blasted stones are taking up, heavy crushers, bulldozers and other blasting machines are tearing the heart of the forests. It's a very disturbing scenario to see how heartless anybody could be to kill the Nature's lush beauty in such a brutal way.



The proposed Polavaram project poses threat to Papi Hills

The roads are pathetic with people hanging on both the sides of autos, which they use as commuting from their places to Polavaram town. Unless you know a little bit about the local areas, you would not be able to visit these villages which are found nowhere in the map of India. You can meet the villagers who live in uncertainty of their lives in the coming days, as the government has not done anything concrete to drive away their fears. While in Telangana there was some protest now, the Adivasis find little support, which is really sad part of the entire story.

Ramaiyyapet is extraordinarily beautiful, being situated on the bank of the river Godavari and surrounded by the greenish mountains. It is a picturesque village which is the first village going to be submerged for the 'development' of the nation. Most of the houses and huts show the nature of the village belonging to these working masses. About 500 meters in the beginning of the village is a primary school. This village is a mix up of Dalit, Backward and tribal families but a majority of the affected communities belong to fishermen. As we walk the village some people gather at the village temple to discuss the issue. Most of them are disturbed at the sudden 'development' of the project as initially the project pace was very slow but it has started accelerating



now. There was a 'public hearing' in this village in 2007 in which people were promised Land in exchange for Land lost and with a price to about 1.85 lakh for agricultural land. All those who have less than 5 acres of land would not be compensated with land. The land-for-land process has rarely been implemented, as after the public hearing in 2007 nothing has happened. Neither were the people in this village settled, nor did the authorities come back here. Some of the tribals have been provided housing plots in Polavaram town but they had no source of income for living. According to them, there has been no political and social support and they are living on their own and do not know what to do to survive. The fact is that politicians have played game here based on their caste lines and made false promises so that they remain entrenched in the traditional status of their caste identities. Most of the backward community people feel that Adivasis and Dalits have been given 'preference' in rehabilitation package though none has any reliable data on the situation. It was clear that only those owning land above 5 acres of land would be provided land in lieu of it and all others would be getting a compensation of Rs one lakh eighty thousand per acre. There was no evaluation for their homes and

though the public hearing was done in 2007, nothing happened afterwards. The land prices in cities have soared multiple times. The authorities did not bother to come back to people to fulfil their promises and now the threat looms large over them. Some of those who got this compensation have finished their money as they could not get even one third of adequate land for that money. There was no planned package for them as to where should all of them be resettled and each one of them was forced to make arrangement for themselves.

A whole way of life has been destroyed by this commercial greed. Those who have stayed together for years are now living isolated lives of uncertainty. Rammyapeta is between two beautiful hills where Godavari is majestically flowing. One the one side, the process of destruction is ongoing while on the other side the village waits for submergence. Anywhere in the world, such a blatant violation of the human rights of people would have faced not just stiff resistance from the people but from political parties but strangely in India they enjoy on giving false promises to people and behave like middlemen trying to squeeze as much money from the local people and also extract payment from business mafias in the form of donations to election



campaigns. No political party in India has a clear agenda or understanding of sustainable development, which is non-confrontational with Nature where development, humane values and ecological balance can be created. At least such beautiful forest and the great bounty of Nature cannot be allowed to be crushed for providing 'happiness' as the destructions caused by it will be equally vociferous in the years to come. We have witnessed the destructions of Nature in Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh where added with climatic changes Nature has brought havoc in the lives of millions.

As we move inside in the region to visit some Adivasi villages, lush green forests and equally beautiful meadows welcome you. It's a perfect combination of human beings living with Nature in complete conformity of it. Thousands of cows, buffalos and other animals are grazing in absolute freedom in these forest zones. Being an agency area, this has been a protected zone so far but the destruction process has now started. Chegondapally is a adivasi village belonging to Koya tribe amidst beautiful green fields surrounded by forests and meadows. Over 350

families of this tribe live here. Under the Rehabilitation policy of the state government nearly 80 families got houses in the Indira Awas Yojna. A number of them are government employees. Since not many adivasis have land above 5 acres hence most of them did not get housing. No land has been given to people. The problem is that the so-called public hearing took place in 2006 and things have vastly changed after that. How are people expected to cope with the situation now, with meager money after losing everything.

Interestingly, upon reaching this village, we find a group of young Adivasi boys watching cinema in the temple complex. I was surprised to find educated youths who could communicate in English. Padian Durga Prasad is about 25 years of age who played state level cricket, Ranji Trophy for Andhra Pradesh and now retired. Perhaps, did not get much opportunity, as this was not a retiring age as I inform him. He says, that his people cannot stay in the urban areas, as they do neither get a house to live nor get any encouragement from the townspeople. He could study because of his mother who is a teacher and his father a landless

agricultural worker. He too was looking for a government job as perhaps he did not find much support there. It was surprising for me, that when in the corporate world cricket players are earning millions, here is an Adivasi boy unable to get sponsors and now back home he look for a government job as a Physical Training Inspector in some college.

Most of them are worried about losing their ancestral homes and being shifted to an unknown place. This breaking up of community relationships and families is the biggest cause of anxiety among people. Many of them may not even have thought about it as government only use caste and religion card to break their unity and dupe them further for a new 'dream'.

For many others, this is a 'nation building' project like the Narmada Dam, but the brutal fact is that this project has many similarities like Sardar Sarovar Dam where the maximum destruction happened with the Adivasis in Madhya Pradesh while the fruits were reaped by the non Adivasis of Gujarat. The Polavaram's pain is that it is inflicting unimaginable damage to not just Dalit and Adivasi lives of Odisha, Chhattishgarh, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh but the benefits will be reaped by the people far away from the region. Nowhere in India can one see the positive outcomes of any such projects where affected people have received direct benefit from it.

Polavaram is an example that despite heavy damages due to the destruction of Nature, we have not learnt our lessons yet. India will remain one of the biggest 'democracies', expert in killing its own environment, and people in the name of development. Hope this destruction does not bring another Tsunami in the following years for which the country is not yet prepared and has no plan of action.

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To India has been given her problem from the beginning of history - it is the race (i.e. caste) problem. Races ethnologically different have come in this country in close contact. This still continues to be the most important one in our history.

Nationalism Versus Civilization *Part 1*

* Rabindranath Tagore

Man's history is being shaped according to the difficulties it encounters. These have offered us problems and claimed their solutions from us, the penalty of non-fulfillment being death or degradation. These difficulties have been different for different peoples of the earth, and in

the manner of our overcoming them lies our distinction.

The Scythians of the earlier period of Asiatic history had to struggle with the scarcity of their natural resources. The easiest solution that they could think of was to organize their whole population, men, women, and children, into

bands of robbers. And they were irresistible to those who were chiefly engaged in the constructive work of social cooperation.

But fortunately for man, the easiest path is not his truest path. If his nature were not as complex as it is, if it were as simple as that of a pack of hungry wolves, then, by this

time, those hordes of marauders would have overrun the whole earth. But man, when confronted with difficulties, has to acknowledge that he is man, that he has his responsibilities to the higher faculties of his nature, by ignoring which he may achieve success that is immediate, perhaps, but that will become a death trap to him. For what are obstacles to the lower creatures are opportunities to the higher life of man.

To India has been given her problem from the beginning of history - it is the race (i.e. caste) problem. Races ethnologically different have come in this country in close contact. This fact has been and still continues to be the most important one in our history. It is our mission to face it and prove our humanity in dealing with it in the fullest truth. Until we fulfill our mission all other benefits will be denied us.

There are other peoples in the world who have obstacles in their physical surroundings to overcome,

or the menace of their powerful neighbours. They have organized their power till they are not only reasonably free from the tyranny of Nature and human neighbours, but have a surplus of it left in their hands to employ against others. But in India, our difficulties being internal, our history has been the history of continual social adjustment and not that of organized power for defence and aggression.

Neither the colourless vagueness of cosmopolitanism, nor the fierce self-idolatry of nation-worship is the goal of human history. And India has been trying to accomplish her task through [harsh] social regulation of differences, on the one hand, and the spiritual recognition of unity, on the other. She has made grave errors in setting up the boundary walls too rigidly between races, in perpetuating the results of inferiority in her classifications; often she has crippled her children's minds and narrowed their lives in order to fit them into her social forms; but for

centuries new experiments have been made and adjustments carried out.

Her mission has been like that of a hostess to provide proper accommodation to her numerous guests whose habits and requirements are different from one another. It is giving rise to infinite complexities whose solution depends not merely upon tactfulness but sympathy and true realization of the unity of man. Towards this realization have worked from the early time of the Upanishads up to the present moment a series of great spiritual teachers, whose one object has been to set at naught all differences of man by the overflow of our consciousness of God. In fact, [Indian] history has not been of the rise and fall of kingdoms, of fights for political supremacy. In our country, records of these days have been despised and forgotten. For they in no way represent the true history of our people. Our history is that of our social life and attainment of spiritual ideals.





In the West the national machinery of commerce and politics turns out neatly compressed bales of humanity which have their use and high market value; but they are bound in iron hoops, labelled and separated off with scientific care and precision. Obviously God made man to be human; but this modern product has such a 'marvellous' [mechanical] square-cut finish to the [sublime human] spirit.

But I am anticipating. What I was about to say is this, take it in whatever spirit you like, here is India, for about fifty centuries at least, who tried to live peacefully and think deeply, the India devoid of all politics, the India of no nations, whose one ambition has been to know this world as [consisting] of Soul [Atman], to live here every moment of her life in the meek spirit of adoration, in the glad consciousness of an eternal and personal relationship with it. This is the remote portion of humanity, childlike in its manner, with the wisdom of the old, upon which burst the Nation of the West.

Through all the fights and intrigues and deceptions of her earlier history, India had remained aloof. Because her homes, her fields, her temples of worship, her schools, where her teachers and students lived together in the atmosphere of simplicity and devotion and learning, her village self-

government with its simple laws and peaceful administration - all these truly belonged to her. But her thrones were not her concern. They passed over her head like clouds, now tinged with purple gorgeousness, now black with the threat of thunder. Often they brought devastations in their wake, but they were like catastrophes of Nature whose traces are soon forgotten.

But this time, it was different. It was not a mere drift over her surface of life, - drift of cavalry and foot soldiers, richly caparisoned elephants, white tents and canopies, strings of patient camels bearing the loads of royalty, bands of kettledrums and flutes, marble domes of mosques, palaces and tombs, like the bubbles of the foaming wine of extravagance; stories of treachery and loyal devotion, of changes of fortune, of dramatic surprises of fate. This time it was the Nation of the West driving its tentacles of machinery deep down into the soil.

Therefore, I say to you, it is we who are called as witnesses to give evidence as to what the Nation has been to humanity. We had known the hordes of Moghuls and Pathans who invaded India, but we had known them as human races, with their own religions and customs, likes and dislikes, - we had never known them as a nation. We loved and hated them as occasions arose; we fought for

them and against them, talked with them in a language which was theirs as well as our own, and guided the destiny of the Empire in which we had our active share. But this time we had to deal, not with kings, not with human races, but with a nation, - we, who are no nation ourselves.

Now let us from our own experience answer the question. What is this Nation?

A nation, in the sense of the political and economic union of a people, is that aspect which a whole population assumes when organized for a mechanical purpose. Society as such, [truly] has no ulterior purpose. It is an end in itself. It is a spontaneous self-expression of man as a social being. It is a natural regulation of human relationships, so that men can develop ideals of life in cooperation with one another. It has also a political side, but this is only for a special purpose. It is for self-preservation. It is merely the side of power, not of human ideals. And in the early days it had its separate place in society, restricted to the professionals. But when with the help of science and the perfecting of organization this [political] power begins to grow and brings in harvests of wealth, then it crosses its boundaries with amazing rapidity. For then it goads all its neighbouring societies with greed of material prosperity, and consequent mutual jealousy, and by the fear of each other's growth into powerfulness. The time comes when it can stop no longer, for the competition grows keener, organization grows vaster, and selfishness attains supremacy. Trading upon the greed and fear of man, it occupies more and more space in society, and at last becomes its ruling force.

It is just possible that you have lost through habit, consciousness that the living bonds of society are breaking up, and giving place to merely mechanical organization. But you see signs of it everywhere. It is owing to this that war has been declared between man and woman, because the natural thread is

snapping which holds them together in harmony; because man is driven to professionalism, producing wealth for himself and others, continually turning the wheel of power for his own sake or for the sake of the universal officialdom, leaving woman alone to wither and to die or to fight her own battle unaided. And thus there where cooperation is natural has intruded competition. The very psychology of men and women about their mutual relation is changing and becoming the psychology of the primitive fighting elements rather than of humanity seeking its completeness through the union based upon mutual self-surrender. For these elements [of society] which have lost their living bond of reality have lost the meaning of their existence. They, like gaseous particles, forced into a too narrow space, come in continual conflict with each other till they burst the very arrangement which holds them in bondage.

Then look at those who call themselves anarchists, who resent the imposition of power, in any form whatever, upon the individual. The only reason for this is that power has become too abstract - it is a scientific product made in the political laboratory of the Nation, through the dissolution of the personal humanity...

When this organization of politics and commerce, whose other name is the Nation, becomes all powerful at the cost of the harmony of the higher social life, then it is an evil day for humanity. When a father becomes a gambler and his obligations to his family take the secondary place in his mind, then he is no longer a man, but an automaton led by the power of greed. Then he can do things which, in his normal state of mind, he would be ashamed to do. It is the same thing with society. When it allows itself to be turned into a perfect organization of power, then there are few crimes which it is unable to perpetrate. Because success is the object and justification of a machine, while

goodness only is the end and purpose of man. When this engine of organization begins to attain a vast size, and those who are mechanics are made into parts of the machine, then the personal man is eliminated to a phantom, everything becomes a revolution of policy carried out by the human parts of the machine, requiring no twinge of pity or moral responsibility. It is not unusual that even through this apparatus the moral nature of man tries to assert itself, but the whole series of ropes and pulleys creak and cry, the forces of the human heart become entangled among the forces of the human automaton, and only with difficulty can the moral purpose transmit itself into some tortured shape of result.

This abstract being, the Nation, is ruling India. We have seen in our country some brand of tinned food advertised as entirely made and packed without being touched by hand. This description applies to the governing of India, which is as little touched by the human hand as possible. The governors need not know our language, need not come into personal touch with us except as officials; they can aid or hinder our aspirations from a disdainful distance, they can lead us on a certain path of policy and then pull us back again with the manipulation of office red tape...

But we, who are governed, are not a mere abstraction. We, on our side, are individuals with living sensibilities. What comes to us in the shape of a mere bloodless policy may pierce into the very core of our life, may threaten the whole future of our people with a perpetual helplessness of emasculation, and yet may never touch the chord of humanity on the other side, or touch it in the most inadequately feeble manner. Such wholesale and universal acts of fearful responsibility man can never perform, with such a degree of systematic unawareness, where he is an individual human being. These only become possible where the man is represented by an octopus of abstractions [of policies and laws], sending out its wriggling arms in all directions of space, and fixing its innumerable suckers even into the far-away future. In this reign of the nation, the governed are pursued by suspicions; and these are the suspicions of a tremendous mass of organized brain and muscle. Punishments are meted out, leaving a trail of miseries across a large bleeding tract of the human heart; but these punishments are dealt by a mere abstract force, in which a whole population of a distant country has lost its human personality.

This history has come to a



stage when the moral man, the complete man, is more and more giving way, almost without knowing it, to make room for the political and the commercial man, the man of the limited purpose. This, aided by the wonderful progress in science, is assuming gigantic proportion and power, causing the upset of man's moral balance, obscuring his human side under the shadow of soul-less organization. Its iron grip we have felt at the root of our life, and for the sake of humanity we must stand up and give warning to all, that this nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, eating into its moral vitality...

Before the Nation came to rule over us we had other governments which were foreign, and these, like all governments, had some element of the machine in them. But the difference between them and the government by the Nation is like the difference between the hand loom and the power loom. In the products of the hand loom the magic of man's living fingers finds its expression, and its hum harmonizes with the music of life. But the power loom is relentlessly lifeless and accurate and monotonous in its production...

The truth is that the spirit of conflict and conquest is at the origin and in the centre of the Western nationalism; its basis is not social cooperation. It has evolved a perfect organization of power but not spiritual idealism. It is like the pack of predatory creatures that must have its victims. With all its heart, it cannot bear to see its hunting grounds converted into cultivated fields. In fact, these nations are fighting among themselves for the extension of their victims and their reserve forests. Therefore the Western Nation acts like a dam to check the free flow of the Western civilization into the country of the No-Nation. Because this civilization is the civilization of power, therefore it is exclusive, it is naturally unwilling to open its sources of power to those whom it has selected



for its purposes of exploitation.

But all the same, moral law is the law of humanity, and the exclusive civilization which thrives upon others who are barred from its benefit carries its own death sentence in its moral limitations. The slavery that it gives rise to unconsciously drains its own love of freedom dry. The helplessness with which it weighs down its world of victims exerts its force of gravitation every moment upon the power that creates it. And the greater part of the world which is being denuded of its self-sustaining life by the Nation will one day become the most terrible of all its burdens ready to drag it down into the abyss of destruction. Whenever Power removes all checks from its path to make its career easy, it triumphantly rides into its ultimate crash of death. Its moral brake becomes slacker every day without its knowing it, and its slippery path of ease becomes its path of doom.

Of all things in western civilization, those which this western nation has given us in a most generous measure are law and order. While the small feeding bottle of our education is nearly dry, and

sanitation sucks its own thumb in despair, the military organization, the magisterial offices, the police, the Criminal Investigation Department, the secret spy system, attain to an abnormal girth in their waists, occupying every inch of our country. This is to maintain order. But is not this order merely a negative good? It is not for giving people's life greater opportunities for the freedom of development? Its perfection is the perfection of an egg-shell whose true value lies in the security it affords to the chick and its nourishment and not in the convenience it offers to the person at the breakfast table. Mere administration is unproductive, it is not creative, [due to its] not being a living thing. It is a steam-roller, formidable in its weight and power, having its uses, but it does not help the soil to become fertile. When after its enormous toil, it comes to offer us its boon of peace we can but murmur under our breath that 'peace is good but not more so than life which is God's own great boon.' On the other hand, our former governments were woefully lacking in many of the advantages of the modern government. But because those were

not the governments by the Nation, their texture was loosely woven, leaving big gaps through which our own life sent its threads and imposed its designs. I am quite sure in those days we had things that were extremely distasteful to us. But we know that when we walk barefooted upon a ground strewn with gravel, gradually our feet come to adjust themselves to the caprices of the inhospitable earth; while if the tiniest particle of gravel finds its lodgment inside our shoes we can never forget and forgive its intrusion. And these shoes are the government by the Nation, - it is tight, it regulates our steps with a closed up system, within which our feet have only the slightest liberty to make their own adjustments. Therefore, when you produce your statistics to compare the number of gravels which our feet had to encounter in former days with the paucity in the present regime, they hardly touch the real points. It is not the numerousness of the outside obstacles but the comparative powerlessness of the individual to cope with them. This narrowness of freedom is an evil which is more

radical not because of its quantity but because of its nature.

And we cannot but acknowledge this paradox, that while the spirit of the West marches under its banner of freedom, the Nation of the West forges its iron chains of organization which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man.

When the humanity of India was not under the government of the Organization, the elasticity of change was great enough to encourage men of power and spirit to feel that they had their destinies in their own hands. The hope of the unexpected was never absent, and a freer play of imagination, both on the part of the governor and the governed, had its effect in the making of history. We were not confronted with a future which was a dead white wall of granite blocks eternally guarding against the expression and extension of our own powers, the hopelessness of which lies in the reason that these powers are becoming atrophied at their very roots by the scientific process of paralysis. For every single

individual in the country of the nonation is completely in the grip of a whole nation, - whose tireless vigilance, being the vigilance of a machine, has not the human power to overlook or to discriminate. At the least pressing of its button the monster organization becomes all eyes, whose ugly stare of inquisitiveness cannot be avoided by a single person amongst the immense multitude of the ruled. At the least turn of its screw, by the fraction of an inch, the grip is tightened to the point of suffocation around every man, woman and child of a vast population, for whom no escape is imaginable in their own country, or even in any country outside their own.

It is the continual and stupendous dead pressure of this unhuman upon the living human under which the modern world is groaning. Not merely the subject races, but you who live under the delusion that you are free, are every day sacrificing your freedom and humanity to this fetish of nationalism, living in the dense poisonous atmosphere of world-wide suspicion and greed and panic.





It is disheartening how detractors broke the spirit of the Tamil writer whose novel "Madhorubhagan" has been at the centre of a controversy over its representation of women and religion.

Perumal Murugan has Died

We let them kill literature today

* Nandini Krishnan

In the wee hours of Tuesday, a chunk of Tamil contemporary literature died. Writer Perumal Murugan, whose novel *Madhorubhagan (One Part Woman)* has been at the centre of a controversy over its representation of women and religion, returned from a meeting with his detractors, and announced that Perumal-Murugan-the-writer was dead, and he would only serve as a professor of Tamil in his college. His unwritten novels have died, and the published ones have been withdrawn from circulation.

In a post that will remain active only for another day, he wrote, referring to himself in the third person, that he was withdrawing from all social networks. He said in his note that he was sure that issues would be raked up over all his novels, and to avoid being hounded, he was putting an end to the sale of his entire body of work with immediate effect. He promised to compensate the publishers for their losses, and asked those readers who have bought his books already to feel free to burn them. He said he was willing to compensate those readers who feel they have made a poor investment. His poignant post ended with a plea to all organisations representing the interests of particular castes, religions, and political factions, to stop their protests and leave him be.



On Tuesday, as soon as the stall of his publishers, Kalachuvadu, opened at the ongoing Chennai Book Fair, its employees began stacking his books into cartons. When readers approached them to try and buy the books they had in stock, they refused. His publisher was wary when I asked if I could take photographs.

As I watched them packing his books into obscurity the books of a writer whose work and personality and intelligence I greatly esteem I felt angry, helpless, and frightened.

The protest genuinely baffled me at first. Now, it terrifies me.

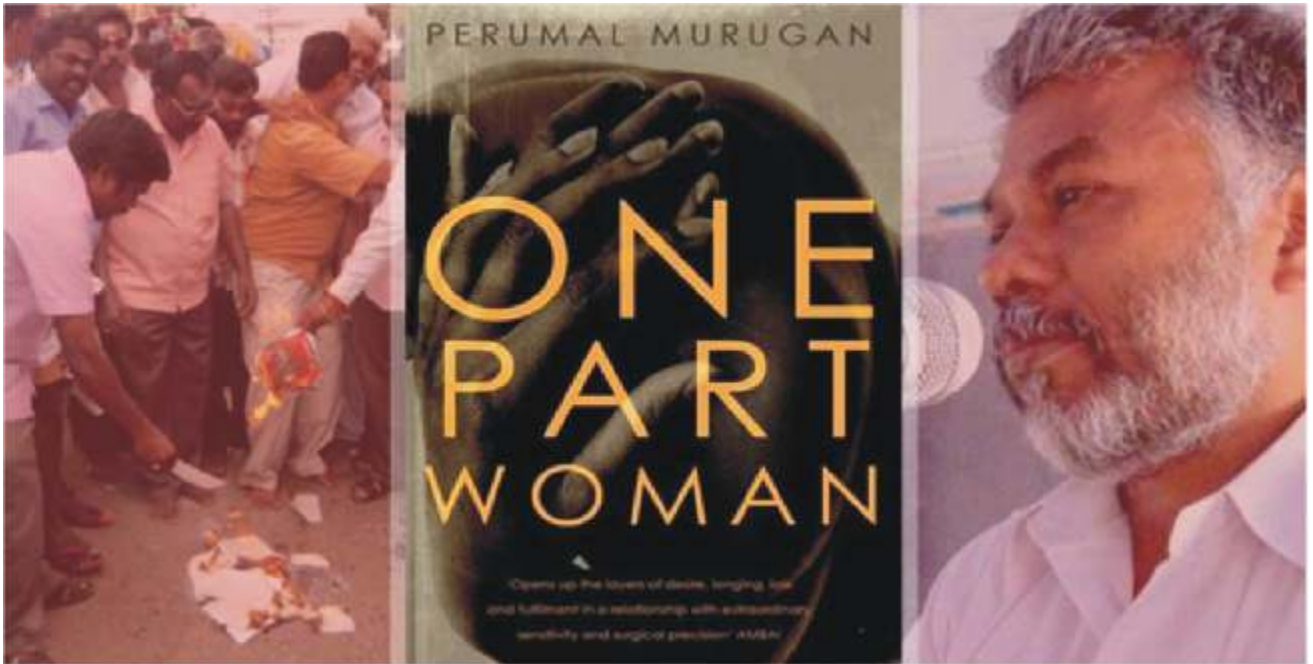
It baffled me because *Madhorubhagan* was published three years ago, and its translation more than a year ago. In the intervening years, Murugan has

written two sequels to *Madhorubhagan*.

Why were groups raking up the allegation that he portrayed women and religion poorly now?

First of all, Murugan cannot be accused of male chauvinism by any stretch of the imagination. His books often explore prejudice against women, from female infanticide to inheritance laws to childlessness.

He doesn't see writing as a campaign vehicle. His social commentary is subtle. His 2008 novel *Kanganam (Resolve)* talks about female foeticide and infanticide but that's the undercurrent to a story about a man in his thirties whose family has been searching for a bride for more than a decade. The novel begins with the man's frustration that an 18-year-old



boy from the 'lower' Chakkili caste has no trouble finding a bride. In his own Gounder community, the female population has been whittled down, so that there are only three women of marriageable age in a village with forty suitors. As he said in an interview with me earlier,

“People think it's poverty that drives the killing of the girl child,” Murugan says, “But, really, it's the wealthier families who do it. They're worried that their property will be lost to the girl's family. They find devious ways to make the deaths look natural like, they leave a newborn lying on its stomach for a few minutes. The baby will run out of breath, and can't turn its face. People put the death down to complications at birth.”

Second, even if he were guilty of giving us a stilted view of a village and its women, it is irrelevant to demand the arrest of a writer and a ban on his book, on the charge that he portrayed anyone or anything in a particular manner that is offensive to some readers, goes against the fundamental rights guaranteed to us in the Constitution.

Third, the timing of the protest makes no sense.

Fourth, why was Murugan so worried about this protest, when there has been a backlash over most

novels he has written? These include a politically-motivated protest against his debut work, *Eruveyil (Rising Heat)*, which necessitated that he sneak in and out of his hometown for two years.

Fifth, when the Tamil literary world and more importantly the state itself had stood by him, how did the protests against him persist?

And, sixth, despite his agreeing to change sections of the novel and satisfy the demands of his detractors for the next edition, why did the protesters continue to harass him?

But my confusion transformed into terror, as the face of the protests changed.

It appeared *Madhorubhagan* was not the only problem. Murugan had dedicated his 2014 release *Pookkuzhi* to "Ilavarasan of Dharmapuri". Ilavarasan, a Dalit, was one half of the famous Divya-Ilavarasan couple, whose inter-caste marriage caused riots that lasted for several weeks and made national headlines. Divya, who belongs to the Vanniyar caste, eventually filed for divorce, after her father committed suicide there were rumours that the suicide was forced. The case culminated in the suspicious death of Ilavarasan, whose body was found on the railway tracks. A suicide note was

recovered, but the death remains murky.

And here was a writer, whose novel about an inter-caste marriage was dedicated to Ilavarasan.

When this issue was raised by the protesters, politicians who had voiced their support for Perumal Murugan began to demur.

In an email to me, Murugan said he was comforted by the support he had received from fellow-writers, but haunted by the idea that he must continue to live in an interior district of Tamil Nadu. In other words, people know where he lives, it is away from the city and the media, and he is worried about his family.

It appears that Murugan's disregard for the unwritten rules that govern caste politics in Tamil Nadu has caught up with him. He wrote about the powerful Gounder community, to which he belongs. He wrote about the prejudice against Dalits. He has spoken out against forced land acquisition, and political malpractice.

As he said in an interview before the controversy started “Caste politics in Tamil Nadu, led by the Dravida parties, has been driven by an anti-Brahmin agenda. Since the mid-twentieth century, Brahmins have represented

everything dislikeable, with their claim to Aryan ancestry, their Sanskritised Tamil dialect and well-paying government jobs. But the BC, OBC and MBC communities, have strong political ties, and Perumal Murugan is among very few writers who have explored the relationship dynamics between 'caste Hindus' and Dalits.

"Oh, I got into some trouble over that...In *Eru Veyil*, I spoke about caste and mentioned the real names of politicians. I was pretty sure no one would read the book, especially from my village. But a man with some clout in the DMK read it, and there was big trouble. For a couple of years, I had to sneak in and out of my village in secret. I would arrive at night, stay hidden at home throughout the vacation, and then slip off to catch a night train back. I changed the names in the next edition. Sometimes, people ask, 'How can you write this way about Gounders?'"

The journalist Shankaran Narayan commented on the caste dynamics of this area saying, "What is going on In Tiruchengodu and Namakkal is a mix of Brahmin hegemony revivalism coupled with a neo-Brahminical upper caste (Gounders-predominantly an oppressor of Dalits and most backward castes - drowned neck deep in feudalism) assisting this revivalism.

"The latter castes dominate the education business in the district of Namakkal. Namakkal is also very famous for truck, trailer and oil tanker manufacturing. A major chunk of India's oil tankers (70%) are manufactured in Namakkal.

"BJP entered into an electoral understanding with a rank casteist outfit functioning in the name of Kongu Velala Gounders. This Brahmin-neo-Brahmin upper caste combination wants to continue this alliance in 2016 assembly polls. You have to see to believe the feudalism of this neo-Brahmin Kongu [Northwest Tamil] political party. This region is notorious for practicing untouchability.

"Hindu Munnani, a Saffron group, once started by Brahmins is now full of the feudal Gounders. Khap panchayat, money lending with astronomical interest rates, farming, the river-killing textile business, groundnut oil making, poultry, sugar mills, education and health selling, god selling etc are in the grip of this feudal caste. You can equate this caste with Reddys in AP, Vokkaligas & Lingayats in Karnataka and Jats in North."

Localised animosities have morphed into objections to his writing on the basis of religion and gender.

The protests have gained currency, and pulled law enforcers to the side that wants blood. The writer has been forced to choose between his safety and his calling.

Mr G.R. Swaminathan, a senior lawyer and also Assistant Solicitor General at the Madurai bench of the Madras high court, describes how the writer had to leave his home town in Namakkal, after the police suggested that he exile himself.

He also talks about how soul breaking the whole ordeal was for the writer and though there was a big support for Perumal Murugan in the media, the field reality was different.

G R Swaminathan himself is a part of the Hindu Munnani. He told The News Minute, "Organisation-wise Hindu Munnani and RSS have denied involvement, but people associated with them are part of protests. I do follow the Hindu Munnani's ideology, but I am also a


lawyer and my stand is that creative freedom should be absolute."

He narrated his meeting with the Perumal Murugan saying, "During the journey when I told Perumal Murugan that the police are frightening him, he confided that he was made to leave Namakkal only because the police suggested him to exile himself. In the collectorate, we were kept confined. The DRO who presided over the peace talks did not arrange a face to face meeting with the protestors. She met the protestors separately. Since Perumal Murugan was anxious to close the issue and had already issued two statements, I summarized them in my own hand writing and asked Perumal Murugan to sign the same. I had used the expression 'sincere regret.' But the DRO felt that this will not be acceptable to the other side and wanted me to change it as 'unconditional apology.' I could not stomach it. I could see that Perumal Murugan was in real agony. I therefore told him to call up his wife and take a decision. His wife Ezhil finally said "alright, if that is what they want, put it in writing". She anxiously enquired if it would not break his spirit."

He also described how this broke Murugan's spirits "I was told that the entire campaign against Perumal Murugan has been engineered by certain Hindu outfits. When I spoke to several responsible leaders, all of them told me that they have nothing to do with the agitation against Perumal Murugan. I could only conclude that [rogue] elements

"It is better to risk being the victim of injustice than to risk being complicit in it."

- Bruce Fein



similar to 'non state actors' are on the prowl. Quite a few loose cannons appear to have coalesced together. The persons who signed in the peace minutes had no organizational backing. Caste and religion make a deadly cocktail. Only a strong administration could have dealt with them. It did not. On the other hand, Perumal Murugan was simply thrown to the wolves. Casting pearls before the swine is a futile exercise. But to deadlier beasts, creative freedom is an easy meat."

I'm angry as a writer, because no one stands up to protect us when a crazed mob decides to target us. The idea that a writer could be in danger because he picked up a pen is chilling. The fact that we cannot rely on the authorities to protect us is scary.

I'm angry as a reader, because we have failed. We have failed again. We, as a country, failed Salman Rushdie when the land of his birth became the first country in the world to ban *The Satanic Verses*. Three decades later, we continue to fail.

I'm angry as a Tamilian, because in this state, which is run by Dravidian parties that boast of their atheist street-creed and anti-caste agenda, a writer has been silenced for making a reference to an extant religious practice, and for dedicating his book to a Dalit youth.

We need to ask ourselves what kind of country we live in, and what kind of times we live in. Can any of us recite our list of fundamental rights without laughing at the irony?

And as we sashay around the high-profile literary events that are doing their rounds of the country JLF, The Times Literary Carnival, *Hindu Lit for Life*, Delhi Book Fair, Chennai Book Fair, you-name-it let us remember that we cannot protect the writers whom we are celebrating.

Now our struggle is for genuine equality, which means economic equality. For we know now that it isn't enough to integrate lunch counters. What does it profit a man to be able to eat at an integrated lunch counter if he doesn't earn enough money to buy a hamburger and a cup of coffee? What does it profit a man to be able to eat at the swankiest integrated restaurant when he doesn't earn enough money to take his wife out to dine? What does it profit one to have access to the hotels of our city and the motels of our highway when we don't earn enough money to take our family on a vacation? What does it profit one to be able to attend an integrated school when he doesn't earn enough money to buy his children school clothes?

And so we assemble here tonight, and you have assembled for more than thirty days now to say, "We are tired. We are tired of being at the bottom. We are tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. We are tired of our children having to attend overcrowded, inferior, quality-less schools. We are tired of having to live in dilapidated substandard housing conditions where we don't have wall-to-wall carpets but so often we end up with wall-to-wall rats and roaches. We are tired of smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society. We are tired of walking the streets in search for jobs that do not exist. We are tired of working our hands off and laboring every day and not even making a wage adequate to get the basic necessities of life. We are tired of our men being emasculated so that our wives and our daughters have to go out and work in the white lady's kitchen, leaving us unable to be with our children and give them the time and the attention that they need. We are tired."

And so in Memphis we have begun. We are saying, "Now is the time." Get the word across to everybody in power in this time in this town that now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to make an adequate income a reality for all of God's children. Now is the time for city hall to take a position for that which is just and honest. Now is the time for justice to roll down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream. Now is the time.



- Martin Luther King Jr



In a historic judgment by the Mumbai High Court, the Right to water has been equated with the Right to life, enshrined in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution.



Right To Water Recognized

* **Sitaram Shelar**
Youth For Unity & Voluntary Action
(YUVA) Pani Haq Samiti*

In 1996 the Urban Development Department (UDD) Maharashtra issued a circular to all Municipal Corporations in the State instructing that water should not be supplied to those living in unauthorized structures. On the basis of this circular, the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) prohibited regularized water connections to nearly 30 lakh people living in post 1995 slums of the city. Challenging this circular, in October 2011, a PIL was filed by Pani Haq Samiti (a collective of activists, organizations, institutions and slum dwellers).

In the final verdict made on 15 December 2014, the bench presided by Justice Abhay Oak and Justice A S Gadkari stated that whether homes are deemed 'legal' or 'illegal' - in upholding Article 21 of the Indian Constitution - it is the responsibility of the government to provide water to all. Re-enforcing the intrinsic relationship between water and life, the judgment established that the right to water is as fundamental as the right to life.

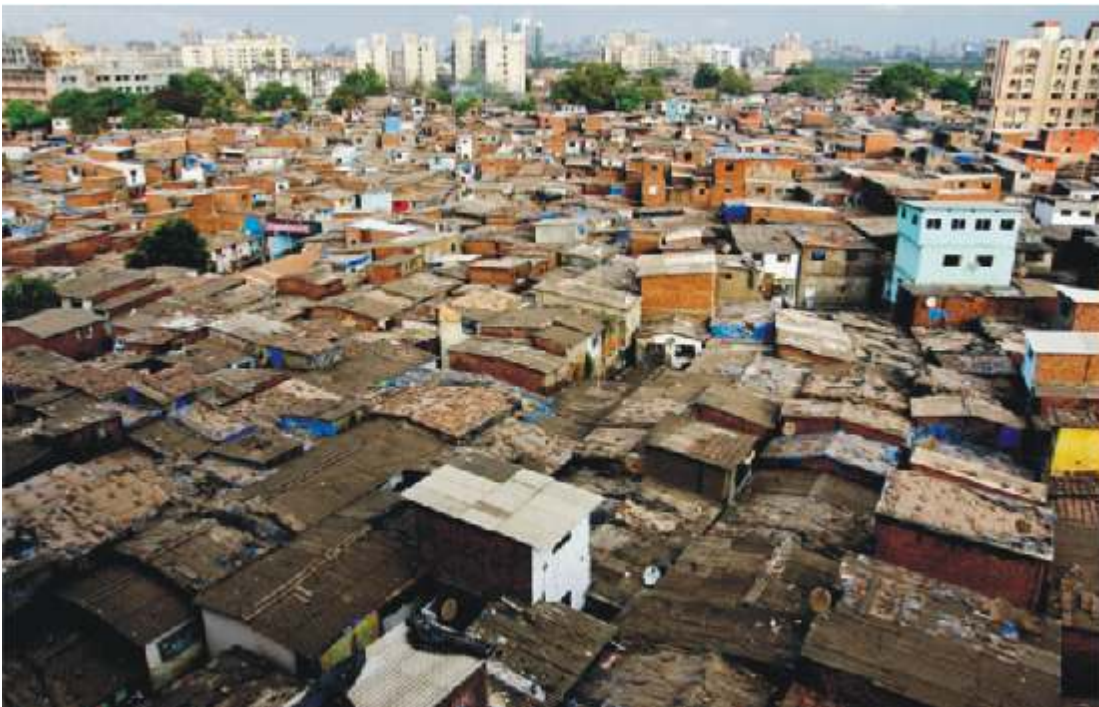
Key arguments made by MCGM and UDD lawyers include - providing regularized water would lead to proliferation of slums which would further lead to environmental degradation, as slums destroy mangroves in the city. The court in response stated that buildings without Occupation Certificates (OCs) are illegal, yet the Corporation provides water to these

buildings - why then are slums discriminated against? The court further added that slums maybe illegal but people living in these settlements cannot be deemed illegal.

Based on data from the Crime Branch sourced through an RTI, the Court pointed out that 4000 plus police constables and 81 ACP level officers live in post 1995 slums.



Mumbai slum Dharavi with water pipeline running right through it



MCGM. Negative impacts of the lack of water supply that have been borne by the Corporation include: an increase in the amount of unaccounted for water (UFW); emergence of the water mafia through which illegal connections and leakages increased; increased contamination of water lines; lastly, revenue that could be earned by the MCGM was being pocketed by the water mafia.

Various studies conducted by YUVA, TISS and other organizations on the impact of lack of access to water in slums has found that: Access to water has been only through the water mafia; while buildings are provided 1000 litres of

Appalled by this fact, the Court highlighted that the state government does not provide low cost housing, and neither does it provide water to all in the city. It was stated that the Court failed to understand how the state government disallows the Municipal Corporation from supplying water to people.

Restating that water supply is mandatory despite the legality of structure, the Court ordered the MCGM to submit a water supply proposal on or before February end 2015. As an advice to the MCGM, the Court reiterated a Pani Haq Samiti suggestion that could be included in the proposal, i.e. instead of providing individual connections, group connections could be provided for every 7-15 families as per MCGM water rules. This would help in management of water supply to all areas. The court also stated that water charges levied should be equal for all.

Water is necessary to life, yet state officials seemed nonchalant about provision of water to slum dwellers. Through this case, the apathy of the middle class and a few mainstream political parties towards those living in slums has been

extremely evident. Adv Mihir Desai representing Pani Haq Samiti has been extremely instrumental in changing the mainstream discourse and reinforcing the fact that water is a right and cannot be seen within the purview of slums and illegality alone.

For all those fighting for the right to water in the country, this is a historic judgment. This is the first time that it has been stated that in order to realise Article 21, access to water is essential. Till date there has been no law in India that mandates water to all. The judgment is a great impetus to movements across the country fighting for the basic rights of people.

Over nearly two decades immense political injustice has been meted out due to the non-provision of water. Established political parties gain much leverage from illegal slums due to which the poor are far removed from, or worst impacted by the development process. Through this judgment, vote bank politics based on provision of water to slums has been squashed. Vote negotiations in slums will now be forced to go beyond provision of water.

The impact of lack of water has impacted both, people as well as the

water for Rs 4, the water mafia charge Rs 1000 for 1000 litres of water in slums - water has become a financial burden as 30 to 40 percent of a family's income was spent on water. These studies have shown that the education of scores of children have been deeply impacted as most often children bear the burden of collecting water from far flung areas or are involved in selling water on cycles. Adverse impacts on health were recorded due to lack of consumption of water due to its high cost; moreover, skin diseases are rampant as water used for bathing is often collected from very poor sources. Having to beg for the most basic services have made people feel like secondary citizens.

In 1927 Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar began a struggle at Chavdar Lake in Mahad to allow Dalits access to water. For Pani Haq Samiti, this judgment is the second milestone in the struggle, especially because the right to water has been recognized and regularized as a fundamental right as per Article 21 of the Constitution.

Pani Haq Samiti will continue the struggle towards ensuring that those living in slums access their right to water.

Social Boards

The Powerful Powerless

* Trond Overland

One controversial aspect of PROUT is its rejection of democracy as the political system. The propounder of PROUT forthrightly expressed what many know but few dare to say,

“In all walks of present-day life, the dark shadows of immorality are fast taking definite shapes and hampering human progress. It requires a very strong moral force to wipe out this filth of immorality. One cannot expect this moral force from a government power functioning within a democratic structure. We must expect it from the non-political side. The government, be it fascist, imperialist, republican, dictatorial, bureaucratic or democratic, is sure to become tyrannical if there is no moral force to check the capricious activities of

Continuous democratic reform is needed to keep the political machinery above the natural gravitation towards self-service. PROUT's augmentations will go a long way to solve the problems of systemic corruption and abuse of power.

the leaders of the party in power.”
(Discourses on PROUT)

Actually, it was PROUT's basic principles of leadership that troubles political traditionalists, namely:

1. PROUT seeks to generate a morally-conscious electorate.
2. It promotes a greater sense of responsibility on the part of both electorate and candidates.
3. It paves the way for a sense of universalism in the political sphere by seeking to remove the constraints of party

mechanisms and machinations.

4. The system of social sadvipra boards aims at resolving problems of corruption and power abuse.

A morally-conscious electorate

Modern democracy places increasing pressure on people to follow current issues. In antiquity, when democracy was first introduced, the world was a very different and “slower” place. Democracy meant the rule of a small upper class as opposed to monarchical-dictatorial rule. Today, voting rights are universal, the world and social life is very hectic, which presents us with numerous enlightenment issues:

Where goes the line between democracy and “foolocracy”, “mobocracy” and other “cracies”? Should there be a minimum requirement for the right to vote?

How may voters participate in a better way to evolve democratic processes? How may democracy be improved in other ways?

Firstly, while some may say that democracy is in itself an

We can follow your moral compass as long as it does not interfere with my financial GPS.



education, PROUT holds that various forms of education are required for democracy to start with. For instance, if the majority in society cares little about morality elected leaders will eventually tend toward to be immoral too. Hence morality is a must for democracy.

Secondly, where illiteracy reigns, democracy tends towards the preposterous. This is a real problem in many Asian, African and Latin American countries where democracy sometimes becomes undemocratic and corrupt as the electorate remains largely ignorant. In countries where illiteracy is still a fundamental reality, basic literacy programs are required to make democracy more functional.

Thirdly, in order to take a proper stand, people need to be able to follow the public discourse. Such an ability requires more than simply being able to read. Opportunities and facilities to participate in democratic processes must be integrated and interwoven with everyday life. Elections once every four or five years or sporadic referendums on particular issues will not do.

PROUT suggests that the right to vote should be given to the socially and politically conscious only. A driving license is never issued on the proof of age alone but

on proof of ability. Age does not automatically qualify people for such a demanding task as driving a car. If age had been the only prerequisite, society would have put its members at great risk. Similarly, the right to vote should not be accorded on age basis alone.

Age is not a measure of social, political and any other form of intelligence. For instance, many young teenagers know a good deal more about and express a greater interest in political issues than their seniors. Should such youngsters not be allowed to vote and contribute in a positive way to the political processes? And why should their ignorant seniors be allowed to continue to influence society arbitrarily by their own uninformed voting? Let everybody educate themselves at least up to a basic standard so that they may participate more capably in society.

In order to improve the quality of democracy, PROUT suggests a system of voter qualification. In areas where illiteracy is high this requirement would set in motion universal literacy drives. In countries where basic education is already universal, the criteria for voting rights should be determined on an even more progressive basis, such as:

What defines a democratic

person?

What are the criteria necessary to achieve voter status?

In order to generate sufficient democratic enthusiasm and understanding, the emphasis should be on active participation in a variety of ways. Voter registration programs should acquaint the electorate with plans and programs of various candidates and make sure that individual voters know properly their rights and duties.

Voters should have the right to question elected representatives if concerns arise regarding their implementation of election promises. They have a duty to be well acquainted with the issues at stake as well as the various candidates' plans, programs, attitudes, etc. Every voter needs to know in detail how to participate in regular non-party democratic processes between elections so that they may at any time choose to initiate or participate in such processes themselves whenever they deem it important.

Elected representatives who fail to deliver on election promises for instance by acting in very irresponsible ways, or by not being true to his or her published election program should be properly quizzed. If subsequent court proceedings prove that any representative indeed has deceived the electorate, a by-election would be held where only other candidates may participate. The representative in question will not be allowed to stand as candidate in the following regular election either, and will have to take time-out awaiting the subsequent regular election.

Partyless Democracy

In most countries at present political parties horse-trade compromises among themselves resulting in numerous puzzling parliamentary and governmental constellations. The fact is that in such a conglomerate, labyrinthine party system, the prime minister and other high-ranking representatives may have little democratic backing throughout the country. Instead they



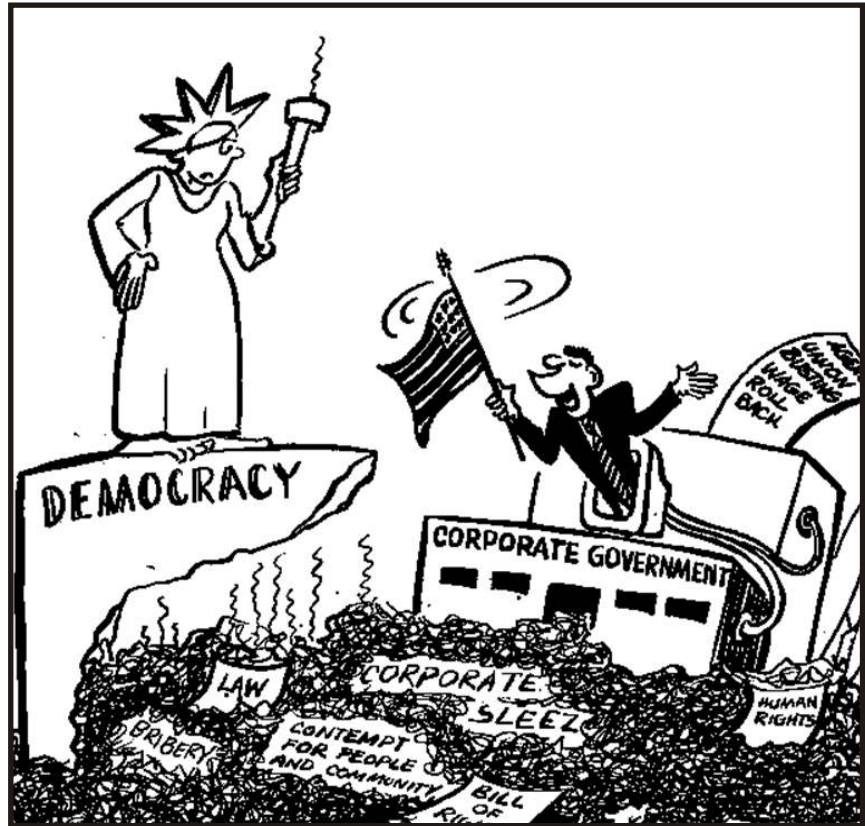
may have risen to power through a weird process of twisted party-political bargaining and not as the result of substantial voter confidence. The same is true in local elections where councils and governments regularly field bizarre leaderships due to the grave imbalances resulting from the capricious party-system.

In order to avoid such undesirable consequences, PROUT advocates a non-party system where candidates are elected on an individual basis instead of being tied down by group loyalties. Such independent representation would allow for a vibrant political environment where movements will form and dissolve largely on issue-consensus and not be controlled by party machinations. There will be no allegiance to a group or party but only to the welfare of everybody.

The elimination of the party structure is seen as non-democratic and undesirable by those who want to continue to make a living inside the party machines. However, their expressed self-interest cannot hide the fact that democracy at present requires radical reform. Political parties grew out of the parliamentary (“talking”) sessions at European royal courts where various interest groups farmers, merchants, clergy, etc. gathered in front of the monarch to promote their respective interests and causes. A revolution of the archaic institution of the party-based parliament is long overdue. We should liberate our political life from the fundamentally divisive party structure and get on with evolving a universal political paradigm that will implement the far-reaching social visions of the 21st Century.

Social Boards: Little brother watching Big Brother

Misconceptions regarding PROUT's socio-political system are easily removed by a proper understanding of the role and functioning of its social boards. Social boards at every level of government will monitor what their



elected counterparts are doing. Thus social boards will run parallel to the regularly elected political institutions. For example, where there is an elected village council there will be a parallel social board monitoring that council, etc. In this way social boards will be established at every level from the village to the global level. Their members will be elected by simple democratic processes outside of the regular political elections.

The members of social boards will have no direct political power. They will have no direct influence on the legislative, judiciary, executive, and audit functions. Their means of initiative and correction will be their close communication with general society which will enable them to communicate their findings to both the representatives in power and their electorate.

Criteria for Membership of Social Boards will Include:

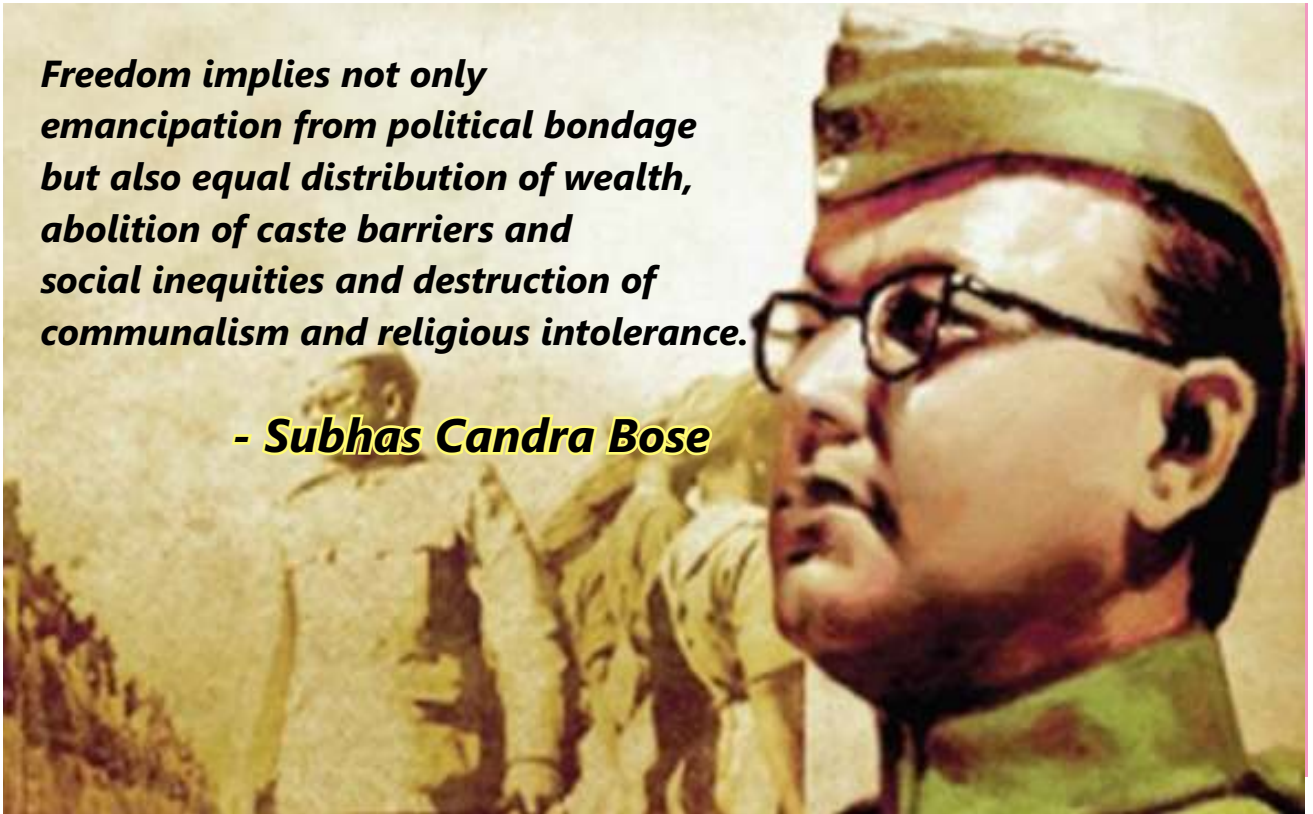
Unquestionable moral reputation
 Genuine social service track record
 Public respect
 Great personal values
 Professional know-how relevant to

the job at hand PROUT suggests that the main governmental powers legislative, judicial, executive, financial, and audit should remain vested with politically elected representatives and their governments. On the other hand, social, moral and spiritual authority should also be institutionalized in the form of social boards and the main job of these boards is to monitor the politically elected power structure and continuously communicate their findings in order to trigger the necessary extra-systemic dynamics without delay.

This new and enhanced political dimension of PROUT may be termed as super-democratic. It generates or reinforces society's political strength by exercising the democratic muscle power in new, inventive ways. In this way PROUT introduces a mechanism for reducing the fundamental factors of corruption, namely the concentration of power in the hands of a few. It offers the people means for continuous dialogue with its elected representatives beyond the

Freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth, abolition of caste barriers and social inequities and destruction of communalism and religious intolerance.

- Subhas Candra Bose



reach of commercial media.

The genius of the social boards system is that it accords the ultimate political power to those who have no means to exercise such power. Those in power stand to be questioned and corrected by the people represented by the social boards. It may also happen that dominant groups and governments may be toppled in such processes.

A question thus arises: Who would best qualify to join the ranks of those “powerful powerless” and sit on social boards? In his article “The Political System of PROUT,” Dr. Ravi Batra offers:

“In every country, whether democratic or authoritarian, the ruling bodies are usually composed of people belonging to the same class. Hence they fail to serve properly as checks and balances. Separation of powers is not enough; there has to be another powerful institution guaranteed by the constitution, an institution whose members stand above all mean and narrow tendencies; which belongs to all classes, and whose word prevails over that of others.”

According to PROUT, commitment to social welfare through selfless service and sacrifice is the basic requirement for membership of social boards. Such expression of lofty human values is how one may gain the respect and confidence of others. Throughout history many great souls have sacrificed their personal comfort and prestige in order to pave the way for the upliftment and progress of humanity. Ordinary people keep such great personalities in high esteem and close to their hearts. PROUT therefore opens up for a system where persons of particularly high social standing, spiritual vision and genuine love for humanity can make a difference without joining the regular political system so that the wielders of direct political power will not fall victims to that power.

In his article “Society and State,” Krtashivananda stresses the need for emphasizing society vis-à-vis the state machinery:

“The creation of social institutions on the world level with organs on the lower levels can

eliminate threats from political and economic oligarchies and religious fanatics. Members of the social institutions should be established in the spirit of universalism. Sarkar explained that to be established in cardinal moral principles is essential for the qualitative transformation of the personality. He frequently used the term *sadvipra* in this regard. This is the only way to create social unity. Value-oriented intellectuals and spiritually free persons, who have moral integrity and are not motivated by self-interest, are the best persons to organize themselves to form the social structure.”

PROUT seeks to pave the way for a value-oriented society that may allow people to realize their true potential. Qualified conscious democratic participation, enlightened leadership, and social boards parallel to the political power elite are among PROUT's political inventions that will aid society in reaching its goal of a corruption-free world with real progress for all. Abuses of power will be greatly reduced under the watchful eyes of PROUT's “powerless powerful”.

Until the lion can tell his own stories, tales of
the hunt will be told by the hunter.

- Old African Proverb

Cultural and Cognitive Colonialism in Wayanad

This study is intended to gain an insight into the perceptions and experiences of development of the Adivasis in Wayanad, Kerala and their responses to state initiated development policies and programmes. Whereas profit-oriented economic rationality rules the entire world, the Adivasi worldviews pose a challenge by believing in the philosophy of living

for the day, while respecting the limits of the Earth. The Adivasi narratives affirm that the development policies and programmes envisioned for them by the state do not recognise or acknowledge their worldviews and epistemologies (types of knowledge) and only contribute to their marginalisation.

Various educational programmes of schools and states

not only assume the inferiority of Adivasi culture & knowledge but are structures that actively reproduce Adivasis marginal positions in society. The Adivasi culture and languages are not recognised as official languages in school and their usage is labeled as “backwardness”. So Paniya and Kurichia children do not dare to speak in their own languages in school and also try to hide their natural identity by claiming the dominant Hindu religious identity within the classrooms. It appears that educational institutions run by religious agencies are together with the government in “redeeming” Adivasi culture and helping them “merge” with the “mainstream”. The state’s acts of omission and commission are central to the enterprise of religious mobilisation in educational institutions. The establishment of separate Model Residential Schools (MRSs), hostels or special schools for Adivasis does not address the issues of social and cultural alienation that they face without changing the dominant discourses on what constitutes legitimate knowledge and finding legitimate space for



A development centre in Wayanad



Adivasi cultural outlooks and their knowledge within the formal curriculum. The mismatch between formal schooling and the everyday lives of Adivasi children resulting in their intrinsic exclusion is neither recognised nor addressed through the state's policy reform processes. The National Curriculum Framework Review reports that the organisation of the Indian education system reflects clearly the caste, class and tribe stratified structure of the society, and its hierarchical ideology (NCFR 2005).

The cultural hegemony of the dominant groups/classes, the identity as tribe, dominant, asymmetric gender constructions, the identity as slave caste in the feudal and colonial periods, and the complex interface of all these they all play their role in perpetuating inequality in the education of Adivasi children. Inequality ingrained in society gets transferred to the school through non-Adivasi teachers, and the school and the educational administration. The educational system has evolved a performance evaluation system entirely based on the non-Adivasi student's performance, to evaluate the Adivasi students.

The two communities, the

Paniyas and the Kurichias cope with or resist the process of education in different ways. The Kurichia students are more resilient although they too experience exclusion and exploitation, but to a lesser degree. They respond differently due to their material, social and cultural advantages and the consequent assertion of power as a community. In the case of the Kurichias, their land provides them better economic security and social identity as it acts as a social, cultural and symbolic capital in the Wayanad context where Brahmin *jenmis* were considered the sole owners of the landed property. Also the possession of land and subsistence built on it reduced the dependency of the Kurichias on dominant classes and the government, and provided them with better bargaining capacities unlike the totally dependent Paniya wage labourers. This provided Kurichia children better acceptability in schools located in their neighbourhoods. However, their generic identity as tribes gets crystallised in the broader context of National citizenship beyond their locality even within Kerala. Both the communities undergo different degrees of violence and conflict that form their subjectivities differently

interfering with their learning and curtailing their cognitive capacities.

Along with a critical understanding of social structures as well as their ideological reproduction through educational institutions, understanding the subjective experience of cultural violence and exclusion in everyday schooling is very important to explain the differential educational experiences and outcomes among Adivasi communities. The responses of the communities reveal that systematic cultural violence can cripple the individual's and community's ability to resist domination and even to access policies and programmes purported to "empower" them such as schooling and education. In fact, in many ways, educational institutions and programmes meant for Adivasis exacerbates their marginality by rendering their knowledge and culture illegitimate and their bodies and minds into sites of overt and symbolic violence.

It emerges that the state supported, hegemonic social and cultural constructions of knowledge negate the specific culture of the Adivasi communities. Instead of pluralizing the learning spaces, the state (through its policies and

programmes) tries to consolidate the inequitable monoculture by legitimising and reproducing the inequalities and dominant cultural practices. The education system and the pedagogic actions resist recognising and legitimising Adivasi knowledge, perhaps because it carries elements that contest the dominant mono-cultural trends of society. Thus, trends like establishing model residential schools and hostels or incorporating a lesson on their slavery and exploitation or including one of their cultural programmes in the curriculum, or beginning an archery academy cannot solve the exclusion and marginalisation they face.

A wide range of issues such as the cultural hegemony of the dominant groups/classes, their identity as tribe, gender, their identity as a slave caste in the feudal and colonial periods, and the complex interface of all these play their role in perpetuating inequality in the education of Adivasi children and this has to be addressed by remoulding the curriculum and pedagogy by giving space to Adivasis world views and epistemologies.

Cognitive violence is meted out to Adivasi children in their everyday schooling in subtle forms such as attributing genetic backwardness, poor IQ and learning capacities to them and considering them “lesser human beings”. The Kurichias as well as the Paniyas expressed in manifold ways that their cultural evolution is curtailed through today's education, and that their knowledge of agriculture and their different culture which respects all life forms have no place in the education offered to them. A rich culture with pluriform expressions has no space to flourish. Thus, as they assert, without addressing the epistemic violence which exclude Adivasi world views, vast

knowledge base and ways of knowing, there cannot be an educational development which is meaningful to Adivasis.

This monoculture trends however, are not limited to education alone but to the entire life situation of Adivasis and their habitats. For instance, the spread of monoculture cash crop and the resultant deforestation and degradation of environmental resources have far reaching effects on the indigenous knowledge systems as well as Adivasi survival and health. Resource depletion, knowledge depletion and the hegemonic interventions of the state are detrimental to their health and well-being. It emerges that Adivasi culture is against universal models or universal cause-effect relations like that of the western medical model, which is centered on the antagonistic biological perception of health that negates the significant influence of culture and environment.

The Adivasis believe in several interpretations of the same reality and the context and the experience of the subject becomes the basis for their interpretations. Thus, in understanding health they include social, cultural, environmental and spiritual concerns along with biological interpretations of ill health. Their conceptualisation of health and illness encompasses land, environment, community, rituals and their spirituality and the disconnection with any of these

areas cause imbalance and lead to ill health. The compartmentalised fragmented approach to health is alien to their culture and they point out the chances of objectification in this approach. While the dominant constructions of modern medicine alienate them from their culture and healing practices, the commercial trends destroy their wealth of herbs and clean and natural environment. Adivasi world views are dominated by a “moral order” encompassing the whole cosmos and is therefore superior to the “technological order” which is bound by things. Adivasis thus put forth a critique of the superiority of a biomedical paradigm perpetuated and reproduced by state institutions through special support at the cost of other systems including their own Adivasi *vaidyam* (medicine).

Further, the unequal power relations in the health system become acute for the Adivasis as they experience double alienation. The world of medical knowledge is alien to them and at the same time, they experience the discriminatory social practices and alien cultural practices of the medical institutions. They experience discrimination in the same institutions which provide assistance to them. Their etiquette and social relations are described as “primitive” and their rituals and spiritual healing practices are considered superstitions by the modern world of medicine. The Paniyas and Kurichias offer a strong critique of the modern medical





Wayanad district

system, which gives them aid on one side and marginalises them on the other. The Adivasis affirm that through their naturalistic and spiritual healing practices, they regain balance as individuals and as communities. They point out that their *vaidyans* and healers have proved that their herbal medicines can cure diseases that modern medicine cannot cure.

Even though Adivasis still hold strong faith in herbs to heal sickness, they acknowledge the diminishing sources of herbs through various development [schemes that destroy their natural world] and remain open to other systems of medicine. They are also aware that the lifestyles and food consumption patterns have changed and do not blindly believe that all poisons can be removed from their bodies through herbs. They acknowledge that they are facing new health risks, which were not common earlier and are thus open to other systems of medicine. They are pragmatic in choosing medical assistance according to their specific contexts. The healing practices of the Adivasis are context specific. The Paniyas' slave history and lack of access to herbs forced them to develop more spiritual healing practices as compared to herbal healing practices. In contrast, the Kurichias were able to continue their healing with more elaborate herbal medicines. Their small landholdings, access to various

resources and minimum government support helped them to hold on to their herbal healing practices along with spiritual healing.

It emerges that the Adivasis have a different world view. They do not bifurcate the sacred and the secular, the material and the cultural but seek harmony in the pluriform expressions of life. The human and the non-human world merges in the stories of their elders and through these stories, they teach their youngsters that nature and animals too have feelings and a consciousness like human beings and they learn to revere them all. A Paniya teacher conveyed that their stories and folk songs are fading from their memories and she cherished her childhood memories of her grandfather telling her these stories at bedtime. As Roy Burman points out, one common trait of Adivasi culture is their rootedness in the surroundings and their empathetic connection with the animate and inanimate world around them. The realm of the living and the departed unite in their ritual practices and the material world and the world of the spirits merge while subjectifying the spiritual experience through their ritual practices. The ancestors are living spirits who have the power to bless and punish them. They believe in the energy emanating from the animate and the inanimate, from the spirits of

the living and the dead, from their thoughts and emotions. Nature becomes an extension of their being and they move according to the natural cycle more than the time-space concept of the modern world which indulges in rational calculations for the future and acts as the main pillar of capitalist progress.

The power structures as well as development discourse failed to perceive the cultural distinctiveness of tribal people and their embeddedness with land and nature. When the state and its hegemonic structures perceive land as a productive force with a commercial interest, tribal people hold a material and spiritual relationship with land and call it "mother". Land becomes a prerequisite for them to receive blessings from their ancestors as it is perceived as the abode of their ancestors. The spiritual connection with land helps them to keep away from commercial interest and the profit motive and hold on to a moral economy which sustains Nature as well as people harmoniously.

Thus, the inability of the Paniyas and the Kurichias to participate in the development initiated by the government should be considered a form of epistemic violence [or violence against their education and spiritual heritage]. Unless there is epistemic and cognitive justice [that respects their traditions], they will continue to remain at the periphery. In the spheres of education and health and generally in the development discourse itself, the state continues to negate the epistemic significance of tribal knowledge. The Adivasis, especially the Paniyas, are facing a situation of second slavery as they are still deprived of land and resources. Their labour and their women are exploited in different ways through Kodagu (Coorg) labour, other forms of migrant labour and domestic labour. Without addressing these core issues, the development programmes of the state will remain ineffective. However, the Paniyas are well aware of these attempts and have started

resisting the development programmes and policies which deprive them of their basic rights and continue to keep them in a dependent existence as wage labourers without any protection.

The Paniyas, especially some of the men folk, resort to alcoholism and develop a defiant identity as they face increasing alienation and dehumanisation. The Kurichias had minimum subsistence, which gave them basic protection and as a result they experienced less alienation when compared to the Paniyas. Their resistance towards the state and its development apparatus was found to be less. As mentioned earlier, land acts as material as well as social and cultural capital for the Kurichias and they accrue the benefits of their landedness. Their subsistence agriculture gives them a sense of belonging that helps to consolidate their community ties with both officials and non-Adivasis in the area. The Kurichia leaders used this symbolic and cultural capital centered on land for asserting their identity, culture, politics as well as the self-sustaining systems of agricultural practices in Wayanad.

The NREGS and the promise of 100 days of wage work is a pittance to the Paniyas in the midst of the trauma and violence they experienced. It emerges that the cultural alienation of the Paniyas is more in NREGS than in other wage labour opportunities in the locality, as it did not cater to even the food and firewood needs of the people. Again, it did not provide space for their creative participation incorporating their knowledge of the specific work undertaken. For instance, their knowledge and skills in paddy cultivation, forest regeneration and protection of ponds and river banks have been totally ignored while designing and implementing NREGS work. Thus, even in NREGS, Kurichias landedness provided them better creative involvement in decision making. Thus, the differential experiences of both communities in development indicate mainly the

centrality of land in Adivasi life. The Adivasis have a deep connection with land. Even after years of “mainstreaming” and policies that alienate them from land and forest, their connection with land has not reduced. The Adivasi relationship with land is not just material but cultural and spiritual and they want to pursue a development which is different from that of dominant society.

They never uttered the word “profit” while discussing their land and agricultural practices, but criticised the non-Adivasi tendency to produce maximum profit at the cost of killing earth and its micro-organisms through uncontrollable use of chemicals and pesticides. Generally, words such as “market” and “profit” were absent in their vocabulary, unlike the non-Adivasis who invariably begin their conversation by saying, 'Agriculture is not profitable today.' All their cultural and spiritual practices are tied to land. Moreover, they are not projecting a romantic relationship with land, rather their knowledge and wisdom about Nature is contextual [to geography and spirituality]. It has been developed through years of observation and coexistence as they lived a life close to Nature and made a living from the fruits of it.

As a Kurichia, Karanavan revealed, they still have knowledge of more than 50 indigenous seed varieties of paddy. A Paniya youth shared that her mother had knowledge about more than 80 varieties of leafy vegetables and edible roots; a Kurichia youth said that they had better knowledge than the forest officials about trees that can be grown in different parts of the Western Ghats according to the contours and altitude. The practical knowledge and wisdom they gained cannot be belittled. However, as this study has shown, development of modern science and technology excluded the Adivasis by labeling them ignorant and irrational and rejected the rich wealth of their traditional knowledge. The Adivasis

are given little or no credit for their vast knowledge as their language is not domineering and as their knowledge is subjugated by the colonial legacy and post-colonial power structures.

Further, the Adivasi community is built around land which binds them instead of isolating them into private enclaves as in the case of other dominant cultures. They had customary laws for protecting land and for accessing its resources for the survival of the communities in the past. The tradition based on community stewardship made the caring of nature and the sharing of its produce easy and natural to them. At present, in Wayanad, Kurichia *tharavads* attempt to keep this community spirit alive through joint cultivation practices in their paddy fields and ritual practices around their *kavu*. The Paniyas keep this community spirit alive by sharing their small plots of land with other Paniya community members who do not have any land even for constructing a hut and by keeping at least a tree as a symbol of reverence and for ritual practices where they have no land for keeping a *kavu*. Trees symbolically represent the last frontiers of the Adivasis' right for space and territory. However, keeping a patch of land barren or as *kavu* is considered foolish by the dominant capitalist culture and the big plantations are depicted as the glory of Wayanad as the cash crops guarantee foreign exchange for the state.

The development policies of the state strongly perpetuate the belief that private ownership is efficient and that state management is better, as according to them, it generates revenue, increases production and foreign exchange, and facilitates progress. The establishment of plantations and the establishment of private and state forests at the cost of community management are the best examples of this misleading notion. However, today Adivasis are forced to accept the law of private ownership of land.

It emerges that their fight for private property (one to five acres of land) did not convey the urge for private accumulation and increased production, but focused on their need for security and survival. Through asserting their land rights, the Adivasis are seeking protection from the rage of the “masters” who call them “thieves” when they fetch firewood or an edible root from the “masters” private property. Even though they are not for “isolated spaces” and “private enclaves”, they are forced to abide by the Roman property laws which are grafted in the Indian soil by the colonial rulers as it is the only option left for them.

The state's interventions indicate that it has not yet perceived the Adivasi traditions and customary rights or their material, cultural and spiritual connection with land as an important factor. The land distribution process, which was forced by Adivasi struggles, does not take into consideration their world views such as community ownership of land even though it is stipulated in the Forest Rights Act 2006. The Adivasi agency affirmed on different platforms that it is necessary to establish the link between land ownership and Adivasi life and their development instead of sticking to the policy of assistance. Thus, it is all the more important to recognise the link between Adivasis landlessness and the history of state policies and the link between landlessness and their marginalisation. As Veena Das and others observed, the State's violence can affect the psychologies of the people. The State's continuous violation of the promise of giving land to the Adivasis and the brutal suppression of their resistance through police force has caused mistrust among the Adivasis. They may remain stateless within the state structures by not paying taxes and by not paying user fees to the state and to the agencies that looted all the natural wealth, which they had accessed freely for centuries.

However, the Adivasis assert that without addressing the issue of

land, there cannot be any inclusive development. The Adivasi narratives reveal that they received land only through their continuous struggles and that too only in very few cases. The state's land distribution plan still remains on paper and is confined only to five cents (200 sq. meters) or ten cents per family. Not only the capitalist producer but the state also perceives that land is only for productive purposes to make profit, and thus profit-oriented development projects become the priority of the state.

The development experiences of the two communities affirm that the material, cultural, environmental, moral and spiritual factors are important in assessing their development trajectories and it is through their relation with land, their own land - common land and forest land - that they realise and reproduce their world views, epistemologies and community life. Alienating them from all these lands and denying them access are strategies that reproduce the structural inequality that marginalises them not only materially but also culturally and cognitively. Ecological crisis is widespread and has become a global issue in current capitalist development. Finance capital continues its drive for profit and faster technology at the cost of environmental destruction. Modern science disregards traditional wisdom and knowledge about sustainable models and divides the whole complex reality into parts to control and establish power through technology...

Adivasi women are more involved in subsistence roles of caring and nurturing than Adivasi men. The destruction of natural resources, their commons and land affect Adivasi women more as it affects their subsistence roles. For them fetching firewood, water and food items take longer hours and did not suffice for their day to day needs. The economic contribution of women was appreciated when

common resources were plenty. Today, women are entrusted with non-wage labour due to scarcity of wage labour. Women's dependence on men has thus increased, which in turn, diminished their status and increased the violence towards them.

Hinduisation promotes the trend of controlling women and confining them to the household. Among the Adivasis, religious identity has become a tool to claim modernity; patriarchal norms are inherent in modern religious identities rather than in Adivasi identity and lifestyle, which gives due respect to Nature and women. However, assimilation into other religions is an ongoing process initiated by various religions through charity, preaching and training. It is initiated from within the communities for assuming a modern identity.

The colonial mindset of seeing Adivasis as primitive and backward is still alive in Wayanad, even though the term, “primitive tribe” has been changed to “particularly vulnerable groups” in official records. It is evident from their critique that the huge corpus of administrative machinery arranged for Adivasi development fails to recognise the pluriform expressions of their culture and they involve a piecemeal approach that scatters their energies and neglects the existential rights of the Adivasis. They plan top-down development models that do not resonate with Adivasi culture and philosophy. Thus, if the world views and epistemologies of the Adivasis are not taken seriously and incorporated into all their developmental plans, they cannot come out of the deep rooted alienation they face and it will perpetuate their distrust in the state and its administrative machinery.

Internal colonialism as well as involvement of the external agencies and state deprived them from their traditional resource base and majority of them are confined in government established “colonies”

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely." - Malcolm X

depending on the dominant non-Adivasi majority for their survival. The dominant cultures in Wayanad still attribute an uncultured, primitive and backward identity to the Adivasis. The administrators who work for Adivasi development pose that they know better than Adivasis themselves about what is good for them and plan development programmes. What is happening as a result of all these dehumanising experiences and use of violence is the ethnocide of a distinct group of people. The lifestyle of the Adivasis is generally considered inferior and the administrative machinery that has been set up destroys all their traditional resources and choices in the urge for modern development. The presence and growth of a parasitic society around Adivasis is the reality in Wayanad today and the exploitation of Paniyas in Kodagu is a grave example.

The commercialisation of forest lands, agriculture and other common property resources in Wayanad caused maximum damage to the Adivasis and they have nothing to fall back upon and depend totally on the market for their survival. They are displaced from their own cultures, community and knowledge systems and the alien values of the dominant societies are superimposed on them. This system has evolved from the colonial systems of production and appropriation and developed through the industrial capitalist system, which is projected as modern and efficient. Through this process, the collective rights of people and command over their

resources are substituted by the supremacy of the market...

The tribal movements in Wayanad continuously tried to reveal their critical position and dissatisfaction with the development envisaged by the state. Thus, tribal development in their view point is nothing less than regaining the power to self determination and their right to forest, land and livelihoods. As their narratives reveal, the assimilation and so called integration approaches are tools for further exploitation. self-assertion through emerging movements is the alternative to rebuilding their socio economic political and cultural rights. Some Kurichiyas are better mobilised and hold onto their cultural identity as majority of them own land and are able to cope, resist and negotiate with the dominant development model compared to the Paniyas who resist or "wither" away in the process of "development". Kurichias' landedness is the most important factor which gives them a superior cultural identity. The structures of inequality among different sections of tribal groups like the Paniyas and Kurichias are bound to produce and reproduce different levels of inequality. This is perpetuated in the asymmetries of modern development. Even the tribal development programs do not take into consideration their heterogeneity and the policies are designed and implemented without considering their specific contexts and subjectivities and both groups cannot participate in it equally.

The Kurichiyas and Paniyas do

not want to own a common Adivasi identity, but their common struggles are centered on their land and resources in which both communities share different degrees of marginalisation. Their struggles are not identity struggles in the true sense. What they want to affirm is not their Adivasiness or indigenouness, but they want to affirm their cultural and political rights to live a decent life. So in their struggle, they claim a pan-Adivasi identity; in their everyday life, they chase the modern identity to escape the humiliations they face. They do not want to essentialise their Adivasiness, but want to claim back the land and resources that they lost by acknowledging and fighting against their marginality. Their narratives clearly indicate that they are aware of the second phase of slavery that they are getting into, which is crucial even though it is not visible like the first phase of slavery in the feudal period.

More than physical brutality, the epistemological violence leads to their exclusion and marginalisation. Their struggle and initiatives to get out of their marginality by acknowledging and arresting the growth of multiple processes of marginalisation is important in the discourse of development. Further, their land struggle clearly indicates the gap between the state's perception of development and the Adivasis own perceptions. The Paniyas and Kurichias expressed that land is the most important asset for their cultural assertion and self development and the struggles



reported by them are mostly around land. Initiatives such as erecting the monument of Thalackal Chandu by the Kurichias to reclaim their leadership in the anticolonial struggle in Wayanad, and mobilisation to erect the monument of Paniya Mooppan Karinthandan who disclosed the route from Thamarassery to Wayanad and was brutally killed by the British colonizers, are all part of rewriting the colonial history in Wayanad and reclaiming their identity. When official history erases their great contributions against the colonial forces, the present generation uses its collective memory to rewrite history and challenge the officially constructed version.

The Adivasis in Wayanad demand PESA Act (giving power to Adivasi panchayats), which is within the limits of constitutional provisions, at least to enter into a dialogue with the dominant world views and to create a small space for their world views. The state is indifferent towards implementing PESA and thereby acknowledging the voice of the Adivasis and their minimum needs, which is land.

The Adivasis are the ones who articulated the intrinsic value of the

earth and its resources when they came into conflict with the colonial power. Their fights were centered on *jal, jangal, jamin* [water, forest and farmland] and if others joined them in this struggle, neo-liberal colonialism and exploitation could have been blocked by the dawn of independence. While other freedom fighters fought against material slavery, the Adivasis recognised the cognitive slavery in implanting a British developmental model with its land laws and positivist epistemology. They spread this message to the rulers in the national and international arenas through the indigenous working group and this group contributes a great share to decolonise development. A transition from state domain to community domain of resources and knowledge is most important for the minimum survival of Adivasis today.

A reconstruction of Adivasi ideology and assertion of their rights is possible in the framework of another pattern of development, which asserts their agency, pluriformity of different cultures and their specific contexts. The lived ideology of the Adivasis and their world views certainly bring forth a

development discourse to save their own lives as well as the life of the entire world. The sacred and the secular, the material and the cultural coexist in their world views unlike modern ideology which treats religion, economy, politics and law as separate entities. All forms of cognitive and physical violence can be reduced by incorporating Adivasi world views and epistemologies. An indigenous methodology that takes a critical position for decolonizing Adivasi knowledge and wisdom is essential in the Wayanad context. Without giving due recognition and promotion to the epistemological meaning attached to land by Adivasis, there is no possibility of giving them historical and cognitive justice. However, as Adivasis affirm through their narrations and struggles, land rights and self determination are a must in challenging their marginalised position and in occupying central roles in their self development. It emerges that without addressing the cognitive injustice of epistemological colonialism imposed upon the Adivasis, there will be no development that is equitable and just in resource sharing as well as in knowledge creation.



Since 1967 Dadhiici Divas has been observed every year on March 5 to commemorate those brave souls who sacrificed their lives for humanity's welfare.



Immortal

Dadhiicis

* Arun Prakash

Shrii Shrii Anandamurti (also known as Shrii PR Sarkar - Prout's founder) mentioned in Delhi in June 1967 about the true meaning of shouldering the burden of others, "Some want to carry the burden of others so that others might not be in trouble ... reaches a stage when a cyclone of misery attacks him ... when he has no more pain or pleasure of his own. Everyone has his or her own individual problems. Do not try to pass them on to others. On the contrary, bear the burdens of others. No one is your enemy. Those who want to carry the burden of others do lessen the burden of Paramatma [Supreme Self] indirectly. Then alone are you brave". It is in this context we need to see the true meaning behind the word Dadhiici and why every year March 5 is commemorated by followers of Ananda Marga as Dadhiici divas?

On December 29, 1971 Shrii Sarkar was arrested on trumped up charges. He remained in jail for 6 years 7 months and 4 days during which he was poisoned by administration of an overdose of barbiturates by the jail doctor on February 12, 1973. As protest to have a judicial enquiry into the incident he began fasting on April 1st, and broke it 5 years 4 months

and 2 days later on August 2, 1978 by drinking a glass of coconut water from the hands of his sister - only after being honourably acquitted and released from jail. Five years after his release, on November 6, 1983 at Calcutta Shrii Sarkar explained what the word Dadhiici means. "Those brave warriors who take part in the Islamic religious wars (jehádd) are called mujáhid in Arabic. Those mujáhids who give up their life in battle are called 'shahiid'. Similarly, those who give up their life in the Christian religious wars (crusades) are called 'martyrs' ... those brave progeny who give up their life for their country or for any other great cause, we can use the word dadhiici for them because Maharshi Dadhiici sacrificed his life for the welfare of others".

Maharishi Dadhiici

Rishis and sadhus perform penance for the benefit of mankind and for all creation and in the process tolerate hardships without a thought. From ancient texts it is revealed that there lived in India a very pious sage by the name of Maharishi Dadhiici. With sustained sadahana and severe penances and he was endowed with

many a spiritual power. His is a story of making the supreme sacrifice for the cause of universal welfare. The world at that time was plagued by unending conflict between the righteous and evil – the moralists and the immoralists and, as is the wont the latter was on the verge of victory. Legend has it the righteous approached Maharishi Dadhiici for help and he readily agreed. The mythological tale runs on these lines:

A priest by the name of Vritra gave up the moral path and declared war on the moralists. Great was his power, great was his following and the forces of righteousness were overwhelmed against such an onslaught. They prayed before the Lord for deliverance from evil and were told that Vritra could not be overcome with ordinary weapons. The only hope lay in fashioning weapons from the bones of a saintly rishi. The moralists were nonplussed for who on earth would donate his bones for howsoever a worthy cause. The Lord advised them to approach Maharishi Dadhiici with the words, "A saintly person never worries about giving up his life for

the good of others". So off they went in search of Maharishi Dadhiici and they found him eyes closed deep in meditation at his ashram.

They were running out of time and yet hesitated to disturb, but sensing their arrival Maharishi Dadhiici opened his eyes, looked upon them kindly and asked how he might help. With much trepidation they told and humbly pleaded with him. His reply stunned them. "O it is better that my bones help you attain victory, rather than rotting in the ground – here my body is yours to take." So saying he smiled closed his eyes yet again and, in a supreme stance meditated upon Parmatama and before their very eyes departed leaving his mortal remains behind. The battle that followed lasted almost a year and in the end it was victory to the moralists. While this story may be from ancient Indian texts, it has a historical import in that ever since the beginnings of time battle between the righteous forces and the evil forces has been going on and the pages of human history is replete with fables of such individual and collective sacrifice whose life dealt blows after blows to those evil forces arraigned against them. Dadhiici Divas Origins

The origins of Dadhiici Divas goes back to early in the year 1967 when Ananda Marga headquarters was established in Anandanagar in Purulia district of West Bengal, India. At that time the stage was set for Ananda Marga (founded in 1955), to become a powerful influence in India and the rest of the world. The powerful social ideals of Prout and its rapid progress alarmed the local communist leaders in the area. To counter that they spread rumours among simple tribal village folk that Ananda Marga planned to steal their lands and livelihood. On March 5, 1967, came the first attack, hordes of villagers armed with bows and arrows, spears and clubs descended on Anandanagar screaming. Within minutes, five monks Acaryas Abhedananda and Saccidananda, Brahmacaris Abodh, Bharat and Prabhas were killed, and

hundreds of residents were injured many seriously. The Jagriti, School and Hospital were ransacked. In the subsequent trial the Sessions Judge of Midnapore sentenced eight persons to life imprisonment and jailed ten others for the brutal attack and issued a scathing denunciation of the government for its efforts to cover up the episode.

More Sacrifices

After this incident, over the years many more sacrificed their lives for ideology of Ananda Marga and Dharma. There were others who laid down their lives for the cause of Dharma and Ananda Marga ideals. Bhagwat Pandey of Ghazipur was killed near Meerut by communist cadres. The communists attacked with murderous intent Shrii Shrii Anandamurti and Rabi Sarkar at Coochbehar on August 28, 1969, a young, dedicated disciple lost his life

Later when Shrii Shrii Anandamurti was imprisoned and refused to renounce the mission of PROUT to liberate humanity from capitalist and communist exploitation, poison was administered by the Jail doctor. A period of repression followed in which Acarya Tyagiishvarananda Avadhuta was tortured to death in Bankipur Jail.

As a form extreme protest to focus world attention on the continuing tortures to their Guru, monks and nuns of Ananda Marga both in India and overseas, just like soldiers in battle for a cause immolated themselves for their Guru. These were supreme acts of sacrifice as was also done in the past when oppressed and persecuted by the immoralists. All these hearts burned in the intensity of the fire of their devotion and their mortal remains scattered in the wind as



ashes of their faith to be remembered forever and more. These were in India Acarya Divyananda on April 9, 1973 followed by Acarya Dineshwarananda on April 24, and Acarya Atulananda December 12, 1974. On February 8, 1978 in Germany Bramhacarini Uma and Brahmacari Lokesh together immolated themselves. Eight days later on February 16 in USA, it was Brahmacari Gagan and the same year on June 14 Bramhacarini Asitiima immolated herself, at Manila, Philippines far from Switzerland where she grew up. Her last words were, “When immorality is dominating all corners of the planet, when righteous human beings become victims of arbitrary misuse, maybe the sacrifice of an innocent human life will burn the seeds and roots of corruption, exploitation and injustice – the cause of the suffering and degradation of mankind”. And finally Bramhacarini Shanti who grew up in Australia immolated herself on July 2, 1978 in Place des Nations Geneva, Switzerland due to the continuing torture of members of Ananda Marga.

Bijon Sethu Incident

Even, after Shrii Shrii Anandamurti came out of jail, the persecution intensified when the headquarters of PROUT was moved into the communist heartland of Kolkata, West Bengal. On April 30, 1982 at the infamous Bijon Sethu incident in Calcutta Didi Ananda Praceta, Dadas Adhishivananda, Bhaveshvarananda, Krpashivananda, Artasevananda, Subashwarananda, Venkeshwarananda, Kamaleshananda, Girishananda, Prashivananda; Brahmacaris Shomnath, Mukul, Virendra, Subrata, Dhruvajyoti and Jagamohan. Sri Ram Raghuvar was killed at Jaipur. Later on January 24, 1988, Dada Ajiitananda was beaten to death in Calcutta jail, in Siliguri. On April 2, 1990 Dadas Asiimananda, Vikirnananda, Jyotirindrananda, Brahmacharis



Dadhiici Divas celebrations Anandanagar 2014.
A proper memorial should be built on Dadhiici Hill to honour them.

Jiitesh and Anirvan, and Shri Radhu Majhi were brutally murdered in broad-daylight by the CPM cadres at Ananda Nagar and, on June 4 the same year Dada Karunaketan was attacked by CPM cadres at Pundag railway station and succumbed to his injuries.

The Observance

Since 1967, Dadhiici Divas has been observed every year on March 5 to commemorate those brave souls who sacrificed their lives for humanity’s welfare. It is a day of dedication and sacrifice for the high ideals of Ananda Marga. Programmes include all kinds of collective and joyous programs that celebrate the honour and well-being of humanity. Uplifting functions like Akhanda Kiirtan, dharmacakra, mass feeding, clothing distribution, sports and games are most appropriate for this day. Literary, athletic, and science competitions are also welcomed as well as unifying events like collective bath and collective meals. Last year in Anandanagar all schools were closed, students and Margiis fasted for 12 hours followed by 3 hour Akhanda Kiirtan, after which all

went in procession to the Dadhiici Hill, the spot where 5 monks were killed in 1967. At that spot there was collective prayer and everyone present took oath to fight against the evil forces. This was followed by breaking of fast by drinking lemon water and thereafter collective meal was taken.

Paying tributes at Dadhiici Hill, Anandanagar

On this day everyone ought to recall the dictums of Anandavani 15 of Anandapurnima 1961

*“Fight for your Ideology.
 Be one with your Ideology.
 Live for your Ideology.
 Die for your ideology”.*

Finally these words in verse may strike the right note to end this piece on commemoration :
*One of compassion infinite divine
 Pristine beyond moonlit snow
 Not but a shadow or single stain
 Encompassing love forever aglow.
 The ragged the lonesome
 The forsaken the suffering
 Their sorrowful tears for Him
 Are waters sweet of offering.*

PBI — A Viable Political Alternative



New Delhi : In recently concluded elections to Delhi Assembly, Proutist Bloc India's four candidates did not make any significant political gain votewise. The highest figure of the votes polled to a candidate was 350 (Baijnath Sah from Najafgarh) which on the face of it appears a very meager count. The gain was however in other respects.

During election campaign, the activist were able to introduce PROUT to the masses in their respective constituencies. PBI candidates have now better experience of contesting elections and understanding the ground realities. They are now preparing for future with practical approach and realistic vision. They do feel future is bright.

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

Proutists feel confident that the present scenario in the rise of Aam Admi party will strengthen the anti thesis against the existing system and policies which will help in promoting the mission of bringing Prout in lime light. But they have realised it clearly that they have to work hard to snatch success from others whose role at best has been only in changing the scene inside the palace, not in the exploitative system which always maintains its stronghold without exception.

In the exercise, the activists got enlightened about the historical need of PBI and the urgent need of preparedness on the part of the activists for working with utmost sincerity to make PBI, a viable political alternative.

The tally of votes polled by PBI candidates is : Baijnath Shah-350; Renu Poddar -127; Virender Jha-126 and Kamleshwar Mistri - 49.



Baijnath Sah
Constituency
NAJAFGARH
Votes : 312



Renu Poddar
Constituency
MATIALA
Votes : 127



Virender Jha
Constituency
RITHALA
Votes : 126



**Kamleshwar
Mistri**

Constituency
DWARKA
Votes : 304

A Group Discussion on Prout



Hissar (Haryana): A group discussion on Prout was organised on 6/2/15 at the residence of Swami Sahajananda, a social activist. The programme was attended by more than thirty people from different walks of life including professors, social activists and advocates.

The programme began by going to the core of the present issue – corruption. Acarya Vandanananda Avadhuta, an ardent Proutist, clearly explained that corruption arises mainly because of two reasons — lack of wealth or excess of wealth.

The majority of the corruption takes place because people have no economic security. In the past when people had no political security, murders, private armies and countless conflicts were the facts of life for most people. Similarly because today people have no economic security we see so many different ways of systematically looting the state. For social peace and order we need to guarantee people economic rights, to be able to purchase the basic goods needed for survival.

Now large-scale corruption in the world happens because global elites each year are grabbing more and more wealth as per official statistics. Often this corruption involves changing laws to enable entire nations to be looted.

Then a question was raised about the solution to the Kashmir problem. Currently Kashmir has economic independence while most of India does not. Also Kashmir exploits Jammu and Laddakh while complaining about Delhi control.

The solution give by PROUT's propounder Shrii P R Sarkar was firstly to create economically independent regions in presents states of J&K and Himachal Pradesh. These include Pahari, Srимаori, Dogri, Kashmiri, Laddakhi and Kinnauri samajas. All of these economically independent regions would form one political state called KAJAHILL. The participants appreciated the practical, humane solutions of PROUT.

The progamme was widely covered by local media.



Accomplish your Work with this Body Only

Shrii Shrii A´nandamu´rti

***Va´sá´m´si jüirn´ani yatha´ viha´ya nava´ni grhn´a´ti nara'para´n´i;
Tatha´ shariira´ni viha´ya jüirn´a´nya´ni sam´ya´ti nava´ni dehii.***

“When the clothes become old and tattered, they are replaced with newer ones. This is the law. Nobody wants to wear old, tattered, and dirty clothes. Similarly, when the body becomes old and worthless, it is changed for a newer one.”

The body grows old due to work, activity. One has to march every fraction of a second in one's life. Marching ahead alone can establish one in dharma. Those who cannot move, cannot walk, are like corpses; their place is not in society, but in the cremation ground. They are pápiis [sinners], antisocial.

There is movement in all three spheres of life physical, mental and spiritual.

Movement in the physical realm means the construction of the sadvipra [spiritual revolutionary] society. The society is filled with pitchers of pápa today. Break these pitchers to pieces with a stroke of your feet. [This is your destiny.] Pápa will oppose you, but you will have to face the challenge. One who annihilates physical pápa is a sadvipra. This is your dharma in the mundane world. You are human beings, because you are fighting against the immoralists.

In the psychic realm you have to establish righteousness by removing the germs of crude mentality. Everywhere in the world today the crude intellect dominates. It is your duty to replace it with your righteous intellect.

Once I was travelling by car in Bihar. The driver had to stop the car several times to remove the dogs from the street. When a sádhaika [spiritual aspirant] who was sitting beside me asked why the dogs did not heed the horn of the car, I replied that the dogs could not hear, for this was the kingdom of the dogs, the rule of the dogs.

This is the condition that prevails throughout the world today. Crude animal intellect is reigning supreme throughout the world. You have to remove it. It is natural that it would not hear your call, it would not like to move from its position. Under these circumstances, you will have to remove the predominance of animal intellect even by the use of force. I do not want [animals] in the form of human beings to remain on this earth even for a second. This is a world of humans, and not of animals. Therefore, do not relax even for a fraction of a second.

In the spiritual realm, your task is to establish Cosmic ideation. Marching ahead is life. Those who malingers and shirk the responsibility of moving ahead should be thrown in the cremation ground. If the body becomes old by moving, let it be changed. It is not proper to wear old and dirty clothes. If the body decays in the process of moving ahead, change it for another one, and go on performing good actions.

I want you to work with this body only, and then leave it permanently. This is not impossible for you. Increase the speed of your activities thousands of times or even countless times more than what it is now, and accomplish your work with this body only.

There are three spheres physical, mental, and spiritual. They are the trilokas, and one who controls them is “Trilokanáth”. It is your dharma to show the right path to society in those three spheres it depends on your speed also.

Work with the infinite power of Paramátman and with infinite speed. Victory is surely yours.



Ministry of Information & Broadcasting
Government of India

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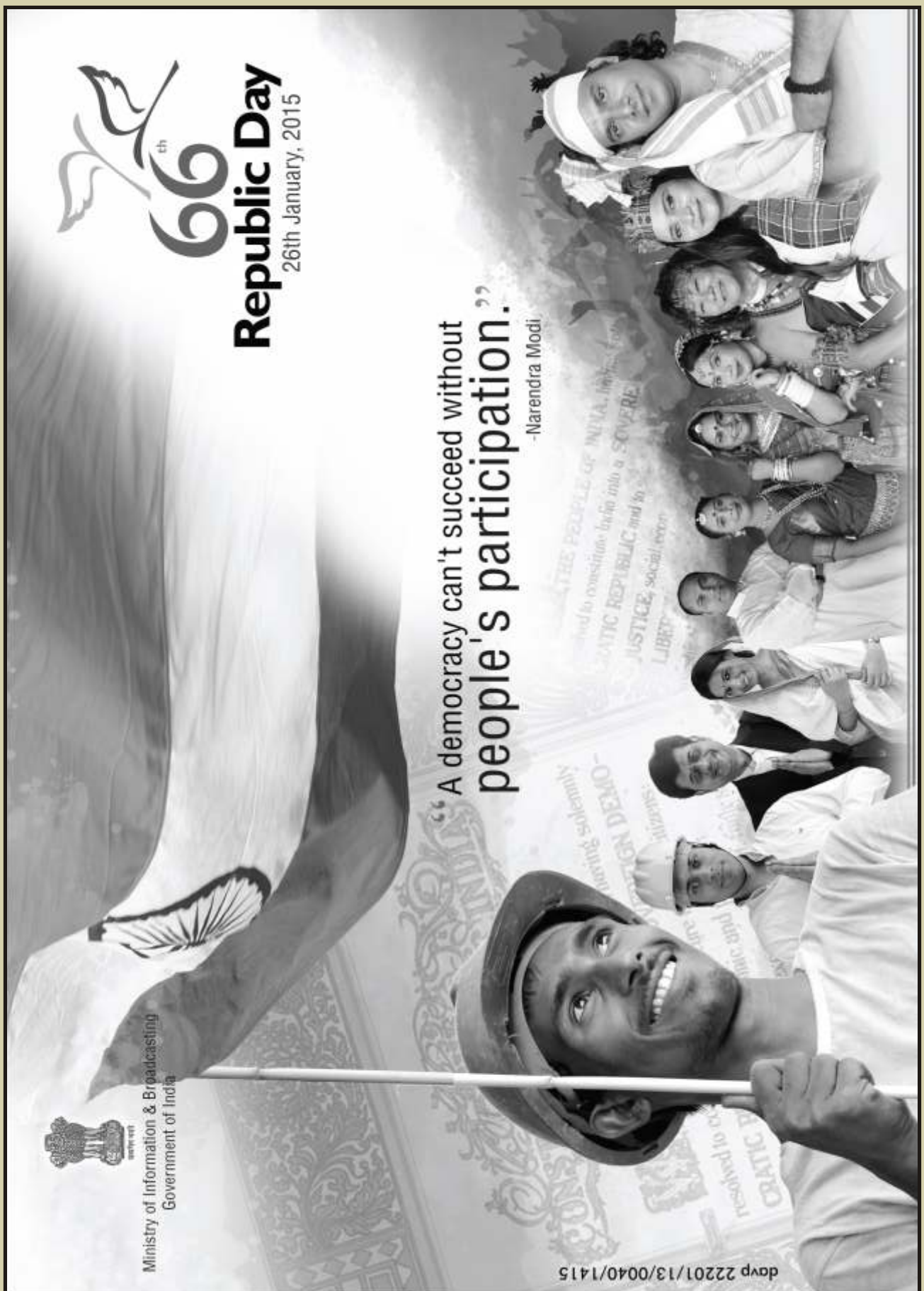
Republic Day

26th January, 2015

“A democracy can't succeed without
people's participation.”

-Narendra Modi

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