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Economic Justice The Mission of Government

A 2013 State of World Wealth Report by Credit Suisse Bank revealed that global wealth has reached the highest thus far in known human history on this planet. Two thirds of the world's adult population own 3% of the world's wealth while 0.7% of the world's population own 41% of all assets.

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Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Come Unto this Festival of Light



ÁLOKER E UTSAVE, ESO SABE,
 ÁLOKER E UTSAVE, ESO SABE,
 ÁLOKER E UTSAVE, ESO SABE,
 PRAJINÁ JYOTITE JÁGÁI JAGATE,
 PRAJINÁJYOTITE JÁGÁI JAGATE,
 PRAJINÁ JYOTITE JÁGÁI JAGATE,
 MILE MISHE KÁJ KARE E MAHÁHAVE,
 ÁLOKER E UTSAVE, ESO SABE,

KEHO KÁHÁRO KAKHANO PAR NAY
 ÁÁ
 KEHO KÁHÁRO KAKHANO PAR NAY
 BODHER ABHÁVE NIKATÓ DÚR HOY
 MÁNUŚA JENE JÁK KII TÁR PARICAYA,
 TÁRI ÁYOJANA KARI E UTSAVE,
 ÁLOKER E UTSAVE, ESO SABE,

PIICHANE THÁKIBO NÁ ATIITE TÁKÁBO NÁ
 PIICHANE THÁKIBO NÁ ATIITE TÁKÁBO NÁ
 PIICHANE THÁKIBO NÁ ATIITE TÁKÁBO NÁ
 ÁÁ

PIICHANE THÁKIBO NÁ ATIITE TÁKÁBO NÁ
 KÁKEO PICHIE THÁKITE DOBO NÁ
 SABÁRE SÁTHE NIYE MODER E SÁDHANÁ
 E ÁLO PUINJIIBHÚTA GLÁNI NÁSHIBE
 ÁLOKER E UTSAVE, ESO SABE,

Unto this festival of light
 Come all of you.
 I am awakening the entire universe
 With the light of intuition and realization.
 Let us mingle and merge, working together
 In this great battle.
 Unto this festival of light, come one and all.

Nobody is ever distant from me
 Nobody is ever not my very own dear one.
 When we have no deep intuition
 Those who are our near and dear ones
 We feel they are far and not close to us
 Human beings have never been introduced
 To who they really are.
 And this is why I've organised this festival.
 Unto this festival of light, come one and all.

I shall not stay behind
 I shall not look behind
 I shall not let anyone remain behind.
 This sadhana (mission) of mine
 Is to take everyone together with me
 So that our collective radiance
 Will destroy all agonies and disgrace.
 Unto this festival of light, come one and all.

(Translated from Bengali original)

Editor

A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta

Contributory Editor

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Editorial Board

A'c Vedaprajnananda Avadhuta

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Sohail Inayatullah

Ganga Grace

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Correspondents

Kanhua Charan Behura

Rajesh Singh

Ravindra Singh

Business Development Manager

Amal Nayan

Layout & Design

Pranav Koul

Suman Kumar Jha

Head Office

Prout Bhawan, JC-48,
Khirkhi Extension Main Road,
Malviya Nagar, New Delhi - 110017
Mobile No. : 09212199658
Email : prout.am@gmail.com

General Manager

Ramkesh Choudhary - 9350860274

Circulation Manager

Rajiv - 09650055058

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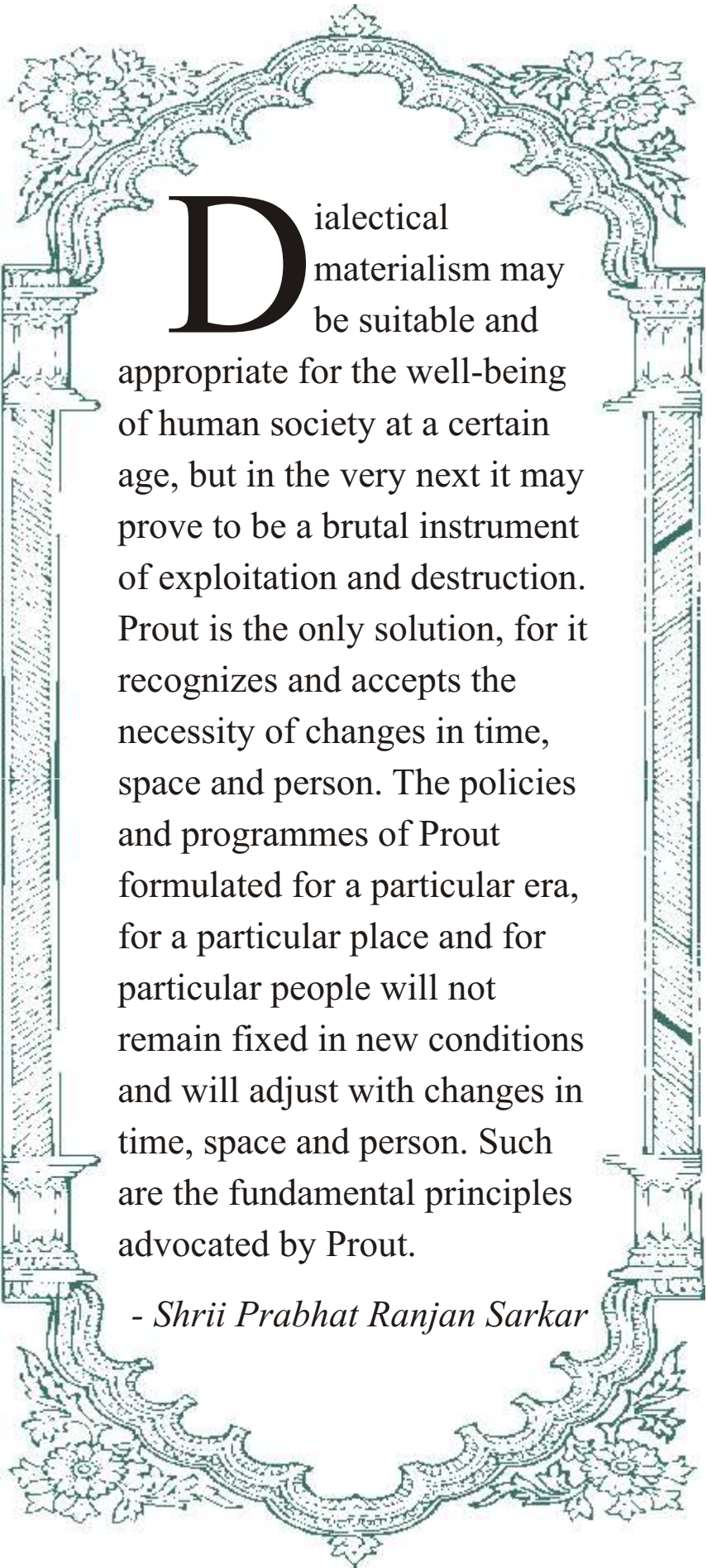
For Enquiries Please Contact

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Email. : proutcustomerarcare@gmail.com

Fundamental Principles :

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



Dialectical materialism may be suitable and appropriate for the well-being of human society at a certain age, but in the very next it may prove to be a brutal instrument of exploitation and destruction. Prout is the only solution, for it recognizes and accepts the necessity of changes in time, space and person. The policies and programmes of Prout formulated for a particular era, for a particular place and for particular people will not remain fixed in new conditions and will adjust with changes in time, space and person. Such are the fundamental principles advocated by Prout.

- Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Nánrtam

(Falsehood Never Triumphs)

As the state elections in Maharashtra and Haryana end we have once again seen crores of Rupees been spent in advertising for the ruling party. The corporates who have funded this, violating election laws as all parties do, have been demanding their payback. Already corporates allied to the present regime are rumoured to have made small fortunes in the first 100 days. But what is less known but confirmed is that the government has been rampantly selling off part or complete stake in government companies to the private sector. Not surprisingly the two government oil industries (ONGC, IOCL), who provide the only competition to Reliance Industries are being opened for corporate takeover this Divali season. This would eventually give Reliance complete control over the price of oil and gas. The same is the case with the government coal (CIL), steel (SAIL) and hydroelectric (NHPC) companies. Furthermore the price of the shares in these companies has been made significantly lower than the expected rate which encourages the corporates to buy up more of the companies. If an IAS officer did this he would be charged with corruption but when the government does it, it is called stimulating the economy. It is no surprise that the role model for the government has been Margaret Thatcher who presided over the corporate takeover of large parts of the public sector that has led to the current economic collapse in the UK. The workers of these companies face mass unemployment and predatory working conditions. These companies have been built up with the tax money of the hard working people of India and now it will be used to pay for the private jets of corporate CEOs.

In recent days, we have seen various “labour reforms” being announced. Some of the reforms involve the simplification of procedures and to enable workers to access their provident funds easier. But the entire process is based on the idea that the government must trust its citizens. But which citizens - its corporate citizens of course. Companies will be trusted to regulate themselves and will file reports and the era of “Inspection Raj” will end. What does that mean for the workers? It means the companies will no longer fear regular and detailed inspections and hence can readily flout safety rules, rules about hiring illegal workers to drive down wages, and all laws designed to protect workers. The role of Indian Technical Institutes will be expanded, once again to create skilled labour for the corporates. The goal is not to create new industries but to restrict and repeal labour laws so that foreign corporates can “Make in India” at cut-throat wages. One such proposal is to create economic zones for foreign corporates in the Indian Ocean. Already fishermen in Tamil Nadu are protesting the very idea of such zones which will pauperize them.

In addition in name of creating a friendly environment for business several existing laws have been declared obsolete as their domain was covered in more recent times with the corporatization or liberalization of the Indian economy. Even the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh which is allied with the ruling party has spoken out against labour policies of the current government. Ironically the head of the RSS declaimed on TV against the negative impact of globalization when foreign companies come to India, while his party in power is knocking out the walls so as to let them come in. The Prime Minister declared that the speech was thought-provoking but the actions of the government continue to be diametrically opposite to this. What adds insult to the injuries being inflicted on the workers is that all these “reforms” are being done while piously preaching that we must look at labour issues from the standpoint of the workers and not the industrialists.

While workers will now face even more exploitation in an already stagnant economy, the government proclaims with a straight face that Shramameva Jayate should become as important as Satyameva Jayate. The slogan that “Work alone is victorious” is quite similar to the motto of Hitler's concentration camps “Work will set you free.” We should note that the word “shram” has two meanings. The first is extreme struggle and sacrifice to attain one's goal. The second is complete exhaustion due to being overworked. Workers are exhorted to become Rashtra yogis. This is in keeping with the Prime Ministers statement that cleaning of toilets by lower castes was a “spiritual experience.” Workers were told to become Rashtra Nirmaata or builders of the nation. In reality today the government and the national institutions are the agents of the corporates who give crores for advertisements of political parties. Thus today a Rashtra Nirmaata is nothing but a Dalaali Nirmaata. In reality, in a genuine democracy, the rashtra exists to serve the land (desh) and her children (deshputra/putri).

What is most surprising is that this new slogan of the government is in fact originally a slogan from Indira Gandhi. After declaring Emergency to “safeguard democracy” as she said, she gave a 20 point programme to bring about the welfare of India's workers. On July 14th, 1982 Indira Gandhi revived these points and declared that they represented a new movement whose spirit was Shrameva Jayate which she declared must work in conjunction with Satyameva Jayate. In all fairness her economic programme appears on paper more concerned about the fate of workers than does the latest labour reforms of the present government. The reality is that the exploitation and the percentage of people below the poverty line has only increased. The forgotten words that come after Satyameva jayate are “Nánrtam” meaning “and not falsehood.” The parties may change, but the lying never ends.

It is time for a new economic and political order where workers are true shramiks who pursue their goals and manifest all their potential. This can only happen when the license (bureaucrat) raj and the dalaali (corporate) raj come to an end and communities all over the land establish artha svaraj (economic sovereignty) based on economic democracy. This is why we are bound to say, **Shramameva jayate, na dasyam.** [Dignified/meaningful work alone triumphs, not slavery.]



HOW DOES SUPERSTITION ARISE

An extremely thought provoking article most relevant in today's dogma oriented society. Shrii Sarkar's narration of the background that deal with ancient texts without historical linkage, is telling. Moreover complexes of racial superiority, ethnicity and caste have very little relevance in today's world as science has proved beyond doubt that all humans descended from the apes as part of biological evolution. Spiritually it is all the more manifest when we realise that all created beings are children of the Supreme Father, Parama Brahma.

Arun Prakash, New Delhi

COLONIZATION BY BANKRUPTCY

Ellen Brown's expose about the new methods of colonization by money power makes sinister reading. The term 'Vulture Funds' is very apt named after birds of prey and carrions that feed on flesh, in this case money of the people of developing countries. These are all signs of the disease called capitalism where human values take a back seat only money counts. Thank you

Prout for bringing this plight to the notice of the world.

Ushuaia, Argentina, by email

INDIAN JUDICIARY UNDER THREAT

A fine article that explains the evolving systems in the Indian judiciary that is trying to insulate itself from political interference. The name of the writer under the title has unfortunately been missed, perhaps inadvertently.

Kamini, Kathgodam

EXERCISING POWER NON VIOLENTLY

Gene Sharp's treatise makes interesting reading, tracing various steps and nuances that centres around the exercise of power without resorting to oppression and violence. For this great mental strength and discipline is required.

**Heron Keyes, Florida, USA
by email**

SADVIPRAS FOR SUFFERING HUMANITY

R D Singh develops wonderfully on the principles of Sadvipras the moral leaders of

tomorrow as envisioned by Shrii PR Sarkar. When that happens, the world would be a much better place to live in.

Ravi Balchandani, Navi Mumbai

ESSENTIAL COMMITMENTS FOR WOMEN

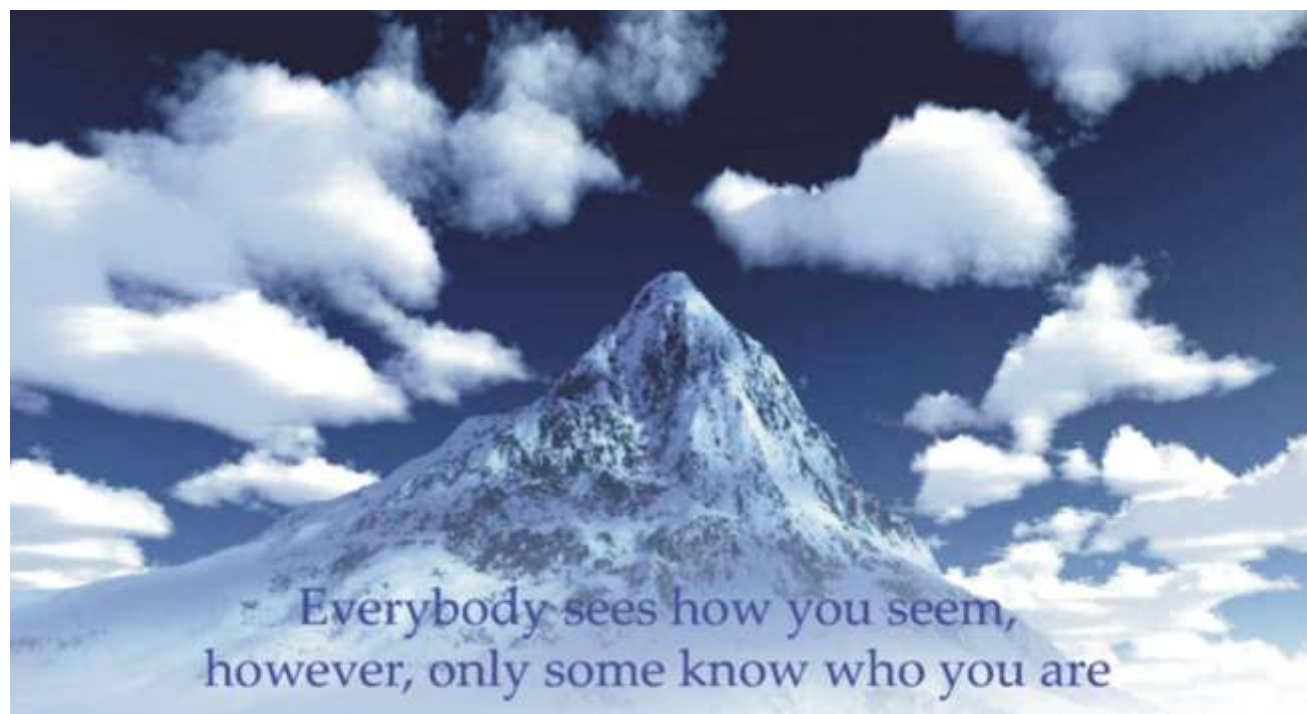
A very well researched article on the plight of poor working mothers who get practically no support from society. The details provided are shocking and should stir the conscience of all concerned to improve their lot.

Mamata Sen, Hooghly

SISTER NIVEDITA

There have been many great souls in the past who left the shores of their homeland to serve in India. Margaret Elizabeth Nobel, Sister Nivedita was one such shining example who gave her all to India. Even now there are many who remain unknown but deserve special thanks from our hearts for rendering selfless service to uplift the cause of the poor and downtrodden.

Lucky Singh, Amritsar



CHANGING ATTITUDES



Once upon a time, there was an unfortunate poor man. His home was also very poor – a small and empty house, where mice made their nests and spiders made their webs. People tried to avoid coming into his house, why should they stick their noses into those poor ruins? And the poor man thought that poverty is the reason of his misfortunes, his eternal destiny. So once, the poor man met a wizard and complained to him about his poverty and miserable life.

The wizard felt sorry for the poor man and gave him an exquisite vase. And said, “This is a magical vase, that will save you from poverty”.

The man took the vase and wanted to sell it at first and then spend the money on alcohol, as usual, besides, why would he need such a beautiful thing? But then he started admiring the vase and couldn't take it to the market. He brought the vase home, put it on the table and started admiring it.

“It's not right for such a beautiful thing to be empty”, he thought, so he picked some wild flowers and put them into the vase. It became even more beautiful.

“Not good” - the man thought again, “that such a beautiful thing stands next to a spider web”.

So the poor man started cleaning his house from spider webs, sweeping out cockroaches and mice, cleaning the dust, washing the floor and the walls, whitening the ceiling. And it became clear that his house wasn't poor, but rather warm and cosy. And the poor man wasn't a poor man anymore, but a hard working person, who had no time for thoughts about misfortune.

Author Unknown



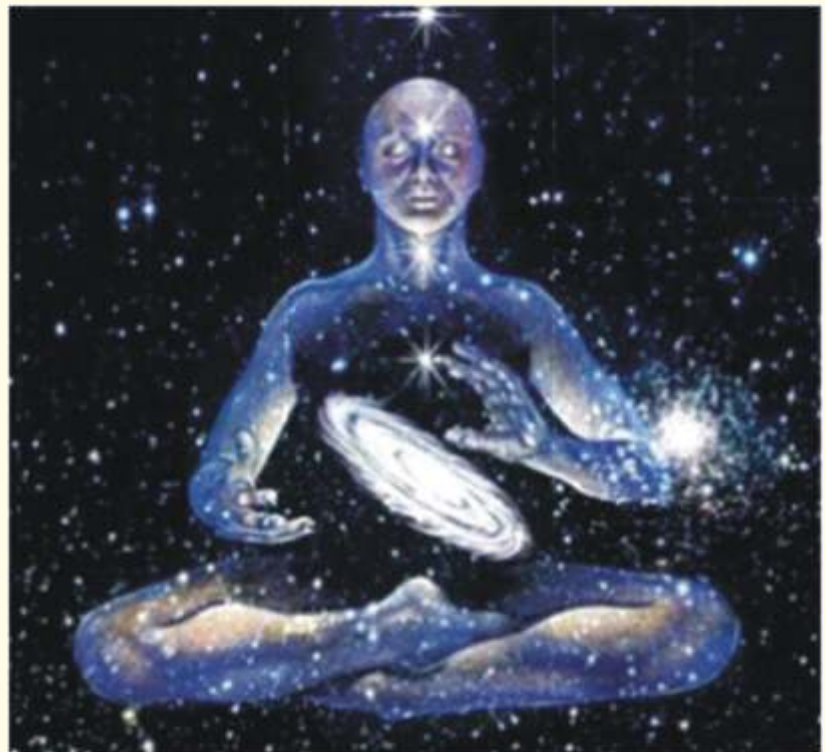
The Rise of Vipras

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

Vipras make use of the back-breaking labour of the shúdras [workers] and the powerful personalities of the kśatriyas to achieve their objectives. Shúdras help build society with their physical labour and kśatriyas help with their powerful personalities.

The intellect of intelligent people can penetrate where the rays of the sun cannot. Such people want to enjoy matter without being subservient to it. In other words, they want to control matter with their mental waves. It is not only kśatriyas [warriors] who do this, but vipras [intellectuals or priests] as well. The fundamental difference between kśatriya-hood and vipra-hood is that the ego of the kśatriyas draws objects of enjoyment to itself through a physical struggle with all opposing forces, while the ego of the vipras or their desire for enjoyment draws matter to itself either by the physical force of others through physical clash, or directly through psychic clash but avoiding physical clash, or through physical or psychic clash or both according to the demands of the situation.

The salient feature of vipra life is that they enjoy the glory of victory and avoid the ignominy of defeat, and that in their personal lives they satisfy their desires for enjoyment without taking great risks. Like kśatriyas,



vipras are constantly engaged in fighting, but their fight takes place on the battleground of the intellect. Thus, vipras are intellectuals.

They do not use their intellectual development only to accumulate material wealth; they

also surpass all others in their capacity to accumulate subtle psychic wealth. Their intellectual endowment and intuitional longing are especially helpful in awakening *agrya'buddhi* [pinnaced

intellect]. And although there is no ideological difference between pleasure-seeking vipras and ksatriyas in terms of psychic dynamism, those vipras who develop a pinnacled intellect are very different from ksatriyas.

The awakening of the pinnacled intellect, together with the momentum of that intellect, enables it to reach almost the highest stance of subtlety, so its movement is in a straight line. Its momentum has speed and moves in all directions. It contains within itself all the varnas [mental colours], which is why vipras are the embodiment of whiteness - their colour is white. As they express themselves less through their motor organs than do ksatriyas, blood-red, the symbol of spiritedness, cannot be their colour.

But how many white vipras are there, who try to develop a pinnacled intellect? Most vipras are busy accumulating objects of enjoyment with the help of the physical strength of others, like parasites. In this chapter, when I use the term vipra [priest or intellectual], I mean this inferior type of vipra. I will talk later about the superior white vipras, or sadvipras, who try to develop a pinnacled intellect.

Vipra Society

Vipras make use of the back-breaking labour of the shudras [workers] and the powerful personalities of the ksatriyas to achieve their objectives. Shudras help build society with their physical labour and ksatriyas help with their powerful personalities. Enticing them both, the vipras exact the physical labour of the shudras, and purchase the personal force of the ksatriyas. If they see a towering mountain blocking the path of social progress, vipras do not sit back in despair or worship the obstacle as a god (or worship



a particular disease as a goddess) – in a way worshipping their own helplessness – like the shudras; neither do they leap fearlessly into the ocean of action like the ksatriyas. They use their intellects to plan victory over their enemies; the ksatriyas and shudras translate these plans into action at the cost of their lives. The vipras march to the fore over the ksatriyas' and shudras' dead bodies and proclaim to the world, "Look at what I did. Just see how I won victory." The pages of history are full of examples of the indirect struggles of the vipras.

The characteristic similarities and differences between ksatriyas

and vipras are clearly evident in every aspect of life. Ksatriyas and vipras are identified not by their similarities but by their differences. The most important difference is that ksatriyas try to enslave matter directly by fighting with it, whereas vipras, using their intellects, try to enslave the ksatriyas (who can then triumph over matter). The path of the ksatriyas is straightforward - there is no scope for duplicity; the path of vipras is crooked from beginning to end - there is no scope for simplicity. Whatever simplicity vipras exhibit is merely a veneer



to hide their crookedness. A body of people with a vipra mentality is called vipra society.

It should be kept in mind that words such as shúdra, ksatriya and vipra [as used in this book] have no connection with the varnashrama system of ancient Hindu society. However, it is a fact that those who became vipras by virtue of their intellect declared that the vipras were a hereditary caste in order to perpetuate their own authority in society. They showed the ksatriyas, whom they had defeated and who had submitted to them, a little mercy by giving them a social position just under themselves. (Actually this was not done out of mercy but so they could put them to work in the future.)

Intellectual Exploitation

Vipras use all their abilities for intellectual exploitation. They try to gain prestige in society and maintain that prestige by composing mythological stories which play on the weaknesses of the human mind; by preaching the divine power of certain gods and goddesses under certain circumstances; by convincing

people of the vipras' social superiority; and by injecting the confusion of religion even into spirituality. They spend most of the mental resources of their precious lives scheming to gain prestige and plotting to maintain it.

If one reads the scriptures of any religious community, one will find ample examples of this. Even if one undergoes austerities, practices ritualistic fasting, undertakes pilgrimages, bathes in holy rivers and springs, worships a sacred fire or studies the scriptures, one will not be blessed unless one also offers sacerdotal fees to the vipras. Only the vipras are authorized to recite even ordinary *pāncālī* [long folk poems] about laokik [folk] gods and goddesses and needless to say, a vipra would never visit anybody to recite such poems without remuneration.

Occasionally even sinful, antisocial elements are led to believe that if they frankly confess their sins to a vipra, the vipra through his special efforts will obtain a dispensation saving them from the consequences of their sins; every intelligent person knows that a vipra will never act as an agent of God without some remuneration. Just see

the way sins are condoned!

Even so, vipras have more capacities than ksatriyas. A ksatriya seeks happiness only through physical enjoyment, but a vipra is capable of some mental enjoyment as well, however little it may be.

Disasters occur when there is a lack of balance between people's physical and intellectual efforts. If the reins of society are in the hands of people who suffer from such imbalances, society as a whole will suffer the consequences of those disasters.

The amount of intellectual labour performed by shúdras is negligible compared to their physical labour. Although the intellectual labour of ksatriyas is not completely meaningless, it does not have much practical value.

Even if a vipra administration does not itself create disasters, it will not be able to prevent them from occurring for long. What happens with the vipras is that [intellect] is given a higher valuation than the application of physical force. Thus under a vipra administration others work to enhance the vipras' prestige and to maintain the vipras' standard of living, while the vipras use their intellect to live an unbalanced life and to suck the vitality of others like parasites.

Where there is more physical clash in life, physical force will increase faster than intellect or the expression of intellect, and likewise, where there is much psychic clash, there will be only the expression of intellect, coupled with a gradual but eventually severe increase in physical indolence. From a psychological point of view, people dominated by intellect in this way gradually

become more and more atrophied, so that whatever magnanimity exists at the beginning of the Vipra Age is lost by the end of the age. The end result of this lack of magnanimity is that the vaeshyas [capitalists] become dominant in society. At the beginning of the Vipra Age the vipras provide advice about how to protect society as well as how to exploit it; they also take advice from others about how to protect and exploit it. But by the end of the Vipra Age the vipras only give advice but no longer accept it, and the advice they give concerns only how to exploit.

How the Vipras Evolve

In the Ksatriya Age, those who were defeated by physical force and military strength resorted to intellectual stratagems in an effort to win victory. The psychic clash they experienced in their long, drawn-out struggle for victory developed their intellects. The original fathers of the vipras were those who first used their intellects to exploit the strength of the strong. Ksatriyas, shudras and relatively undeveloped vipras came to be exploited by the fathers of the vipras, whom they recognized as their gotra [clan] leaders (or patriarchs), or recognized as founders of a pravara [lineage]. In some countries this gotra-pravara system still exists.

Ksatriyas who developed vipra intellectual abilities due to psychic clash while under vipra intellectual guidance were responsible for the continuation of vipra dominance. Actually, just as those shudras who had been influenced by ksatriyas had perpetuated ksatriya society, it was those ksatriyas who had been influenced by vipras who

perpetuated vipra society.

We see from the past that when, in a natural process, social dominance passed out of the hands of the ksatriyas and into those of the vipras, though still within the ksatriya succession, the main reason was that at that time most ksatriyas were ksatriyas in name only, but were actually shudras. Similarly, at the time the vipras fell from authority, though the vipra succession went on, it could be observed that those who were vipras in name only outnumbered the vipras themselves, that is, the genuine intellectuals.

Why did this occur?

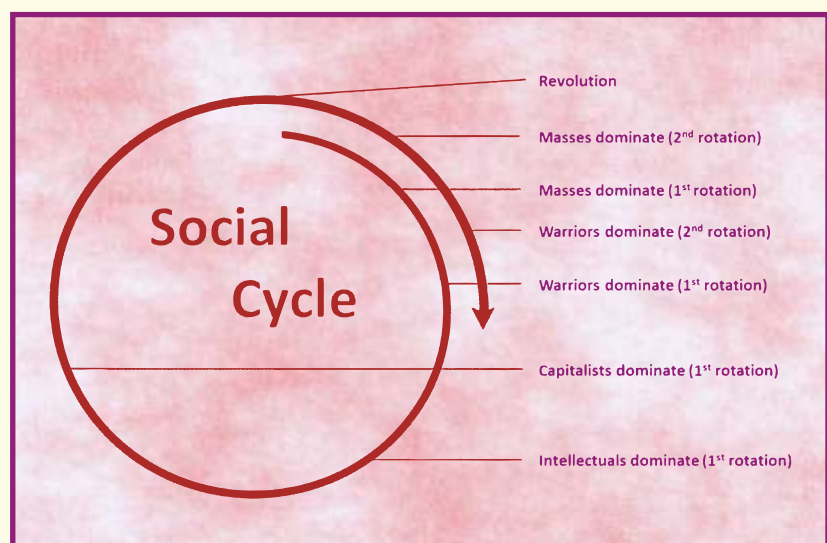
The Social Cycle and the Right of Inheritance

The rule of the social cycle is that the Shudra Age is followed by the Ksatriya Age, the Ksatriya Age is followed by the Vipra Age, and the Vipra Age is followed by the Vaeshya Age, which is followed by social revolution. This kind of social rotation is the inexorable law of nature.

Even during the period of their dominance, ksatriyas and vipras both understood (at least) that as nothing in the world stays the same forever, their dominance as well would one day come to an end, and that too due to their unworthiness.

For this reason they extolled the right of inheritance and attached greater importance to it than to individual capacity – so that regardless of his ability, the son of a king would become a king and wear the laurels of ksatriya victory, and however foolish or stupid, the heir of a vipra would be respected by society and enjoy the privileges of a vipra. Subsequently the same thing occurred in vaeshya society.

It can be observed that in the Ksatriya Age power gradually passes into the hands of non-ksatriyas who are ksatriyas in name only, and in the Vipra Age power passes into the hands of non-vipras who are vipras in name only, all in the name of hereditary rights. But it is impossible for such unworthy people to maintain their hold on power. Under such circumstances power passes out of the hands of the ksatriyas and into the hands of the vipras, later passes again from the hands of the vipras to the hands of the vaeshyas; and when the dominance of the oppressive vaeshyas becomes intolerable the common people revolt, thus starting a new chapter in the social cycle.





Economic Justice

The Mission of Government

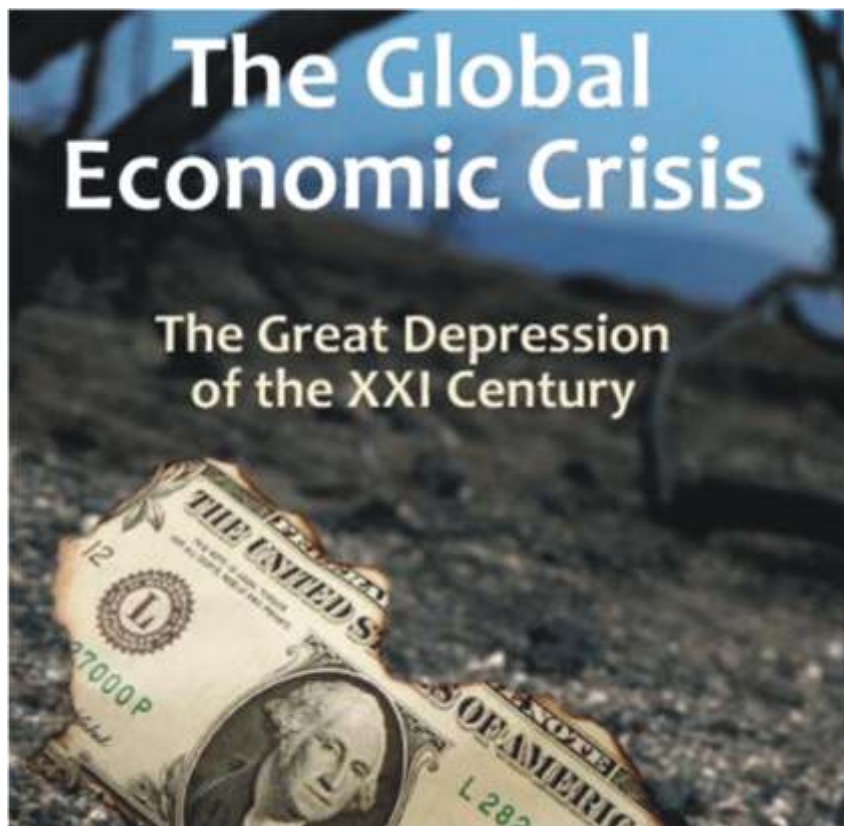
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✱ T N Das

Why do people suffer, why do people die? This has been the question that has been haunting the thoughts of humanity since prehistoric days. Only those who are saints, criminals or parasites are not stirred by this question deep inside. Buddha was the first to be so moved by this question as to pursue the answers deep within the human mind. Karl Marx was the first to pursue the answers through detailed research into exploitation. Amidst a Global Economic Depression that seems to be on the verge of yet another abyss, this question no longer can be consigned to arid intellectuals or priests. Economic inequality has become no longer a social issue but an issue of criminality. The very reason the state and the government exists is to provide security against criminality.

Facing the Evil

A 2013 State of World Wealth Report by Credit Suisse Bank revealed that global wealth has reached the highest thus far in known human history on this planet. Two thirds of the world's adult population own 3% of the world's



wealth while 0.7% of the world's population own 41% of all assets. Even more disturbingly, within this group there are 98,700 individuals worth more than USD 50 million,

and 33,900 are worth over USD 100 million. These are the fundamental facts behind the majority of the suffering and violence in the world today. These facts reflect the fact

that our global society is based on organized theft and violence. This simply shows that human beings on this planet have reached the heights of sophisticated savagery by allowing this inequality that is bringing so much suffering and death to so many innocents across the globe.

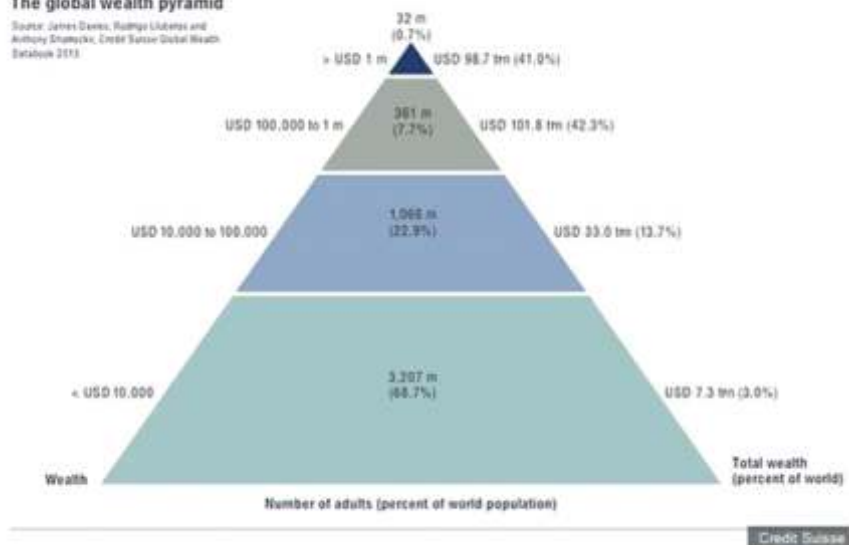
In India, no attempt is being made to even properly examine income inequality. The wealthy and the middle class have little social conscience worth mentioning. The Income Tax department has almost given up compiling detailed income tax statistics. Survey data does not reveal anything about the income of the economic elites or about that of various ethnic and religious groups. The World Wealth Report states that 70 percent of Indian households own about 20% of the country's wealth. This shows the sheer immorality of India as a nation today. By the rights of justice and equality (*sama-samaja*) the national wealth should be shared without depriving anyone of the basic rights to being alive. This is common sense to any humane person but it is not accepted today, let alone being fought for.

IMF Managing Director, Christine Lagarde has said in March, "In India, the net worth of the billionaire community increased 12-fold in 15 years, which is enough to eliminate absolute poverty in the country twice over." What more damning statement could exist about the state of Indian morality?

India's economic inequality has been rapidly increasing and the resulting anger or frustration is being diverted into caste and religious violence. This explosion of inequality in India began with the transformation of the Indian economy from crony socialism to crony capitalism in the 1990s. The dwindling or closing down of government industries, the reduction of spending on agriculture and industry combined with the flood of foreign imports severely reduced the growth of domestic small-scale and medium industries and crippled the farming sector. This was part of a policy to dampen labour-intensive business and to

Figure 1
The global wealth pyramid

Source: Gianni D'Amico, Rodrigo Lluberas and Anthony Dromey, Credit Suisse Global Wealth Databook 2013



encourage business dependent on capital investment. The new FIRE (Finance, Insurance and Real Estate sector) economy relied on a small amount of skilled labour in the service industries without requiring the high costs of a productive economy. This was combined with a 'fire sale' or give away of public sector enterprises. This created short term profits and now a long-term recession and steady collapse of the industrial sector. As seen in the US, Europe and elsewhere, companies deliberately give bad loans to finance construction, knowing that they will make thousands and millions in short-term gains on the stock market. They also know that even if the market crashes, the government will save their banks and companies by robbing the people once again of their hard earned taxes.

During this time period from the 1990s to the present, income inequality has doubled in India according to a 2011 OECD report. In 1990 the richest 10 percent of Indians owned 6 times as much as the poorest 10 percent. At present the riches 10 percent own 12 times as much. Amongst all the emerging economies of the 1990s, India was not merely the worst when it came to economic inequality, it was one of the countries where the increasing poverty did not create any serious collective concern let alone outrage.

What has been the result of this increasing inequality? The Global

Hunger Index of 2011 listed as 15th in the list of countries with a severe hunger crisis, worse than North Korea and Sudan. In fact India was one of three countries where the hunger crisis increased since 1996. By contrast during the same time period the hunger situation in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and several African nations was improved. Twenty-five percent of the world's hungry people live in India. Malnutrition is in many ways worse than starvation, as one lives a life of misery with stunted body, diminished mental and physical energy, prone to diseases like TB due to low immunity and also becomes prone to exploitation by moneylenders and other social parasites.

Women are the biggest victims of this malady. 52 percent of Indian women are anemic. Pregnant women who are malnourished give birth to children with high risks of physical retardation, reduced mental abilities and weak immunity to disease. This is why the same report states that 44% of children under the age of 5 are underweight and 72% are anaemic. This is compounded by the fact that a lack of toilets causes dysentery in children which also leads to malnutrition. Another reason for this is that despite being a major exporter of milk, most of the population lacks access to dairy products. Furthermore the price of dal (lentils) has been increasing



Dr. Binayak Sen

steadily in the last decade. Women are also among the biggest victims because this period saw the increasing transfer of labour from men in the formal sector such as factories to women in the informal sector doing piece-work on an irregular basis without any job security let alone benefits. This has led to the exploitation of women both inside and outside the home. This has led to the decline in the overall income of countless families. The dramatic increase in the trafficking of women during this time period is one of the daily tragedies of nameless girls and women across the land.

Unsurprisingly Scheduled Caste (dalit), Scheduled Tribes (adivasi) and Muslim population have significantly higher levels of malnutrition than the rest of the population as a 2012 study in the Food and Nutrition Bulletin revealed. This is also because they are on the front line of corporate exploitation and religious violence. Discrimination is also geographical with the Central Indian states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand leading in rates of Malnutrition.

The dramatic increase of economic inequality in the US and Europe has led to public outcry that has reached the media. By sharp contrast there have been some pious expressions of concern but very few like Dr. Binayak Sen have had the candour to hold the government of India guilty of genocide by neglect. Neglect in pursuing the millionaires

and corporations who cheat on their taxes is endemic. The current Home Minister promised before elections that within 100 days he would bring back illegally siphoned money of elite Indians in Swiss bank accounts. During elections, the current Prime Minister swore that every penny would be returned and after assuming power quietly announced that no attempt would be made to repatriate this wealth stolen from the Indian people. The recent Indian budget which now has given further tax breaks to corporations and the wealth will only accelerate the crime that is called the Indian Economy. Currently there is no estimate of the GDD (Gross Domestic Dukha or misery) or the GDH (Gross Domestic Himsa) created by this corporate himsa raj.

There is plenty of talk in the media about corruption, rape and the decline of morality. The fundamental fact is that so long as one does not face, understand and realize the extent of misery and himsa – the sheer evil – built into the very nature of the Indian economy, one cannot even begin to be a moralist. Only when one begins to act on this realization does one even start to become a moralist. All other so-called moral sermons that ignore these stark truths are naught but hypocrisy. Where there is no Satya there is no Dharma (righteousness). Ahimsa is the highest Dharma and when himsa is inbuilt into the day-to-day life of the people this is the *glani* (downfall) of Dharma. Any government that perpetuates this himsa raj is fundamentally Adharmic. As Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar has stated (in 'Talks on Prout'), the real Dharma Yuddha (war to establish a society based on sublime rectitude) lies in ending the social, economic and physical violence of the capitalist exploiters.

Tragic Irony

The supreme irony of Indian history is that the noblest of sentiments and realizations languish in the prison of inhuman dogmas and are infected by the diseases of socio-economic injustice. For example the *Manu*

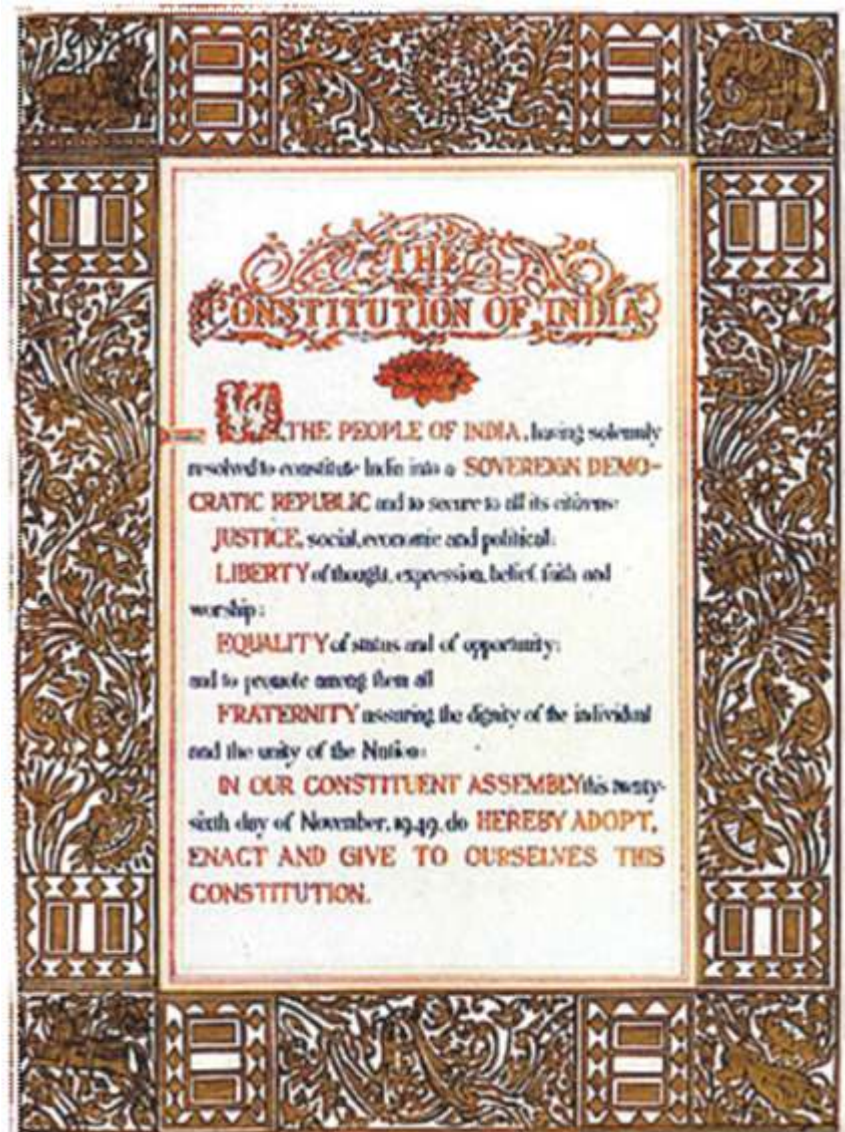
Smrti after propounding among the most vicious forms of social apartheid in human history, concluded with the traditional wisdom that Consciousness (Brahman) is in everyone and everything – including those lower castes terrorized by its laws. It was not until the 20th century that a lower caste saint Narayana Guru arose to openly reveal this hypocrisy and to give the ideal of equality based on the Upanishadic ideal of the Oneness (*advaita*) of Reality. Narayana Guru openly said that he was only able to do this because the country was under the foreign rule of the British. In earlier times he would have been killed like Shambuka (a low caste saint murdered by the god-king Rama).

Modern India carries forward this tradition of ironic tragedy. In the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar famously warned that without social democracy (of all castes, religions and adivasis) and without economic democracy, the Indian Constitution would be meaningless. Ambedkar was wary of a Soviet-style constitution that in the name of economic justice paved the road to political and economic totalitarianism. Ambedkar believed that the Indian Constitution would bring economic and social democracy. He was bitterly disappointed to realize this was indeed an act of self-deception.

The Preamble of the Indian Constitution says that the Indian Constitution was created to provide (among other reasons) economic justice to the Indian people. While provisions are made for social and political justice in the Indian Constitution and many laws have been passed to supplement them, nothing has been done to provide economic justice to the Indian people either in the Constitution or in later legislation. The various poverty schemes of later years are essentially forms of temporary appeasement and even the recently passed Right to Food and Right to Education were deliberately created full of loopholes so that they could

remain as pretty rhetoric adorning the venial criminality of economic inequality. Charles Beard famously wrote an economic interpretation of the creation of the American Constitution wherein he showed that the founding fathers created a Constitution that they thought would help them make money. In more recent time econometric studies have proved the truth of this assertion. Similar research is needed on the members of the Constituent Assembly who created the Indian Constitution.

However many sincere followers of Gandhi were committed to the ideal of a new society ending the exploitation of the British industrial era. They agitated for justice for the Indian people from this economic exploitation whose horrors had recently been unveiled during the Bengal Famine of 1942-43. As was typical, their demands were part of the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution. These were the principles and goals that were said to govern the mission and the actions of the Indian government. They have indeed been called the *conscience* of the Indian nation. The Introduction to these Principles says that they are **“fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws.”** Article 38 is said to direct the **“State to secure a social order for the promotion of the welfare of the people.”** The first point reiterates what is said in the Preamble of the Constitution, namely that it is the duty of the government to “strive” to create a social order based on the application of social, political, and economic justice in all institutions of the country. The Second Point of Article 38 is however more specific. It states, **The State shall, in particular, strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also**



amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations.

Let us examine this Directive Principle of the Indian Government more closely. Firstly the Indian government is told to “strive”. The word “strive” originates from the Old French verb “*estriver*” which meant “to quarrel, dispute, resist, struggle, put up a fight, compete.” The English verb “strive” is related to the noun “strife”. The word “strife” comes from the Old French word “*estrif*” which meant “fight, battle, combat, conflict, torment, dispute, quarrel.”

What is the Indian government supposed to work hard for and fight for? It is **“to minimize inequalities in income.”** In other words the

mission of the Indian government both in creating laws and in ruling the Indian people is to reduce economic inequality to a minimum. It is not only supposed to do reduce economic inequality in general for all individuals but minimize it amongst all groups of people including women, dalits, adivasis, religious minorities, etc. Furthermore the duty of the Indian government is also to reduce economic inequality between various regions such as between Western India and Central & Eastern India. Western and Central India have been victimized by Western India since the ancient Aryan invasions. These invasions began thousands of years ago and are still ongoing to this very day. Finally it is

the duty of the Indian government to bring to a minimum, economic inequality between various economic classes such as the Jindal economic tyrants and the adivasis of Orissa.

All at once we see a clear pathway to ending the Himsa Raj that India is today. Rather than simply talking about reducing poverty, what is clearly said is that the difference between the richest and poorest in India should be minimized and that the government should fight to achieve this. However as is typical, for every noble directive of the Indian Constitution there is a clause that prevents it from becoming a reality in the daily lives of the Indian people. Article 37 which introduces these principles clearly states that these principles “shall not to enforced in any court.” This is a clear violation of the basic principle of the balance of power between different branches of government, proposed by Polybius and researched in detail by Montesquieu. The very purpose of the judiciary is to watch the government and makes sure it fulfills its constitutional responsibilities and does not violate the Constitution. However in the case of these principles which are declared to be the fundamental duties of the Indian government, there is no one who can provide justice to the Indian people when the government not merely fails to carry out its duty to reduce economic inequality, but passes laws and enforces policies that increase inequality. This economic inequality is blatantly and lawlessly increased even to the point of plunging the majority of the Indian people below the poverty line which is an act of deliberate himsa in cold blood.

Now, there are some who claim to represent the ancient Dharma of the Indian people, who say that such provisions in the Constitution are socialist. However, other directive principles such as Article 44 directing the government to work to create a Universal Civil Code are

supported by such parties out of animosity to the fact the Muslims in India have substantial freedom to follow Islamic law while they are denied the right to follow traditional Hindu law. However **Point 2 of Article 38** is not merely in consonance with socialism but with Indian dharma itself.

The great moral epic, *Mahabharata*, states clearly ***Hrtkrpanvittamhiraśtramhanti-nrpashriyam. XIII.61.26.***

[The wealth taken from the poor and the helpless is sure to destroy the kingdom and the prosperity of the ruler.]

So the land that is stolen from the adivasis, the labour of women that is stolen by the informal sector, the labour of Dalits that is the bedrock of Indian agriculture is sure to destroy the Indian nation and ultimately the prosperity of the economic rulers of India This is because their short-sighted greed is devouring not just the Indian people of the present but also their own future. Even more poignantly, the *Mahabharata* states,

Náshrantividhivattánikinupá atarantatah. XIII.61.27

[There are none more sinful than those men, whose food children gaze at with wistful longing, without being able to eat themselves.]

How many priests and politicians clad in saffron – the symbol of sacrifice – gorge themselves not just on luxuries but the basic necessities such as sufficient vegetables, dal (lentils), dairy products, fruits and 3 meals, while hungry, stunted children covered with dirt and lice haunt the land as omens of the economic devastation waiting to arrive from overseas? Clearly even the middle class according to the *Mahabharata* are great sinners for they are able to enjoy what countless children cannot; because their own children sometimes even suffer from obesity as symbols of inequality. In light of this unknown historical legacy, Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar has called for the unity of human beings (of various species) on all planets saying,

The guiding factor behind the creation of the *Mahabharata* was Dharma the creation of a great human society in which there would be peace, happiness, fraternity and no poverty. In that period, it was the rule, that the country was held responsible if a person died of starvation. Not merely this, if there was an early death, if a child of five or so died, people regarded it as a flaw in the ruling structure.

Today you have to create



Mahá Vishva (The Great Universe), and the guiding principle behind it will be that all human beings are the progeny of the Supreme Progenitor. Hence all are His children, hence all should live together nay, will have to live together. Black or white, literate or illiterate, small or tall, all are the children of the same Father. Hence all will have to live together.

So the important thing is that all are the progeny of the Supreme Progenitor. According to this, there will be unity in the physical stratum, and so will there be in the psychic and spiritual strata. But to strengthen this unity yet more, there is one more factor which should be there, and is there that factor being the common goal for all the children of the Supreme Father the merger of all in Him. All have come from Him and are in Him; therefore, all people will have to live together. (Discourses on the Mahabharata).

Our Duty

During the discussion of these Directive Principles in the Constituent Assembly that created the Indian Constitution, Professor Shibban Lal Saxena stated that any law passed that violated these Principles should be held as *ultra vires*. *Ultra Vires* means “beyond power”. A law that is *ultra vires* is beyond the legal power and authority of the government. Such a law is invalid. When Professor Saxena expressed this opinion not one person disagreed with him on this point. Thus we must clearly realize that the various laws passed opening the Indian economy to foreign and domestic exploitation, the budgets reducing the percentage spent on basic amenities such as education, housing agriculture, medical care all these laws that have created the highest inequality in the last 60 years are all *ultra vires* to the Indian constitution or invalid. Furthermore by failing to fight to bring under control and reduce to a minimum the economic inequality in the country between all castes and other communities and between all

religions, the Indian Government has failed in its Duty or Dharma.

These are just words but what can be done? As legal scholars have noted, that while these Directive Principles cannot be “enforced” by the courts through an “executory judgment” or judgment passed an order with which the government must comply, however the courts can issue a “declaratory judgment”. A declaratory judgment contains no orders for the government to follow and cannot be enforced. However what declaratory judgments do is to pronounce a law, policy or action as constitutionally legal or illegal.

Such a declaratory judgment can put moral and public pressure on the government. Furthermore if any individual is victimized by any law, policy or action of the government that has been declared to be illegal or in violation of the duties of the government, then that individual has the legal right to sue the government personally for damages. Hence a declaratory judgment of the Supreme Court on the issue of the government passing laws and acting in a manner that increases economically will give the right for victimized individuals and communities to file a suit against the government. The threat of such class action suits will be another source of restraint against government handouts to the corporations. Furthermore the public is under no legal obligation to cooperate with such invalid laws and can legally resist by civil disobedience that cannot be so easily crushed by violence from the police.

Thus for every law or policy of the government that leads to the exploitation and suffering of any community, recourse can be take to



the courts to have the law or policy declared as illegal as part of the first step of a campaign of resistance. What is required to bring this about?

Firstly, the primary task is the education of lawyers and other progressives on the evils of economic inequality, how as per the Constitution it is the duty of the Indian government to fight and reduce economic inequality and above all how a campaign of appeals to the courts against laws that lead to further exploitation of the poor can create a movement to slow down and bring to a halt the corporate plundering of the Indian economy. After this a legal institution needs to be created where prominent lawyers and legal professors can volunteer their services to process these cases in the courts without any fee.

Secondly, the real work is to inform the primary victims of government policies on both the state and national level of how in fact it is the duty of the government to end their suffering, to increase their wages in comparison to the corporate CEOs. They need to realize that they can challenge the legality of government handouts of land and resources to corporations based on this in the courts.

Furthermore, encourage them to only vote for a candidate who will guarantee to reduce economic inequality in their area and between their region and the wealthier regions in the country. Finally this especially means empowering marginalized castes, tribes and religious communities who are the worst victims of economic inequality.

The Aam Admi Party created a dramatic change in the collective psychology of the middle class in a short time by educating the public and the intellectuals about new ideas, by giving them the conviction that they should no longer tolerate corruption and also by giving them the hope that they can change the country. Similar on this issue of economic inequality and economic justice a sea-change can be created in the mindset of all classes and communities. This can inspire a movement for a constitutional amendment to make the Directive Principles legally enforceable.

However, it is important to realize that the issue of economic inequality and the Constitution goes beyond just the Declarative Principles. The Indian Constitution grants economic, legal and cultural svaraj to Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland and Mizoram. Some communal parties want to take these rights away from J&K since it is a Muslim dominated state with religious militants. However the facts are that J&K has among the lowest levels of poverty in the entire country. Rather than a negative approach of taking away the economic rights of people in these states, why not create movements in every state to demand the same rights to economic and cultural freedom that these states have? Why not go beyond this and enshrine economic rights clearly in the Constitution so as to end the himsa raj of economic inequality? This will bring relief to millions of suffering and exploited people in the country and will end once and for all India's reputation among the most heartless nations towards its own people.

The mentor and intellectual guide of Ambedkar was the philosopher John Dewey. Another person influenced by Dewey was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the USA who proposed a similar declaration of economic rights during a State of the Union Address to Congress on January 11th, 1944. Stating what few Indian intellectuals or leaders dare to say today, he declared,

"This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and

seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however as our industrial economy expanded these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's

ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS


Proposed January 11, 1944

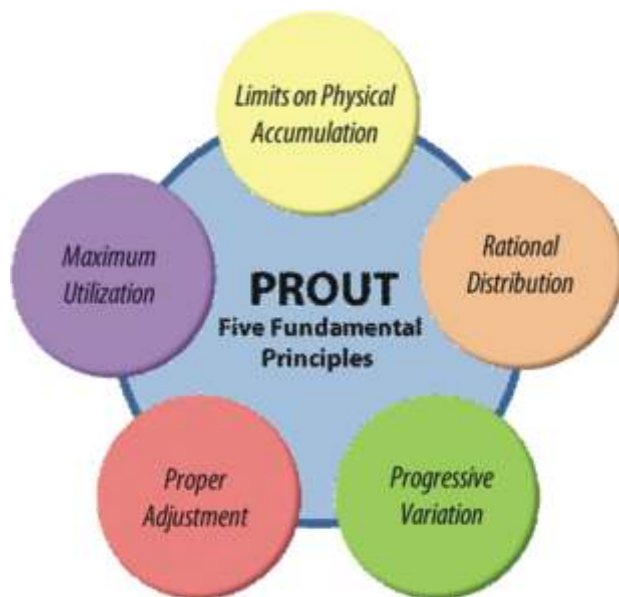
EVERY AMERICAN IS ENTITLED TO:

- The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;
- The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;
- The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;
- The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;
- The right of every family to a decent home;
- The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;
- The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;
- The right to a good education.

President of the United States, 1932-1944

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (January 30, 1882 – April 12, 1945) was the 32nd President of the United States and a central figure in world events during the mid-20th century, leading the United States during a time of worldwide economic crisis and world war. FDR's combination of optimism and economic activism is often credited with keeping the country's economic crisis from developing into a political crisis.





to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

1) The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

2) The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

3) The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

4) The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

5) The right of every family to a decent home;

6) The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

7) The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

8) The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move

forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

We should note that these rights proposed by Roosevelt are only for individuals and not for communities. That is because "human rights" were created with the rise of capitalism to pacify the exploited people. Capitalism at that time was making fortunes by destroying communities across Europe as their lands were seized by enclosure and their people were driven to the cities to work as slaves in the new factories. So the right to economic *svaraj* of every caste, tribe and other communities of India is the goal of what Anna Hazare has called the Second Freedom Struggle.

But while there is a sizeable section of intellectuals and activists who share these ideals what is missing is a concrete philosophy to challenge the prevailing ideology of communal capitalism. This is because a vacuum has been created in the collective mind of India and the world since the demise of European communism and the embracing of capitalism by Chinese and Indian capitalists. There is no point any longer in trying to ponder the dialectical gymnastics of Marxism as Marxism failed in

practice and out of frustration Lenin and Mao created totalitarian dictatorships that took millions of lives. This is because Marx was brilliant at analyzing capitalism but hopeless at fighting it and ending it both in his personal life and in the life of his ideology. As an examination of "The Critique of the Gotha Programme" shows, Marx's ideas about a future communist society were as ridiculously utopian as his socialist predecessors whom he condemned. Similarly there is no point in regressing to Gandhism based on the utopianism of Ruskin and Tolstoy. To make the corporate CEOs the trustees of the Indian economy and rajas over the Indian people is perhaps the only aspect of Gandhism implemented by the Indian government since the 1990s.

There are currently idealistic efforts by many across the globe to demand that all governments give every person a basic income that will pay for their minimal expenses for survival. This is based on the Social Credit movement of C.H. Douglas. However as seen in the case of elites in the communist system that when people are guaranteed income, they become devoid of ambition and only work when they need the money. This leads to general economic and cultural stagnation.

PROUT proposes that instead, the purchasing power of the people is guaranteed through employment where their rights are fully respected. Prout clearly states that the entire property of the universe belongs to all humans, plants and animals and no one has any right to hoard any wealth. This is in common with the ideas of Henry George. However, Prout goes further and gives economic liberty to the people of every *samaja* (province, state, bio-cultural region). One of the founding principles of PROUT states,
5-12. Samājādesheṇa vina dhanasai cayah akartavyah.

[No individual should be allowed to accumulate any physical wealth without the clear permission or approval of the collective body.]

PROUT similarly demands like

socialists have since the French Revolution that the minimum necessities of life must be guaranteed to everyone. No one wants to drive the same Ambassador as their grandfather; people want access to the latest technology. PROUT is realistic in realizing that the common people will never be satisfied with just the bare necessities and to repress the materialistic desires of the people as was done in communist countries is counter-productive. PROUT combines a two-fold approach of firstly encouraging people to divert their desires for material objects into desires for intellectual, artistic, cultural and spiritual goals. This is done by a Neohumanist education system that fosters the innate spirituality of people while encouraging them to develop their rationality to fight superstition and religion and to arouse their conscience to become spiritual revolutionaries or Sadvipras. Secondly PROUT mandates that **5-11. Sarvanimnāmanavardhanam samājajīvalakṣaṇam.**

[Increasing the minimum standard of living of the people is the indication of the vitality of society.]

Hence PROUT mandates that the people should be provided as many amenities or material wealth as is possible. Finally, PROUT clearly realizes that unless special amenities or incentives is provided to talents workers, intellectuals and artists, they will not utilize their talents and will degenerate out of frustrated ambition. However PROUT states that the ratio between the minimum necessities guaranteed to everyone and the maximum

necessities should remain constant so as to reduce economic inequality to a minimum. Hence the twin horses of increasing material standard of the people and increasing rewards for the talented and hard-working are yoked together in the chariot of economic justice.

This programme for economic justice is not a national programme but based on the level of the states. Furthermore the basis of planning lies in collective planning in each block based on networks of various types of cooperatives starting at the village or panchayat level. Since the very bedrock of exploitation in India is based on the exploitation of Dalits, the mission to disseminate and fight to implement the vision of sama-samaja (social equality) of all castes, religions and other communities is the foundation of any movement to eliminate economic inequality.

Conclusion

This then is the Second Freedom Struggle that awaits us. We can no longer be a part of the endless misery that is the result of corporate veniality. Nor can we tolerate that some children starve while others study at universities overseas. A line has to be drawn in the sand. We have to throw off the last lingering effects of the disease of abandoning interest and responsibility for the country and the world introduced by the medieval religions of Jainism and Buddhism that metastasized with the rise of Vedanta. We can no longer accept any himsa be it in the form of mafia murder or the economic himsa of corporate dacoits. Any government that neglects its duty prescribed in the

Directive Principles of the Constitution is morally illegitimate and cannot command the loyalty of the people. India is a democracy where the people are supposed to rule not the corporations and their paid politicians who guard their durbars and enforce their fatwas. The call to the Indian people to come forward and end once and for all the endless injustice and misery caused by economic inequality in particular the misery of the children and women of India in fact is found in the Mahabharata, wherein it is unequivocally stated,
*Arakṣītāram hartāram viloptāram adāyakam
tam sma rājakalim hanyuh prajāḥ
sambhūya nirghrṇam.
aham vo rakṣitety uktvā yo na
rakṣati bhūmipah
sa samhatya nihantavyah shveva
sonmāda aturah.XIII.61.32-3*

[The subjects should arm themselves to slay that Ruler who does not protect them, who simply plunders their wealth, not even sparing women and children, who is ever incapable of taking their lead, who is without compassion, and who is regarded as the most sinful of rulers. That Ruler who tells his people that “I am your protector” but who does not or is unable to protect them, should be slain by his combined subjects, like a dog infected with rabies, who has become madly destructive.]

**“MASSIVE INEQUALITY, WE HAVE LEARNED,
ISN'T THE BEST WAY TO RUN AN ECONOMY
AFTER ALL. AND WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT IT,
IT'S ALSO PROFOUNDLY UGLY.”**

THOMAS FRANK



Understanding Revolution

The ideal revolutionary leaders are Sadvipras who remain focused on the welfare of all, rather than the lure of personal power.

Without ideologically educated and competent cadres, and without moral fibre and political awareness among the mass, having sadvipra leaders who can impose great reforms is useless.

✱ Ravi Logan

There are three types of socio-political change that can be referred to as revolution: palatial change, pyramidal revolution, and nuclear revolution.

Palatial Change

Palatial change is the overthrow of a ruling elite and the taking of power by a new group of leaders. Coups d'état are palatial change. A more substantial type of palatial change is that of national independence struggles in which an indigenous elite leads a struggle to end the imperialist rule of a foreign imperial power. This occurred, for example, in the English colonies in America in the 18th century and in colonial India in the 20th century. In palatial change, local capitalist leaders may replace colonial capitalists, or one military strongman may oust another strongman, or the palace ministocracy may engineer palace intrigue that brings a new monarch to power. Force is used to bring change, but this forceful change does not coincide with a change in the collective psychology, with a change in social class. Palatial change usually has limited benefit, particularly for the common people. The new rulers are more concerned with consolidating their power and furthering the interests of a new elite than with ending exploitation or



Chileans come to see the damage at La Moneda presidential palace in Santiago, after bombs fell and rebelling troops closed in on the palace in a military coup in September 1973.

instituting reforms that benefit the whole society. The American Revolution, for example, established greater political freedom, but it didn't diminish the concentration of economic power enjoyed by the propertied class. In the case of India's revolution, economic exploitation did not diminish as a result of the end of British rule.

It is very unlikely that the social cycle will move forward from one era to the next through palatial change. Even if leaders who represent the interests of suppressed

classes do gain political control, the underlying collective psychology and social structure will remain little effected. The Allende government in Chile in the early 70s, for example, attempted to move forward with a strong socialist agenda. Yet, capitalist class interests and capitalist class control over the military remained intact, and the old guard was able to destabilize (with the assistance of the American CIA) Allende's popular regime and thwart efforts to end capitalist dominance.

Among the three forms of revolution, palatial change has the

least capacity to end exploitation, restore balance, or initiate a new wave of progress.

Pyramidal Revolution

Pyramidal revolution occurs when political leaders, or some other influential elite, foment a social transformation. The impetus for radical change is initiated from the top and then transmitted down to the masses, who carry out the agenda disseminated from above. The success of a pyramidal revolution is dependent upon three factors: (1) the degree of enlightenment of the leaders, (2) the quality of the cadres who transmit and give form to the program given by the leaders, (3) and the awareness and participation of the people.

Leaders. The first factor for successful change through pyramidal revolution is the existence of enlightened leaders. That is, there must be *sadvipras*. Without greatness of leadership, there can be no great social transformation; there can be no capacity to change the dominant social values. But the quality of leaders is dependent upon the quality of awareness of the mass. In a corrupt and ignorant society, moral and wise leaders cannot come into the nucleus of the social order. Even

if they did, their ability to inspire change would be limited due to the ignorance and low moral standards among the mass.

Cadres. The second factor for a successful pyramidal revolution is having an effective organizational structure, developed from the highest levels of state power down to the local level. Without a well-functioning organizational apparatus, it is virtually impossible for the leaders' vision to be given shape among the mass. Therefore, the pyramidal approach requires cadres who can assimilate the ideals of the revolutionary program, then transmit these ideals at a mass level, and to competently organize practical programs to materialize these ideals. When Cuba's revolutionary government assumed power in 1954, Che Guevara insisted that forming an infrastructure of dedicated and capable cadres was the most critical factor for implementing Cuba's socialist reforms. Guevara's emphasis on creating cadres was extremely important to the advances Cuba later achieved. When the Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka the Great, sought to promote dharma as a moral foundation for political unity in the Indian sub-continent, he

did not just rely on issuing of his famous Edicts, but engaged the Buddhist monks in taking moral teachings to people throughout the empire.

Aware Populace. The third factor is an aware and engaged populace. Even if enlightened leaders are in position to initiate revolution, they will find it impossible to create pyramidal change if there is not sufficient awareness and support among the people. One of the Russian Empress Catherine the Great's most important reforms was the creation of provincial schools to train the nobility responsible for rural administration. However, this reform was slowed by the hostility of the nobility toward formal education. And Moses was able to lead the Israelites from bondage and give them the Mosaic law, but he had trouble ending their practice of idol worship.

The factors required for a successful pyramidal revolution are not as yet present in the human society, so revolution attempted through this means cannot succeed. In China's Cultural Revolution in the 1960s Mao Zedong attempted a pyramidal revolution type approach to purge Chinese society of lingering bourgeois influences. He fomented in the communist party cadres a wave of sentiment against "capitalist roaders" and against intellectuals who did not embrace Maoism. These cadre then organized the participation of the mass in demonstrations, purges and propaganda campaigns, and the Cultural Revolution spread to the roots of the society. But due to defects in leaders, in the cadres and in the mass consciousness, the Cultural Revolution was disastrous and left deep scars in Chinese society.

Without ideologically educated and competent cadres, and without moral fibre and political awareness among the mass, having *sadvipra* leaders who can impose great reforms is useless. It is first necessary to create a cultural and



January 1, 1959, Cuban revolutionaries, led by Fidel Castro, enter Havana. To his right in the jeep is Ernesto Che Guevara

spiritual renaissance so that the base of society gets sufficiently developed. Then the mass will bring to power genuinely enlightened leaders and provide them with the fertile conditions with which to implement pyramidal change.

So the potential of pyramidal revolution lies in a future, when a more evolved human society comes into existence. For now, revolutionary change that emerges from within the fabric of society is required; this is the path of nuclear revolution.

Nuclear Revolution

In contrast to palatial change, which is unlikely to transform the collective psychology and bring the forward movement of the social cycle, *nuclear revolution* can bring the deep transformation necessary for the collective psychology of a new class to get expressed. In nuclear revolution, new moral and spiritual values arise which give impetus to a wave of social progress. All aspects of collective life will be profoundly affected by nuclear revolution, including social, economic, political, cultural, psychic, and spiritual. One era is replaced by the next, one collective psychology is replaced by another, resulting in social progress in all spheres.

And in contrast to pyramidal revolution, in which change is initiated from the apex of the society and spread downward, nuclear revolution brings change from within the society, from the grass roots. It is a popular process, and those at the apex of society resist its advance.

None of the revolutions in the 20th Century have been true nuclear revolutions. All have been palatial change. However, some a few socialist revolutions perhaps have exhibited aspects of nuclear revolution, in that they attempted to bring radical reforms in many spheres of collective life. But the focus of these revolutions was, in the main, on seizing control of the state and economy, with little attention given to transforming culture and



Liverpool 1984-87, mass struggle against Thatcher who represented the capitalist system and defended it with particular brutality

consciousness. Without sufficient transformation at these deeper levels, the change in mentality of the new elites remained shallow. As a consequence, corruption, repression, and exploitation reemerged in the post-revolution society at times in even greater measure. When the capitalist era reaches the point at which conditions are ripe for advancing the social cycle, this is best accomplished through nuclear revolution.

Mass struggle requires a proper approach. The absence of a correct approach to revolutionary struggle is the reason modern history is littered with tragically unsuccessful revolutions. The type of revolution best able to end capitalist exploitation and bring social welfare in the post-revolutionary society is nuclear revolution. For nuclear revolution to be successful, six requirements are necessary. They are: the presence of exploitation, revolutionary organization, positive philosophy, revolutionary cadres, qualified leadership, and revolutionary strategy. If some of these requirements are not present, the revolution may fail either to remove the old order or to form a benevolent new society.

Presence of Exploitation

There are various kinds of exploitation, the most common

being economic and psychic. In economic exploitation, the exploiters deprive others of their share of the collective wealth by paying low wages, charging exorbitant interest rates, compelling farmers to sell food cheaply, making workers labor long hours, etc. Psychic exploitation occurs when people are deprived of the mental vitality through the imposition of dogmas, bigotry and mental complexes. Psychic exploitation is often used to create favorable conditions for economic exploitation. People who are psychically exploited lack the mental vitality to rebel against economic exploitation. This dual approach to exploitation is termed psycho-economic exploitation.

Whatever may be the form of exploitation, the role of exploiters must be publicly exposed for revolution to occur. Exploitation is indicated by widespread poverty, prevalent social injustice, extreme wealth inequality, and rampant corruption. Ordinarily, exploiters maintain sufficient control of the media and the formation of political and religious beliefs to dull public awareness of exploitation. In this way, they can maintain their exploitation with little resistance. But under certain conditions people develop heightened awareness that they are being exploited. Sometimes



Massachusetts militiamen challenge the British Army.

this happens when living conditions become sufficiently harsh. But more often their awareness grows when their expectations start to rise then are suddenly frustrated. It also grows when social reformers expose the presence of exploitation. And when a liberating ideology is popularized, the exploited mass is even more empowered to perceive clearly their condition.

Revolutionary Organization

Revolution is a kind of war in which progressive people apply force to free society from exploitation and oppression. This difficult undertaking requires the formation of a revolutionary movement having different functions and a structure that operates from national to local levels. Control of the revolutionary movement should lie with a body of competent leaders. Revolutionary movements that have defective organizational structures meet with disaster. Many anarchist movements have lacked well-formed central leadership. Other movements have had strong central bodies, but lacked organizational structure at the local level. These movements were good at generating revolutionary slogans and publishing party newspapers, but they had little ability to mobilize grassroots action. Revolutionary movements that are dominated by leaders with elitist mentality also are plagued by weakness at the grass

roots level.

In analyzing India's independence struggle, we find that the leaders failed to build their organizational structure down to the village level. The Congress Party, the leading force for independence was able to mobilize impressive mass actions, but it suffered losses and setbacks in part due to lack of an organized mass base. The American Revolution is a positive example of effective organizational structure. The command of the Yankee forces was under the central authority of General George Washington. At the same time, there was a well-developed network of village militias, which constantly harassed the British army.

Positive Philosophy

To advance a revolution, a progressive philosophy is required to counter defective thinking and to generate a strong, positive vision of the new society. The revolutionary movement must project a progressive philosophy to help common people identify their genuine interests as distinct from the interests of their exploiters. This polarizes social forces. Polarization, though ordinarily destructive to social unity, is necessary when revolution is the only path to creating a broader unity.

A revolutionary philosophy should be comprehensive and free

from dogma and narrowness. Defects in the philosophy may bring disaster, as defective ideas may give scope to self-serving leaders to acquire personal power during the revolution as happened under democratic centralism in communist revolutions. Or defects can hamper the healthy formation of the post-revolutionary society, as did Lenin's philosophy that only the interests of the proletariat should be considered in forming Soviet social policy. A sound philosophy must be based in practice. When a philosophy is formed from experience, defects in its implementation can be corrected. But problems stemming from philosophies not grounded in practice cannot be rectified the source of problems will be the philosophy itself, not its method of implementation.

Communist philosophy asserts that humans are just economic and political beings. So it failed to consider the full range of human expression. In seeking to create an antithesis to philosophical idealism, their materialism did not acknowledge the psychic and spiritual dimensions of human nature. Other faulty doctrines of Marxism include the withering away of the state, the evolution of a classless society, a materialist conception of history, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Because communist philosophy contains these defects, not a single society could get well established according to Marxist ideals.

The main problem with Gandhian philosophy is that it tolerates the coexistence of exploiter and exploited. A society free of economic exploitation cannot arise without proper resolution of the contradictory interests of capitalist and laboring classes. In this, Gandhian idealism proves useless. Gandhian methods may have some use in reform movements, but if adopted by a revolutionary movement, that movement cannot remain revolutionary. The Gandhian approach played a role in getting the

British imperialists out of India, but because of its philosophical limitation it could not rid India of indigenous exploitation.

Revolutionary Cadres

People must be psychologically prepared for revolution; otherwise calls to overthrow their exploiters will fall on deaf ears. To create this preparation, there is need to activate politically educated revolutionary workers who can inspire the mass to struggle for a new social order. Revolutionary workers require a well-developed, socio-economic-political consciousness. They should bring their positive philosophy to the people in a rational way, not through any demagogic goading of people's sentiment. And they should be dedicated to the cause of creating a better life for the common people. Through the dedication, idealism and dynamism of the cadres, the people come to support the aims of the revolution.

Che Guevara deeply appreciated the important role of revolutionary cadres. For Guevara, the Cuban revolution was not just about seizing state power. Its deeper aim was to create the "socialist man" human beings motivated by fraternal love and dedicated to the common welfare. He felt that revolutionary cadres are the cornerstone of the process for infusing society with this ideal. Much of the success of Cuba's post-revolutionary society can be attributed to Che's humanistic vision, and to his emphasis on developing and deploying cadres.

Qualified Leadership

If a revolutionary organization possesses leaders who are competent and morally strong, then loss of life and property can be minimized during the revolution and the aspirations of the people can get met in the post-revolutionary society. Revolutionary leaders must possess keen intelligence, power of persuasion, great determination, firm belief their ideology, and be imbued with spiritual humanism. Too often leaders lack the spiritual love required to selflessly serve the people, or they lack the practical

philosophy and administrative competency necessary to implement reform. In the modern era, revolution after revolution betrayed the hopes of the people as the leaders of the oppressed became the new oppressors, or become ineffective rulers.

After Oliver Cromwell overthrew the English monarchy in 1649, the English people were subjected to the new autocracy of Cromwell's Protectorate. Within four years of the victory of the French Revolution, the vindictive and bloody Reign of Terror was in progress. The Kuomintang brought the downfall of China's Manchu dynasty, but it did little to alleviate China's human suffering. Russia's Bolshevik Revolution promised "peace, land and bread", but gave Russia Trotsky's bloody crushing of the Kronstadt rebellion, Dzherzhinsky's dreaded Cheka state police, and Stalin's Gulag prison camps. Post World War II independence struggles in the Third World gave political sovereignty to colonized peoples, but did little to end their subjugation to exploitation, tyranny and corruption. Pol Pot led the Khmer Rouge to victory over Cambodia's American-backed monarchy, then initiated an orgy of mass executions. And after Khomeini deposed Iran's hated Shah Pahlavi, he instituted the fanatic, cruel and insular rule of Islamic Fundamentalism. All of these tragic outcomes to revolutions conceived in hope were due, in large part, to flawed leadership.

The ideal revolutionary leaders are *sadvipras*. *Sadvipras* remain focused on the welfare of all, rather than the lure of personal power. Those who accept the Supreme Entity as their goal in life, who believe deeply in universal humanism and express universalism in their actions, are uniquely capable of bringing social progress. Because of their benevolent idealism and spiritual compassion, they look upon all with love and affection and work only to promote universal welfare.

Revolutionary Strategy

Those who exploit society have influence over, if not control of, the state. In times of social calm, they are generally not concerned if citizens enjoy freedom of expression. But if people demand reforms and seriously challenge the existing order, then the state administration uses its formidable might, to one degree or another, to suppress revolution. Revolution cannot possibly succeed against the opposition of the state without a sound revolutionary strategy.

There are several broad concerns which a revolutionary strategy must address. The first is that of building unity and solidarity among the exploited. If people want to end their oppression, then they will have to stand together and make sacrifices for each other. In a revolution, feelings of racial, ethnic, tribal and religious differences are self-defeating. They corrode unity and leave the people vulnerable. In the apartheid era in South Africa, in colonial India, and elsewhere, divisive sentiments only served to extend people's subjugation.

A second strategic concern is the development of nonphysical sources of strength. The state, through its police and military forces, has the predominance of physical power. While revolutionaries may have some need for physical strength, depending on their circumstances, the sources of power that can give them a decisive edge are moral, psychic and spiritual in nature. Ultimately, these sources of power are stronger than brute physical force.

A third strategic concern is to ensure that deposed exploiters, or ambitious opportunists, do not get scope to renew antisocial activity after the revolution. Power must be taken from them; then effort must be made to inspire them to have a change of heart and become motivated by higher goals. The object of revolution is not to seize state power; it is to eradicate exploitation and to revitalize the society with minimum loss of life and property.



Euthanasia to Legalize or Not

The characteristic of the organs is to run after the external world and drag the unit entities along with them. They subsist on objects and so it is natural for them to run after them. All beings want to preserve their existence to attain happiness. If someone's mind becomes very negative and he thinks that he will get happiness by not living, then he will commit suicide. People commit suicide for the same reason that people in normal conditions seek to destroy those factors that are detrimental and hostile to their happiness. -Shrii PR Sarkar

✱ Arun Prakash

The word euthanasia is derived from the Greek 'euthanazize' meaning 'good' i.e. honourable 'death' or painless happy death. Euthanasia basically signifies ending the life of patients by doctors at the instance of the patient in order to free him/her of excruciating pain or from terminal illness. Euthanasia may be either active or passive. While in the former doctors for merciful reasons assist in painless death, in the latter they stop efforts to keep terminally

ill patients in a continuous vegetative state alive.

World over, a debate rages whether it should be legalized or not, and as yet there is no unanimity on the issue. In India euthanasia is illegal but the Supreme Court which feels there's no authoritative judicial pronouncement on the issue is seized of the matter because of a plea by the NGO Common Cause that a person afflicted with a terminal disease, should be given relief from agony by withdrawing artificial medical support provided to him. The Attorney General Govt. of India informed the constitutional bench headed by the Chief Justice of India that this is an issue that should be decided by the Legislature and not by the Court.

Active euthanasia attracts the charge of murder vide the first clause of section 300 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), 1860 viz. intention of causing death. Even when there is a valid consent of the patient, the doctor cannot escape

being charged with culpable homicide vide exception 5 of the said section. Even otherwise passive euthanasia or non-voluntary euthanasia becomes illegal vide proviso one to section 92 of the IPC. Finally euthanasia may not be confused with assisted (abetment to) suicide, which in any case is an offence punishable under sections 305 and 306 of the IPC and after the Supreme Court's landmark judgment in Gian Kaur vs State of Punjab it is now a legally settled fact that the "right to life" guaranteed under Article 21 of the Constitution does not by any stretch of imagination include the "right to die".

Should euthanasia be legalised or not? Those who support feel that society should acknowledge the rights of patients and to respect the decisions of those, particularly terminally ill patients who choose to end their misery in an otherwise apparently hopeless situation. They further argue that every person has a





right to live a dignified life and not a painful tortuous one. On the other hand those who oppose emphasise that health-care providers are obliged to continue to fight for life as ending life is inconsistent with the roles of nursing, caring, healing and bio-ethics. On one side there's the sanctity of preserving life, on the other the humane act of alleviating suffering.

There's also the legal side. Voluntary euthanasia is legalised in some countries viz. Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Estonia, Albania and few states of USA and Canada. In USA's state of Oregon's death with dignity act (DWDA) of 1997, allows terminally ill adult Oregonians to

In India many feel that our laws inherited from the colonial past are based on the Anglo-Saxon judicial system and Western jurisprudence and that they don't take into account the influence of Indian customs and cultural practices on society and people's thinking. They add that in many ancient civilizations, including India, voluntary death was accepted. Petitions filed before in court had many references from Indian scriptures, which indicated that the practice of voluntarily opting for death at a particular stage in life was integral to Indian traditions and a well accepted one, unlike in the West.

Sadly law or no law, euthanasia in a surrogate form is practiced in

terminally-ill are ventilator support to help respiration and medicines to maintain blood pressure. The intensity of both is either reduced or withdrawn to allow life to ebb away. Doctors feel that one could keep the lungs breathing and the heart ticking or the blood flowing pointlessly for agonizingly long periods. The very same tools that help save a life, if misapplied could merely serve to prolong the dying process. All this takes a heavy emotional and physical toll on the families as well as the caregivers. They support a legal framework to ensure death with dignity.

These are powerful arguments on both sides of the divide and cannot be wished away, but what



obtain and use prescriptions from their physicians for self-administered, lethal doses of medications. Since the law was passed in 1997, a total of 1,173 people have had DWDA prescriptions written and 752 patients have died from ingesting medications prescribed under the DWDA. In 2013 alone 122 prescriptions were written and as of January 22, 2014, 71 of them had died ingesting the medications prescribed.

India. Instances of doctors scaling down medical intervention where patients have no chance of recovery aren't unheard of. Such decisions are taken only after families are convinced they exhausted all options. The terminally-ill are allowed to sink till they breathe their last. In some cases, the de-escalation is so sharp that it resembles passive euthanasia — withdrawing life support to patients in a permanently vegetative state. The two key inputs needed to sustain life in the

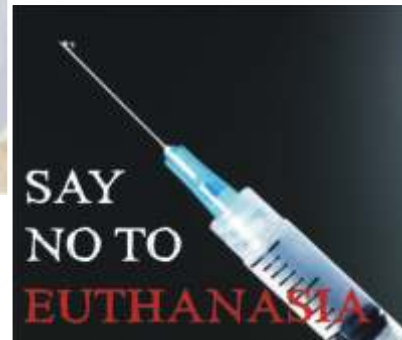
about the moral and ethical implications of such decisions to end life. If we go by the brief insight provided by Prout's founder Shrii PR Sarkar in Human Society I, "... sentencing people to capital punishment just because one cannot cure their ills is as much a crime as killing them oneself. Why is nothing done to remedy their ills? ... it is the bounden duty of civilized society to cure the ills ... deal with a humane heart and guide them out of their ills", it would appear that one should



continue to strive to cure people however ill they might be and not end their lives. Euthanasia is a form of suicide as would be apparent from what he says further, "Because of problems people suffer from various psychic complexes. There are those who are inclined to think that no one, neither their friends and relatives nor even their domestic animals, cares to think of them. They unnecessarily think that everyone deliberately avoids them, dislikes them, or ignores them, and therefore they become disappointed, dejected, and dispirited. Life loses all its charm and attraction for them, and they may even commit suicide".

Those who do not find pleasure or happiness at all in life, and do not see even the remote possibility of any happiness, become weary of their lives and commit suicide, thinking their lives to be a burden.

Terminally ill patients suffering much pain feel that life no longer can provide happiness that they would like to destroy it and commit medically assisted suicide, while for the same reasons normal people would fight to destroy those factors that are detrimental and hostile to their happiness. Shrii Sarkar says, "Those who commit suicide do it when their mind is in a negative state. It is unnatural" While Dr. Sumit Ray of Sir Ganga Ram Hospital, New Delhi said, "Every week we get at least three to four requests from families for discontinuation of treatment to kin – terminally – ill or in a vegetative state. Loss of hope of recovery is the main cause" but Dr Sushma



Bhatnagar, head of pain and palliative care at AIIMS' Cancer Centre says, "We should be thinking of ways to save more lives. Euthanasia is not an option. There can't be greater service to humanity

than giving quality palliative care to the terminally-ill". Ending life is going against nature and there are spiritual implications too, some fairly serious, which are beyond the scope of this piece. Sadvipras in these case doctors in the world of science,

would continue to aggressively go after, howsoever terminal the disease may be and erase this form of unnaturalness - Euthanasia from human society. It should not be legalised as 'where there is life there is hope'.

In the memory of Dada Abhayashankarananda who fought valiantly against an unknown infection and passed away at a young age while being on ventilator and other life support systems for over a month. Incidentally this piece was written in Delhi on October 11, and finished around the same time the very day Dada passed away in Kolkata. The writer got the news next morning.



Euthanasia is a long, smooth-sounding word, and it conceals its danger as long, smooth words do, but the danger is there, nevertheless.

(Pearl S. Buck)

Haryana: Land, Caste, and Sexual Violence against Dalit Girls and Women

As in other states, land-reform legislation enacted after Independence has had little impact on actual land ownership in Haryana. Jat landlords were able to use their political and social muscle to exploit legal loopholes and retain their huge landholdings. Ironically for measures that were designed to give land to the tiller, the implementation of land ceiling laws in Haryana resulted in the dispossession of Dalit tenants.

✱ A Report by WSS (Women Against Sexual Violence and State Oppression)

The extraordinary and terrifying explosion of sexual violence against Dalit girls in contemporary Haryana must be analysed against the backdrop of the complex changes in social relations across groups and communities in the wake of the neo-liberal economic boom of the last decade. The traditional prosperity of the most dominant caste group the Jats is rooted in the ownership of land and control of agricultural production. This control has been corroded not only by the stagnation in the agriculture sector but also by the increasing class stratification among the various Jat sub-castes. The movement demanding job reservations for Jats is the direct outcome of Jat resentment against Dalits and other oppressed castes that are seen as “cornering” the benefits of state policies and constitutional provisions such as reservations. In many of our conversations with Jats, Dalits were sarcastically referred to as the



Poor Dalit girl students

pampered “jamais” (sons-in-law) of the government. Caste violence and sexual violence against Dalit women have always been the modus operandi to beat down the Dalit community and keep them in their allotted place at the bottom of the caste ladder. An oft-quoted saying at Jat chaupals is: “A Jat who has not tasted his siri's wife and daughter is

not a true Jat.”

But where do women and Dalits stand in the bigger narrative of growth and development that is today flaunted by the state and extolled by the media? In this section, we attempt to unpack the consequences of the economic transition for people at different points on the various axes of power.



Jats stage a sit in at Jantar Mantar

The Political Economy of Land and the Agrarian Crisis in Haryana

Created in 1966 to accommodate the demands of the non-Sikh and non-Punjabi-speaking population of Punjab, Haryana was at the leading edge of the Green Revolution in the 1980s. Today, the state has emerged as a prime location for manufacturing industries, business process outsourcing and organised retail, and scores high on economic indicators such as per capita income, per capita investment, per capita plan expenditure and resource mobilisation, as well as on social indicators such as girls' access to education, decline in family size and child mortality. Districts bordering Delhi (such as Ambala, Rohtak and Kurukshetra) score higher on socio-economic indicators than those bordering Rajasthan (such as Sirsa, Jind and Hisar). At 24 percent of the population, Jats constitute the single largest caste group. Dalits are the next largest group at around 20 percent. The Jat population is more concentrated in the districts of Bhiwandi, Jind, Sonapat, Rohtak, Jhajjar and Hisar constituting what is known as the Jat "heartland".

The social superiority of the Jats rests on their ownership and control of the major portion of land in the state, which, in turn, has allowed them to control the labour of

those who are subordinate to them in the caste hierarchy. The British, too, contributed to the myth of Jat superiority by valorising them as a "martial race" and recruiting them in large numbers for active service during World War I. Jats are today at the pinnacle of practically every formal and informal institution in Haryana, which has never had a non-Jat Chief Minister. Although Haryana is still predominantly rural, the state is urbanising much faster than the rest of the country, with the urban population going up from less than 25 percent in 1991 to 29 percent in 2001 and nearly 35 percent in 2011. However, this shift is not so much the result of an internal economic transition as of an entrepreneurial partnership between politicians and real estate developers who were able to convert proximity to Delhi and the National Capital Region into a business opportunity. While real estate companies (led by DLF, India's largest real estate firm) bought up huge tracts of agricultural land in the peri-urban belt, the Haryana government facilitated their operations by loosening up the legal framework to allow easy conversion of agricultural lands for non-agricultural uses, and allowing the entry of private firms into land development. Several cases now in the courts have exposed the way in which senior politicians have benefited from promoting this

distorted model of "urban growth".

Urbanisation has had a devastating impact on the rural economy of the state. For instance, in Gurgaon tehsil, as many as 35 villages have been incorporated in the Gurgaon Municipal Corporation. An estimated 48 percent of arable land has been converted to non-agricultural use. Vast tracts of land in the areas covered by the Gurgaon Master Plan (which incorporates Sohna and Manesar) have been purchased by private developers and are lying fallow. Women across castes have been particularly and severely affected by the present crisis in agriculture. Women in peasant households have traditionally been visible and acknowledged as active cultivators in Haryana, and are the dominant workforce in animal husbandry, especially dairying. The severity of the current agrarian crisis leading to a steady decline in labour absorption since the 1990s, combined with limited avenues of non-farm employment, has led to an overall decline in women's employment in Haryana in the last decade, for both Jats and other castes.

The Everyday Humiliations of Schooling

Vaish Primary School (established in 1920) is a government-aided school and gets a grant for free education to children from BPL families. These schools are not supposed to charge fees, since the government aid covers salaries, mid-day meals, books and uniforms for the children. On entering the school, we were greeted suspiciously by the three young women teachers present and there was some uncertainty when we asked to see the principal. It was clear that these teachers did not lay much in store by the school or the children. When mention was made of the incident of October 2013 they denied everything. According to them, one girl had not done any homework and so was scolded by the teacher, nothing more a big fuss was created for no reason. "Children

don't know anything and their parents even less" was what they had to say. We were told that the child had come back to the school the parents had apologised and asked that the girl be taken back. A small girl was brought to us along with an older one and we were told that we could question her. The children seemed frightened and tongue-tied and we asked that they be excused. We were told that the teacher responsible had left in order to do her B.Ed. The teachers were vociferous that they would never do such a thing as strip the children. When we met with the two mothers who live in the neighbourhood, they did not want to tell us their names for fear that this would lead to further problems for their children in the school. Their husbands were daily-wage workers earning about Rs 5000 per month. They recalled that the children had come home on that particular day saying that the teacher had pulled down their underpants. According to a news report in the Tribune, they were forced to withdraw their complaint against the school by the Station House Officer (SHO) under threat of being arrested and jailed. Local Dalit activists talked about the larger problem of corruption in the school system. Even though schools get government grants and money meant to cover expenses and grant stipends to the children from BPL families (Below Poverty Line), schools are known to charge fees and pocket the stipends.

As in other states, land-reform legislation enacted after Independence has had little impact on actual land ownership in Haryana. Jat landlords were able to use their political and social muscle to exploit legal loopholes and retain their huge landholdings. Ironically for measures that were designed to give land to the tiller, the implementation of land ceiling laws in Haryana resulted in the dispossession of Dalit tenants. Negligible proportions of surplus land have been made available for redistribution, but even these are denied through threats, litigation or

simply by blocking physical access to the plot. Today, as much as 86 percent of arable land in the state is under Jat ownership, while Dalits who constitute nearly 20 percent of the population hold less than 2 percent of land. Jats also control access to the common (shamilat) lands of the village, which are legally open for use by a member of any community: for grazing cattle, as a playground, for festivals and for defecation. There has been a steady appropriation of these common lands by the landowners, which is visible on the ground although invisible in official records. Fencing off of the shamilat land is a standard tactic resorted to by Jat-controlled panchayats, either as part of a social boycott or as a means to evict the entire Dalit community from a village. As described in an earlier section of this report, this issue is at the heart of the dispute between Jats and Dalits in Bhagana village.

Apart from khuli mazdoori (free, or unattached, labour), traditional forms of naukri (agricultural debt bondage) continue to exist in Haryana. Naukars are usually landless Dalit cultivators who have taken a cash loan from the landowner and are bonded to work for him until the loan is repaid. The usual interest rate for such loans is 2-3 percent per month, collected every six months. There is no written

contract and the nature of the work is not defined. Since the advance amount has already been given the naukari is forced to put his entire family to work for the landowner simply to keep up with the interest payments. The wife and daughters of the naukari are expected to perform household chores for the landowner; some small in-kind payments may be made to them at random intervals, such as during festivals. This proprietary right over the self and self-hood of Dalits that traditionally meant the sexual exploitation of women by the big landlords continues to be manifest in the sexual assault of Dalit girls even if the edifice of the agrarian relations is changing rapidly.

It is the increasing Dalit resistance and the ability of Dalits to step up the social and economic ladder with or without reservation that is incurring the wrath of the hitherto powerful sections. Adverse Sex Ratios Census data on sex ratios reflects the long history of the issue in Haryana: low sex ratios are prevalent across caste groups (albeit to a lesser extent in the case of Scheduled Castes) and thereby the overall population. This is the pattern as reflected in the more recent fall in child sex ratios. Micro studies show that sex selection is happening among all castes if to different degrees. There has been



only a very slight improvement in the sex ratios in the most recent 2011 Census for all groups in Haryana. Indeed, several micro-level studies show that Scheduled Caste populations in several Haryana districts have particularly skewed child sex ratios, caught as they are between poverty and a desire for upward mobility, resulting in the neglect of daughters and sex-selective abortions. Jats, with the longest documented history of female infanticide, have been dealing with the shortage of marriageable women through practices such as regulating and maintaining “bachelor sons” within larger households, permitting marriages or alliances with women from so-called lower castes, and bringing in women from other states as “purchased brides”. The presence of a large pool of unmarried men in Haryana is not a new phenomenon. However, the emergence of smaller nuclear (monogamous) families has increased the visibility of unmarried and often jobless young men in their twenties.

Although researchers remain cautious in drawing direct connections between falling sex ratios and increased violence, stories from the field suggest otherwise. A recent paper recounts some telling instances. A local woman NGO worker from Jind district told researchers that young, unemployed, unmarried men from villages boarded trains early in the morning to go to universities in the

larger towns – not to study, but to escape from the oppressive family atmosphere where they were taunted for being “malang” (chronic bachelors). According to her, such men made a nuisance of themselves in colleges, bullying male students and harassing the women. However, the long-term impacts of adverse sex ratios on levels of violence in the caste-based patriarchal society of Haryana needs deeper study and analysis.

Education: Dalit Girls Pay a Higher Price

The explosion in educational institutions in Haryana in recent years from schools to colleges and various professional institutes cannot be missed by even a casual observer. Huge billboards advertising these establishments ranging from the “Jat Education Society” and the “Gaur Brahmin School” to the more high-end “Sushant School of Urban Arts” dot the highways even in the rural areas, pointing to huge compounds surrounding imposing and ornate buildings. Education is the major site of entrepreneurial investment in Haryana today. Haryana now has 622 AICTE-certified institutes of technical learning, apart from one central university, 10 state universities, 28 deemed and private universities, and one Regional Centre of IGNOU (Indira Gandhi National Open University). Of the 10 state universities, six have been set up by prominent real estate firms

such as Apeejay, Ansals, Gaur and Jindal. The increase in enrolment at all levels of the education system from primary and secondary schooling to colleges and professional institutes began in the 1990s. Particularly noteworthy is the huge increase in enrolment among girls and women. The disparity in Gross Enrolment Ratios (GERs) of boys and girls (with girls usually lagging behind) is lower in Haryana than in the rest of the country. Moreover, proportionately, more children complete their secondary education in Haryana than the all-India average.

The GERs for Dalits in Haryana are equally impressive. The proportion of Dalit girls enrolled in secondary and senior-secondary levels is higher than the all-India average, while Dalit boys lag behind. However, Dalit girls do not outnumber Dalit boys in higher education. Several studies have noted the extent to which young girls who complete high school go on to some kind of college or institute in states like Haryana, while their brothers discontinue their studies. Others have noted the extent to which first-generation learners from Dalit families are now accessing schooling and even some form of higher education (albeit in smaller numbers) in rural as well as urban Haryana, perhaps as a result of government schemes for educational support to BPL families.

However, several recent studies (including a recent review commissioned by the Government of India) have highlighted the fact that schools are a prime site for caste discrimination and caste violence against children. This fact was once again brought home to us in the course of a recent visit to Rohtak to follow up on a news report [1] regarding a case of stripping of six minor students by a teacher in a private school in the Shorakothi area of the city. Two local Dalit activists in Rohtak who had been the source for the Tribune story facilitated our investigation of this incident. Haryana has several schemes for

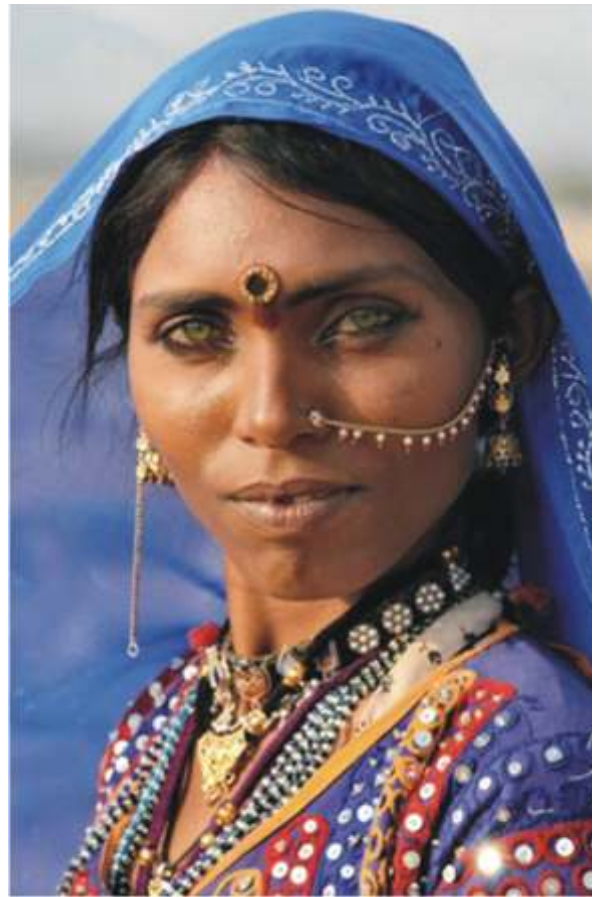


girls from BPL families, including some that offer cash incentives to families with daughters so as to financially offset the expenditures in health, schooling, etc., which would otherwise be seen as a burden by the family. The first such scheme was a conditional cash transfer arrangement, “Apni Beti Apni Dhan” [2] designed with the explicit aim of curbing child marriage and encouraging schooling. The scheme transfers small sums of money (Rs 500) into a bank account at different stages, against the accomplishment of specific benchmarks, beginning with birth registration and immunisation, followed by schooling. The total amount of Rs 25,000 is paid to the family when the girl reaches the age of 18, provided she is not married. More such schemes were launched in 2005, including “Ladli” that aimed at countering the decline in child sex ratios. Again, these schemes targeted BPL families and involved several conditionalities, including the passing of 10th class and being unmarried till 18. According to government figures, there were about 50,000 beneficiaries of the Ladli scheme in Haryana in 2007-08 which rose to over 1 lakh in 2009-10.

These schemes, as well as other educational support programmes, have added to the perception that Dalits especially Dalit girls are being pampered by the government. A recent study [3] conducted by the International Council for Research on Women (ICRW) surveyed the beneficiaries of the “Apni Beti Apni Dhan” scheme. The survey finds the beneficiary girls doing better in school as compared to the girls who were not enrolled in the scheme. However, parents had mixed feelings about the value of sending their girls to school. On the one hand, they felt that education was a necessity today; many mothers were illiterate themselves and worked as labourers in the fields of the landowning Jats who were clearly economically better off; and Dalit families were happy to see their daughters going up to high school.

But there was also a general anxiety which was frequently expressed as “mahaul kharab ho gaya hai”, meaning that times had changed for the worse, because of new influences such as TV and mobile phones; they were also worried about co-education. Parents were particularly anxious and fearful of the safety of their daughters. This fear of sexual violence was shared by both Dalit and Jat families, but Jats were in a better position to “protect” their daughters, especially if they had to travel some distance to school or college, while the poor families felt unable to do so. Even everyday needs such as answering the call of nature could expose girls to sexual violence, and boys of different castes appeared to be aware of this.

In a meeting of the WSS team with around 70 students of Kurukshetra University, girls spoke of their desperate struggle against parental authority and conventional expectations, in order to pursue a college education. The young people told us that the older generation of Jats feared that girls who go to college would get involved with and married to boys from other castes, especially Dalits. One young man, a Rajput by caste said that when one such marriage takes place, the whole village of the girl gets boycotted by other prospective grooms. This is why khap panchayats put restrictions on the mobility and education of girls. The students also talked about how boys harass the girls and make it difficult for them to get to college by taking over buses going from the villages to the university, and forcing the driver to



Dalit woman from Pakistan

leave before the girls get on board. A student in the women's studies course said that while the parents realised that education was an asset equivalent to property, they hesitated to send girls out to study because of their fears of inter-caste marriages. A law student said that poor parents have a genuine problem since they can't give both dowry and education fees. On the other hand, educated brides are desired in fact, families now specify that the girl should have had a private school education. Bitter Memories of School Days

Our conversations with Dalit activists from the Ambedkar Students' Union highlighted the daily reality of caste oppression in rural Haryana. One young man talked about his experiences in the Daya village school. He has bitter memories of his school days, especially of being punished by his teacher when he topped an English test. It was simply because he, a Chamar, had the audacity to do



Dalit girls from Bhagana stage a candle light protest in Delhi against oppression

better than the Jat boys. He recalled that Dalit children were forced to clean the principal's room and their own classrooms even though there were three peons who were supposed to do this work. His science teacher would call out his name and ask him to do the cleaning. If his friends tried to help, the teacher would say, "*Tera kaam nahi hai, woh hi karega.*" (It's not your job, he has to do it.) One day, unable to bear this daily humiliation, he collected the garbage and threw it in front of the principal's room. He also threatened to beat up the teacher. This show of anger brought an end to the harassment. But he continued to face discrimination even after leaving school and going on to study textile engineering and natural medicine in Jodhpur and Delhi. He says his classmates would refuse to socialise with him on the plea that their teacher had told them to keep away from Chamars. He confronted the teacher and filed a complaint again, his ability to confront his harassers made them leave him alone. Today, he has a naturopathy clinic but says that the Jats resent his success and continue to harass him. He was recently called before the panchayat and was made to apologise for daring to wear a coat.

Another activist shared how a handful of Dalit students in a class in Maharshi Dayanand University in

Rohtak were systematically victimised by the teachers who did not bother to hide their caste biases. For instance, even though all the Dalit students were eligible to get a government stipend, they never managed to avail of this benefit because the application forms were never given out on time. This activist's determined pursuit of cases of violence against Dalits and the invocation of the PoA Act has made him a target of the government. The Senior SP of Hisar has been quoted in local newspapers as having accused him of "inciting caste hatred". The Haryana Chief Minister has stated in public that he is a threat to the traditional amity between Jats and Dalits: "*Tera to kaam hi hai yahan ka bhaichara bigadna, tere se sakhti se pesh aayenge.*" ("All you do is to destroy the spirit of brotherhood here, we will deal sternly with you.")

Policing Caste and Gender Boundaries in a Changing World: Khap Panchayats

The khap panchayats are the visible face of institutionalised Jat power and patriarchy in Haryana. These traditional bodies of the landowning Jat community claim control over large clusters of Jat-dominated villages, all the inhabitants of which are deemed to be siblings even if they are not related by blood. They

also keeping exploitative relations of caste and labour intact. Although the khap is a Jat institution, it enjoys the support of all dominant caste groups, which are willing to bury social and political differences in the interests of Jat solidarity against assertions by Dalits and other claimants to political space. Considerable feminist attention has already been devoted to the maintenance of caste endogamy among the Jats through the ban on inter-caste marriages enforced and policed by the khap panchayats. This policing of marriage and sexuality is directly linked to the fear of loss of control over land in a society where ownership and control over land is the instrument for maintenance of both class and caste segregation.

Jat masculinity is clearly in crisis today. Rapid urbanisation and economic growth in traditional khap strongholds in Haryana has created sharp social and economic contradictions. On the one hand, the tradition of upper-caste women marrying into families of a higher social class has resulted in a surplus of brides at the top of the social order and a pronounced deficit further down. On the other, urbanisation, access to education and exposure to a wider world through the media has generated new aspirations in young women who are increasingly reluctant to confine themselves to the traditional female domains of kitchens and cattle-sheds. Given the diminishing pool of marriageable girls in the Jat community, these assertions of independence have generated a high level of anxiety within families and have led to the tightening of patriarchal controls on women's sexuality. The perceived need to control daughters has revalidated the traditional khap function of ensuring caste endogamy and clan exogamy. The same khap panchayats who police inter-caste marriages also play a key role in protecting the accused in cases of violence against Dalit girls. Caste brotherhood is on open display as upper-caste men stand together against Dalit families who

are seeking justice. The role of the district administration and state level political institutions, where the Jats are more than well represented, reflect the same caste solidarity.

Dalit Mobilisation in Haryana: History and Challenges

Unlike in other North Indian states, there have been few social reform movements in Haryana. The exception was the Arya Samaj, which found popularity since it advocated the discarding of brahmanical ceremonies, thus further bolstering Jat dominance and relegating the small population of Haryanvi Brahmins to the sidelines. Haryana also does not have a substantial presence of other traditional upper castes like the Rajputs, Kayasthas and Banias. Despite the substantial population of oppressed castes, a political movement for unification did not develop and sub-castes remained fragmented, even in the post-Mandal period. The historical ambiguities in the position of Jats in the chaturvarna hierarchy have once again become a political issue, with the Jats now shifting from their earlier claims of being a sub-caste of the Kshatriyas, to arguing that they are part of the Backward Classes. Anti-caste organisations have become visible comparatively recently, but their direct political role is still limited. On the other hand, the Jat khaps are highly organised and structured, and exercise tremendous social and political influence and power. Thus, even though the Dalit population is higher (19.7 percent) in Haryana than the national average (16.2 percent), this has not translated into political advantage.

In the mid-1980s, AIDWA started working in Haryana on issues of caste domination and women's oppression. In the late 1980s, some radical left student and cultural organisations also began mobilising Dalits and women. It was only around 5 years ago that a few NGOs began to work with Dalits in Haryana. The growing presence, visibility and voice of these

democratic and anti-caste mobilisations today hold the promise of building solidarity with and strengthening the nascent movements of resistance to caste and sexual violence. In the course of this study, we were able to meet and connect with several young activists students, lawyers, doctors, government functionaries; they impressed and humbled us with their political convictions and their commitment to struggles for justice despite enormous personal difficulties.

Conclusions and Reflections

This report provides evidence of the interlinked operation of caste, patriarchy and neo-liberal policies, each of them steeped in violence. The economic and cultural transformation triggered by the neo-liberal boom in Haryana has created new avenues for violence against Dalit women, located as they are at the confluence of multiple systems of marginalisation and oppression. Haryana is no different from other parts of India in being home to a "rape culture" perpetuated through the use of casteist and misogynistic language; the dehumanisation and objectification of Dalit women's bodies; the glamorisation of violence and macho masculinity; and the justification of caste, class and gender hierarchies as right, proper and necessary for the

preservation of order and stability. The early 1990s saw a major policy shift away from agriculture, towards construction and real-estate. Land legislations were loosened and a single-window system put in place to allow agricultural land to be used for non-agricultural purposes. Jat landowners benefited from land sales to corporates and private developers, fuelling a cash boom. Increased consumption by the landed classes, was paralleled by rapid immiserisation of the land-poor and landless groups, primarily Dalits.

The failure of land reforms in the state, a consequence of the overwhelming hold of Jats over political power, has served to further consolidate their economic and social dominance. As the owners of more than 80 percent of all land in the state, the Jats are the only caste group to have cornered the benefits of both, the Green Revolution of the 1970s and the current phase of urbanisation/ industrialisation. However, these benefits have not percolated to those at the bottom of the Jat hierarchy, many of whom remain landless, and continue to work under exploitative conditions. Although they are now demanding recognition as a Backward Caste to avail of the benefits reserved for OBCs, Jats are at the pinnacle of the caste hierarchy in Haryana. Unlike



Police try to stop protesting Dalit women from Bhagana village



Protest outside Haryana chief minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda's official residence in New Delhi on 11 May 2014, after the recent gang-rape of four Dalit girls

in other states, where a group of dominant castes vie for control over political and economic power, Jats here dominate and control all formal and informal institutions, and have therefore been able to exercise their caste power with impunity. The Jats, like landowning castes in other parts of the country, have traditionally exercised control over the bodies, labour, possessions and choices of their Dalit labourers.

The sexual exploitation of Dalit women and girls is still regarded by the Jat men as a privilege they can easily exercise. Apart from near-total ownership of productive lands, Jat dominance is expressed through control over the village commons such as grazing lands, wastelands used for defecation and burial of dead animals, sacred groves, scrublands and forests, and lands developed with public funds such as playgrounds and chaupals (used for community meetings). The lack of independent access to resources has led Dalits to be economically dependent on Jat landowners. Economic and social boycotts are therefore being increasingly used against Dalits who assert their rights to common land, causing greater hardship to the community. It is from this unlikely space, characterised by the prevalence of

traditional forms of economic, social and cultural exploitation, that a small but stubbornly persistent opposition to this way of life is making its voice heard, demanding a response not only from the state machinery but also from women's movements and all those who claim to stand for democratic values and human rights.

We have focused on only a few of the numerous cases brought to the fore by these voices. In all these incidents, Dalit girls and their families most of whom are landless agricultural labourers or artisans who are economically dependent on their aggressors have shown incredible courage and determination in resisting intimidation and threats to pursue their struggle for justice. The impact of these cases reinforces existing hierarchies of power and powerlessness. In each case that we have documented, there is a consistent pattern of consequences that spread outward from each individual girl to impact the lives of her parents and siblings, her extended family and then the entire community:

The Survivor Herself: The assault is usually only the beginning of her ordeal. At every step of the legal process, from recording a statement to undergoing a medical

examination, she is forced to relive her trauma and humiliation. She is treated as an offender rather than as a victim. Her caste status is continually highlighted and used to question the veracity of the complaint. She does not receive any kind of medical or psycho-social support to help her heal and return to some degree of normalcy in her life. Her education is interrupted, possibly permanently. Her entitlement to compensation and rehabilitation under law are withheld, or given so late and so grudgingly that the intention is nullified. She is forced to live in fear, confronted as she is by her aggressors and their supporters at every turn.

The Parents: Apart from the shock, trauma and pain of seeing their child suffer, they are also humiliated at every step of the way if they decide to speak up and seek justice. Apart from physical violence and intimidation, they come under both economic and social pressure from dominant castes, often losing their livelihoods. Notions of family and community "honour" and prestige are also invoked by their own families and community to pressurise them into backing off from demanding justice and making the details of the case public. Mothers, in particular, are deeply affected, tormented by concerns about the future and the diminishing chances of a return to "normal" life for the daughter. In more than one of the cases we have documented, the mother has been seriously emotionally scarred in the long term.

The Siblings: Apart from being traumatised by the ordeal of their sister, the siblings are also fearful of their own safety. The girls are usually withdrawn from school because of the fear of taunts or physical attacks in school. The boys, too, face taunts and attacks from their classmates and teachers, and drop out if they are unable to cope.

The Family: In cases where the aggressors belong to a powerful

family, they are able to push the survivor and her family out of the village, isolating them from the rest of the community and forcing them to struggle to survive in some new and unfamiliar place. The meagre assets left behind by the family are then appropriated or destroyed by the aggressors and their supporters in order to ensure that they do not return. The family is reduced to using the money they have received as compensation for their daily survival.

Young Dalit Boys: As highlighted in earlier sections of this report, the standard official response to a report of a Dalit girl having been abducted is to dismiss it as a case of elopement. If Jat boys are named by the family or by witnesses, the response is to arrest some Dalit boys from the girl's community on the basis of concocted witness statements accusing them of being seen with the girl just before she disappeared. In most cases, the boys are subjected to beatings or worse in order to force them to sign confessions. They also suffer by having their education disrupted, exams are missed, and they also find that they are not able to go back to their colleges because of the “offender” label.

The Community: In cases where the Dalit community is organised or where political activists are able to mobilise support for the girl and her family, the entire community may face violence and various forms of social boycott.

This report is a testimony to the tenacity of the survivors in their struggles against overwhelming odds. We found that these pressures, intended to break their resistance, are actually helping to consolidate the solidarity among survivors, their families and Dalit activists. Resistance to caste oppression and caste violence is increasingly visible at many levels across the state, as young people from Dalit communities begin to assert their rights to education and express their aspirations for a dignified life. On the one hand, the growing visibility

and confidence of these young people, especially Dalit girls, has fuelled resentments and stoked various conspiracy theories and rumours that are used to justify false cases or even murderous assaults against Dalit boys who are considered “over-smart” or too assertive; on the other hand, these acts, such as instances of sexual violence against girls, are no longer taken silently by Dalit families.

Each FIR registered in these cases represents a significant act of resistance in the face of generations of caste oppression. Our engagement with these survivors and their families has opened up many new questions for WSS. What can we do to expose and challenge these institutionalised mechanisms of patriarchal dominance and control? Those who are struggling on the ground are well aware that resisting the caste system and working towards its annihilation necessitates going beyond protests against caste atrocities. The myriad ways in which caste is tied up to marriage, family and property, and the cultural and social tyranny it brings in its wake are compounded today by the deepening social and economic inequalities. This complex dynamic cannot be tackled without the forging of a common front and concerted action by all democratic groups and social movements. Violence against Dalit women and girls in Haryana has a unique face, but equally, Haryana is not unique in its brutality towards women.

As we close this report, the country is once again the focus of international condemnation for the rape and killing of two minor cousin sisters in Badaun, Uttar Pradesh, whose bodies were found strung up on a tree near their home. There is a depressing familiarity to the state's response. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh claimed that his government was being unfairly targeted even though such incidents are not rare; some of his party colleagues went a step further and claimed that violence against

women is a “matter of mindsets” and can never be completely eliminated. Our newly elected Prime Minister has so far maintained a studied silence on the issue, despite the fact that an end to attacks on women was one of the loudest slogans of his election campaign. News has also just come in of the eviction of the Bhagana protestors, along with other groups camping at Jantar Mantar, the only space left in the national capital where citizens can gather for peaceful democratic protests. Although ostensibly done because of “security concerns” during the upcoming Parliament session, this move is rightly being read as a clear signal of the lengths to which the new government is prepared to go to project an investor-friendly image of the country. The process of preparing this report has made us even more sharply aware of the need to take our analysis of these dynamics to a deeper level in our effort to stand in solidarity with these struggles on the ground. We do not see this report as an end, but as a means to an end: that of breaking the silence and ripping the veils that shroud the issue of sexual violence against Dalit girls and women. It is a starting point for our own effort to expand our struggle against violence and to build connections between WSS and other platforms. It is a means to inform and seek support in fighting and ending the casteist discrimination and oppression that infests every aspect of our society, yet remains invisible precisely because it is so pervasive.

Notes:

[1] The Tribune, Chandigarh, 28 October 2013

[2] Our Daughter is Our Wealth

[3] International Centre for Research on Women. 2014. “Qualitative Case Study: Recent Trends in Gender, Education and Marriage of Girls in Haryana”. ICRW, New Delhi, 2014.

The preceeding is a chapter from the full report by Women against Sexual Violence and State Repression (WSS).

Eight Stages of Successful Social Movements

The public demands change. The opposition to the powerholders is now so overwhelming that the whole issue is publicly recognized as the "good guys vs bad guys".

✱ **Bill Moyer**

STAGE SIX: MAJORITY PUBLIC SUPPORT

The movement must consciously undergo a transformation from spontaneous protest, operating in a short-term crisis, to a long-term popular struggle to achieve positive social change. It needs to win over the neutrality, sympathies, opinions, and even support of an increasingly larger majority of the populace and involve many of them in the process of opposition and change. The central agency of opposition must slowly change from the new wave activists and groups to the great majority of nonpolitical populace, the PPOs, and the mainstream political forces as they are convinced to agree with the movement's position. The majority stage is a long process of eroding the social, political, and economic supports that enable the powerholders to continue their policies. It is a slow process of social transformation that create a new social and political consensus, reversing those of normal times.

Although movements need to organize both nationally and locally, they are only as powerful as the power of their grassroots. All the national offices in Washington, D.C. can do is cash in on the social and

political gains created at the community level all over the country. The movement's chief goal, therefore, is to nurture, support, and empower grassroots activists and groups. Finally, activists also need to have a grand strategy for waging Stage Six majority movements to win positive social changes against the strong opposition of the powerholders.

Opposition

The opposition needs to wage a Stage Six strategy. Too often strategy has meant a calendar of events, an assorted number of unconnected campaigns, and reactions to new governmental

policies. A Stage Six strategy includes a set of strategic programs, new organizational and leadership models, and an overall grand strategy.

Strategic Programs

Ongoing low-intensity local organizing. The key to Stage Six success ultimately is the ongoing, day-in and day-out basic efforts of grassroots local activists public speaking, information tables at supermarkets, leafleting, yard sales, and so on all involving face-to-face education of citizens by their peers and keeping the issue before the public.

Massive public education and



Brazil a victory for majority public support

conversion. The basic purpose of the movement in this stage is to educate, convert, and involve all segments of the population. This is accomplished through a broad variety of means, including the mass media. Most important, however, are direct contacts through the low-intensity activities at the local level, through sidewalk tables, demonstrations, leaflets, petitions, house meetings, literature, and bumper stickers. The issue needs to be re-defined to show how it directly affects everyone's values and self-interests and what they can do about it.

Build a broad-based pluralized movement. The movement needs to include all segments of the population through coalitions, networks, co-sponsorship of events and petitions, and directly involving all constituency groups, example, unemployed, Blacks, workers, teachers, Hispanics, religious, women, students, etc. This includes movement organizations within each constituency such as Women for Peace and Teachers for Social Responsibility. In addition, the movement needs groups in all three categories professional opposition organizations, new wave grassroots, and principled dissent. The different movement organizations must be allies with each other, overcoming the tendency towards self-righteousness, anti-mosity, and divisiveness.

Renewed use of mainstream political and social institutions. As the movement wins larger majorities of public opinion, mainstream channels (e.g., Congress, city councils, officials, election campaigns, candidates, courts, official commissions and hearings, and ballot referenda) are used with increasing effectiveness. While they serve to build the movement keeping the issue in the public spotlight, educating the public, and so on they also win actual victories on demands where there is big public support in places where the movement is strongest and the central powerholders weakest, often at the local and state levels. These



successes serve to build the movement's success from the ground up over the coming years. For example, the opposition to U.S. direct military invasion of Nicaragua has been (at least temporarily) successful at the Congressional level, but not at the central powerholder level of the Reagan administration. And nuclear energy plans have been halted at the local and state levels, while the central government and nuclear industry maintain their policies favoring increased use of nuclear power. Also, the opposition to nuclear weapons has been built into a national consensus, which is putting enormous pressure on the national government. Even President Reagan has tried to appear to be ending nuclear weapons, especially U.S. missiles in Europe, where there is overwhelming public opposition.

Nonviolent rallies, demonstrations, and campaigns, especially at critical times and places. Although the movement now includes a wide range of programs, it must continue to have nonviolent actions, rallies, and campaigns, with occasional civil disobedience. While nonviolent actions should be held at traditional times and places, such as on Hiroshima and Nagasaki days, they should also occur at critical times and places, such as when Congress votes on aid to the contras, when dictators visit, and during re-trigger events, such as the Chernobyl accident. Because people are involved in so many different programs in this stage, and many no longer see the purpose of some nonviolent actions, the numbers participating in any specific national or local demonstration usually drop below those of the take-off stage (with the exception of some new



crises). However, because there are nonviolent actions happening in hundreds of local communities around the country when movements are in the majority stage, the nationwide total number participating in demonstrations actually increases enormously in this stage.

Although nonviolent actions sometimes do help win immediate successes, such as change a city council member's or Congressperson's vote, their chief purpose is to help achieve many of the goals of Stages Four to Six, such as keeping the issue in the public spotlight and providing a platform for the movement to educate the public.

Citizen involvement programs. The movement needs to develop programs in which large numbers of common citizens can become actively involved in programs that challenge current traditions, policies, and laws, while simultaneously carrying out the society's values and the movement's alternatives. This empowers the movement and citizens because they can carry out their values and goals without waiting for the powerholders to make the decision for them. This is quite different from isolated alternative "demonstration" projects. Citizen involvement programs put large numbers of people directly in contradiction with

official policies. Some excellent massive citizen involvement programs of today's movements include the sanctuary movement, in which local churches and towns throughout the country provide official sanctuary for Central American political refugees; the thousands of "citizen diplomats" traveling to Russia and Nicaragua; sending tools and aid to Nicaragua in violation of U.S. sanctions; and nuclear free towns, counties, and even countries, such as New Zealand and Palau. These programs educate and convert the public, demonstrate the alternative values and policies sought, demonstrate the extent of popular opposition, undercut the authority of the powerholders to carry out their policy goals, and build change from the bottom up.

Respond to new trigger events, such as the Three-Mile Island and Chernobyl accidents, to again put the issue in the public spotlight, educate the public to new levels of awareness, build the movement organizations, and increase the pressure for change.

New empowerment organization and leadership model

Movement organizations must switch from the "loose" to the "empowerment" model. The loose organization model was highly appropriate at the beginning of the

new movement. It allowed for creative, spontaneous activities, which included civil disobedience and quick, flexible, and direct decision-making by all involved. But after six months the loose structure rapidly becomes a liability. It becomes too inefficient, people burn out from long meetings, the most experienced and strongest activists become dominant leaders, new people have difficulty becoming full participants, and the whole organization evolves into an informal hierarchy. The empowerment organization model is the name given to a new structure that activists must construct themselves, in which they try to maximize the advantages and minimize the disadvantages of the hierarchical and loose models. Its goal is to be participatory democratic, efficient, flexible, and capable of lasting over the long haul. This requires more structures, but structures that assure these principles.

This is a critical time for the offices and staff of national movement organizations. While they need to advocate practical policies of "real politics", maintain the organization, and operate in bureaucracies (no matter how "collective"), they must prevent the organization from becoming a new POO, and the staff from becoming new movement elites. The primary

goal is to serve, nurture, and empower the grassroots and to ensure that internal participatory democracy is carried out. The staff model must continue to be that of nurturing mothers, not dominant patriarchs. When the national staff behaves as if they are the movement, the grassroots dries up and the movement loses its power.

Grand Strategy

Activists need to develop a "grand strategy" for waging social movements in Stage Six. Lacking a viable strategy, most activists are unable to see a relationship between their day-to-day activities and the accomplishment of the movement's goals. Some of the key elements are the following:

Keep the issue in the public spotlight and on society's agenda over time. Keep the policies and conditions which violate the values, interests, and beliefs of the majority of the populace in the public spotlight. Over time, this helps build the social and political conditions for change because it helps fulfill Robert Jay Lifton's view that the way to get rid of a social delusion is to keep telling the truth. The present social movements against nuclear weapons and in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America should recognize as tremendous success the fact that these issues have been kept in the public spotlight and on society's social and political agendas for a number of years.

Identify all of the movement's key goals and identify which stage each is in and develop strategies to achieve them. Identify the movement's full range of demands, from the very specific to the general, such as end all nuclear weapons, stop nuclear testing, stop Star Wars, and stop U.S. Euromissiles. Strategies, submovements, and campaigns need to be developed for each of these major demands. Activists should identify which MAP stage the movement is in for each of these demands and develop strategies, submovements, and campaigns to achieve each major

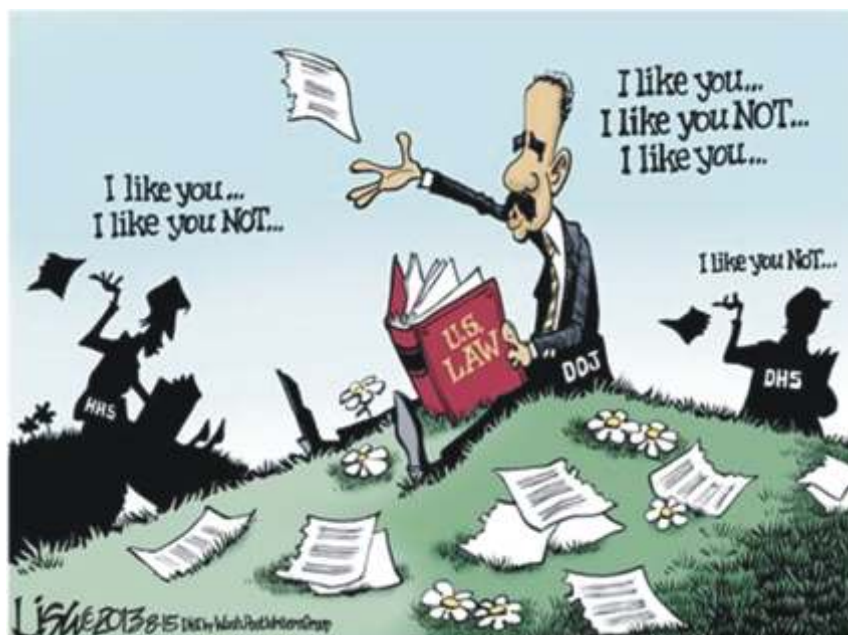
demand. For example, stop U.S. direct invasion of Nicaragua might be in Stage Seven, official support for the contras in Stage Six, and a positive Contadora peace resolution for all of Central America is possibly just in Stage Three.

Counter the powerholders' strategy. The movement needs to identify the powerholders' long-term goals, strategies, and programs and develop counter strategies against each one. For example, the U.S. is considering invading Nicaragua, supporting the contra's war against Nicaragua, preventing a meaningful peaceful Contadora resolution, etc. The movement needs to develop campaigns to prevent the government's achieving each of these objectives.

Beyond reforms: propose alternatives, larger demands, and a new paradigm. The movement now needs not only to protest present policies but also to propose specific alternatives. In the process of struggle, people act their way into thinking, and they learn that the problem is much bigger than they had thought. They come to realize that their original concerns were merely symptoms of much bigger and deeper problems; consequently, the movement needs to make larger demands. This ultimately includes the necessity for a whole new

worldview or paradigm. The movement against Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, for example, realized that they needed to remove all nuclear weapons from East and West Europe. This has led a new worldview of a nuclear free East and West Europe that will become increasingly neutral and independent of the Soviet-United States superpower bloc system.

Guide the movement through the dynamics of conflict with the powerholders. Waging a social movement is similar to playing chess. The movement and powerholders constantly engage in moves and countermoves to win the public and build conditions to support their own position. The movement tries to build moral, political, and economic conditions that will erode the support that enables the powerholders to continue their policies. The powerholders keep changing their policies to keep their capacity to maintain the status quo. The movement's goal is to keep weakening the powerholders' position and raising the price that they must pay to continue their policies. The Reagan administration, for example, seemed about to invade Nicaragua in 1984, but the anti-intervention movement raised public opposition





A revolution can be neither made nor stopped. The only thing that can be done is for one of several of its children to give it a direction by dint of victories.

- Napoleon Bonaparte

to a new level. The government then switched its chief focus to supporting the contras, but the movement made this illegal by helping pass the Boland amendment, thereby forcing the government to undertake the high-risk policies of illegal and unconstitutional covert aid through Ollie North. This weakened President Reagan's capacity to wage his policies in Central America as well as elsewhere.

Powerholders

The powerholders launch a hardline conflict management strategy to defend their policies, which included the following: Promote new rhetoric and myths and re-emphasize the threat of outside demons, such as terrorism and Communism, to try to rally an increasingly skeptical public.

Increase their counter-movement strategy to gather intelligence; discredit the movement; cause internal disruption, control, and steer the movement; preempt it by claiming to do the movement's program (e.g., "Star Wars will end nuclear weapons"); and try to co-opt the movement under mainstream political control (e.g., co-sponsor grossly watered down Congressional bills). Engage in the dynamics of conflict with the movement by switching strategies, stance, and policies as needed, for example, from invading Nicaragua with U.S. troops, to supporting the proxy contras and waging low-intensity warfare against Nicaragua.

Publicly appear to be engaged

in a meaningful "negotiation process", while actually carrying out operative policies and doctrines without giving up any important advantages. Powerholders keep pronouncing that their policies are correct and winning. Finally, splits begin happening within the power structure, as over time pressure from the new social and political consensus force increasing portions of the mainstream political, economic and social elites to switch their position, even openly oppose the policies of the central powerholders in order to protect their own self-interests. The issue is now hotly contested within Congress, the Administration, and all other political levels.

Public

Public opinion opposing the powerholders' policies grows to as much as 65 percent within a few years, and then, over many years, slowly swells to a large majority of up to 85 percent. The populace, however, is evenly split over wanting a change in the status quo. Half fear the alternatives more than they oppose the present conditions and policies. By the early 1970s, for example, 83 percent of Americans called for an end to the Vietnam war, and currently 65 percent oppose aid to the contras and U.S. military intervention in Central America.

Goals

Keep the issue and the powerholders' values violations in the public spotlight and on society's agenda. Switch from only crisis protest to waging protracted social struggle to achieve positive social

change. Gear efforts to the public to keep winning a bigger majority opinion. Involve large numbers of the populace in programs at the grassroots level. Propose alternatives, more demands, and a new paradigm. Have activists able to use a strategic framework such as MAP. 32 Bill Moyer Adopt empowerment organizational and leadership models.

Pitfalls

Activists become stuck in the protest stage. Movement violence, rebelliousness, and macho radicalism. Believing that the movement is losing and local efforts are futile. National organizations and leadership disenfranchise grassroots activists by dominating the movement. Cooptation by powerholders through collusion and compromise. Political sects dominate the movement organizations.

Conclusions

Over many years, perhaps decades, public opinion against the powerholders' policies swells to an overwhelming majority of up to 85 percent, as was opposition to the Vietnam War. Almost every sector of society eventually wants to end the problem and current policies most politicians, the Democratic Party, celebrities, professionals, students, Middle America, youth, the unemployed, local governments, and the general population. But strangely, nothing seems to change. The problem continues, Congress seems unable to make decisive votes, and the central powerholders continue their policies, although with cosmetic changes. Moreover the movement appears to be in a lull. There are demonstrations, meetings, and activists, but they seem small, routine, and mechanical, as the movement's position has been adopted by the mainstream of society. Over the years, however, the weight of the massive public opposition, along with the defection of many elites, eventually takes its toll. The political price that the powerholders have to pay to

maintain their policies grows to become an untenable liability.

STAGE SEVEN: SUCCESS

Stage Seven begins when the long process of building opposition reaches a new plateau in which the new social consensus turns the tide of power against the powerholders and begins an endgame process leading to the movement's success. The Stage Seven process can take three forms: dramatic showdown, quiet showdown, or attrition.

Dramatic showdown resembles the take off stage. A sudden trigger event sparks a mobilization of broad popular opposition and a social crisis, but this time the overwhelming coercive force, in a relatively short time, changes policies or leadership. This was achieved in each issue of the early 1960s civil rights movement, such as when the Selma march started President Johnson and the Congress into motion that led to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 within a few months. Activists usually feel that they won and had played an important role in achieving success.

Quiet showdown. Realizing that they can no longer continue their present policies, the powerholders launch a face-saving endgame process of "victorious retreat". Rather than admit defeat, they proclaim victory and start a publicly recognized process of changing their policies and conditions to those demanded by the movement and social consensus. The powerholders try to take credit for this "victory", even though they were forced to reverse their previously hardline policies, while activists often have difficulty seeing their role in this success. Another example is President Reagan's efforts to reach an agreement with Gorbachev to end Euromissiles.

Attrition is when success is quietly and seemingly invisibly achieved in a long process which could take decades, in which social and political machinery slowly evolves new policies and conditions, such as the present winding down of nuclear energy in the United States.

During the attrition process, activists usually have even more difficulty recognizing the successful endgame process and the fact that they had a crucial role in causing it. In all three forms, once the endgame process starts, final success is not guaranteed. Until the change is finally actually accomplished, the situation can be reversed. Stage Seven involves a continual struggle, but one in which the opposition is on the offensive until the specific goal is won.

Opposition

The chief engine for change switches from the "movement" to traditional progressives; the "nonpolitical" majority of the population; and mainstream political, social, and economic groups and institutions. The public becomes involved in a broad range of social actions which keep the spotlight on the issues, reveals the evils of the present policies, and creates real political and economic penalties. Most of the business and political powerholders are forced to defect from their ties to the status quo, because it is in their self-interest. The penalty for defending the status quo has become bigger than for accepting the alternative. The politicians will face hostile voters at their next election, and the business community can suffer loss of profits or business community

can suffer loss of profits or business through boycotts, sanctions, and disruption of the marketplace. There sometimes is a general, worldwide insurrection which isolates the central powerholders and their dwindling support.

The opposition's efforts and feelings vary according to the endgame form: In dramatic showdown, the movement more resembles the take-off stage, in which it plays a massive, publicly obvious role involving mass-demonstrations in a time of crisis leading to success in a relatively short time, such as the toppling of Marcos, following the election process, or the achievement of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, five months after the Selma campaign. In quiet showdown, the movement continues its strategy and of both take-off and Stage Six, and while still publicly active, activists need to work hard to recognize the victory and their own role. In attrition, the endgame process is often not recognized as success, the movement's role is much less visible, and much of the opposition's efforts are carried out through the work of elites and the POOs.

Powerholders

The viability of the central powerholders' policies is eroded economically and politically. The majority of powerholders join the



Egyptian revolution of 2011 is considered one of the successful ones



opposition view, while the central powerholders are isolated and eventually defeated. The central powerholders are: forced into making fatal mistakes, such as President Nixon's ordered Watergate break-ins and other "dirty tricks" against the opposition, or when President Reagan felt forced to violate the Boland amendment through illegal covert aid to the contras; increasingly prevented from doing what is fully required to successfully carry out their policies, such as when the Pentagon was prevented from carrying out programs it felt were necessary to win the Vietnam War; and resort to extreme emergency acts of political and economic decrees and repression, which serve only to spur the opposition. The economic, social, and political penalties erode the base for support of the powerholders to either continue their policies or remain in office.

The central powerholders have three different endgame strategies, according to the type of ending: Custer's last stand (in dramatic showdown), in which they hold out until either their policies are defeated in the mainstream political process, such as in the courts, Congress, or referenda, or they lose their office or position through elections or mass social actions and pressures; Victorious retreat (in quiet showdown), in which the

powerholders lose on the issue, but in reversing their policies declare victory for themselves; or of persistent stubbornness (in attrition), in which they hold out in an increasingly losing cause over many years, until one of the above two endings occur.

Public

The public demands change. The opposition to the powerholders is now so overwhelming that the whole issue is publicly recognized as the "good guys vs. bad

guys". One is either for decency or for President Marcos, apartheid, and the Vietnam War. While a majority opposition has existed for some years, up to now the mass population was not willing to act on their beliefs. They had not acted because they: felt powerless, did not know what to do, were not called to action by a trigger event and crisis, and feared the alternative (e.g., Communism, or the unknown) more than they desired change. Citizens are so repulsed that their desire to end present policies and conditions overtakes their worry about the consequences of the alternative. They are ready to vote, demonstrate, and even support the central powerholders in changing present policies. For example, people want

an end to nuclear weapons more than they fear Soviet attack and takeover.

Goals

The movement's goals for this stage include: Wage a successful "endgame" strategy to achieve one or more demands. Have activists recognize the success and their own role in it. Raise larger issues and propose alternative paradigms. Create new decentralized centers of power based on more participatory structures and an empowered public. Continue the movement.

Pitfalls

The movement needs to avoid: compromising too many values and key demands; achieving minor reforms without building toward basic social change; having activists feel dismayed and powerless because they do not recognize success and the movement's role in a successful endgame; and having apparent final victory end the movement.

Conclusion

The movement finally achieves one or more of its demands. It now needs to address some hard questions: What is success? What needs to be done next? The movement needs to recognize successes achieved, follow up on the demands won, raise larger issues, focus on other demands which are in various stages, and propose larger alternatives and a new paradigm.

Concluded



Patriotism Can Be Unbound and Unchained Astronomically

✱ Sankara Narayanan

After the formation of Narendra Modi-led government at New Delhi, a few patriots gave a clarion online and media orchestrated call requesting the affluent customers availing the LPG subsidy to voluntarily surrender the rights. It is not known how many crores of the well to do patriots responded to this nationalistic call. It cannot but be insignificant, going by the past experiences. Only about 2 lakh Indians out of 30 cr courted arrest during Quit India Movement in 1942. It was a similar pathetic story in the aftermath of Emergency declared in 1975.

While the nationalists are so much agitated over the Central government's annual subsidy of Rs.22,000 cr on LPG (2010-11), the scores of undeserving subsidies quietly enjoyed by the affluent sections went unnoticed by the patriots. I list out a few of them for the kind attention of the nation saviours. Please note that the list is only illustrative and not exhaustive. Diesel subsidy given for the poor farmers and public transport has been benefiting diesel car owners, telecom towers, diesel generators and others who do not merit. Subsidised fuel and that too on credit for aviation sector is another cruel joke. The revenue foregone by the government annually on 'diamond and gold'- the basic minimum needs -stands at Rs. 66,000 crore only.

As taxpayers, all of us are



familiar with an animal called 80C, which is the tax deduction we get if we invest in certain products like mutual funds and insurance policies. All told, that revenue forgone adds up to more than Rs. 30,000 crore. Add all the other implicit subsidies like health insurance or interest on loans taken for higher education, and the figure rises to almost Rs. 37,000 crore. This is a subsidy for those earning Rs. 20 lakh and above a year.

As much as Rs. 70,000 crore is lost to the exchequer in the name of fertilizer subsidy. Most of this money, however, goes into the coffers of fertilizer companies and

wealthy farmers. Organic farming duly supported by RSS and Swadeshi Jagran Manch can shut out this subsidy at once.

How many of us paid market rates to get our degrees and doctorates? We go abroad, pay Rs. 1 crore for our degrees- and get the government to forgo revenue of Rs. 316 crore (deduction on account of interest on loan taken for higher education, under Section 80E). About Rs. 20000 crore worth subsidy each year is provided by state electricity boards for domestic connections. State subsidies to the Hi-Fi private schools & hospitals are meant for the affluent sections.



Subsidised education from high end institutions like IIT, NIT, AIIMS, IISc and business management schools is state sponsored for the IPL class. Add the subsidy to city clubs, cigar clubs, golf clubs, BCCI, IPL, Formula One Racing etc and tax/duty concessions to ultra-luxurious SUVs for tourism industry. The cars imported for tourism are liberally used by the high and mighty without an ounce of shame.

Modi Sarkar has decided to say a good bye to the Planning Commission because we are in a free-market economy unleashed in 1991. In the liberalised, privatised and globalised economy, the state has no business to interfere in business matters. We are told that competition is the sole mantra and there cannot be any more free lunch. Survival of the fittest is the golden law and market forces will act according to the supply & demand situations in the LPG era without the blessings of a Mai-Baap Sarkar. But the reality is strikingly different in respect of the corporate sector. Mai-Bap Sarkars of UPA-I & II and NDA-II in the LPG era have given continued state supports worth Rs. 41 lakh crore under the head Revenue Foregone (Corporate Income Tax, Excise & Custom) from 2005-06 to 2014-15 through the Union budgets to our big ticket Lalas.

The provisional figure written off for the corporate needy and the belly-aching better off is Rs. 5,72,923 crore in the union budget for 2014-15. Or Rs. 5.32 lakh-crore if you leave out something like personal income tax, which covers a relatively wider group of people. It's close to three times the amount said to have been lost in the 2G scam. About four times what the oil marketing companies claim to have lost in so-called "under-recoveries" in 2012-13. Almost five times what this year's budget earmarks for the PDS. Over 15 times what's been allocated for the MNREGS. And over 10 times the money needed to improve sanitation across 118 towns and 1649 village panchayats situated on the banks of Ganga. It's the biggest giveaway, an unending free lunch that's renewed every year. Gee, it's legal, too. It is government policy. It's in the Union Budget.

On an average, Rs. 1457 cr worth of free-bies is doled out to corporate each calendar day. And an hourly dole of Rs. 61 cr. All in the name of incentives to step up production and employment. Neither has been achieved is the stark reality. Mutual scratching is the funda of this free lunch in LPG era. Let the competition and hard work go to dogs. Believe me these doles will not make our Seths lazy. And it is the largest conceivable transfer of wealth and resources to

the wealthy and the corporate world that the 'nationalists' almost never look at.

Illegal state patronage in allotting mines to corporates is a phenomenon well known to all of us, thanks to CAG, media, NGOs and Supreme Court. While the giant steel makers like SAIL, Tatas and Jindals get their iron ore requirements at the rate of Rs. 500 per ton from their captive mines, their less fortunate brothers get the same ore at Rs. 5000 per ton. But those who enjoy the Rs. 4500 per ton unlawful state support do not pass on the benefits to the people. The story is similar in the case of power generators having captive coal mines and those without. The state purchases power at a particular rate from all producers conveniently ignoring the free lunch provided to the lucky Lalas.

Banks are very severe on common people in recovering the loans. Humiliation and insults from the recovery mechanisms are very common if you are a pretty ordinary citizen. But the state-owned banks have written off loans worth more than one lakh crore rupees in the last one decade. 95% of the benefits went to big corporates. The Himalayan NPAs pertaining to big defaulters are carefully kept under wrap. Is it not the mantra of 'the survival of the strongest'? For want of space, neither the free-bies showered on the sellers of education, health & God and real estate sharks nor the lottery offered to the chosen few in the name of Discretionary Quota nor the mother of all loots ingeniously called as SEZ is elaborated here.

My humble request to our patriotic brigade is this: Instead of frittering away their valuable time and energy in opposing petty subsidies on cooking gas, rice, kerosene etc, they should rather target the mega free-bies enjoyed by the millionaires and billionaires in the liberalised-Privatised-Globalised era under all governments including the Modi Sarkar.

Enthralling Prabhat Samgiita Evening



On the occasion of 32nd anniversary of Prabhat Samgiita Divas, Renaissance Artists' and Writers' Association (RAWA), the cultural wing of Ananda Marga Pracharak Samgha organized a lively cultural evening based on Prabhat Samgiita on 27th October 2014, at Science city Auditorium, Kolkata. The programme started with Prabhat Samgiita by the group, Shanti Niketan singing songs in Angika.

On this occasion, noted educationist Dr. Purabi Roy, former Professor, International Relations, Jadavpur University was felicitated for her valuable contribution in the field of education. Dr. Uma Chattopadhyay, Professor, Department of Philosophy, Kolkata University was the Chief Guest. Acharya Trymbakeshvarananda Avadhuta, a senior monk of Ananda Marga presided over the function.

A'c. Ravishananda Avadhuta, Central RAWA Secretary was also present on the dais. During the felicitation programme, A'c. Ravishananda Avadhuta, Acharya Trymbakeshvarananda Avadhuta, Dr. Uma Chattopadhyay and A'c. Sugatananda Avadhuta presented Shrifalam, Uttariya, shawl and citation to Dr. Purabi Roy respectively. After felicitation programme Dr. Purabi Roy expressed heartfelt thanks to RAWA for her felicitation and she also spoke on Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji's contribution to Prabhat Samgiita.

Dr. Uma Chattopadhyay lauded Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji's versatile genius. She dwelt upon his contributions in all academic subjects which is for the welfare of all humanity. She said he has composed Prabhat Samgiita which bears universal appeal and has the capacity to impart fresh insight into the meaning of life, the cosmos and the Lord of the universe. Once he started, the stream of his creativity raced on flowing easily around obstacles, the small stream grew into a swiftly flowing river and then into a mighty waterway which finally merged into the boundless ocean of the supreme, unfathomable consciousness. The depth of the ideas, the language, tune, rhythm and beat, woven together in a novel style so appealing to the heart, have imbued these songs with a unique quality and universal message. Prabhát Saîgiita is named after its composer, at the same time it steps out of the rut of the conventional to proclaim the advent of a new dawn (Prabháta) in music. The present times has brought human civilization to the brink of a deep crisis. Confronted with innumerable problems, people have lost their way and have fallen into extreme decadence. Despair is pervasive. Shrii Shrii Anandamurti, with his deep knowledge of human character, was aware of this. That is why the fundamental note in his comprehensive ideology of life and in Prabhát Samgiita is one of optimism.

Banga Bibhushan renowned Singer Smt Swagatalakshmi Dasgupta sang four devotional songs of Prabhat Samgiita. A dance drama titled "Uttaran" written by A'c. Tanmayananda Avadhuta based on Prabhat Samgiita was presented by the dance-group "Labanya". It was choreographed by Anshuraj Ghosh and compered by Shubhendu Ghosh.

Jammu & Kashmir Flood Relief



In the wake of the devastation caused by the floods in Jammu and Kashmir, AMURT/ AMURTEL carried out intensive relief work in several remote villages of Srinagar, Anantnag, Poonch, Rajouri, Udhampur, Jammu, Bandipora and Srinagar under the supervision and leadership of Avadhutika Deepika Acarya and Ac. Shubhagananda Avadhuta along with Ac. Phaniishananda Avadhuta and Avadhutika Ananda Nirukta Acharya. Several other WTs and volunteers helped them day and night.

Relief material like blankets, sweaters, cooking utensils, cooking oils, milk powder, pulses, kids wear, Plastic Sheets and medicines like BP medicines, chlorine tablets, medicated soaps, asthmatic inhalers etc. besides phenyl, disinfectants and masks were distributed to the flood victims. Several medical camps were organized with the help of local doctors. These camps drew about 250-300 patients of all age groups daily.

To supply relief material to the volunteers of AMURT in Jammu and Kashmir, donation in the form of cash and kind is pouring in from different parts of the country and abroad. To supplement the ongoing relief work in Jammu & Kashmir, Delhi Chapter of AMURT arranged for a truckload of relief material weighing about 5 tons, which included Food Material (Flour, Rice & Pulses), Blankets, Clothes, Phenyl, Medicines, Masks & Woolen Socks and Caps. The truck was flagged off by Acharya Santoshanananda Avadhuta, Editor PROUT journal. A similar consignment of medicines was also dispatched by Faridabad Chapter of AMURT for regular medical camps in the flood hit areas.

Besides the relief work in J&K, AMURT/ AMURTEL team consisting of 15 WTs and 10 volunteers and led by A/c. Karmeshananda Avt has been rendering services to the flood ravaged areas in Balbala, Assam for more than a week. They distributed food, beaten rice, molasses, biscuits, washing soap, tooth paste and other essential commodities among thousands of flood victims. AMURT has also taken up health hygiene programme for the flood victims. AMURT volunteers are distributing phenyl and bleaching powder under cleanliness programme, They have also set up several medical camps to combat epidemic and endemic diseases. AMURT has also distributed clothes among Goalpara flood victims.

Besides local TV channels and newspapers, a number of popular national dailies like Hindu, Navbharat Times, Hindustan and Navoday Times have published the news about the relief work being done by AMURT/ AMURTEL.

AMURT Relief in Assam



PBI Contests in Vidarbha Elections



Haribhau Kawduji Pendor is a veteran Proutist activist of Vidarbha. He has participated in various protests and movements such as farmers protests, fighting against human rights violations, protesting the rape of adivasis and protests against corruption in government welfare programmes.

In the recent MLA elections in Maharashtra, he had no money, nor did the local organization but still he was determined to contest. Going by bicycle and scooter rides of friends he actively fought in Arni constituency informing the people about PROUT's programmes to declare agriculture as an industry when calculating price of produce, commitment to providing the basic requirements of food, clothing, medical care, education and housing for all and about ending the exploitation of outside exploiters. Unfazed by the results, he is determined to keep on fighting against local cases of injustice and preparing the people for independence from Mumbai bureaucrats in the form of a Vidarbha state based on economic democracy.

AMURT Work in Nigeria

AMURT started work in Nigeria in 2010. We wanted to save lives and make a real impact. We selected Ebonyi State as our project area because of its poverty, poor health infrastructure and high maternal mortality. At the centre of our strategy is a partnership model involving the communities, government, private sector and local organizations. We prioritize remote and neglected areas where there is no access to primary healthcare or maternal health services. Together with the communities we construct new health centres (clinics) that are owned and managed by a committee elected by the community. The government helps in providing staff for the health centres. Private sector provides most of the funding. Other local organizations assist in various ways. It feels so right to be part of cooperative effort to meet the healthcare needs of the rural population. Some think that in partnership you only half the credit. But the truth is opposite. In partnerships you can achieve so much more, you can achieve goals you could never reach working independently.

We have started five rural health centres in two project areas. A sixth health centre in a third project is under construction. In 2011 we had 23 maternal deaths in the two project areas. In 2012 this was down to six deaths. In 2013 it was down to 3, and in 2014 we have only had one maternal death in or two project areas. This has been achieved through a very comprehensive and community-driven approach, that is still developing, as we monitor and evaluate the work to see how we can improve.

Key components:

- health education in the villages
- home visits to pregnant women
- comprehensive ante-natal services
- well equipped birth rooms
- further training for health workers and birth attendants
- free delivery
- regular doctor visits
- subsidized ambulance service
- financial assistance for emergencies
- village Maternal Health Promoters elected by the women in each village
- pregnant women support group meetings

While maternal and newborn health is the priority, the health centres welcome all kinds of patients. With partners like CCCRN, SFH and MAPS, the health centres offer good care for malaria, the biggest killer of children in the West Africa, HIV testing, counselling and ARV treatment including PMTCT (Prevention of Mother To Child Transmission) of HIV is available in the health centres. We have also provided assistance for handicapped children, as well as support for widows and abandoned mothers in desperate situations.

Integral Outlook

Shrii Shrii Ānandamūrti

The universe is born out of Macrocosmic imagination. Every entity of this universe, manifest or unmanifest, is maintained in the vast Cosmic Mind. So the Cosmic Consciousness is the primary cause of everything. And not only is the primary cause, He is also is the witnessing entity.

I exist because He exists and wants me to exist. No other entity except the Supreme One should be contemplated upon. He is the Supreme Destination of every finite entity.

When due to ignorance, microcosms think that there is something more besides Supreme Saviour it is called the non-integral outlook. Conversely, when they feel in the core of their hearts that there is nothing within or without except Supreme Meaning, and that whatever exists is nothing but His imagination, that is called the integral outlook.

To attain savikalpa, nirvikalpa, and samprajñā'ta sama'dhis (trances of absorption in Consciousness) the development of an integral outlook is essential. Whenever there is a decline in spiritual culture in the world the cause is a lack of spiritual aspirants and qualified preceptors. In this modern world developed and effective spiritual science is freely available, but there is certainly a lack of inquisitive spiritual seekers and qualified teachers.

Qualified spiritual teachers are those with a developed integral outlook and a capacity to impart it to their students. Unfortunately so many so-called spiritual teachers are inculcating defective and narrow ideas in the name of spirituality to serve their own self-interests. Some of them even enter meaningless controversies such as whether God has a form or not, or is black or white, etc. Some even try to teach their disciples that there are as many as 300 million different gods and goddess! Others cite mythological stories to explain that certain gods bestow their powers on the faithful disciples, but other gods mercilessly punish the detractors. They jump at every opportunity to take advantage of the sentimental weaknesses of their credulous disciples, and in the name of spiritual training create obstacles on the path of spiritual progress by relating all kinds of cock and bull stories about heaven and hell. These "religious merchants" with their non-integral outlook, want to divide humanity into different groups (Indians, Germans, Russians, etc.) or into communities (Hindus, Muslims, Arya Samajas, etc.) Obviously blind religious supporters cannot form an integral view of the world. Rather they say, "Well in spite of having distributed so much food and water to the poor, and having undergone such severe penance, we still haven't been blessed with God-realization." This is an utterance of one with a non-integral outlook. Supreme Consciousness cannot be attained by such people.

The Supreme Entity looks deep into the inner thoughts and feelings of human beings. He is omniscient, forever watching throughout the creation those who are meditating upon Him with undivided attention, and those who have been patiently waiting with an unwavering mind to realize Him. These are expressions of those with an integral outlook. Only such people, irrespective of caste, colour, creed, community, national or geographical barrier, etc. can look upon each and every human being as their own kith and kin. They are free of all discrimination. They even treat the animals and plants as being intimately related to themselves.

To attain any object of this mundane world human beings usually depend on the mind, intellect and sense organs. The capacity of the sense organ is extremely limited. How can these organs, which are incapable of perceiving the subtle ethereal factor, perceive Supreme Consciousness, who is so many times more subtle than the five fundamental factors. In fact He is beyond the power of human comprehension.

The most secret place of the human being is within the existential feeling (mahattattva) or "I" feeling. Parama Puruṣa is the witnessing entity of this "I" feeling also. That's why elevated people try to realize the Supreme Entity in the innermost cavity of their hearts with an integral outlook.

The Supreme Entity is Gurha, that is, He is lying hidden in the innermost recess of the human entity. To attain Him one must penetrate deep within oneself, and for that the development of an introversial outlook is essential an extroversial outlook will be no assistance. What we call inanimate matter with our extroversial vision is actually a conscious entity if analysed with an integral outlook.

He lies in the innermost core of all objects in His original stance. If one could visualise the original form of the Supreme Entity all the apparent external differences would vanish into nothingness. In fact, the fundamental spirit of intuition practice is to realize the Supreme Unity in the midst of diversity.

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