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PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis



Caste in Pakistan: The Elephant in the Room

Women Have
Lower Access
to Medical Treatment

ZERO CYBER-SECURITY: LOSS OF INDIA'S LIBERTY A SURE CERTAINTY!

While traditionally cyber attacks were largely used for causing financial and reputational loss, today they have a potential of posing a threat to human life. We see an increasing number of state sponsored cyber terrorists and organised criminals behind the attacks today.



ALL VESTED INTERESTS ARE ALIGNED AGAINST THE SCHEDULED TRIBES, DALITS AND LOWER CASTE MUSLIMS WHO CONSTITUTE A MAJORITY

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WOMEN ARE FALLING ILL MORE Than men and this gender gap in morbidity has increased over the years

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PROUT

PROGRESSIVE UTILISATION THEORY

Propounded by - Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

PROUT - Cry of the Suffering Humanity

What is PROUT:

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

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

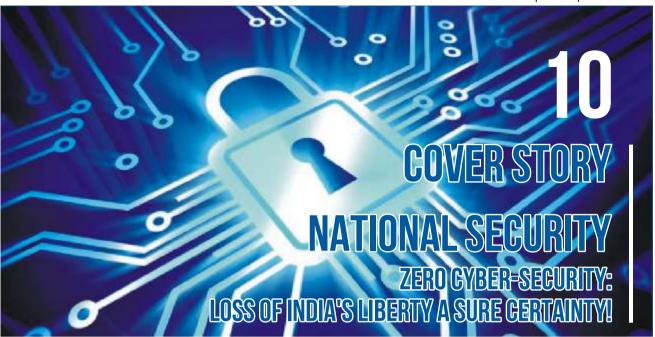
PROUT magazine invites scientists, economists, politicians, artists, intellectuals and others to join us in the creation of a new, spiritually bonded society by propagating and popularising unambiguous elevating thoughts. Through Proutistic views and Neo Humanistic analysis, it strives to serve as beacon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

Main principles of PROUT and Neo-Humanism

- Neo-humanism: Neo-humanism expands the humanistic love for all human beings to include love and respect for all creation plants, animals and even inanimate objects. Neo-humanism provides a philosophical basis for creating a new era of ecological balance, planetary citizenship and cosmic kinship.
- Basic Necessities Guaranteed To All: People can not strive toward their highest human aspirations if they are lacking the basic requirements of life. PROUT believes that access to food, shelter, clothing, education and medical care are fundamental human rights which must be guaranteed to all.
- Balanced Economy: Prout advocates regional self-reliance, cooperatively owned and managed businesses, local control of large scale key industries, and limits on the individual accumulation of excessive wealth.
- Women's Right: PROUT encourages the struggle against all forms of violence and exploitation used to suppress women. PROUT's goal is coordinated cooperation, with equal rights between men and women.
- Cultural Diversity: In the spirit of universal fellowship PROUT encourages the protection and cultivation of local culture, language, history and tradition.
- World Government: PROUT supports the creation of world government with a global constitution and a common penal code.

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The Earth is not only for human beings, it is for other living beings also. So we will have to do something for them. The minimum requirements and maximum amenities should also be given to animals. Today cows, dogs and monkeys are developing; tomorrow more and more animals will be in this category. Animals will also develop longings for different psycho-physical pabula, so they should be guaranteed minimum requirements and maximum amenities too. We will have to do something for them also. This is the demand of Neohumanism, of Neo-Humanistic ideas. This demand should be fulfilled by PROUT.

– Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar



Fundamental Principles of PROUT

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

Kashmir Scarred, Yet Beautiful

he beautiful valley of Kashmir is in flames today – the most densely militarized zone in the world, mired in the market place of global sorrow. From 1988 onwards till early this year 47234 terrorist incidents have been reported in Jammu and Kashmir with 14734 civilians, 6255 security forces personnel and 23096 terrorists killed. These are official figures; unofficial estimates (hotly disputed) put the toll to be over 70,000 killed, nearly 100,000 tortured and more than 8000 disappeared. Also spoken much less about is the plight of several hundred thousand Kashmiri Pundits who had to flee their homes in the face of terror by militant Muslims. They once formed part of 3% of the Valley's population and now live as refugees in Jammu and Delhi.

All this would on the surface appear to be caused due to political reasons fuelled by forces from across the border inimical to India's interests. But deep down there are economic reasons that are being drowned in the din and gunfire of hate and conflict – in which lies the solution for Kashmiri people's hardships.

For millennia, the people of Kashmir have been at the receiving end in the struggles for power between China, Tibet and various Muslim empires based in Central Asia, mostly sought after because it had a handful of strategic passes in the Himalayan and Karakorum mountain ranges of the Silk Route on which flourished trade between China and India. It were those very reasons that sparked British colonial interest in Kashmir in the 19th century and the present unrest owes its genesis to the partition of the subcontinent before which all of undivided India irrespective of religion rallied together on an anti British sentiment for independence. As Prout's founder Shrii PR Sarkar rightly says, "With the departure of the British from India – that is, with the death of the anti-British sentiment – a new sentiment should have been created, but the Indian leaders failed to do

Pakistan though being an artificial state, its leaders to begin with thrived on anti-Hindu sentiment later replaced by anti-Indian sentiment - which created the Kashmir issue. These sentiments helped the people of Pakistan to some extent, it still does. For Pakistan, Kashmir represents its charade of "one nation" of all Muslims. Pakistan's rulers can ill afford to support independence for Kashmir, because within their own borders Baluchis, Pathans and Sindhis, who suffer under Punjabi domination clamor for the same — with Pathans and Pakhtoons divided between Pakistan and Afghanistan and Baluchis between Iran and Pakistan.

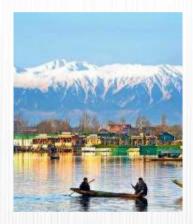
As for Jammu and Kashmir the tragedy was that the Indian leaders had accepted a special status giving political and cultural autonomy in that state, which has its own flag. Both Indian and Kashmiri flags are hoisted together without having the common sentiment of one country and one people. This naturally caused resentment in all other states of India and still does.

Soon after independence the state had been governed by puppet governments for some time and from the 1960s, Muslim extremism began to rise and the movement to try to merge Kashmir with Pakistan based on this religious sentiment got impetus. To make matters worse the puppet government had removed the Kashmiri language from schools and students were taught Urdu, thereby weakening Kashmiriyat, the Tantric and Sufi culture of Kashmir.

Today matters have come to such a head that with extended periods of indefinite curfew normal life remains a dream. Terror attacks from across the border have taken lives of many Indian soldiers and the recent daring surgical strikes carried out with precision on Terror Camps across the Line of Control in Pakistan held Kashmir has resulted in an upsurge of national pride all over India. However fuelled by Pakistani denial and propaganda for party's self-interest, political bickering among opposition parties on its authenticity demanding proof has created an unsavoury situation making matters worse.

Among all this, plight of the Kashmiri people goes on as ever before. The people feel oppressed and live in fear, they have no jobs or any hope for progress and prosperity. Such suffering is as a result of capitalist economy. Adding to that, the people of Jammu and Ladakh feel exploited by the people of the Kashmir valley. The key to ending this is to have Proutistic economy all over the Indian subcontinent by which all states would enjoy economic rights and freedom from the exploitation of money power from those outside of the state and region. This would be the first step towards economic freedom. And towards that ultimate goal Prout's founder Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar advocated the concept of the state of KAJAHIL - one large and political unit incorporating the geographical regions of present day Kashmir Valley, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh and Ladakh. This state would be divided into six economically independent units - Sirmauri, Pahari, Kinnauri, Dogri (Jammu), Kashmiri, Ladakhi samajas (socio-economic units). Politically too this would be a strong unit when governed with genuine love for the people based on the principles of neo-

India can in no way give up Kashmir because of the very same historical strategic reasons. Kashmir in the hands of enemies would be like a dagger at India's throat. As would be Arunachal Pradesh. The nation must continue to repose full faith and be behind the brave soldiers guarding the borders. Kashmir today is scarred and yet remains beautiful with its culture and Sufi traditions of its people. So establishing the state of KAJAHIL is the next logical step towards economic freedom first with greater political freedom later and the safe return of the Kashmiri Pundits to their homeland.



Prout's founder Shrii Prabhat Ranian Sarkar advocated the concept of the state of **KAJAHIL** - one large and political unit incorporating the geographical regions of present day Kashmir valley, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh and Ladakh.



Lakeside and Riverside Plantations

A whole new world reading this article about how we can save our rivers but what really grabbed me was that it said that from jojoba oil a substitute for diesel fuel can be found. Has anyone ever researched this? This would dramatically reduce pollution from diesel trucks. The main thing is that like afforestation, the planning and the final control over production of fuel must be in the hands of the local people and not in the hands of corporates and their paid babus. That's the thing about so many good ideas-unless we take them out of the hands of netas and corporates, they will all end in vain.

Sharmila Menon Hubli

Human Trafficing in Jharkhand

Let's face it Jharkhand is a dumping ground. Legal companies get to loot and pollute here like in no other state and illegal mafias also get to buy and see girls like cattle. You know people want to fight and kill to save the female cow but no one fights to save the female human beings of Jharkhand. Strange isn't it. Many think that Jharkhand is not connected with all the lives of the "good people" in Haryana, Punjab, Gujarat, etc.. In reality the so-called good people are parasites who prey like wolves off the people of Jharkhand and call their victims savages (jangli). When we have stopped looting Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, then India will need to start invading poor countries to loot them just like the British. This is the culture of our himsa economy.

Sanjoy Korbu, Chaibasa

Asanas and Revolution

It is one thing to rise up and be a revolutionary where there is a wave of mass anger. It is quite another to work when all is quiet because people's eyes are blind to the chains that shackle their lives. It is one thing to fight out of rage or hate and it is another to fight like a yogi like Yuddhishir who took an oath to care for his people like his own children. People call asanas as yoga. In a way they are right, each asana is not just an exercise but is a kind of meditation, a pursuit of enlightenment as Patanjali says in the article. As the beautiful quote at the end of the article said the pursuit of enlightenment blossoms with the fight for ending exploitation and establishing all beings as 1 family.

Lokraj Chauhan, Jaipur

Empowering Community Forests Rights

This was a thoughtful, carefully studied but most revolutionary article. Recently adivasi representatives made an appeal to the President to demand that governors enforce the constituitional rights of adivasis since the States are refusing to do. The appeal concluded by asking for participatory development planning. This is exactly what this article does in detail, create the ground work for Adivasis to take control over the forests where they reside and no longer be at the mercy of corrupt officials and of the Forest Department. And above all, it is totally legal despite the Campa bill passed by the government to steal the forests rights of adivasis.

Raja Kongu, Ramtek

Refugee Profiteers

Who can believe this? Greed is truly allpowerful. But you know what about our refugee profiteers here at home? Millions of adivasis and others have become internal refugees due to dams and other "development projects." Then there are the refugees who are fleeing the wars with Maoists. Can we not investigate and find how people are minting money from the misery of the country's most endangered people? This article gave the names of the companies making money from the wars in Syrian, Afghanistan. Why cannot we read an article about all the people making money from the war on the Maoists, the war against militants in the Northeast, etc.?

Rekha Agarwal, Noida

Battered Woman Syndrome

When the Supreme Court actually delivers justice it is truly a miracle. The judgment discussed in this article used the Battered Woman Syndrome to convict a husband for the suicide of his wife due to torture over dowry. You remember in the 1990s how we used to read nearly every day about the latest dowry deaths. But in today's corporate media those deaths are now unreported. This judgement sets a precedent to enable prosecutors to go after men who drive their wives to suicides out of greed to pocket more dowry money from their wives' parents. Is there any prosecutor in any city in India who has the guts to pursue this in every case where there is a case of suicide with clear evidence of torture by the husband's family? There needs to be a movement to create public pressure to force prosecutors to take action on this issue.

Sita Ahuja, Mumbai

Two Social Fields

Deep article here. Understanding how authoritarian leaders destroy society is key in today's world. The rise of the religious right in India, Turkey, Europe and America is all about the death of the collective ideals, values and above all, of the partitions of countries into enemy communities. The author call this absencing and it is essentially how just like a person in a family can become empty of fraternal feeling and will fill the void with bitterness and malice. When this happens at the collective level then such a society is called a fascist society. What is unique about this article it points out that this arises from an individual and collective spiritual failure. Ironically the rise of violent, pseudo-righteous religious activists is the sign of a spiritually dying society. The way

out is what the author calls presencing which involves expressing spirituality through developing a web of affection with as many beings as possible and through gradually working to create social consensus based on collective reasoning, rationality and enlightenment.

Kenju Manshi, Osaka

PBI – Trend Setter

PBI has set the trend for PROUT, as in Orissa its activists are the only Proutists who regularly organise protests to protect poor people from government corruption. Furthermore PBI is the only party that dares to plan and work to win power from the immoral forces. The question is will this type of activism be launched by PBI in other states soon? Secondly there is the issue of social injustice which is the foundation of economic injustice. Thus far no Proutist has dared to challenge social injustice and those who foment hatred between different castes and religions, nor has any Proutist dared to denounce the crimes committed by these pernicious forces. These negative sentiments will readily defeat any economic sentiment of Ameeri Rekha after any violent incident. So what is PBI's plan of action to unite all Indians based on social and economic equality?

Chitral Singh, Delhi

Poverty Chains and Global Capitalism

Now we understand the game of how poverty is created around the world for western elites to profit from what is the next step? The quote by the pacifist Gandhi warned of an explosion. You Proutists talk about yours being a universal and global organisation. What is your plan to end this victimisation of poor nations by rich nations and of poor regions in one country by rich regions of the same country? How do you plan on stopping the global himsa and wars that is spiralling out of control? What practical, concrete hope do you have to offer to the world?

Amleth Nexo, Kovenhagen

Iran Child Executions

Many think Iran is stuck in the past but really Iran is the future. Iran is a society run as democracy but only good Muslims can run in elections and the council of guardians decides who is a good Muslim. This is a theodemocracy. This is what many people want especially the religious right. In America they want that only good Christians should be allowed to have power. In India they want that only good Hindus should be allowed to have power. In Sri Lanka they want that only good Buddhists should have power. So, all these people have the same sick psychology. Whenever one gives power to priests, especially self-crowned religious activists, society is doomed. Ayatollah Khomeni started out by organising the murder of those who insulted Islam. The same hate-based violent religious culture is developing in India and Bangladesh and is festering in Pakistan. So don't think that Iranians are "bad" or "fools" - take a hard look at your own society and your own heart.

Minocher Shah, Mumbai

Inspirational

The Rebellious Fields

Gaddar



The paddy fields ask,

"Where's the farmer who quenched our thirst?"

The cotton fields ask,

"Where's the farmer who sprinkled blood to protect us?"

They hug each other and weep-don't understand why

They roll on the ground and weep-Don't understand why

The basmati asks,

"Where's the sweat-scented farmer?"

The masoors ask,

"Where's that large-hearted man?"

They thump their chests and wail-don't understand why

They question the dawn-don't understand why

The palak asks,

"Where's the farmer so dear to us?"

The coriander asks.

"Where's the farmer so full of goodness?"

They sobbed and sobbed and withered up-don't understand

They waited and waited and shrivelled up-don't understand

Windless, the red gram and the horse gram fields

Nod listlessly

They look in all directions and ask,

"Where's the farmer so full of love?"

They sink into sorrow-don't understand why

They've fallen senseless in grief-don't understand why

The snake gourd and the bottle gourd

The ridge gourd and beans

The eggplant so tender

Blood red tomatoes

All ask-"where's the farmer

Who kissed us before we started rotting?"

They slap their heads and cry-don't understand why

They wail loudly and cry-don't understand why

The onion and garlic

Groundnuts and potatoes –

All of which nestle in the earth mother's womb

As they grow up, ask

"Where's our father who would show us the world?"

They wept uncontrollably-don't understand why

They rot and die-don't understand why

All the cotton fields together

Spread a new garment over his body

The dried sticks assemble themselves

Into a cot

The paddy straw becomes a mattress

So that his ribs wouldn't hurt

They cook seven kinds of rice

In a new pot

The kumkum tree shines

As the crescent moon on his forehead

They all say

"We will leave with the farmer who gave us birth."

They hug each other and weep-don't understand why

They roll on the ground and weep-don't understand why

They cry, our existence has lost meaning

They burn and burn on the pyre

And rise as an inferno

They burn to ashes

The villain who poisons the farmer

The sugarcane fields dive into the water

Release the drawing bucket and return

The green fields become red-don't understand why

They took to the path of the angry rebels-don't understand why

THE INTERPLAY OF CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

From ancient times there has been social life but no stable society

By society, ordinarily we mean a collective body of men and women, but the innate spirit of the word "society" is not this. *Samaja* or society in the true sense of the term implies an action of moving together (*Samanam ejate*). We come across groups of persons in buses, trams and trains moving together; but this occasional movement cannot be termed society either. Being inspired by a common ideology, when different individuals move towards the common goal and become active for its achievement, this can be called a society. The appropriate English equivalent for samaja should not therefore be society. Social advancement, which is a type of social action, means that the tie of mutual unity among the persons moving together has become strong.

From ancient times there has been social life but no stable society. This stability in social life is, to some extent, the gift of the *Ksatriya* Age (the age of the warriors) and of the post-Vaeshya age (the post-capitalist age). The *Vaeshya* Age leads to *Shudra* (worker) Revolution. So long as a proper atmosphere for Shudra Revolution is not created, it can be said that no social consciousness has been created. How can social consciousness be achieved?

Social consciousness implies the influence of a particular ideology and a new awakening among the



people due to this ideology. This depends upon so many factors, the most important of which is the leadership of a great personality. Shudra Revolution, therefore, needs a strong personality, and so long as this is lacking a strong society cannot be formed, what to speak of social revolution. To guide the society in the right path two factors are therefore essential-a great ideology and a great personality. Those who talk loud about society and seem horrified at its anticipated destruction, do not know that society in the true spirit of the term is yet to be formed in the world. So our primary duty now is to form a society. The seed of social consciousness is inherent in our "Samgacchadhvam samvadadhvam" Mantra(1). Where there is no such Mantra, there is no ideology, and where there is no ideology, [then] life is a goalless vovage.

Human expressions are multilateral. The ways of life are multifarious. Amidst these multifarious activities the picture of human beings that we get is their culture. The sum total of different expressions of human life is called *Samskrti* or culture. The ways of expression may differ from one group of people to other: some eat with their hands, some use spoons, yet others use sticks, but everyone has to eat. Human culture is, therefore, one and indivisible. The use of expressions such as Hindu culture, Muslim culture, Indian culture or European culture is absurd. Those who hold these partisan ideas are not well-wishers of humanity.

The expressions of life may increase with intellectual development. There is no place for fine arts, literature and music among the so-called underdeveloped groups of people, so the expressions of life are less in number in their case. Where the number of expressions is more it can be said that there has been more cultural development in the material sense. Persons with more varied expressions of life may be called more cultured.

Where the expressions of life are diverted to crude objectivities it is called *krsti*, which is a part of Samskrti. Crude manifestations of expressions are called *krsti*. The sum total of both crude and subtle manifestations of expressions is Samskrti. Krsti may differ from one group of people to other but the Samskrti of human beings is one.



Cultural expressions and civilization are not synonymous. Where there is control and rationality in the different expressions of life, there is civilization. To take a concrete example, eating is a cultural expression of life. Those who rationally think that over-eating is bad, think restraint from it may be called civilized. The cultural expressions in people are many. People who cannot control the different expressions may be called culturally advanced but not civilized.

Culturally advanced people may not necessarily be civilized if in their expression there is a lack of rationality, reasoning and control.

Similarly, a so-called culturally backward people may not necessarily be socially backward. There are many who treat the Adivasis as backward. But a dispassionate consideration will reveal that though they may be culturally backward due to less expressions of life, they have made considerable social progress and are thus more socially advanced. Similar is the case with the Africans.

From ancient times human beings have struggled against their obstacles. Struggle is the essence of life. Those who cry for disarmament are enemies of human beings. They are reluctant to fight even against criminals. Of course, with the spread of civilization human beings will not attack the unarmed and the weak. Unfortunately, there are many persons in this world who think of themselves as civilized but mercilessly crush the helpless and the innocent. The pitiable destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki bears witness to the uncivilized action of the so-called civilized nations. Though they are culturally advanced, they are most backward in civilization. They should sit at the feet of the Indian Adivasis and learn about civilization. Those who possess atom and hydrogen bombs have to be taught the lesson that this universe is for human beings and not for demons. More powerful weapons have to be invented to counteract these uncivilized persons.

Today special care has to be given to society and civilization. With intellectual development there will be cultural progress, but restraint and rationality have to be exercised on the cultural expressions. In life today there is utter lack of these qualities. It is the bounden duty of the leaders of this world to form a strong society of human beings on the basis of a constructive ideology and to spread civilization in them. If this is done, cultural development will automatically occur.

Footnote

(1) Samgacchadhvam samvadadhvam sam vo manamsi janatam; Devabhagam yathapurve samjanana upasate. Samanii va akutih samana hrdayanivah; Samanamastu vo mano yatha vah susahasati.

[Let us move together, let us radiate the same thought-wave, let us come to know our minds together,

Let us share our wealth without differentiation, like sages of the past, so that all may enjoy the universe.

Let our aspirations be united, let our hearts be inseparable, Let our minds be as one mind, so that we live in harmony and become one with the Supreme.]

NATIONAL SECURITY

Zero Cyber-security: Loss of India's Liberty a Sure Certainty!



THE CREAM OF THE INDN ESTABLISHMENT WAS BEING HACKED WHOLESALE, NOT RETAIL.

Meetu Jain

oday it is not just our physical borders whose security is weak, even greater dangers await the nation in the cyber-sphere. Pretty much the cream of the Indian establishment has been hacked wholesale not retail. Nobody and nothing is safe in the new wall-less cyber age.

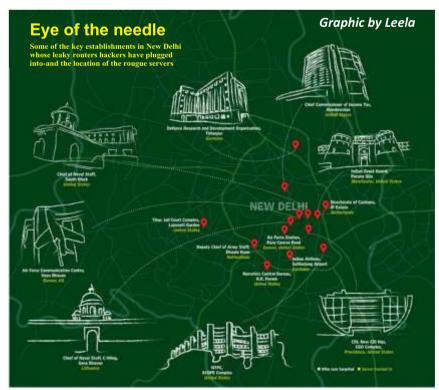
Today it is not just our physical borders whose security is weak, even greater dangers await the nation in the cybersphere. In February 2014, a bunch of twentysomething cyber security researchers, slouched at their work stations in a decrepit highrise in central Delhi, were tapping away in the dead of the winter night. Their computer screens were aglow, the digits were dancing and the smell of warm pizza was in the air. Suddenly, one of the young men let out a loud war whoop, says an eyewitness. The hacker had cracked open the WiFi router at B-28, South Block, the office of the Chief of the Naval Staff on Raisina Hill, a stone's throw from Parliament and Rashtrapati Bhavan. And, worse, also found that somebody a continent or two away was also looking at what he was. In the world of computer geeks, it was a breakthrough moment, no question.

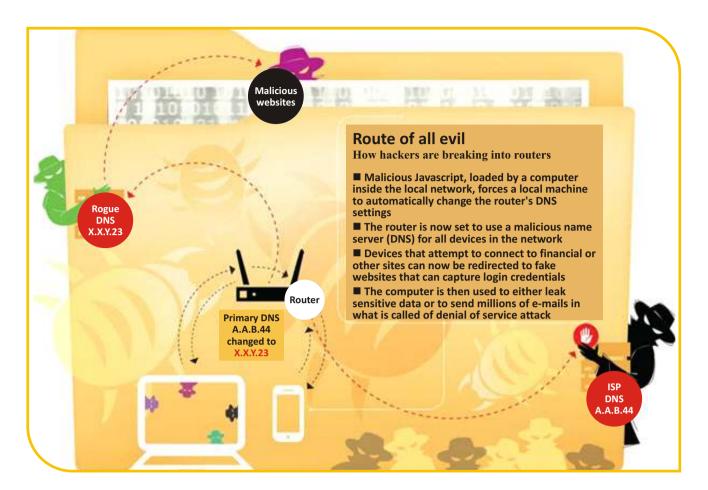
For over three weeks, the researchers had slogged 15 hours a day to break into the internet protocol (IP) addresses of the boldfaced names of Lutyens' Delhi, to show how vulnerable their WiFi routers were and every computer connected to them. At the end of Operation Sarkar as they informally called it, the hackers had managed to "test-scan penetrate" over three lakh routers in the heart of the capital and expose India's best-kept secret: that 95 per cent of them, in such critical departments as defence, finance, space and communications, were leaking and being exploited by rogue entities based in China. Ukraine, Malaysia and elsewhere.

The router of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) in Timarpur: unsafe. The router of the commanding officer at Coast Guard in Purana Qila: unsafe. The router of the National Thermal Power Corporation in scope complex on Lodhi Road: unsafe. And so it went on, as the researchers did high-five after high-five as router after router of banks, income-tax authorities, election officers, police, the narcotics bureau, phone service providers, public works departments succumbed to the overtures of their keystrokes. Why, even the router of the Air Force station on Race Course Road, bang opposite the PM's residence: unsafe.

The message was simple: nobody and nothing was safe in the new, wall-less cyber age.

The most vital institutions in the national capital were unknowingly sending information to rogue servers on foreign soil. And this was being done not by the oldfashioned way of hacking into individual computers through malware and spyware but by plugging into the WiFi routers to





which other computers are plugged in, and then redirecting users to malicious websites or stealing data. So, that February night when the young man broke into the naval chief's router bearing the internet protocol (IP) address 59.177.240.250, he was not only getting into the chief's computer but those of others who were simultaneously connected to the internet through it.

In other words, pretty much the cream of the Indian establishment was being hacked wholesale, not retail.

For the record, Union Home Ministry officials downplay the data leak. "Most of these computers have no secret content. Sensitive information is stored in standalone or air-gapped computers, and most ministries do not have more than one or two such machines. Intelligence agencies at the level of joint director and above are the other ones who have these standalone machines." says one official. But he admits that even standalone computers are not safe, "which is why pen drives were banned a year ago at the home ministry". Even that is no consolation. In July, experts at the University of Negev in Israel wirelessly extracted data through electromagnetic waves using a simple smartphone with an FM radio receiver.

B.J. Srinath, director-general of India's cyber security watchdog, CERT-In, says that the leakage of data due to the vulnerability of the routers in Delhi is "speculation": "If a router is compromised, it starts generating abnormally more traffic. That happens because the command and control is with someone else outside. They turn the computer into a slave computer and use it at will for data leakage if the computer has sensitive information. We are not seeing any Denial of Service attacks from non-sensitive computers. That is not happening at the moment."

Maybe, but industry experts say the danger is clear and present. Says Pavan Duggal, cyber expert and advisor to the Indian Infosec Consortium, "Cyber security breaches are becoming routine in our country and the appropriate sensitivity is strongly missing. In fact, it is not even given the importance it merits. And this when both state and non-state actors are interested in data from India."

So how exactly were rogue servers situated on foreign soil gaining access to routers based in India? The cyber security researchers found that the DNS (domain name system) addresses of the sensitive systems were being changed to redirect traffic to rogue servers located abroad. "Researchers discovered that several sensitive systems in Delhi...have already been compromised by external entities and their data is being routed through external servers across the globe," concluded their report, Espionage on Sensitive Indian Machines, presented to then Union

IT minister Kapil Sibal.

The researchers found that the espionage spanned continents, from Denver to Manchester, from London to Providence. In each case, the enemy targeting Indian institutions was unknown, as was the final destination of the data stolen: it could have been a foreign power, a business house, or even a band of playful hackers. The servers that had breached the navy chief's South Block computers, for instance, were tracked to the United States. Another router designated for the chief of naval staff at Sena Bhavan was compromised by servers traced to Lithuania. The location of a server is no indication of who the spy is since the entity carrying out the spying is invariably located in a third country.

Says Dr Ashok Jhunjhunwala of IIT Madras, "Routers being compromised is an extremely serious issue, and not sufficient attention has been paid to this aspect. I am certain that these devices are designed to trigger listening in and it is extremely difficult to figure out that there has been a breach. A solution is that, for sensitive installations, we should have devices built by Indian companies or companies that we trust."

A year-and-a-half after the initial exercise, a smaller group of researchers conducted what in cyber parlance is called Penetration Testing on a smaller group of routers. This time, over 25,000 routers were informally checked, again mostly in Delhi. Over 3,000 were confirmed to be compromised. It wasn't clear if the routers were targets of espionage, but what was clear once again was that the systems were vulnerable to attacks. Says cyber expert Prof Arun Mehta, "Despite repeated attacks on Indian websites, the matter is not being investigated by the Indian government. For India, hacking mostly means defacing a website; stealing of sensitive files and information has never been investigated."

This is not the first time

sensitive Indian computer security systems have been shown up to be made of cheese and butter. The most high-profile cyber attack on India took place on July 12, 2012. It breached the e-mail accounts of about 12,000 people, including officials from the Union ministries of external affairs, home, DRDO and, surprisingly, the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP). This time, of course, the investigation found that the technique used for hacking was different. The modus operandi was to send fake e-mails with attachments apparently relevant to the recipients' work. When opened, the attachments allowed hackers to monitor and search for data covertly.

On its part, CERT-In, which comes under the Union ministry of communications and information technology and is tasked with cyber security threats like hacking and phishing, says it has known of the problem for years. "One of our intelligence agencies had in 2010 discovered some of our modems were compromised in what was considered a major security breach. A study was undertaken and it was discovered that over 1,00,000 modems were vulnerable. Some gaps were plugged and some could not be," admit officials. Which of the gaps were not plugged is anyone's guess, but by 2012, the situation had worsened. This time the National Security Council secretariat, which falls under the PMO, came into the picture. "Service providers were told to disable remote management of routers over VAN and change default passwords," say NSCS officials. They were also told to either get a security upgrade or change these routers. So far, no compliance report has been filed with CERT-In by service providers.

It isn't that the powers-that-be are unaware of the gravity of the threat of data loss via leaky computers and routers. Ten months after the naval chief's router was breached, then cabinet secretary Ajit Seth said "the government is fully conscious of the threat to our cyber space". The head of the BJP's IT cell

Arvind Gupta confessed at a hackers' conference after Narendra Modi had come to power that the PM's and the BJP's websites were one of the most targeted. But privately cyber security experts are a worried lot. They point to the fact that most systems that were hacked in 2010 did not have updated security software.

Sceptics of the router leak suspect a determined 'desi' drive to hammer down Chinese manufacturers, but there is a clear economic rationale. The stateowned Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL), for example, in its attempt to get the cheapest ADSL routers, chose to overlook a crucial security feature while awarding tenders to the lowest bidders. The routers were mainly bought from China as they are the cheapest at Rs 500 and did not have the crucial TR-69 interface, CERT officials say. The feature enables service providers to remotely plug or repair loopholes which would otherwise make these routers vulnerable. "Routers were not TR-69 compliant due to budget constraints." Says advocate and cyber expert Prashant Mali, "When the leak was first discovered, the home ministry had recommended that we should stop buying routers and modems from [Chinese] companies like Huawei and zte. But countries like China objected and the issue got lost in red tape."

A router enabled with the latest security features costs about Rs 2,000. But government agencies baulk at the thought of getting all ADSL routers of vendors like MTNL changed. Compromising a system through a router is a serious security breach since it connects to any number of computers. Security officials admit it not only corrupts other systems but it can also be used for spying further. "This exercise proves we are sitting ducks on a massive scale and the gravity hasn't been judged by the institutions concerned," says Jiten Jain of Indian Infosec Consortium, a group of cyber experts.

On May 17, the cyber-security firm Symantec stated in a blog post that it had traced breaches of several Indian organisations to a cyberespionage group called Suckfly. The targeted systems belonged to the central government, a large financial institution, a vendor to the largest stock exchange and an e-commerce company. The espionage activity began in April 2014 and continued through 2015, Symantec said. Based on the targets that were penetrated, Symantec speculated that the espionage was targeted at the economic infrastructure of India. Such allegations should be ringing alarm bells inside the government and amongst private businesses across the country. And yet, from the official public response, one would think nothing was amiss.

A week later, another cybersecurity firm, Kaspersky Lab, announced that it too had tracked at least one cyberespionage group, called Danti, that had penetrated Indian government systems through India's diplomatic entities.

A report on risks facing India, published in August by KPMG and the Confederation of Indian Industry said: "While traditionally cyber attacks were largely used for causing financial and reputational loss, today they have a potential of posing a threat to human life. While the perpetrators behind these attacks traditionally were a few challenge loving 'hackers' with unbridled curiosity, we see an increasing number of state sponsored cyber terrorists and organised criminals behind the attacks today."

Despite the growing threat, the fact that India views cyber espionage as a low-priority area is reflected in the minuscule amount it spends on cyber security. The budgetary allocation towards cyber security (including CERT-In) is Rs 42.2 crore (\$7.76 million) for 2012-13, up 19 per cent from Rs 35.45 crore in 2010/11. In comparison, the US spends seven billion dollars through the National Security Agency, \$758 million through the Department of Homeland Security



Whither security? Narendra Modi launching Digital India in July.

and \$103 million through US Computer Emergency Readiness Team or US-CERT.

One estimate by US-based information systems giant General Dynamics stated that India's cyber security budget should be at least 10 times larger than what it is now. Officials admit that more work needs to be done in areas such as capacity building and R&D. Among other things, the objective is to minimise the dependence on foreign IT products and to produce indigenous security solutions. A Cisco report says India needs at least four lakh cyber security experts. It is woefully short of that figure.

Little wonder then that Steve Santorelli, former director of investigations at Microsoft and a former Scotland Yard executive, says India is just one step below Vietnam as the mecca of hijacked routers.

Present Danger

Below are some of the key establishments in New Delhi whose leaky routers hackers have plugged into-and the location of the rouge servers:

Defence Research and Development Organisation, Timarpur - Germany

Indian Coast Guard, Purana Oila - Manchester, United States

Directorate of Customs, IP Estate - Netherlands

Air Force Station, Race Course Road - Denver, United States

Narcotics Control Bureau, R.K. Puram - United States

Deputy Chief of Army Staff, Dhaula Kuan - Netherlands

CBI, New CBI HQs, CGO Complex - Providence, United States

NTPC, SCOPE Complex -**United States**

Chief of Naval Staff, C-Wing, Sena Bhavan - Lithuania

Air Force Communication Centre, Bavu Bhavan - Denever, US

Chief of Naval Staff, South Black, United States

Chief Commissioner of Income Tax, Jhandewalan - United States

Indian Airlines, Safdarjung Airport - Germany

Tihar Jail Court Complex, Lakwanti Garden - United States

When even our own defense. security and scientific establishment are not safe from this massive surveillance dragnet, what can we say about the common man. Even in the recent debate about Facebook's Free Basics and Net Neutrality it was sad to observe that none in the mainstream or even the alternate media raised the concern of how programs such as Free Basics could be a threat to India's national security. This shows the level of intellectual decline we Indians have been brought to. When we don't even understand the problems staring us right in our faces, how are we to solve the ones that take shape in the hidden world of the shadowy elite?

What does the fact that even after more than six decades of Independence more than 90% of the Indian population don't know anything about the owners of the East India Company or even the House of Rothschild and its control over the global economy today say about the state of our Independence? Are we a really an independent country?

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

All vested interests are aligned against the Scheduled Tribes, Dalits and lower caste Muslims who constitute a majority

Shakti Vahini Nidheesh J Villatt

Forests officials in India's hinterlands are a law unto themselves. Hand in glove with poachers and timber mafia, they are accused of implicating forest dwellers in fake cases, barbarically torturing villagers in secret chambers, which sometimes result in custodial deaths. There are allegations of fake encounters too.

What started off as a routine story threw up startling facts. The forest officials are a law unto themselves. They hold sway over the 490 square kms park on the Indo-Nepal border.

Forest officials find the FRA as an affront to their supremacy. They seem to have a finger in every pie. They are accused of conniving with lumber jacks and poachers in plundering the natural resources. The slightest act of assertion by forest dwellers are dealt with intimidation and torture.

All vested interests are aligned against the Scheduled Tribes, Dalits and lower caste Muslims who constitute a majority of traditional dwellers. Those who try to question are often illegally taken into custody, and in some cases subjected to extreme forms of torture.

State of Emergency in Indian Forests

To divide those fighting for their rights, forest officials have even formed vigilante groups under the garb of protecting forests.

During my investigations, I was told that fake encounters were staged to snuff out resistance from locals. No inquiries are done. The deaths of the poorest of poor are said to be passed off as 'unnatural' deaths. Torture

"After removing our *pyjamas* they cut the elastic of the underwear with a country knife and threw it away.

We were forced to lie down. They filled a veterinary syringe with petrol from the forest department bike. After this they forcefully parted our legs and injected petrol into our anus. Some had cotton soaked in petrol pushed into their anus, "Tulsi Ram, a frail young man told me.

Sounds barbaric?

"All of us started crying in deep pain. Petrol had started working. Because of pain I thought my stomach would burst. I pleaded



for some water. Instead of giving water, they started beating us with a big wooden pole till it broke. We fell unconscious. After some time, some of us regained consciousness. Then officers came and poked us with big laathi and asked us...'you Chamar (a Dalit subcaste) bastards came here to sleep? After Chamar Mayawati came to power you guys are arrogant," Tulsi recalled.

I was speaking to a group of Dalits and other lower caste traditional forest dwellers in Rampur Bandhiya village in Dudhwa National Park.

I went on hearing thereafter about the unconstitutional methods used by the forest department to evict the traditional forest dwellers Adivasis (predominantly *Tharus*), Dalits and lower caste Muslims from the villages situated inside and in the buffer zone of the National Park.

Braving the morning chill,





I spoke to Steven Miles, professor of medicine and Bioethics at Center for Bioethics, University of Minnesotta, US, about the torture methods of the forest officers in Dudhwa.

Miles is an expert on internal medicine and specialises in medical consequences of the torture. His book, Oath Betrayed: America's Torture Doctors, "examines military medicine in the War on Terror prisons".

He says that injecting petrol into the anus or rectum will have serious medical consequences.

"Torture is an impulsive and largely improvised practice. The painful introduction of material or air into the rectum dates at least back to the Middle Ages. It was used in the 'War on Terror' by the US as rectal feeding. Pepper being put in the rectum has been sporadically practiced around the world and the use of other caustic substances including gasoline (petrol) is not surprising," Miles pointed out.

"Torture techniques are a craft. Rectal and sexual traumas are very common in the torture of men. It would be unusual if rectal gasoline was the only method used. I would not be surprised if brutal and painful rectal rape with a stick or baton or even fluorescent light bulb was done first to open the rectal sphincter. At that point, gasoline (petrol) could be instilled. Gasoline is enormously and instantly painful on rectal tissue and the inflammation alone could cause rectal fissures and fistula connecting the rectal cavity to the bladder, intestines or freely into the abdomen allowing stool to pass into the abdomen and causing septicemias. The risk of perforations and fistulae would be greatly increased by preceding trauma and rectal tears caused by a baton or from the trauma of a tube inserted into the rectum to administer the gas.

Gasoline is toxic when it gets in the blood, usually by inhaling and occasionally by oral ingestion. That toxicity includes convulsions, kidney failure, heart failure and shock. I think it is unlikely that significant gas would be absorbed through the rectal wall," says Miles.

When I told him about 'ducking' (forcibly immersing the head in the river) of Dudhwa victims, before they were subjected to anal torture, he commented that "all torture are multi-modal". Threatening, beating and denial of drinking water would be common in almost all cases of torture, he says. "15% of the torture victims are subjected to asphyxia" (a condition which is the resultant of the denial of oxygen to the body).

"It is highly probable that victims were tightly bound in a way to stretch or compress ligaments. It may be that when the petrol was inserted, that they were threatened with ignition", he adds.

Arun Ferreira, noted human rights activist, who was arrested by the Maharashtra police (after branding him as Maoist) details about petrol torture in his prison memoir Colours of the Cage. He says that there was a police officer whose "expertise" was injecting petrol in anus/rectum.



Tulsi and his friends recalled all this The day (22 September 2011), they were picked by a team of forest officers, while they were grazing cattle.

Their crime? They refused to pay the parallel tax locally known as galla or hafta collected illegally by the forest officers to permit grazing of cattle.

The monthly *hafta* is Rs 500 here. In some other villages, a family have to pay an yearly galla consisting of one quintal of rice, 20 kgs of wheat, 25 kgs of mustard and several litres of honey.

"None of us were having money that day. So we couldn't pay. We were picked and were beaten throughout the journey from village to Belarayan Forest Range Office. This continued in the 'torture room' of the Range Office," Dorei, an elderly man recalled.

"Begar (unpaid forced labour) is common here. After monsoon, forest officers force villagers to clean roads and do other related work. Funds earmarked for such work would be siphoned off by them. The reluctance of some villagers to do begar has made forest officers furious", village head Yashpal Singh alleged.

"This is 2016. Why is this kind of a brutal torture not yet news?" I asked Singh.

"Journalists from Delhi and Lucknow need wildlife safaris.

Local journalists are completely dependent on the economy controlled by forest department," a rights lawyer who accompanied me pointed out.

Interestingly in another village, a Tharu Adivasi elder gave a vivid picture of journalism in India's hinterlands where class and caste inequalities unfold crudely.

"If we go and collect firewood, which is a constitutional right under FRA, journalists report this as massive wood theft. On a few occasions, villagers have blocked vehicles smuggling huge quantity of timber to Nepal which occur with the connivance of forest officers. But next day's newspapers would report that the huge logs smuggled as mere waste wood."

Delving into the tale of Dalits who were brutally tortured by injecting petrol into the anus (peeche lagana in local parlance) and accompanying caste abuse hints that forest bureaucracy in the hinterlands are steadfastly following the colonial era of forest governance.

FRA was a direct threat to the clout of the department, veteran trade unionist Ashok Choudhary points out.

"During the last Mayawati government, there were some serious efforts to democratise forest governance by implementing FRA. Forest bureaucracy, eco-tourism mafia and local elites opposed it violently. State violence against Adivasis and Dalits should be seen in this larger context."

My travel to the interiors of Lakhmipur Kheri gave me an idea about the atrocities of forest department.

"They run a parallel government. They indulge in fake encounters and custodial rape. They also loot natural resources by collaborating with the mafia. They also develop indigenous methods of torture," a senior IAS officer with several year administrative experience in the district told me.

Kinjal Singh, the collector of

Key Facts of Forest Rights Act (FRA)

ACT: Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, popularly known as FRA

Important Features 1. Land Rights

The Act grants people title deeds to forest land that they have been cultivating prior to December 13, 2005.

Those cultivating land but don't have documentary proof can claim up to 4 hectares, as long as they are cultivating the land themselves for a livelihood.

Those who have a prior title or a government lease, but whose land has been illegally taken by the forest department, or whose land is the subject of a dispute between forest and revenue departments, can claim title to those lands.

The land cannot be sold or transferred to anyone except by inheritance.



Victims of fake cases

Photo: Vijay Pandey



Forest office or torture chamber?

Photo: Vijay Pandey

the district till recently, had incurred the wrath of the powerful forest mafia for questioning this parallel system of governance.

Acting on several complaints received from Adivasis and other traditional forest dwellers about the alleged criminal activities happening inside the Dudhwa park as well as in the buffer zone, the young officer ordered surprise checks by police and revenue department.

During some surprise checks she conducted, Kinjal had found massive uprooting of rare species of trees (which fetches huge money in the market) in villages like Pachpeda Richhaya, Kundanpur, Khairigargh

(all falling in core area of Dudhwa) as well as in several villages situated in the buffer zone.

During these visits, she also stumbled upon several spots inside the park which were notorious for brewing illicit liquor. All these illegal activities were done in active collaboration with forest officers.

Kinjal also started inquiring about several cases of encounter killings, custodial deaths and sexual assaults allegedly carried out by the forest bureaucracy.

This made the bureaucracy vindictive and they started a hate campaign against the collector with the active help of local media persons who were allegedly receiving a share of the spoils.

In an unusual development, forest employees in the Dudhwa Tiger reserve had even boycotted work for several days demanding transfer of Kinjal. The UP government transferred the collector to Faizabad, another district citing huge revenue loss caused by the strike of the forest staff.

"The move by Kinjal to implement FRA made the department furious. Forest officers are a part of a mafia associated with timber smuggling and wildlife poaching. Once Adivasis and other traditional forest dwellers enter forest, mafia operations would be affected. So they wanted to ensure that FRA is not implemented," Rajnish, a trade unionist active in this area, pointed out.

2. Use Rights

The law provides for rights to use and/or collect the following minor forest produce such as tendu leaves, herbs, medicinal plants etc.

- 3. Grazing areas and water bodies
- 4. Right to Protect and Conserve forests
- 5. Right against Arbitrary Relocation

Source:

Shankar Gopalakrishnan's chapter in the upcoming book "Elgar Handbook on Environmental Law"



Don't Count on Elections: Organize or Die

Jean Allen and Frank Castro

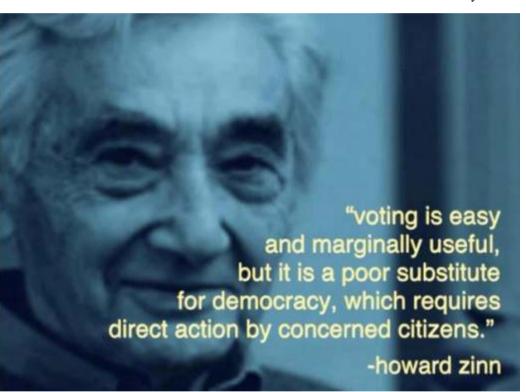
ote or Die. That's the dichotomy rap mogul P. Diddy popularized back in 2006 in an effort to marshal the nation's youth to the ballot box on election day. Fast

forward two presidential elections later, as the American political machine gears up once again, how does Diddy feel now? In a recent interview at Revolt's music conference the former star spoke plainly about his previous efforts and, in particular, on the issue of voting, saying: "We started Vote or Die, and the whole process was all full of [foul lies]. The whole [thing] is a scam." He went on to add, "At the end of the day, I'm not telling you not to vote... I'm saying be a realist and know that they're kicking some [load of lies] up there."

Whether or not he meant to, enmeshed within his response Diddy got to the central question many people have been asking themselves since this election cycle kicked off: If voting is a scam, should we participate in it? Before we tackle that question, we first have to backtrack a little.

Because a typical person is not taught that voting is a scam, on the contrary we are taught about voting in almost religious terms. We are taught that unlike the downtrodden peoples of authoritarian states we have this latent power, a voice or say in the workings of government. That we can control it, and our own fates, by use of the vote. And even if to some extent voting is imperfect, even if it is in fact a two-bit hustle necessitating a choice of "lesser evils," what Malcolm X once called a game of political football, it is still the best possible means of influencing policy and creating change as opposed to any other alternative. This is why it is so crucial, we are told.

Any deeper analysis of the vote beyond the sort of "all or nothing" understanding peddled to us reveals it is a laughably limited means of generating change. One day a year (maybe two!) you get to (maybe!) cast a vote for a person who makes





Never in the History of the World has an Election destroyed a system of oppression

policy in your stead. Afterwards, politicians engineered into office theoretically heed the will of voters, but that never happens. In reality, as a mechanism of political engagement, the vote is one of the most powerful methods to discipline citizens along a patriarchal, heteronormative, and capitalist status quo. It encourages people to give themselves over to a corrupt social order in return for promises of reform which the state and its power elite have no obligation to fulfill. Put simply, rather than a mechanism for positive change, the vote is often a powerful means of managing and obstructing progress.

What is Voting and What Does It Do?

Voting is a limited expression of popular will, choosing which parties or candidates come into political office. In strict terms, it is nothing more or less than the choice of which politician you want to delegate your power to at a specific point in time.

How is the Vote Limited?

Frequency of Voting: Because voting is limited to a specific point in time, politicians are only truly accountable to the general public in the months leading up to an election. This means that for the rest of their term politicians are primarily concerned with the needs of special interests groups, lobbyists, and their funders rather than working class people. Effectively, they can ignore the needs and popular will of the electorate until it is politically expedient.

Time and Location: Votes are only counted at specific places, which has led to voter manipulation and suppression as long as the institution has existed: for instance the recent Turkish elections, where the AKP moved voting stations in Kurdish areas during election times. But even in the United States, bastion of liberal democracy it is, elections are held on workdays and often in difficult to reach places. Subsequently, low participation and lopsided representation become unavoidable. The most privileged can vote most easily while the least privileged are least able.

Choosing Candidates: While voters have a choice between candidates, they have little to no influence over the organizational forces which bring these politicians to the point of candidacy. Yes, we can vote in primaries, but we have no say in the machinations of party machines (think superdelegates), little to no control over the funding of candidates, etc. This is all the more evident in local elections. These contests which are supposedly the moments when we as voters have the most influence are also the place where it is most common to see uncontested elections, with a candidate running on every party line. The fact is that most parties are not run democratically just as the entire political system is not a true democracy.

How is the Effect of Voting Limited?

Oligarchy and Plutocracy: Voting is not only limited as an act, it is limited in its influence and powers. Though there have been major and recent concerns



about the capture of the state by a small portion of the people, this is a feature, not a bug. The revelation in the Princeton Review article Economic Inequality and Political Representation, that economic and political elites are the only groups with a say in matters of policy, was just as true now as in the '60s when Robert Dahl wrote "Who Governs?", a book on the corruption and unaccountability of the municipal government of New Haven, Connecticut. Such is the direct result of representative government, which isolates policymakers from the public 364 days out of the year while simultaneously creating an inequality of information which the wealthy position themselves to exploit.

Most policy-making is not done by elected officials. Since 2010, an increasing majority of actions by the government have been new regulations written by civil servants rather than new bills written by legislators. This means that the majority of new laws created by our government have little to no relation to the outcome of elections, and while this is connected to deadlock in Congress, this deadlock is going to continue for the foreseeable future. While this happens, the majority of policy will be made not by elected officials accountable to the people, but by clerks and bureaucrats accountable only to their bosses and to the lobbyists who participate in the rule-making process.

We do not directly make policy. All this is not coincidence. The very system of representative government is designed to limit popular engagement. This fear of truly popular government can be seen in the desperate fretting our esteemed Founding Fathers had as they designed the Constitution. The decision that we would do our policy-making through middlemen was a purposeful attempt to silence the masses from expressing and enforcing their political demands.

How is Voting Used as Obstruction?

Disenfranchisement : The vote is a right. And like all

rights conferred by state power, they can be and often are taken away or restricted. Voting, therefore, is useful for generating change only insofar as the marginalized can consistently and reliably participate in it and depend on the state to carry out their electoral will. Rarely though, if ever, does the will of oppressed people and dominant political classes coalesce. Instead, they are almost always embroiled in conflict the dominant class undercutting the needs of the oppressed, using the state as a primary mechanism to do so, in part, through disallowing or restricting voting rights (the Black Codes, Jim Crow, felon restrictions, etc).

Gerrymandering: Gerrymandering is another method deployed to restrict a community's political will. As editorialist Joe Collins described it, gerrymandering is the act of "distorting the way votes are counted in order for a party to stay in office, or stay more in office" by "moving district lines, splitting up groups, and sending their votes elsewhere to be counted or wasted." Collins went on to elaborate, "Packing the majority-minority districts is like stuffing a few more clothes into a full laundry bag you can put more stuff in there, but it still just counts as one bag. The more black votes that go into a majority-minority district, the fewer blacks there are to contend with in other [elections]."

The ramifications of gerrymandering are farreaching in places like the Deep South where electoral politics have been divided along racial lines. Historical trends like white flight have created districts which mirror segregated communities, meaning fewer marginalized voices at every level of government to champion the programs needed to lift the impoverished. Here, like with disenfranchisement, the vote becomes a tool of institutional inequity when wielded by the dominant class.

Disempowerment and Apathy: Never have oppressed people made progress through the vote alone. Once again, history paints a different picture than popular myth, a picture where greater access to the vote has typically been a byproduct of powerful grassroots movements for greater social, political, and economic equity. Movements whose origins, though they have varied deeply, have always exercised a willingness to act outside the narrow confines of electoral politics. It is this willingness, and the actions that followed, not ballots, that have brought about change. These movements increasingly have been erased from history, sublimated under the genius of the legislators who did little but place a rubber stamp on actions made in the streets.

Learning to Act

How many times have Southern States voted to remove flags imbued with the heritage of slavery above their capitols? And if or when they did, the vote counted for many formerly Confederate States has been clear: The flag stayed, just as it did towering over South Carolina after the brutal murder of nine black people by a white supremacist shooter. And yet, in the wake of tragedy, one black woman fed up with inaction decided that a flag which constantly inspires hate needed to come down, immediately. Bree Newsome, an advocate and activist of the Black Lives Matter movement, scaled up the flagpole in front of the South Carolina capitol and removed the hate-filled banner. Just like that. Done. No pleading with legislators to do the right thing. No waiting for someone else to save the day either.

When asked by a reporter "Why not wait until lawmakers vote to take it down," she replied:

"What is there to vote on? There's doing the right thing, and there's doing the wrong thing. It's time for people to have the courage. Everybody who knows what the right thing is to do, we have to step up... We have to do the right thing, or else it won't stop."

What Newsome did, exercising her agency to create change outside a strictly state-sanctioned political process, is called direct action. Direct action occurs when a group, sometimes an individual, takes an action intended to "reveal an existing problem, highlight an alternative, or demonstrate a possible solution to a social issue." This can include nonviolent and militant forms of resistance which target institutions, persons, or property deemed hostile to a community's well-being. It can be any form of activity people decide upon and organize themselves which is based on their own collective strength and does not involve getting intermediaries to act for them.



Most of us, like Newsome, have power enough to make immediate change to our communities through direct action, because we have far more flexibility to create change than the state itself is capable of, or allows. This flexibility stems from the fact that direct action does not ask us to delegate our power, or to defer it to a set of unjust laws and corrupt institutions. Instead of getting someone else to act for us, we act for ourselves. And by acting for ourselves we are expressing the ability to govern ourselves, to take control of our own lives in the pursuit of liberation. In other words, we stop waiting for a

better world to happen to us and begin doing the work of creating it, for it is through acting and learning to act, not voting, that we will open the path to a world free of oppression.

History is the greatest demonstration of direct action's potential. It has been the essential element of organised protest by ordinary people. Remember, safety regulations did not drop from the heavens after the

'Never be deceived hat the rich will allow you to vote away their wealth." **Lucy Parsons (1853-1942)**



"if voting changed anything, they'd make it illegal" **Emma** Goldman

Triangle Shirtwaist Fire; they were fought for by hundreds of thousands of women who struck before and afterwards. The Second New Deal did not burst like Athena from Roosevelt's skull; it was crafted under pressure from ever increasing wildcat strikes. And neither did the Voting Rights Act nor the fall of Jim Crow leap from Johnson's benevolent heart, decades of resistance necessitated it. We forget this because the ideology of the vote tells us that elected leaders are the true agents of history, that as normal people we can only hope to influence them. The truth is that the politician is merely the notary of history, that it is normal people, working together, who make change.

Though Newsome acted on her own she was not acting in isolation. Any successful action occurs with a scaffolding of organized people behind it. Consider that Newsome herself was saved from a three thousand dollar bond through immediate crowd-funding by her fellow organizers, a point which highlights how a spectrum of people with a diverse array of competencies can all participate in shaping their communities. It also highlights that organizing is not limited to a place and time, but is rather rooted in local people and local organizations aimed directly at the interests of local communities.

Whether you decide to vote or to not vote is up to you. But let this be a call to action, a call to organize, to resist, and to struggle for our communities' collective needs with full awareness of elections' inherent limitations. After all, if it were true that voting is the best possible vehicle to creating positive change in our society, we should give pause to how frightening it is that a ballot box alone is what separates the democracies from the totalitarian regimes to which they are opposed.

Jean Allen is an activist based in New York and the writer of A Critical History of Management Thought. Frank Castro is an independent journalist in the Bay Area, radical educator, and author of the blog America Wakie Wakie.

Caste in Pakistan: The Elephant in the Room

In the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan", both Dalit Hindu and Muslim women are subject to humiliation, control and violence because of their gender as well as their caste.

Shahbano Aliani

pregnant woman from a remote rural village in Tharparkar goes to a private hospital in Hyderabad. The medical staff refuse to attend to her, saying they do not want to pollute their instruments and dirty their hands. Feeling humiliated and angry, she returns to her village without having received the services she needed.

A 20 year old woman from Peshawar is brutally murdered by her brothers and father for attempting to marry outside the biradari and bringing shame to the family honour.

A young Kolhi girl is abducted while working in the cotton fields of a landlord outside Mirpurkhas. She is forced to convert to Islam and marry her abductor. The police refuse to register a case and her family is advised to remain silent for the sake of their own safety.

In a village in Southern Punjab, a young boy from a "lower-caste" is accused of dishonouring the "high caste" tribe by having an affair with one of their women. The village panchayat orders the gang rape of the boy's sister by the "high caste' men so that they may restore the honour of their tribe. These stories have a familiar ring. Variants occur with alarming regularity in Pakistan; some covered by the media, but most covered up by the silence, fear and helplessness of the victims; and the indifference of the rest of society.

What do these stories have in common? Gender, surely; all the victims are women. But there is another common thread as well. In the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan", both Dalit Hindu and Muslim women are subject to humiliation, control and violence because of their gender as well as their caste.

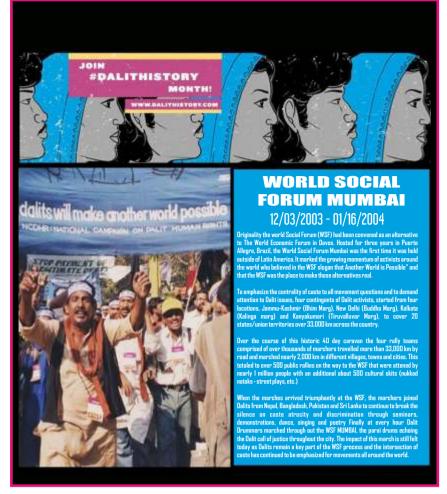
Most activists, development workers and policy makers may not immediately recognize caste as an important social justice and social



policy issue, especially for Muslims in the country. However, almost everyone in Pakistan will readily admit that caste or biradari, quom, zaat or jaat is an important part of social identity, especially in the rural areas. Most adults will have encountered questions about their caste or zaat when in a new village or town. Many have married in their own caste, never having considered the option of marrying outside their Biradari, Quom or Zaat. Almost everyone will have heard or used derogatory references to caste such as Bhangi (janitor). As Haris Gazdar argues, "In fact, the kinship group, known variously as zaat, biraderi and quom in different parts of the country, remains a key perhaps the key dimension of economic, social and political interaction." A contesting formulation has been presented by Arif Hasan through his writings on social change (see, for example, "The Silent Revolution"). His view is supported by Akbar Zaidi (though his take on feudalism is a bit radical) and Raza Ali (through his work on Urbanization). The main argument is that because of technological changes (e.g. tractors in fields and Suzuki pickups on farm-to-market roads), traditional social structures are becoming weaker; a new class of middlemen has emerged that controls the market; urbanization is gradually embracing modernity. As far as I understand, both Arif Hasan and Haris Gazdar are partly correct: things are changing (albeit slowly) but the coercive structures are still there.

When questioned, however, if caste is a problem, most Pakistanis will disagree. Many will argue, quite heatedly, that it's a problem only for Hindus across the border. Using circular reasoning, they will insist that the caste-system is not Islamic and since the majority of us are Muslims, therefore, there is no caste problem in Pakistan. The caste system practiced by the Muslims of North India is based on three tiers: ashraaf, ajlaaf and arzal.

The division of the Punjabi



nation, a coherent state of 33 million people of all castes, in 1947 produced a Pakistani Punjab that was heavily weighted in favour of the peasant castes. To really understand Pakistan, we must see it through the lens of caste, not religion. Why does it seem unable to let go of violence, even when its selfinterest is damaged? Pakistani Punjab, which is 60% of the country's population and from where 80% of its army is recruited, does not have internal restraint. Those Punjabis Khatris, Banias, Aroras who might have counselled pragmatism and self-interest over honour are gone to India. What remains is a warlike peasant community that is Jat-dominated in its thinking and insufficiently modern to escape its caste culture. Landing a few blows on the enemy brings it honour even though the long-term consequence is that the economy is gutted.

The same Jat culture has contributed to intolerance in Haryana, UP and Indian Punjab. However, in India some prosperity took place because of land reforms and this also made the Indian Jats less violent and more broad-minded. In Pakistan no such land reforms took place. Unless there is a movement to bring about social renaissance among the Jats, there is no hope for Pakistan.

Public denial is so ingrained and widespread that there is no official legislation that acknowledges and addresses castebased discrimination. Inadequate legislation, yes. Non-existent, no. After the partition of British India in 1947, Pakistan had inherited the list of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and the constitution of Pakistan (like the 1935 constitution) forbids discrimination on the basis of caste. Beyond lip service, there was a 6% quota in government jobs for scheduled castes from 1948 to 1998. This was sadly never fully utilized. However, we do not have progressive legislation (like they have in India; though they have issues of their own). And apart from a few articles and studies (many of the recent ones referred to in this paper), there is virtually no documentation and data on "lower caste" peoples, including Dalit Hindus in Pakistan.

In my own work, development workers and researchers have argued that caste is not relevant to either development (poverty alleviation) or to research on social and economic issues. My colleagues, who work in districts with about 40%-50% Hindus (the majority of them Dalit) have insisted that we cannot include caste in survey questionnaires, arguing that (1) we will get so many castes that the data will be difficult to handle, or (2) we will be accused of working for a specific caste. This resistance has been expressed by both Hindus and Muslims, though more notably by Muslim colleagues. When I have included caste in questionnaires, despite heated arguments, the indicator has been removed in final research instruments by the managers in charge of overseeing the research. I think that some clarification is needed here.

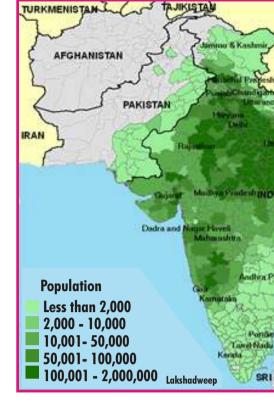
The question on caste was included in the PEWC baseline survey and during tabulation we found that we had a very long list of responses because many respondents had mentioned their subcastes instead of caste. For many of these subcastes, some of us didn't know their castes. A list of castes and subcastes from responses was given to CRU staff for preparing a proper list. This was not done and at some point in time we decided to go ahead without it. It should also be noted that most of the non-Muslim respondents in Tharparkar belonged to the Meghar community as our social mobilisers knew them through their PDCs, etc. I should also stress that the baseline wasn't looking at the coorelation between caste and child work we could have done that but then our methodology would have been different: propotionate sample for various castes instead of settlements.

It appears that caste is the elephant in the room. Everyone knows its there, but no one wants to talk about it, let alone address. As Haris Gazdar puts it, "The public silencing on caste contrasts with an obsession with it in private dealings

and transactions."

The Pakistani caste system has developed along lines similar to those in India. Syeds (also known as Shahs in Sindh) claim to be the descendants of the prophet Muhammad (SAW) and are the highest caste in most places. In Punjab, the Ranas (Rajpoots), Chaudhurys and Maliks are considered higher caste, whereas the Kammis (workers), Chuhras ("untouchable" sweepers who are mostly Christian), Mussali (Muslim shaikh menial workers) and Miraasi (musicians) are considered lower caste. In the NWFP. "lower castes" are referred to as Neech Zaat (low caste) and Badnasal (of bad lineage). In Balochistan the "lower castes" include Ghulams (slaves), Lohris (musicians), and Lachhis (Dalits). In Sindh, "high-caste" Muslims, in addition to Shahs and Syeds, include the Akhunds, Effendis, Soomros, Talpurs, and Pirs. Hajjams (barbers), Dhobis (washers), Kumbhars (potters), Maachis/ Mallahs (fisherfolk) and Bhajeer (Dalit converts to Islam) are considered "low caste". In places like Swat, the Quom system is comparative to the Hindu caste system. Here, groups are divided rigidly according to occupation. Quoms do not intermarry or live together. The fact that caste is an important social identity for Pakistani Muslims is reinforced in matchmaking/ marriage services, where caste is one of the key attributes mentioned by prospective brides and grooms. Caste based marriage preferences and associations are documented amongst Pakistanis in the Diaspora, especially in the UK.

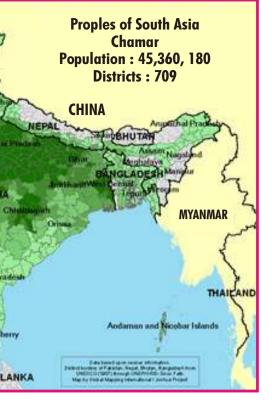
Like in India and Nepal, "lower caste" Hindus and Muslims are excluded and persecuted by "upper castes", especially men. According to the Joint NGO report submitted to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) in February 2009, Pakistan is one of the few countries of the world where slavery still exists in the form of bonded labour. Most bonded labourers in



Pakistan are the adults and children of Dalit and lower caste Muslim and Christian families.

The denial of the "caste problem" starts with statistics. The most recent 1998 census estimates the number of Dalit Hindus at just above 300,000; a minority amongst the estimated 2 million Pakistani Hindus. Dalit leaders and activists, including 5 former legislators estimate the figure to be closer to 2 million. They believe that both the "upper caste" Hindus and the Pakistani government do not want to recognize the actual numbers so no special legislation or programmes have to be designed to address the issues of Dalits and discrimination against them.

For the most part, Dalits are socially excluded, most of them forced to live on the outskirts of towns and villages or confined to their own paras or villages. Government and even NGOs working in their areas will often bypass Bheel and Kohli paras in Tharparkar altogether. Due to poverty and lack of assets, they are forced to take up farm and cleaning work that no one else will do: are excluded from community events are such as weddings. If they are invited, they have to eat out of separate utensils. They are denied essential social services and equal treatment in public spaces,



humiliated in hospitals, public buses and schools. Much of the land they have lived on for centuries belongs to the state; they have no legal claim to it.

Undoubtedly, apart from their children perhaps, Dalit women are one of the poorest and most vulnerable and marginalized group of individuals in the country. They are politically and socially excluded from the mainstream and vulnerable to discrimination and violence due to their gender as well as their caste.

According to a Thari colleague, Kohli women are raped by men of higher castes (Hindus and Muslims) in Tharparkar, either while they work in the fields or when they are out in the desert herding livestock and hunting/ gathering. Kohli women are considered subhuman by the larger society, so any act of sexual or physical violence against them is not noteworthy. It is just a fact of life. The study of 750 Dalit households, 'Long Behind Schedule', reports that many Dalit women have been raped or gang raped by Muslim men. Most of these rapes are unreported for fear of reprisal from the police and communities of the perpetrators.

There are frequent reports in the print media of the abduction, forced conversion and marriages of Hindu girls and young women. A Daily Dawn June 2006 editorial

claims that "Young Hindu women from both the upper caste and Dalit families have been abducted with increasing frequency in recent years." According to the editorial, in many cases when the parents have gone to the police, they have been informed that the girl has "eloped with their Muslim friend". converted to Islam and married him. Some of the girls have later declared in court that they had converted of their own free will, though it is quite likely that they were forced to make these declarations under duress. The editorial goes on to speculate that in at least one case the "marriage" has ended in divorce and the girl has been "passed on" to another man. The International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN)'s Fact Sheet Pakistan argues that when such marriages end in divorce, the young women are left to fend for themselves on the streets.

Haris Gazdar reports violence against Christian, Muslim and Hindu "low caste" women across the country:

We documented cases across in Peshawar, the country Faisalabad, Quetta and Sanghar of rapes perpetrated against "lowcaste" women from chuhra, mussali, lachhi and scheduled caste Hindu communities respectively. The perpetrators were all well known and there was a feeling that they committed these crimes because they could get away with it, knowing full well that the victims were socially and politically weak. In fact, these rapes were only the most extreme instances of sexual violation suffered by the marginalised groups. In the language of the dominant groups the "low castes" had no honour, and certainly no honour that could be defended. The Khans in Peshawar, who regarded them selves as the racially pure descendents of 11th century Pashtun invader tribes from Afghanistan thought that the women of their "hamsayas" (literally neighbours, but used as a euphemism for dependent service castes) such as the Toorkhail (literally "black lineage") and "kisabgars" (menials) were of lax social morals. In any case the hamsaya men, unlike the "pure" Pashtuns, would not/could not protest openly if their women did contract illicit liaisons with other

Mukhtaran Mai has become famous for her courageous public campaign for justice. Mai suffered the brutal and male-community sanctioned gang rape because her young brother was accused of speaking to a "higher caste" woman in the village. What is often reported, but never analyzed is the fact that Mai and her brother are from a "lower caste" than the perpetrators of her rape.

Another case of caste-based patriarchal violence is the story of Ghazala Shaheen, a "low caste", but highly educated, Muslim woman from Multan who was abducted along with her mother and gang raped. Ghazala Shaheen's uncle had allegedly eloped with a "high caste" woman of the perpetrator's family. Ghazala Shaheen was selected for the gang-rape by the "upper caste" tribesmen for her uncle's crime and for the crime of daring to educate herself.

Embedded in the stories of these women being gang-raped, killed, paraded naked in the streets, abducted, and forcibly converted, is the old, ugly story of caste. Except for some intrepid researchers and a handful of Dalit activists, everyone else in Pakistan is silent on the issue.

At a time of increased militarization and polarization, can we afford to continue to ignore such a pervasive and divisive issue that makes women even more vulnerable to violence, oppression and discrimination? Caste is a women's issue and perhaps its time for South Asian feminists in Pakistan to start speaking up about it.

The writer works with the Thardeep Rural Development Programme and is based in Karachi, Pakistan.

GM FOODS

Monsanto and the Poisonous Cartel of GMOs in India

The global chemical and GMO industry-Bayer, Dow Agro, DuPont Pioneer, Mahyco, Monsanto and Syngenta-have come together to form the Federation of Seed Industry of India (FSII) to try and become bigger bullies in this assault on India's farmers. environment and democratically framed laws that protect the public and the national interest.



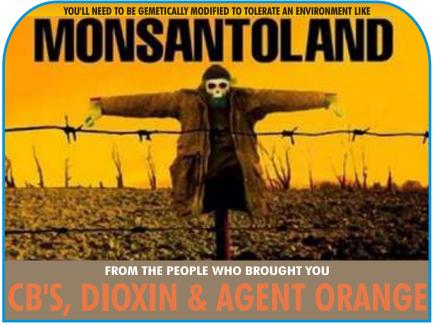
ndia is steeped in a synthesized controversy created by Monsanto on the first GMO crop supposedly approved for commercialization. Engaged in litigation on many fronts, Monsanto is trying to subvert India's patent laws: Protection of Plant Variety and Farmers Right Act, Essential Commodities Act and Competition Act. It is behaving as if there is no Parliament, no democracy, no sovereign laws in India to which it is subject. Or it simply doesn't have any regard for them.

In another theatre, Monsanto and Bayer are merging. They were one as MoBay (MonsantoBayer), part of the poison cartel of I.G. Farben. The controlling stakes of both corporations lie with the same private equity firms. The expertise of these firms is in war. I.G. Farben, Adolf Hitler's economic powerhouse and pre-war Germany's highest foreign exchange earner, was also a foreign intelligence operation. Hermann Schmitz was president of I.G. Farben, Schmitz's nephew Max Ilgner was a director of I.G. Farben, while Max's brother Rudolph Ilgner ran the New York

arm as vice-president of Chemnyco.

Paul Warburg, brother of Max Warburg (board of directors, Farben Aufsichtsrat), founded the U.S. Federal Reserve System that controls the nation's economy. Max Warburg and Hermann Schmitz played a central role in the Farben empire. Other "guiding hands" of Farben Vorstand included Carl







Bosch, Fritz ter Meer, Kurt Oppenheim and George von Schnitzler. Each of them was adjudged a "war criminal" after World War II, except Paul Warburg.

Monsanto and Bayer have a long history. They made explosives and lethally poisonous gases using shared technologies and sold them to both sides in the two world wars. The same war chemicals were bought by the Allied and Axis powers, from the same manufacturers, with money borrowed from the same bank.

MoBay supplied ingredients for Agent Orange in the Vietnam War. Around 20 million gallons of MoBay defoliants and herbicides were sprayed over South Vietnam. Children are still being born with birth defects, adults have chronic illnesses and cancers, due to their exposure to MoBay's chemicals. Monsanto and Bayer's crosslicensed Agent Orange resistance has also been cross-developed for decades. Wars were fought, lives lost, nations carved into holy lands with artificial boundaries that suit colonization and resource grab while Bayer and Monsanto sold chemicals as bombs and poisons and their brothers provided the loans to buy those bombs.

More recently, Bayer CropScience AG and Monsanto are believed to have entered into a longterm business relationship. This gives Monsanto and Bayer free access to each other's herbicide and paired herbicide resistance technology. Through crosslicensing agreements, mergers and acquisitions, the biotech industry has become the I.G. Farben of today, with Monsanto in the cockpit.

The global chemical and GMO industry Bayer, Dow Agro, DuPont Pioneer, Mahyco, Monsanto and Syngenta have come together to form the Federation of Seed Industry of India (FSII) to try and become bigger bullies in this assault on India's farmers, environment and democratically-framed laws that protect the public and the national interest. This is in addition to Association of Biotechnology-Led Enterprises (ABLE), which tried to challenge India's seed price control order issued under the Essential Commodities Act in the Karnataka

USDA DEREGULATES NEW MONSANTO GMO CORN

MON87419 is engineered to tolerate dicamba and glufosinate herbicides



Mansanto wasn't satisfied with just poisoning the world with glyphosate.

NOW THEY WANT TO DOUBLE DOSE YOU WITH TWO MORE POISONS.

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high court. The case was dismissed.

The new group is not "seed industry;" they produce no seeds. They try to stretch patents on chemicals to claim ownership on seeds, even in countries where patents on seeds and plants are not allowed. This is the case in India, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and many other countries.

All Monsanto cases in India are related to Monsanto unscientifically, illegally and illegitimately claiming patents on seed, in contempt of India's laws, and trying to collect royalties from the Indian seed industry and farmers. The FSII is an "I.G. Farben 100-Year Family Reunion," a coming together of independent and autonomous entities.

The Farben family chemical cartel was responsible for exterminating people in concentration camps. It embodies a century of ecocide and genocide, carried out in the name of scientific experimentation and innovation. Today, the poison cartel is wearing G-Engineering clothes and citing the mantra of "innovation" ad nauseam. Hitler's concentration camps were an "innovation" in killing; and almost a century later, the Farben family is carrying out the same extermination silently, globally and efficiently.

Monsanto's "innovation" of collecting illegal royalties and pushing Indian farmers to suicide is also an innovation in killing without liability, indirectly. Just because there is a new way to kill doesn't make killing right. "Innovation," like every human activity, has limits set by ethics, justice, democracy, the rights of people and of nature.

I.G. Farben was tried in Nuremberg. We have national laws to protect people, their right to life and public health, and the environment. India's biosafety and patent laws and the Plant Variety Act are designed to regulate greedy owners of corporations with a history of crimes against nature and humanity. Industry is getting ready to push its next "gene," the GMO mustard (DMH-11). The GMO mustard, being promoted as a public sector "innovation," is based on barnase/barstar/gene system to create male-sterile plants and a bar gene for glufosinate resistance. In 2002, Pro-Agro's (Bayer) application for approval of commercial planting of GM mustard based on the same system was turned down.

Although banned in India, Bayer finds ways to sell glufosinate illegally to Assam's tea gardens and the apple orchards of Himachal Pradesh. Sales agents show the sale

of glufosinate under the "others" category to avoid regulation. These chemicals are finding their way into the bodies of our children without government approval. Essentially, all key patents related to the bar gene are held by Bayer Crop Science, which acquired Aventis Cropscience, which itself was created out of the genetic engineering divisions of Schering, Rhone Poulenc and Hoechst. Then Bayer acquired Plant Genetic Systems and entered into cooperation agreement with Evogene, which has patents on genome mapping.

Before any approval is granted to genetically-engineered mustard, the issue of limits to patentability needs to be resolved on the basis of Indian laws and patents on plants and seeds and methods of agriculture must not be allowed. Deepak Pental, a retired professor and GMO-Operative, will not commercialize GMO mustard seed. His officers at Bayer/Monsanto/MoBay will.

Given our experience with GMO cotton, The Ministry of Environment & Forests is considering the option of putting in place guidelines for socio-economic assessment to judge proposed GMO varieties on the basis of factors such as the economy, health, environment, society and culture.

At the core of socio-economic assessment is the issue of monopolies and cartels, and their impact on small farmers. Even though patents on seeds are not allowed, for more than a decade and a half, Monsanto has extracted illegal royalties from Indian farmers, trapping them in debt and triggering an epidemic of farmers' suicides. Monsanto's war on India's foot soldier farmers is a war being waged by the Farben family, on our Earth family.

Dr. Vandana Shiva is a philosopher, environmental activist and eco feminist. She is the founder/director of Navdanya Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Ecology. She is author of numerous books.

WOMEN'S HEALTH

Women Have Lower Access to Medical Treatment

Ragini Bhuyan

ndia has made many improvements on women's health indicators. To name just two examples, fewer mothers are dying at childbirth and fewer adolescent girls are giving birth. However, as recent data from the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) shows, there is a lot of work to be done in improving women's access to healthcare. NSSO data shows that more women are falling ill than men and this gender gap in morbidity has increased over the years.

Why do more women report beina ill?

One reason seems nutritional **deficiency** as experts have pointed out recently. Researchers such as Dr Ravneet Kaur from the department of community medicine at the All India Institute for Medical Sciences blame nutritional deficiency, lack of exercise, increase in stress levels and rise in women's life span. They also say that most government health schemes, such as the National Rural Health Mission, are overwhelmingly centred around women's reproductive health, and neglect other aspects of women's health.

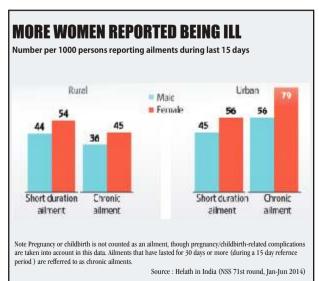
The higher rate of illness in women is not unique to India. A 2009 paper by Biplab Dhak and R. Muthurayappa, titled Gender Differential in Disease Burden: Its role to explain gender differential in mortality, noted that in the developed world, women bear a higher burden of morbidity (or a higher rate of illness, especially from the age of 30 onwards) but live longer than men. The authors note NSSO data shows that more women are falling ill than men and this gender gap in morbidity has increased over the vears

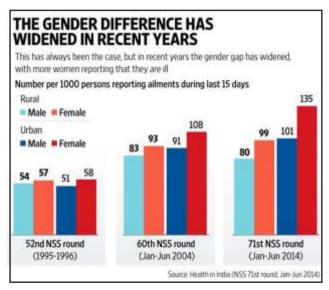
that this is true in the case of India as well. The paper concludes that while women fall ill more often with diseases that are not life-threatening, men have a higher mortality rate because they experience higher incidence of severe illness and also indulge in greater risk behaviour.

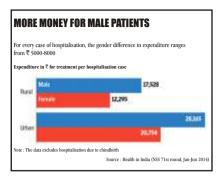
While more women than men reported being ill, there was hardly any difference between the two genders in terms of the numbers of men and women who received treatment, and this has been the case in previous years as well. However, data shows that average medical expenses on men are typically higher than for women.

Why is it that more money is spent when men are hospitalised?

Note here that data is not available to







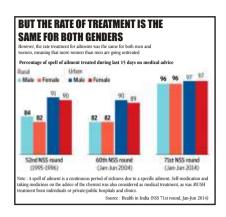
compare spends on a like-to-like (for the same disease) basis. Perhaps, average medical expenses are higher for men simply because "men have higher financial means, and hence can spend more on outpatient and hospitalisation expenses", says Dr. Bidyut Kanti Sarkar, a research scholar at the Indian Institute of Public Health.

Other researchers such as Dr Ravinder Khaiwal, an associate professor at Postgraduate Institute of Medical Education and Research, Chandigarh, argue that this is because men are more likely to be hospitalised due to trauma or injuries, which involve longer and/or costlier treatment. There is some statistical basis to that statement as Chart 3 shows that men are more likely to suffer injuries.

But gender discrimination can't be ruled out either. A 2014 paper published by the Indian Statistical Institute, authored by Akansha Batra, Indrani Gupta and Abhiroop Mukhopadhyay, titled Does Discrimination Drive Gender Differences in Health Expenditure on Adults: Evidence from Cancer Patients in Rural India, studied rural cancer patients in a public tertiary health centre in Odisha. They found that women patients faced disadvantages in the treatment of cancer due to social factors. Gender discrimination accounted for 73% of the difference in cumulative total expenditure on cancer patients. They also found that women were 20 percentage points less likely to get treatment for cancer before coming to the tertiary centre.

What is the fallout of this discrimination?

One, it affects life expectancy.

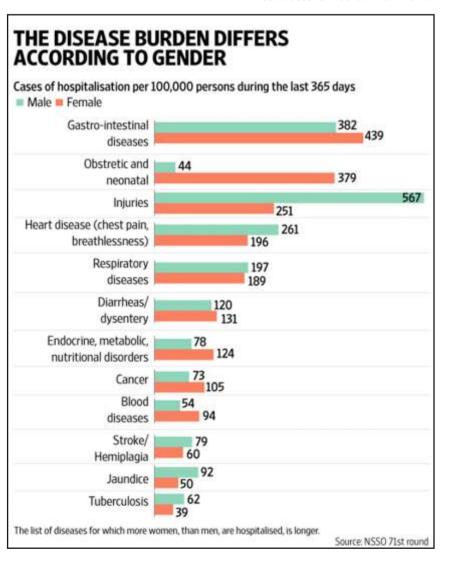


Under normal circumstances, women typically have higher life expectancy than men due to biological and behavioural reasons. However, due to factors like lack of access to healthcare, in some cases, women's life expectancy at birth is equal to or lower than that of men. For instance, World Bank data shows that in the 10 years leading to

1990, male and female life expectancy in India was equal. As of 2014, India has one of the lowest gaps in male and female life expectancy among its peers.

That said, an increase in life expectancy does not necessarily translate into better health outcomes either. Even though women's health status in India has improved from the 1990s to the extent that today they outlive men, their health has not improved vis-a-vis men. Older women above 60 years of age are less mobile than men in the same group, says an NSSO report on the elderly in India. Elderly women are more likely to be confined to the bed or home than elderly men.

Unless women have greater autonomy and control over their lives, they will continue to have limited access to medical treatment.



FOREST LANDS

Only 10% Allocated, Violations are Rampant

Activist and leaders of the struggles groups are

Otto Scharmer

ampaign for Survival and Dignity (CSD), the national level platform of the tribals and forest dwellers across the States which struggled for the enactment of historic Forest Right Act, 2006 organised its National Convention on "Forest Rights Struggle: Towards A Nationwide Self-Assertion of Forest Dwellers" at Institute of Engineers, Bhubaneswar on 28th September 2016.

Around four hundred participants including participants from different States i.e. Chhatigarh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Himachal Pradesh etc. across the States joined the convention and took oath to take over the forest using the Forests Rights Act and PESAAct. Activists and leaders of the struggles groups fighting to save their land and forest also joined the CSD Convention.

Gopinath Majhi, Convenor, CSD, Odisha sharing the objective of the Convention said "the objective behind holding the CSD National Convention in Odisha was to discuss more on FRA implementation issues in the State where Govt. claims to be No.1 to have issued highest number of individual forest rights (IFR) titles. However, 90% of the Individual forest rights titles said to have been issued in the State are without ground verification"

"While the FRA recognizes pre-existing rights in which the Gram sabha recognises as the authority to vest upon these rights over the rights holders, the Government of Odisha has implemented it as land distribution scheme bypassing Gram Sabha. 41,82,806 (40,72,241 individual and 1,10,565 community) forest rights claims reported to have been filed at the Gram Sabha level out of which 16,84,627 (16,40,160 individual and 44,467 community) titles reported to have been issued over 1,02,13,949.20 (56,68,591 IFR and 45,45,358 CFR) acres of forest and around 19, 70,991 forest rights claims have been reported rejected in 19 States i.e Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhatisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhnada, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharshtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, Tamilnadu, Telengana, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand



Besides, despite FRA, the Forest Department continues to run its jungle raj over forest and forest dwellers of the State." CSD alleged.

It is to be noted that As per the latest report of Ministry of Tribal Affairs, till 31st July, 2016, in total and West Bengal etc.

Likewise in Odisha as per the report of State Level Monitoring Committee (SLMC), Govt of Odisha, by 31st July, 2016 in total 6,12,944 Individual Forest Rights (IFR) claims have been filed at the

Gram Sabha level and 3,83,368 IFR titles have been issued over 5,83, 886 acres of forest land. Besides, 1,69,901 IFR claims have been rejected in the State. The SLMC also reports that by 31st July 2016, in total 13,315(8167 in B and 5148 in C) community forest rights claims have been filed and 5221(3042 in annexure III and 2179 IV) CFR titles have been issued over 3,35,599 acres of forest land.

CSD claims that "by this time, forest rights over only 10 per cent of the total forest land to be recognised under FRA, 2006 has been done. FRA is not implemented in some States and wherever implemented it is most often wrong and incomplete. Besides, FRA violations are rampant in many parts of the States."

"Many progressive rights recognised under FRA i.e. conversion of forest and unsurveyed villages into revenue recognition of PVTG villages. rights over their Habitat, ownership rights over Minor forest produce specially Kendu leaf and Bamboo and RoR correction has been yet to be started in many states. "We have seen that the central government and many states have repeatedly tried to dilute and subvert FRA by enacting new laws like CAF Act, 2016 and through many administrative actions. In fact, FRA implementation has slowed down and rapidly coming to a standstill." CSD alleged. Thus all these implementation issues are targeted to be discussed in the convention.

Pradip Prabhu joining the convention called upon the tribals and Forest dwellers to take over forest under their control using Forest Rights Act, 2006. The leaders of the States shared the updated of FRA and issues in their respective States. Among others who addressed the convention are Lok Sakti Abhijan president, Prafulla Samatara, Senor Journalist Rabi Das etc.

In the convention the leaders of the Gram Sabhas of Bolangir districts who dissolved VSS formed by Forest Department using FRA, 2006 were felicitated.

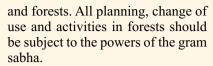
Major Demands from the Central Govt.

1. Ensure the Authority and Power of the Gram Sabha recognised under Forest Rights Act, 2006 in the Rules to be framed under CAMPA Fund Act, 2016. Ensure that the gram sabha would be the decision maker in case of plantation or any activities to be carried using CAMPA fund within the Community Forest Resource Area.

2. Halt the JFM Resolution, 1990 and respect the Gram Sabha as the "Authority" of the forest.

Halt illegal diversion of forest land without gram sabha consent and prosecute the officials responsible.

3. Respect the power of the gram sabha in all laws on land acquisition



Major Demands from the Govt. of Odisha

Respect the Gram Sabha as the authority of the village duly recognised under Forest Rights Act, 2006.

- 1. Identify hundreds of forest and un-surveyed villages, form FRC recognising Gram Sabha there and convert them into Revenue Villages.
- 2. Help gram sabhas to demarcate forest land recognised under individual Forest Rights Act in the State.
- 3. Recognised the IFR rights of the OTFDs duly recommended and approved by Gram Sabhas.
- 4. Produce village wise list of the IFR title to ascertain the number of villages covered under Forest Rights Act, 2006 till date.
- 5. Widespread the awareness campaign on FRA specially on Community Forest rights across the State.
- 6. Stop giving false information on the CFR rights recognised in State and validate them with ground realities.
- 7. Stop evicting tribals and forest dwellers from their habitats and land under cultivation though Tiger Projects and Plantation. Stop relocation of community from Similipal Tiger Reserve.
- 8. Dissolve all Vana Suraskhya Samiti(VSS)/EDC/Ama Jungle Yojana(AJY) violating Forest Rights Act.
- 9. Recognise PTG rights over their Habitat duly recognised under FRA.
- 10. Recognise Ownership rights over Minor Forest Produce and stop taking royalty on Kendu Leaf and Bamboo.
- 11. Make correction and consolidation of Record of Rights (RoR) of the forest land recognised under IFR and CFR in the State.
- 12. Drop all forest cases filed against tribals and forest dwellers after the enactment of FRA, 2006.



Fetuses Damaged by Exposure to

Agricultural Pesticides in the Womb

Ethan A. Huff

alinas Valley, California, known colloquially as "America's Salad Bowl" for providing our nation with 80 percent of its salad greens, is apparently a hotbed of pesticide pollution that many local farm workers believe is negatively affecting their families. And a long-range study known as "CHAMACOS," having also identified an association between agricultural pesticide exposure and conditions like behavioral disorders and birth defects, is actively engaging the local community in search of the best ways to protect unborn children in particular from this chemical exposure.

A recent piece by the *Food* & Environment Reporting Network (FERN) uses the example of "Maria," a mother of three living in the Salinas Valley who has been around commercial growing fields for much of her life. Of her three children, two of them were born with health problems that included difficulty breathing, asthma attacks and severe behavioral problems. One child, a boy, also developed symptoms that were later diagnosed as Asperger's syndrome and hyperactivity.

With no family history of these or any other related health conditions, Maria began to suspect that chemicals like the ones being sprayed on the vineyards across the street from her house, for instance, might be affecting her children. Additionally, both Maria and her husband had worked a number of years in the fields themselves, regularly tracking around chemicals on their hands, clothing and shoes

THE RESEARCH TEAM MADE IT A POINT TO ACTIVELY WORK IN THE COMMUNITY TO MITIGATE CHEMICAL EXPOSURE AS OPPOSED TO JUST EVALUATING IT FOR THE PURPOSE OF PUBLISHING THE FINDINGS

during the times around which their children were conceived.

Pesticides destroying children's brains, nervous systems

Could any of this have played a role in how Maria's children developed? A growing body of evidence seems to suggests so, as do Maria's own suspicions which have been vetted by researchers from the University of California, Berkeley. For at least the past 15 years, scientists from the school have been evaluating, analyzing and tracking the health of individuals like Maria and her family who are living in the Salinas Valley, which gets sprayed with upwards of 8 million pounds of pesticides annually.

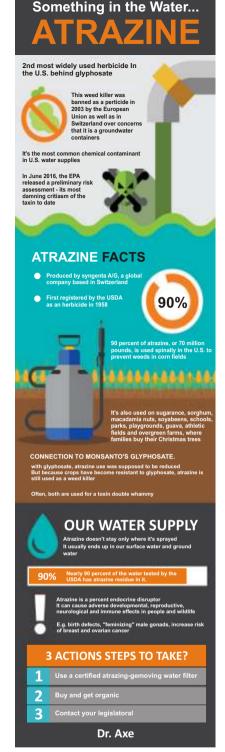
According to FERN, the CHAMACOS study is not only tracking health cases that appear to have been chemically-induced but also devising ways to help the people they see avoid these chemicals in the first place. A rarity in modern science, the research team involved has made it a point to actively work in the community to mitigate chemical exposure as opposed to just evaluating it for the purpose of publishing the findings.

"It's one of the things I find most impressive about their work," stated Dan Shapiro, a professor at California State University, Monterey Bay and member of the CHAMACOS community advisory board, to FERN about the quality of the research. "They have a genuine interest in engaging, collaborating and serving the community rather than swooping in as disinterested researchers, collecting data and leaving."

Pesticide use in Salinas Valley up 1,600 percent since start of study

When the CHAMACOS study first began, only about 500,000 pounds of organophosphate insecticides were being sprayed on growing fields. Pesticide use has increased roughly 16-fold in the area since that time, partly due to decreased crop variety and fewer rotational crops, a direct consequence of increasing land values. And yet, even at its onset, the study revealed that the vast majority of mothers who chose to participate had detectable levels of organophosphate chemicals in their urine.

Numerous other studies initiated since that time have come to many of the same conclusions about the effects of this exposure, which include decreased IQ, cognitive abnormalities, hormone disruption, obesity and other serious health problems. And even children living in urban neighborhoods nowhere near the growing fields are being affected, as the chemical residues often persist on the foods



shipped to the grocery store.

Atrazine

A popular herbicide still being applied to conventional maize and other factory-farmed food crops by the tons annually has been thoroughly established in the scientific literature as a silent killer. This herbicide is known as *atrazine*, and researchers from across the world have found that it destroys the male prostate gland, interferes with normal human reproduction, disrupts healthy hormone balance

and can even lead to early death.

First registered for commercial use in the U.S. back in 1959, atrazine quickly became one of the most widely used herbicides in the world, making its way onto factory farms growing corn, sorghum, sugar cane and various other commodity crops. But several decades after its initial approval, atrazine came under closer scrutiny by independent scientists who found that it was hardly the innocuous miracle chemical that its manufacturer made it out to be.

Research conducted in the late 1980s earned atrazine the designation of a class C carcinogen, meaning that it is "possible" for the chemical substance to cause cancer in humans. But nothing was done at this time to address the dangers associated with atrazine exposure, and the chemical has continued to remain in approved use ever since, polluting growing soils and water all across the country and throughout North America.

Atrazine has since been banned in Europe, but U.S. regulators continue to allow its use domestically despite mounting evidence that continued exposure to atrazine, primarily through contaminated drinking water, is causing widespread harm to human health. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), in fact, admits that it has conducted extensive research on over 150 published studies on atrazine since 2003, the findings of which are concerning.

"Reproductive effects are the most sensitive effects observed in atrazine toxicity tests and, as such, our efforts to regulate the pesticide to protect against these effects through drinking water exposure will protect against all other effects that occur at higher levels," explains an information sheet released by the EPA on the latest science covering atrazine.

Atrazine causes gender malformation, organ failures, developmental disorders

And just what are these "other effects" of which the EPA speaks?

According to a 2011 study out of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, atrazine causes a broad range of reproductive problems in creatures of all kinds, including amphibians, fish, reptiles and, of course, mammals. Male frogs exposed to the chemical were found to be so affected hormonally by atrazine that many of them actually turned into females.

Corresponding research out of Massachusetts conducted several years prior observed similar hormone-disrupting effects specifically in amphibians. Within just 12 to 24 hours of exposure to atrazine, tadpoles were observed to have major developmental failures, including failure of the heart to properly develop into normal size. Atrazine was also observed to cause cell death and tissue malformation.

A more recent study out of Texas linked atrazine exposure in humans to a rare congenital abnormality in the nasal cavity known as choanal atresia. This condition is marked by improper development of the nasal passage during fetal development, which results in nasal passage blockages that can leave a child unable to breathe properly without surgery.

As it turns out, the primary driver behind choanal atresia is endocrine disruption, a known adverse effect of atrazine exposure. And the vast majority of known cases of this condition occur in areas where atrazine exposure is the most pronounced, with virtually no incidences in areas where atrazine is not present.

"[A]trazine works through a number of different mechanisms," stated Tyrone Hayes, a professor of integrative biology at the University of California at Berkeley and lead author of the study on frogs. "It's been shown that [atrazine] increases production of (the stress hormone) cortisol. It's been shown that it inhibits key enzymes in steroid hormone production while increasing others. It's been shown that it somehow prevents androgen from binding to its receptor."

The Truth About Reliance Jio and India-Pakistan Wars

Shelley Kasli

et's say the Government of India wants to utilise its spectrum resources (which is a national resource belonging to the people of India) for development purposes. Ideally this is done by state owned telecommunications companies for various reasons, the major being that of national security. If the state telco lacks expertise or funding it is sourced from the private sector. Many countries are now increasingly reverting back to this practise. However, since Liberalisation and Privatisation, GOI chose to auction the spectrum, whereby the Govt sold rights (licences) to transmit signals over specific bands of the electromagnetic spectrum and assigned scarce spectrum resources to private/foreign players. Even for the auction process itself the Govt looked elsewhere. The guys chosen to manage the auction process was none other than the House of Rothschild, one of the controlling families of the East India Company. It is a mystery why the

GOI could not find appropriate expertise in any of the IITs, IIMs to manage this crucial task and instead resorted to our colonial oppressors as advisers. The process resulted in one of *In*dependent India's major scams landing most of this critical national resource in Rothschild's lap. Is it really surprising that Rothschild heads Reliance's Mergers & Acquisitions team?

In 2010, 3G and 4G telecom spectrum were auctioned in a highly competitive bidding. The Government chose Rothschilds to design a first-of-its-kind e-auction mechanism in the world, a US\$2.27 billion landmark deal, in which they got at least Rs 30.5 crore in commission.

Here are the responsibilities entrusted to Rothschilds as advisers of Govt of India (as specified in the advisers' contract with DoT)

- Managing overall process and primary point of contact with DoT;
- Clarifying regulatory context and other valuation-



Executives of Reliance were charged to cause criminal breach of trust by a public servant, criminal conspiracy (Section 120-B) and cheating (Section 420).

affecting matters with DoT;

- Writing bidding documents and updating it for further auctions;
- Marketing the opportunity to potential participants.

The entire auction process resulted in a major scam which we know as the 2G spectrum scam. How much was the tax payer's loss in the scam and where the money ended up is anybodys guess.

Reliance was the major beneficiary of the scam. Reliance Jio (earlier known as Infotel) was granted pan-India license for 4G in 2010 making it the only company to have all-India 4G license among others licenses. Jio employed the services of Anshuman Thakur (a foremer Director at NM Rothschild and now Head of Strategy and Planning at Reliance Jio), an auction specialist who had designed the spectrum auction system in 2010. Swan Telecom was floated as a subsidiary of Reliance Telecom to



circumvent the one-company-onelicense rule. In 2008, Swan merged with Allianz Infratech: late in the year Abu Dhabi's Etisalat bought about 45 percent of the company, renaming it Etisalat DB Telecom.

Executives of Reliance were charged under criminal conspiracy to cause criminal breach of trust by a public servant, criminal conspiracy (Section 120-B) and cheating (Section 420). Again in 2013, a PIL was filed in the Supreme Court which challenged the grant of pan-India licence to Jio by the Government of India. The PIL also alleged that Jio was allowed to provide voice telephony along with its 4G data service, by paying an additional fees of just \$25 million which was arbitrary and unreasonable, and contributed to a loss of \$340 million to the exchequer. In April this year however the Indian Department of Telecom (DoT), refuted all of CAG's claims. As a result, the PIL was revoked, and the accusations were dismissed.

Reliance was one of the most famous "zero-tax" companies in India. Till three decades after its listing, at no stage did Reliance ever pay corporate income tax on its profit, or even felt the need to make more than token provision for it. It was only in 1996-97, after the introduction of MAT (Minimum Alternate Tax) on the company's profit that they made a provision for corporate Income tax. However still, in 2015 suspecting the presiding lawyer of having 'continuing' links with the firm's legal team GOI had to ask RAW to probe Reliance lawyers and look at Fraud office to check for 'unpaid tax'. But here is the kicker.

Even after Dominion Independence the British had a tight control over India and Pakistan's oil resource via Burma Shell and ESSO. During 1971 war with Pakistan they denied to supply oil to Indian Army, Navy and Air Force. Irritated by this, the then prime minister Indira Gandhi nationalized the oil industry to protect our country's mineral wealth, indigenously develop selfsufficiency (swadeshi swaraj) and reduce dependency on foreign (videshi) raw material. After nationalisation these Indian companies were mandated to keep a minimum stock level of oil, to be supplied to Indian military when needed. These oil reserves were called the military stock level (MSLs). These two companies, after Government of India took them over, were developed by Indians and were worth a lot more than their original price in 1971. With privatisations all this would change because private players focus only on profits with requirements such as MSLs taking a back seat. This would effectively undo what was done by Indira Gandhi in the 70s with the result that the security of the country may be jeopardised.

Now these two companies thus taken over by GOI and running profitably were slated for sale under privatisation and liberalisation to the same Burma Shell and ESSO disguising as Royal Dutch Shell and EXXON: both in collaboration with Reliance Industries. Meaning that the original owners of these two companies waited for 32 years, and are now getting many times more worth on their investment along with getting their companies once nationalized back into their hands.

Royal Dutch Shell and Burma Shell are subsidiaries of Shell Corporation controlled by the House of Rothschilds centered in London who also controlled the old EICs and the then Bank of England. EXXON is the name given to one of the companies formed in 1911, when the original Standard Oil Empire was broken in to smaller units by the American judiciary. This entire empire of Standard Oil is controlled by one family the House of Rockefellers, centered in New York. Interestingly Rockefellers and Rothschilds are related to each other as they have a tradition of intermarriages within these two houses.

In 1971 the EICs denied to give us our own oil to fight our war; what do you think they could do now that

they own not just our oil but also our spectrum and telecommunications band? These families are wellknown for funding both sides of the war and making huge profits from it by determining the outcome of war and bringing entire nations to its knees through the ensuing burden of deht.

Why is it that in any of the scams although the major beneficiaries are the erstwhile East India Company owners (as we have documented in the article 'The Rothschild Plan To Develop India') we never hear about them in mainstream media? Nor are they even pursued by the investigating agencies?

The reason behind this is the working methodology of the EICs which none in India have tried to understand even after six decades of Dominion Independence. East India Company's trade was divided into many parts and a particular family owned each part. They were given full control over a nation under consideration. They developed local industrial/business houses, through which they exploited the independent nations. So for people of any nation, it is the local industrial house that comes to light as the exploiter and not EICs. Just like during EIC days when the zamindars were blamed for exploitation of farmers with huge taxes, where the fact was that the British under EIC exploited the farmers with their policies. Even today these Houses control most of the MNCs we see through their local business houses and follow the same ideology and methodology as that of the EICs.

P.S. Lookout for India's biggest spectrum sale coming soon, starting September 29. Bankrupt banks Bank of America, Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs are already excited about it with British telecommunications giant Vodafone investing a whopping \$7.1 billion in its Indian unit ahead of the spectrum sale, raising money via IPOs managed by none other than the House of Rothschild.

Soon, We May Not Have a Cauvery River to Fight Over

Both Karnataka and Tamil Nadu view the river as a mechanistic producer of water, not as a dynamic life-giving system that is responsive to local and global triggers of use and abuse.



Nityanand Jayaraman

wo days ago, a journalist asked me if the next World War will be over water. That question was triggered by the recent violence in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu supposedly over Cauvery's waters. There is no doubt that water conflicts are set to increase and intensify. But it would be wrong to suggest that the hooligans that engaged in loot and arson on either side of the border were actually

soldiers in any World War. I think they had no agenda beyond their love of violence and the sound of breaking glass.

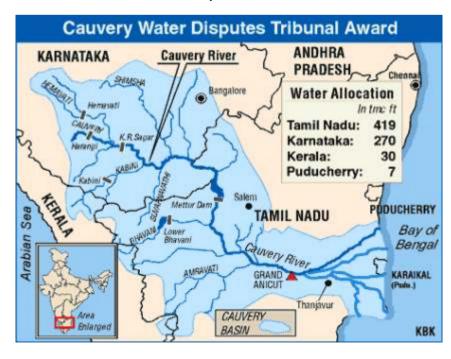
That is not to say that there is no conflict over Cauvery's waters. The conflict is real, and has been since the princely Mysore state began seeking a role in determining how Cauvery's waters were to be shared. If anything, the conflict is only likely to worsen. This instance of violence may have brought out only the hooligans in our midst; the conflicts to come are likely to bring out the hooligan in each one of us.

The possibilities of a deescalation of conflicts over Cauvery's water are remote given that two principal stakeholders the River Cauvery and future generations are not represented in all the negotiations in the tribunal and the Supreme Court. What is being referred to as a water-sharing formula is little more than a lootsharing formula for divvying up the booty.

Some history

There is more than a century's history to the problem. From medieval times up until the mid-19th century, Tamil Nadu had undisputed access to Cauvery's waters. Early engineers from the Chola era onwards had carved out irrigation tanks, and diverted Cauvery waters through anicuts and canals to irrigate farmlands. Irrigated agriculture in the Cauvery delta was already welldeveloped centuries before the East India Company swung by Madras.

The upper riparian stretches of the Cauvery, notably the Mysore principality, were late starters in irrigated agriculture. When it did



begin in the 19th century, attempts by the Mysore state to divert Cauvery water even with minor structures were viewed with suspicion and indignation by the lower riparian farmers in the then Madras Presidency. They feared a decrease in their own share of the river's waters. Citing historical use, delta farmers claimed prescriptive rights to the river's water.

The first two agreements, of 1892 and 1924, were aimed at ensuring that the upper riparian's right to develop its agriculture is not hindered by delta farmers, and that the latter's historical use is not infringed upon by the water users in Mysore.

Not about farmers

The bus-burning and stone-pelting in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu happens, they say, only during distress years when the two states vie to retain an adequate share of the meagre spoils from the river. Solidarity is quick to coalesce for the Tamils or Kannadigas depending on whose buses are being burnt that season.

Sadly, though, no one weeps for the Cauvery itself. Regardless of whether it is a distress year or a normal year for the people of the two states, every year is a distress year for the river. From Mercara to the Bay of Bengal, Cauvery's journey is fraught with danger and abuse. If stewardship were a pre-condition to enjoying the waters of the river, neither Tamil Nadu nor Karnataka would qualify for even a drop of the river's water. But stewardship is not on anyone's agenda.

It is surprising that after all that hot-blooded South Indians have done to their river, there is still a river left to fight over.

A casual reading of the Cauvery tribunal's 2007 award reveals how the river is viewed as a mechanistic producer of water, not as a dynamic life-giving system that is responsive to local and global triggers of use and abuse.

Demand for water within the basin has grown multi-fold.

Simultaneously, degradation of catchments and sand mining have compromised the river's ability to sustainably produce water. The proverbial goose that lays the golden eggs is sick and calling for help. Everyone seems intent on squeezing out the last egg. What about trying to keep the goose alive?

What ails the goose

The Cauvery originates in the Brahmagiri ranges of the Western Ghats in Kodagu. High-range tributaries like Harangi, Suvarnavathi, Hemavathi, Lakshmanathirtha and Kabini join the Cauvery where the ghats flatten out to become the Mysore plateau. In the plateau, or *maidan*, the rivers Shimsha and Arkavathi join waters with the east flowing Cauvery.

Arkavathi is fed by Vrishabhavathi, which drains half of Bengaluru.

In Tamil Nadu, Moyar, which joins Bhavani, Amaravathi and Orathar, which in turn adds to Noyyal, empty into the Cauvery. Kulithalai in Erode is about where the delta begins and the Akhanda Cauvery (or *broad* Cauvery) starts its slow plod to the sea through seven distributaries with beds of sand Nandalar, Nattar, Vanjiyar, Noolar, Arasalar, Thirumalairajanar and Puravadaiyanar.

The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed massive interventions in the river's hydrology. All major tributaries Hemavathi, Kabini, Arkavathi, Amravathy, Bhavani were dammed. New and large reservoirs like Krishnarajasagar,



Bhavanisagar and Stanley Reservoir were created. Minor reservoirs over Orathar-Noyyal and Amaravathi came up. New areas were opened up for water-intensive cash crops in Mandya, Hassan, Erode, Salem and Coimbatore aided by canal- and borewell-based irrigation. And the reservoirs attracted water-intensive industries like flies to honey.

Physiographically, the river flows in three parts: the Western Ghats, the Mysore Plateau and the Delta.

The Ghats

The erstwhile Kingdom of Mysore had two natural landscapes malnad, or hill country, and the maidan, or the plateau. It is in the hills that South Indian coffee production took root in the 19th



century. From being a peasant crop that was grown in every backyard, coffee became a hot commodity and a mixed plantation crop with the worldwide export of the beans grown in the shaded, stream fed forests of Kodagu gathering steam. Today, Kodagu coffee is grown by 42,000 families over 104,000 hectares. Early planters did alter the landscape but preferred the hardy, shade-giving native evergreens such as rosewood, wild fig and jackfruit. Unlike the tea estates that devastated the countryside, Kodagu coffee planters retained enough of original habitat to nourish biodiversity and maintain the hydrology.

But that habitat has begun to change particularly rapidly in the latter half of the 20th century and then the 21st century. Responding to global market triggers, the area under coffee has expanded at the cost of forests within private landholdings, and agro-forestry lands under cardamom. An assessment by the Coffee Agroforestry Network in Kodagu of forest-cover change between 1977 and 1997 indicated that it had declined by 28%, from 2,566 km2 to 1,841 km2. Medium elevation evergreen forest, which decreased by 35%, was the most depleted forest type according to the study.

Climate change too was triggering land-use change. Rainfall over the coffee-growing tracts of Kodagu has been erratic over the last three decades, reports environmental journalist Gopikrishna Warrier. CAFNet's study of 60 years of rainfall data from 116 coffee farms revealed that the rainy season had shrunk by 14 days over the last 35 years. Shadegrown coffee requires predictable blossom showers in the early months of the year. With rains becoming increasingly erratic, farmers are finding shade management tiresome; they are switching to irrigation, intensive open cultivation and substituting the native evergreen shade trees for the more exotic, fastgrowing and remunerative Silver Oak.

CAFNet concludes that these changes "may affect ecosystem services like water supply, carbon storage and biodiversity.'

High range forests are also being cut down for infrastructure development; this also will have a bearing on Cauvery's headwaters. In July 2014, the National Green Tribunal dismissed a petition by the Coorg Wildlife Society challenging a 55-km high-tension electricity transmission corridor that cut a swathe through the womb of the Cauvery in the Brahmagiri ranges. At least 20,000 evergreens were to be sacrificed just in the Brahmagiri and Pushpagiri ranges. The case was dismissed not on merits but on a technical ground that the petitioners did not show sufficient reason for condonation of delay in filing the petition within the period of statutory limitation.

The Mysore plateau and the **Maidans**

In 1934, construction of the Krishnarajasagar dam was completed; subsequently, reservoirs came up over Hemavathi, Yagachi, Harangi and Vattehole rivers. This led to the development of intensive irrigated agriculture in the Mandya and Hassan districts of Karnataka. The Cauvery basin reservoirs irrigate more than 100,000 hectares in Mandya and 47,000 hectares in Hassan district. With paddy, banana and sugarcane as key cash crops, the agriculture across the Cauvery basin is not just water-intensive but also fertiliser and pesticide intensive.

The assured supply of reservoir water irrespective of seasons also attracted water-intensive industries. The Nanjangud Industrial Area located on the banks of the Kabini houses 83 large, medium and small industries in a 532 acre plot 25 km from Mysore. Predictably, the Kabini leaves Nanjangud loaded with contaminants from the industrial area and domestic sewage.

The Mysore side of the river too has seen a spurt of waterintensive industries. A study by the Karnataka Engineering Research Station at Krishnarajasagara found

that polluted wastewater from three industries a paper mill, a distillery and a fertiliser manufacturer had rendered stretches of Cauvery near the once-famed Ranganathittoo Bird Sanctuary "unsuitable for drinking, bathing and fish culture."

The once sacred Vrishabhavathi River that runs through south Bengaluru is now a carrier of sewage and industrial effluents from the Peenya Industrial Estate. The city has one of the highest rates of water wastage in the country. According to a 2013 study by the Bengaluru-based Institute of Social and Economic Change, the city wastes 48% of the 1,400 MLD water pumped to the city.

Bengaluru's rise from a sleepy little garrison town to an IT hub has destroyed everything that made the city a paradise. The city's water needs were once met by the large network of lakes, whose spillover would feed the Vrishabhavathi. From 261 in 1961, the number of lakes in this garden city has fallen to just 85 in 2016. Now, the city sends sewage to the Cauvery through the Vrishabhavathi, and pumps up water from the Cauvery 500 feet below.

A study by the Ashoka Trust for Environment and Ecology found high levels of toxic heavy metals, including nickel, copper, chromium and lead in soil and groundwater, and milk and vegetables from the nearby farms. The Vrishabhavathi Sewage Treatment plant that was designed to handle 180 MLD of raw sewage only receives 130 MLD. Of this, only 26 MLD arrives through underground sewers. The remainder is sewage and industrial effluents that flows in the river's course.

Paraphrasing the 1960s singer Tom Lehrer, what they flush out at breakfast in Bengaluru, we drink for dinner in Tamil Nadu. The Karnataka minor irrigation minister is reported to have revealed in the Assembly that more than 1,400 million litres of sewage is discharged daily into Tamil Nadu. That is nearly 20 TMC from one city in one year-three times the allocation for Pondicherry, and



twice the allocation for 'environmental protection'.

Some plateau and the delta

Karnataka had only 316 km of the 800 km river to abuse. They have not done too badly, considering that most of it is in inaccessible, difficult-to-pollute hilly terrain. Tamil Nadu is blessed with 416 km of Cauvery, all in gently sloping ground and plains.

The Stanley reservoir, or Mettur dam, is the barometer of tension between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Within two years of the reservoir's construction, the first industry had come up based on water availability. Mettur Chemical and Industrial Corporation was set up in 1936. Within 15 years, it was already identified as a major polluter of the Cauvery and as the cause of mass fish mortality. Discharge of effluents into Cauvery from this company continued for several years after 2007, when the company's successor Chemplast Sanmar announced zero liquid discharge plans.

On one bank of the Stanley reservoir is a mountain of red mud a toxic residue from years of alumina production by the Madras Aluminium Company, Ltd. Every passing rain washes a little of the poison into the reservoir.

As if that were not enough, tens of small- and medium-scale chemical industries in the SIDCO industrial estate continue to discharge their effluents through natural drains and engineered canals into the Cauvery. Beneath the reservoir, on the banks of the original river course, sits a 1,240-

MW water-guzzling coal-fired thermal power plant operated by TANGEDCO. The Mettur Thermal Power Station has permission to draw 184 MLD (2 TMC annually) of river water. Coal ash from the plant is dumped up on a hill, from where it finds its way back to the river.

Roughly 45 km from here is where the Bhavani joins the Cauvery in Erode district. By the time it reaches the Cauvery, the Bhavani carries the effluents from dyeing industries, leather tanneries and pulp and paper mills all heavy water-users and heavier polluters. The industrial town of Salem discharges about 35 MLD of untreated sewage into the Cauvery through the Thirumanimuthar. This sub-tributary was converted from a river to a concrete lined drain with money borrowed from the World Bank.

The Lower Bhavani river stretch receives about 38,000 cubic meters of effluents and wastewater from the industrial cluster around Mettupalayam town. Additionally, untreated sewage from Mettupalayam, Sathyamangalam, Gobichettipalayam and Bhavani are also discharged into the Bhavani. Pesticide-laden waters from the coffee and tea plantations of the Nilgiris contribute their bit to the Bhavani.

Further east, the Noyyal, with its notorious effluent-filled Orathupalayam dam, joins the Cauvery. This river, once a lifeline for farmers, is now biologically dead, killed by the exports of the dyeing and bleaching industries from western countries to the hosiery town of Tirupur on its banks. In 1980, there were just 26 bleaching and dyeing units in Tirupur. In 2001, there were 700.

Water withdrawals from the Noyyal sub-basin were 4.4 MLD in 1980; one study projected it to increase to more than 115 MLD in 2005. Growth, development and the pursuit of the good life depleted local water sources and polluted what remained. Now, Tirupur draws water from Bhavani's confluence with Cauvery, about 55 km away. A public-private partnership the New Tirupur Area Development Corporation, Ltd. was set up to supply 185 MLD (2 TMC) water of which 125 MLD was reserved for the textile industry. About 120 MLD of effluent is released in the basin.

All along the Cauvery's route, it picks up not just industrial effluents but also municipal solid waste and untreated or partially treated urban sewage.

The post-liberalisation construction boom has birthed a new mafia in Tamil Nadu: the sand mafia. Cubic metre for cubic metre, sand has proven to be even more valuable than water. From Kulithalai in Erode, where the Cauvery expands to a breadth of 1.5 km, the river bed is largely sand. The sand is a spongelike storehouse of freshwater that feeds riverside wells and keeps the farmers happy. About 60% of the state's sand requirement is met by sand mined from the Cauvery basin. Legal or illegal, the quantum of sand

that is being removed has harmed the ability of the river to remain a river. And sand-mining operators are a ruthless lot with friends in the district administration, assembly and the police.

Root cause is demand

It is surprising that after all that hotblooded South Indians have done to their river, there is still a river left to fight over.

The scale of abuse is evident. Yet, it has escaped the attention of the members of the tribunal and the Supreme Court. The complexity of river systems, the hydrological dynamics that determine their ebb and flow, and other anthropogenic confounders such as land-use change and climate change have had no influence on the tribunal order.

The 2007 award that was 16 years in the making is meaningless drivel. From its declaration that a "Normal year" will be a year in which the Cauvery yields 740 TMC to divvying up this yield with an arbitrary 10 TMC to spare for "environmental protection", the Tribunal's award exposes its hurry to deploy reductionist arithmetic hydrology rather than confront the cofounding elephants in the room ever-increasing demand, climate change and land-use change.

The inimitable Ramasamy Iyer says it best in his article already cited above:

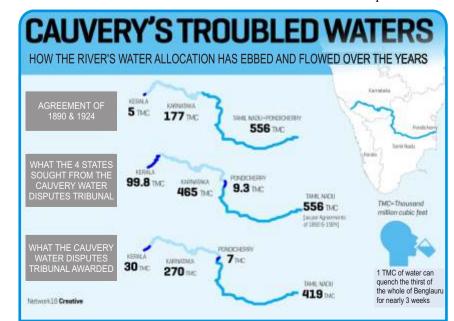
Finally, interstate or intercountry river-water disputes often arise because the combined water demand of all the co-riparian states or countries exceeds the water that is there in the river in the lean season. The "development" that we have embarked on involves a heavy draft on natural resources as well as the infliction of heavy damage on those resources and on nature itself. In the context of water, this leads to interuse, inter-sector, inter-area and interstate conflicts. There is ever a demand for more water and still more water; we are asking for water that does not exist. Unless we abandon this competitive, unsustainable demand for water, and learn to use prudently, effectively and harmoniously the water that is available, there will be no end to conflicts. The notions of "development" and "growth" that lead to that kind of demand need to be re-examined.

If tensions rise only in times of scarcity, it is the notion of scarcity and the scarcity itself that need to be addressed. Scarcity is a function of demand and supply. It can be reduced by increasing supply and reducing demand. In the case of the Cauvery, the same policies that increase demand (and trigger growth) construction boom, infrastructure development, intensification of agriculture also harm the river system and its ability to produce and carry water. For the Cauvery, and most of India's rivers, available supplies can be enhanced by preventing pollution and safeguarding the river's catchments, banks and riverbed.

Replacing water-intensive agriculture and industrial practices can free up more water than we currently need. Rather than find new uses for it, this water should be reserved for the river. The 10 TMC of water allocated for "environmental protection" by the tribunal is meaningless considering that just one city Bengaluru dumps 20 TMC sewage into the Cauvery.

Today's planners must try to spare water for ecological flows, not realising that ecological flows are what keep the river a river.

The writer is a Chennai-based social activist.



A Forgotten Amendment of the Constituent Assembly

On Saturday, the 10th September 1949 a crucial amendment was suggested in the Constituent Assembly which would have taken away power and control over the land of India away from the capitalists and given it to the government of the people of India. This amendment was rejected by various vested interests but is of crucial importance today as we move towards a Corporate Rai. On this day, former freedom fighter SHRI DAMODAR SWARUP SETH (United Provinces: General) gave the following speech:

"Mr. President, Sir, with your permission, I move:

That in amendment No. 369 of List VII (Seventh Week), for the proposed article 24, the following be substituted:-

- "24 (a) The property of the entire people is the mainstay of the State in the development of the national economy.
- (b) The administration and disposal of the property of the entire people are determined by law.
- (c) Private property and private enterprises are guaranteed to the extent they are consistent with the general interests of the Republic and its toiling masses.
- (d) Private property and economic enterprises as well as their inheritance may be taxed, regulated, limited, acquired and requisitioned, expropriated and socialised but only in accordance with the law. It will be determined by law in which cases and to what extent the owner shall be compensated.
- (e) Expropriation over against the States, local self-governing institutions, serving the public welfare, may take place only upon the payment of compensation."

Now, Sir, before actually speaking in support of my amendment, I hope I will be excused to say something by way of introduction to the proposed amendment. The Draft Constitution has, in my humble opinion, failed, and failed rather miserably to deal properly with the question of the economic rights of the people. This article 24, which is now under discussion, I am sure, is soon going to be a Magna Charta in the hands of the capitalists of India. While we were under foreign rule, a few years back, we had been hoping fondly, not against hope, that in a free India the people of this country will be able to frame a really peoples' constitution which will as a whole be the Magna Carta of the toiling masses.

But, alas, Sir, two years of Swadeshi rule have not only sadly disillusioned us, but all our hopes of better living and a prosperous India have been dashed to the ground. The standard of living of the masses is slowly going down and the index of prices of necessaries of life is daily rising. It is not possible for one to say as to where and when this rise in prices and the worsening of the economic condition of the masses will end. The plight of the middle class-people, Sir, is indescribably piteous.

All this is happening in the face of the famous and historical Quit India Resolution in which the toiling masses of this country were solemnly promised Ram Rajya, i.e., that the power, political and economic, snatched from the foreigners will be vested in their hands. It is true that the toiling masses are even now attempted to be lulled into sleep by some tempting promises and sweet words.

Even now if I correctly remember, Sir, the Honourable Prime Minister of India who has just moved this article 24, while speaking on the Objectives Resolution had declared in the most clear and emphatic terms 'that he stood for socialism and that India would go to the making of a Socialist Republic. If a Socialist Republic has actually to be established in this country, or as the President of the India National Congress promises every now and then, that there will be a classless society in this country during the next five years, then a Socialist Republic or a classless society are not to be dropped on thisland of ours from Heaven like Manna. If they do mean anything, it requires` some spade-work and clearing of way by dealing properly with the question of the economic rights of the people...

The subject therefore needs clarification, and that clarification, in my humble opinion, is not possible unless we discard the idea or I should say the theory, that man has natural right in property and also the idea that property is a projection of personality and any invasion on property is an interference with the personality itself. We cannot confuse personality with property; nor can we forget the social and functional character of property. Man has no natural right in property. Claim to property is acquired by law recognised by community. The community, Sir, has always reserved to

NO COUNTRY FOR EQUALITY

While crimes against Dalits are increasing, the state has time and again let them down, with little action against the perpetrators.

Bhalchandra Mungekar

trocities against Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) are a regular feature of the caste-based Indian society and distressingly, of late, they have begun increasing. What is ironical is that only recently, the country commemorated the 125th birth anniversary of B .R. Ambedkar, the icon of the depressed castes, particularly Dalits, and the principal architect of the Indian Constitution.

Among its several salient features, the constitution abolished untouchability. But it could not eradicate the caste system for obvious reasons: The caste system constitutes the "basic structure" of Indian society and its abolition would be tantamount to demolishing

a "fundamental aspect" of the latter's very existence.

The founding fathers thus clearly visualised that the caste system would continue and therefore adopted the principle of "affirmative action" to ameliorate the social, economic, political and educational backwardness of SCs and STs, and bring them at par with



itself the right to modify laws with respect to property and acquire it from its owners in the common, social and economic interests of the people. Property is a social institution and like all other social institutions, it is subject to regulations and claim of common interests.

Laws of property have been changed from time to time. Many proprietary laws of the middle ages have been abolished without compensation. For example, when the law of slavery was abolished in America, no compensation whatsoever was paid to the slave-owners although many of them had to pay hard cash while acquiring that claim. The property of the entire people, it must be understood, is the main-stay of the State in the development of national economy and the right to private property cannot be allowed to stand in the way or used to the detriment of the community. The State must have the full right to regulate, limit and expropriate property by means of law in the common interests of the people.'...

I, therefore, hope, 'Sir, that this amendment of mine will be given serious consideration by the Honourable Members of the House and if they think it desirable in the interest of the toiling masses of India that their economic rights should be dealt with properly and in the spirit in which they ought to be dealt, then I feel, Sir, that there will be no difficulty for the honourable Members of this House in accepting my amendment."

More than 60 years later as our few remaining economic rights are being stolen, as even protestors of land-grabs such as those in Hazaribagh are shot above the waist like separatists in Kashmir, as police now go to villages in Jharkhand to warn them not to protest or face bullets, we can realise that these ideas of economic justice are no longer a question of socialism or any other ideology – it is a matter of survival of our basic freedom for which so many gave their lives. The land, resources and property of India belongs to the Indian people alone. No corporation or their paid netas can take it away from them. Artha Azadi (economic liberty) is our birthright.



the rest of society. For this, successive governments in post-Independence India introduced many development and welfareoriented policies and programmes, particularly populationproportionate reservation of seats in employment, educational institutions and central and state legislatures. While these measures have contributed significantly to the material advancement of SCs and STs, there has been no proportionate enhancement in their "social status".

It is the Indian state — the legislature, executive and judiciary — that has miserably failed to check untouchability and the caste-based atrocities against the downtrodden.

Let me elaborate.

At present, two legislative measures deal with crimes against SCs and STs. The first, the Civil Rights Protection Act, 1955, deals with civil crimes — offences that violate their civil rights, which includes denial of access to public places like temples and restaurants, among others. The second, and more stringent, is the SCs and STs Prevention of Atrocities (PoA) Act. 1989. It has provided an elaborate legal arrangement comprising the definition and types of atrocities, the procedure to be followed by the state machinery in investigating them and the creation of fast track courts for the trials of the accused.

What is the scope of these atrocities and how is the state machinery handling them?

As per the annual report of the Union Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, based on data collected by the National Crime Bureau for 2014, there were 609 cases of civil rights (CR) violations against SCs and STs in 2013, of which, 315 and 152 (76 per cent in total) were in just two states — Maharashtra and Gujarat respectively. And in both states together, only three people have been convicted, leaving 551 cases pending.

The report also notes that 39,408 cases of atrocities against SCs were registered under POA in 2013, which increased to 47,064 in 2014, a rise of 19 per cent. In the case of the STs, they rose from 6,793 in 2013 to 11,451 in 2014 — a staggering increase of 68 per cent.

The atrocities comprise serious crimes such as loot, arson, intimidation, destruction of crop, burning of houses, murder and rape.

According to the report, annually, rapes against SC and ST women are about 1,000 and 800 cases respectively.

So what about their legal status? According to the ministry report, the number of cases of atrocities, including those from the previous backlog, was 1.19 lakh as

of 2014. The highest number of cases were in UP (28,000), Bihar (20,000), MP (13,576), and Rajasthan (12,800); these four large states constituted 63 per cent of the total crimes against SCs and STs in the country. The so-called progressive state of Maharashtra had 7,350 atrocities; Odisha, 7,700; Karnataka, 6,200; and Tamil Nadu, 5,600. Punjab and Himachal Pradesh registered the least number of atrocities.

The situation regarding trials is even worse. Of the 1.19 lakh cases in 2014, only 4,716 accused were convicted, while 11,900 were acquitted. The rate of conviction was 11 per cent in MP, 6.5 per cent in UP, 5.8 per cent in Rajasthan, 0.5 per cent in Gujarat, 0.6 per cent in Karnataka and 0.8 per cent in Maharashtra.

The number of cases that remained pending in the courts at the end of 2014 was 1.02 lakh — 85 per cent of the total. Of them, the four states of UP (25,000), Rajasthan (11,000), MP (10,000), and Bihar (18,800) accounted for 64 per cent.

Inadequate judicial and administrative arrangement is one of the factors that explains such a grim situation; for instance, of the 406 districts in the country, only 193 had mandatory fast track courts.

Other fundamental factors include indifference of the state administration, wilful bias in public prosecutions, non-availability or even destruction of evidence, the dominance of social and political 'vested interests' and the apathetic mindset of society.

This criminal humiliation of the depressed cannot continue unchallenged. There are about 20 crore SCs and 10 crore STs in the country.

They are equal citizens; their contribution to the nation has been enormous. The results of constant injustice are there for us to see in the post-Una rebellion in Gujarat. Ambedkar wanted to convert political democracy into economic and social democracy but the nation is heading towards social anarchy.

Spiritual Ideation Destroys Discrimination

Shrii Shrii Anandamúrti

To attain supreme height of spirituality one needs a combination of devotion. knowledge, and action. Knowledge and action, however, play a secondary role and are important only as aides to devotion. When they are not used for the cultivation of devotion, they become an obstacle. Whatever actions you perform and however hard you try to know Brahma by cultivating knowledge, if you are bereft of ardent love for Brahma, you will ultimately discover that you have no balance left in your bank account. The attempt to surrender oneself through devotion forms the essential part of your sadhana.

As long as the feeling of individuality exists, unit beings see the diversities in the multidimensional imaginative flow of the Supreme Entity. Their vision thus impaired by non-integral knowledge, they run in pursuit of these diversities and make themselves their slaves. Wherever there is a unit mind, there will be spatial, temporal and personal factors. The One who is beyond the periphery of these three factors is eternal. He is the Absolute Entity, others are only relative truths. This endeavour to liberate the unit consciousness from the unit mind, the base of all relativities, is what is termed sadhana. And in this endeavour one must free the self from the domination of the eight fetters (bondage of lineage, vanity of culture, false sense of prestige, hatred, doubt, shame fear and backbiting) and the six enemies (anger, greed, lust, pride, envy, enchantment).

The degree of bondage on the human mind is determined according to the intensity of the propensities, which are of various types: some pertaining to physicality, some to reactive momenta, some to education, etc. The unit mind can only guide and control its propensities when its actions are original. In all other cases the mind is guided by the propensities themselves (which may be good or bad). The propensity through which one expresses one's psychic power depends in most cases (except in the case of original actions) on the influence of physical constitution, education and the environment.

Hence, to maintain purity of the psychic propensities, the purity of the body, the reactive momenta and the environment is crucial. It is not altogether impossible for someone to be transformed into a virtuous person if his or her neighbours are good people. We can describe this collective endeavour of ideal neighbours as the purification of the body, education and environment with the help of the collective mind. We are perfectly aware of the fact that if education, the environment, etc., are uncongenial it becomes impossible for even honest people to be virtuous.

In our practical life we call those people great who, knowingly or unknowingly, keep their unit minds engaged in cosmic ideation. But those people who attach excessive importance to the microcosmic ego, and thus begin to discriminate between objects and individuals, become a burden to society. You may have seen priests who after preaching eloquent and verbose religious sermons get themselves entangled in useless arguments with the laity over their sacerdotal fees. Such people shed copious tears whenever they preach the all-pervasiveness of God, yet strive to maintain their "purity" by keeping the so-called untouchables at a safe distance. Such people only eat food after first offering it to the Lord, yet are very concerned about the caste of the cook. This discrimination is the distortion of an analytic human mind and is the characteristic of those who want to keep their Lord at a distance out of contempt. As a result they will never attain Him.

To attain Him, the unit mind, the base of all such discriminatory feelings, has got to be immersed in the cosmic flow. There is no other way. If someone argues that an arum dish rather than a potato dish should be offered in the temple of Jagannath [hindu god] because potato is non-indigenous it is the height of absurdity. Does Jagannath make any discrimination between different countries? Is there any difference for Him between the river Ganges and the Jordan? All lands are His own land; everything is within His mind, created with His own atoms and molecules, and resonated with His sacred ideation. Those whose preachings encourage such discriminatory feelings are the worst enemies of humanity. These are the people who in every age in the name of religion have caused blood to flow, and have injected the fear of heaven and hell, of ghosts and demons into the human mind. These are the people who made human beings lifeless puppets. And even today these vested interests are still trying to perpetrate discrimination in a thousand and one ways.

It is said, "One who knows Brahma [Pure Consciousness] becomes a Brahman." But this definition of a Brahman is inconvenient for them so they have declared that the son of a Brahman [priest] is a Brahman and the son of a Vipra [priest] is a Vipra, whether they merit the title or not. In this way they have cheated the simple, mute and gullible masses for centuries together. They do not have the key to salvation; no, they hold only one thing in their hands: the binding rope. They don't possess the spirit or the valour to sing the songs of human emancipation. Their eyes do not shine with the radiance of universalism, but squint with the greed and cruelty of vultures. Buddha was the first person to revolt against their cruelty and devouring greed. He declared unequivocally,

Na jacca pasalo hoti na jacca hoti Brahmana

Kammana basalo hoti Kammana hoti Brahmana.

Nobody is born low, nobody is born a brahmin. Human beings are considered low only because of their bad actions. But when they see Brahma [Consciousness] in each and every finite entity, and act accordingly, they attain the rank of brahmin [divine personality], they become established in integral knowledge. A brahmin is not a caste, it is not a rank; it is the vast Cosmic Entity established in universalism. Mahaprabhu Caetanya also sang the song in chorus with Buddha. He said,

Candal candal nay yadi Krsna bale,

Dvija dvija nay yadi asatpathe cale.

[An untouchable is not an untouchable if he takes the name of Krsna. A Brahman is not a Brahman if he follows the dishonest path.]

Those who ideate on Brahma can remove the bondages of limitations and establish themselves in an infinite, emancipated life. Such people do not bear the identity of either a Brahman or a so-called untouchable...To attain this supreme height of spirituality one needs a combination of devotion, knowledge, and action. Knowledge and action, however, play a

PBI Cadre Training Programme in Barkote, Odisha



On 14-15 October PBI, Odisha organized a cadre training programme in Barkote District of Odisha. Besides the office-bearers, 50 selected cadres from different parts of the state participated in it for two days.

The programme started with the garlanding of the photograph of PBI's founder Shri Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, which was followed by a Proutist invocation song by the party cadres. Speaking about the importance of the training programme, Dr. Kulmani Nayak said that since PBI is an ideological party and does not believe in the politics of cheap slogans, attending such programs are mandatory for every cadre because the party wants its cadres to be wellinformed about the ideology they are striving to materialize.

National General Secretary Kanhu Charan Behura said that today our country is facing problems like poverty, unemployment, economic depression, price-rise, corruption, terrorism, communalism, casteism etc.,

which cannot be solved by the established political parties because they are following the policy of 'divide and rule' to capture the power and to perpetuate the exploitative capitalistic economic system. He highlighted the salient features of PROUT and explained how they can solve the various problems.

National movement secretary Kedar Nath Sahoo told about various agitations and movements he has been leading in the state. He talked about various strategies he has been employing to rally the people against their exploiters. He said PROUT stands for all round development of society, but its materialization is only possible when we mobilize the people against all types of exploitation and pit the moralists against the immoralists. He reiterated his resolve to launch Proutist movements in every part of the country.

On the second day, national public relations secretary Ravindra Singh gave a powerpoint presentation on 'PBI - a new stream of politics'. Slide by slide he showed why and how PBI is different from all other political parties of the country. He said that PBI is an unprecedented event in the human history, and will rise to the prominence and come to the power in an unexpected and unprecedented way. He said that while the established political parties divide the people in the name of caste, community, region, religion, language etc., PBI intends to unite them on the basis of universalism and the anti-exploitation sentiment. He said the parties based on





charismatic leaders and their family have not done any good to the country. He added that the country needs infallible leadership and ideology to move in the right direction, which only PBI can give.

National convener Acharya Santoshanand Avadhuta said categorically that although PROUT is a perfect philosophy, yet its implementation is not possible unless there is a Proutist government in the country. He said that unless Proutists work with do-or-die psychology, PROUT will remain only a sweet dream and the suffering humanity will be crying forever. He said mass mobilization is the greatest weapon and no worldly power is mightier than people's power. He said that lack of resources will never thwart the onward movement of the party, provided we work sincerely and with the zeal of a revolutionary with the sole objective of victory.

The programme concluded with detailed planning about how to work for the expansion of the party in the various parts of Odisha. With the forthcoming panchayat elections in sight, detailed preparations were made for outreach and anti-exploitation programmes.



PBI Justice Movement Begins in Ghatanji, Vidarbha

On Gandhi jayanti, Madhukar Nistane addressed a gathering discussing a plan of action to deal with the rampant spread of corruption in the area. The suffering of the people in drought saw no relief from the side of the government despite the Chief Minister being a so-called son of Vidarbha. The state government kept delaying to recognise suicides as being due to the drought. While the people remained neglected the water-guzzling sugar mills owned by a mafiapolitician nexus got relief from the government.

This drought is a time for endless looting as in the name of the suffering people many new government schemes are created and then this gives the government officials more money to steal. Also it gives wealthier farmers a chance to get free funds by paying a bribe to be registered as a poor person while the real poor people are not even listed for these programmes.

The fundamental reality is that Yavatmal can expect nothing from any government or from any establishment leader.

Madhukar Nistane declared that he was launching a movement to fight all these forms of corruption and to give Arthanik Azadi (economic liberty) to the people of Vidarbha. The fact is that Yavatmal has suffered exploitation at the hands of the Hyderabad Nizam, it has suffered under the Mumbai Dalalis for more than 60 years. The only way out is if Yavatmal builds its own economy and expels the middlemen and other exploiters. No one man can achieve this but together the people of Yavatmal can easily do this unitedly. In this regard Madhukar Nistane declared he would dedicate all his time to arousing the people for the second freedom struggle to gain Artha Swaraj for the people of Ghatanji and Yavatmal.

North Bengal PROUT Parikrama

Prout Parikrama is intensive Prout Pracar from village to village, from town to town with several vehicles and hundreds of margiis and nonmargiis. The 4 day Prout Parikrama which started on 29th September from Raiganj ended at Siliguri with a rally and meeting on 2nd october 2016.

The Parikrama with 2 lorries, one bus and one small vehicle led by more than a dozen two wheelers held 45 street corner meetings in more than 35 towns and villages it covered. The Parikrama reached Tungidighi on 29th evening and then started in the morning of 30th covering a dozen of villages in Karandighi belt and reached Islampur in the evening. Next morning it covered another 10 villages and arrived at Kharibari, a stronghold of PROUT. It started again on 2nd October to arrive at Siliguri, where more than a thousand Proutists joined the Parikrama that converted into a rally.

50000 leaflets were distributed, 3000 posters were pasted, more than a 100 wall writings and several initiations every day. Proutists of this northern Bengal belt are highly inspired to participate in this intensive Prout Pracar program. Northern Bengal media covered the program in detail.







Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

I SHALL NEVER BEND BEFORE CORRUPTION



ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ ÁMI, ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ BÁHIR BHIITAR EK KARE NOBO PÁPÁCÁRE MÁTHÁ NOYÁBO NÁ ÁMI, PÁPÁCÁRE MÁTHÁ NOYÁBO NÁ ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ ÁMI, ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ

SOJÁ PATHE JÁBO SOJÁ KATHÁ KABO SOJÁ BHÁVANÁY RATA HOYE RABO KONO AVAKÁSHE KÁHÁRO SAKÁSHE NIJERE PRACÁR KARIBO NÁ. ÁMI. NIJERE PRACÁR KARIBO NÁ ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ ÁMI, ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ

ESECHI KARITE TOMÁR KARMA TAVA VÁNII MOR PRÁNERA DHARMA SHAYANE SWAPANE NINDE JÁGARANÉ TOMÁ VAI KICHU SMARIBO NÁ ÁMI. TOMÁ VAI KICHU SMARIBO NÁ ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ ÁMI, **ÁLOKER PATH CHÁŔIBO NÁ**

I shall never leave the path of light. Outside, inside I shall make one Never bending to vice and corruption.

I shall walk the straight path Speak straight out the plain truth Think clean, straight thoughts At no time, in anyone's presence Shall I champion or propagate myself.

I have come only to perform Your work. Your words and Your message (vani) are The Dharma (righteous path) of my life Whether in sleep, dreaming or awake I shall remember nothing but You.



Ministry of Information & Broadcasting Government of India

Tributes to Gandbiji and Sbastriji on their birth anniversary



2 October

An occasion to renew our pledge for Swachh Bharat An occasion for us to put our best shoulder forward through shramdagn. An occasion to become an inspiration for others An occasion to realize Bapu's dream of a Swachh Bharat

ee I appeal to all of my countrymen that to maintain the dignity of our mothers and sisters and for the sake of health of our children, our country needs to get rid of this scourge of open defecation. Let us forge ahead with a strong resolution. 55

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So Far:



Over 2.5 Crore toilets constructed all over the country



1 Lakh villages Open Defecation Free



405 cities in 15 States including all Cities in Gujarat. and Andhra Pradesh declared Open Defecation Free



If you have participated in Swachh Bharat Shramdaan, upload those pictures on MyGov.in. or share them directly with the Prime Minister on the NarendraModiApp. (To download the App give a missed call on 1922)

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