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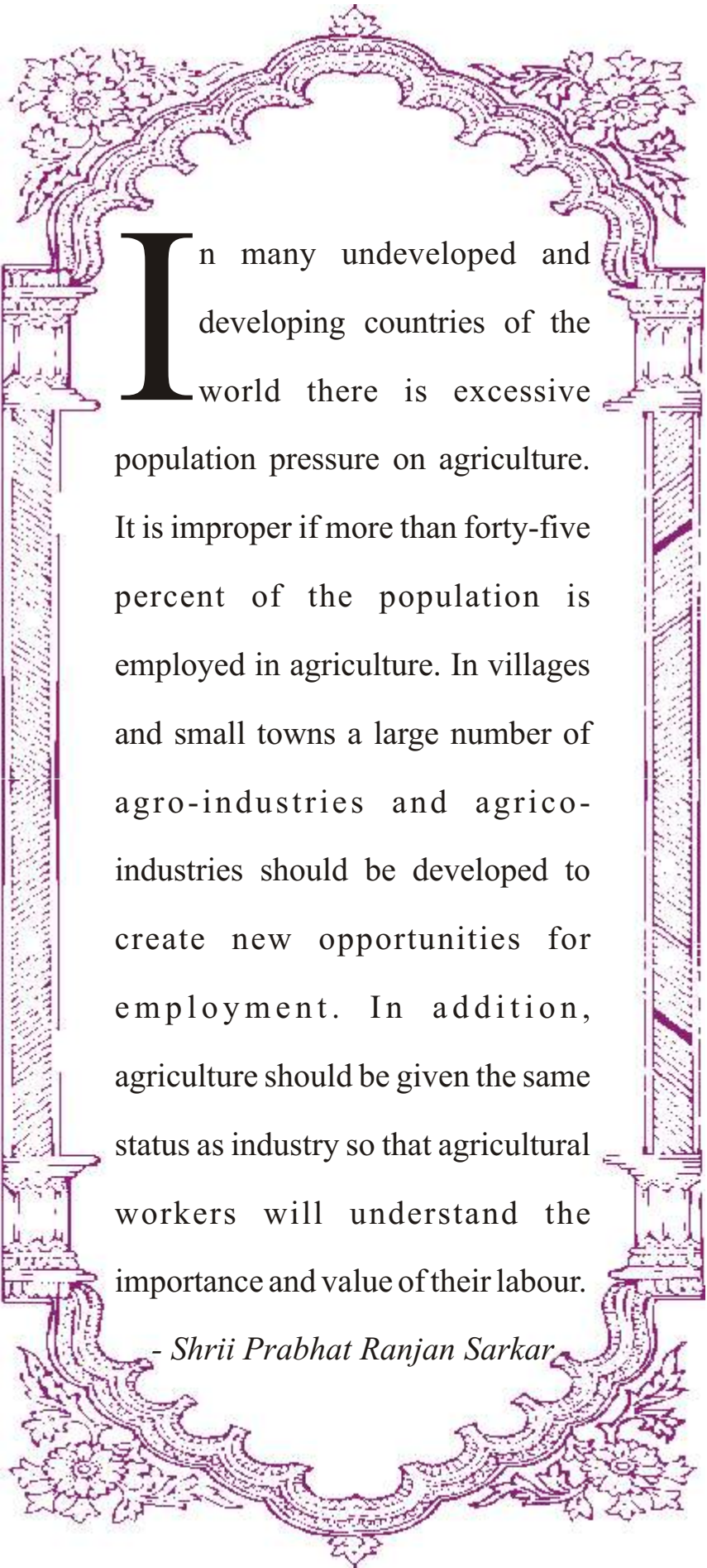
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Fundamental Principles :

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



In many undeveloped and developing countries of the world there is excessive population pressure on agriculture.

It is improper if more than forty-five percent of the population is employed in agriculture. In villages and small towns a large number of agro-industries and agrico-industries should be developed to create new opportunities for employment. In addition, agriculture should be given the same status as industry so that agricultural workers will understand the importance and value of their labour.

- Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Yesterday Basavanna, today Kalburgi, tommorrow...?

On August 30, at 8:40 AM, two youths claiming to be students shot dead at close range, 77 year old Malleshappa M Kalburgi in his home near Dharwad. This was the third major assassination by Hindu extremists. On August 21, 2013: Rationalist Narendra Dhabolkar was shot dead in Pune while on a morning walk and on 21 Feb 2015 CPI activist and writer Govind Pansare and his wife Uma were shot at by assassins on a motorcycle near their house in Kolhapur. Both murder cases remain unsolved. Both were activist writers had received death threats for speaking out against superstitions and those who profit from them.

The case of M. M. Kalburgi is quite different. Dr Kalburgi was former Vice-Chancellor of Karnataka University in Hampi as well as renowned historian, epigraphist of old Kannada literature. He was the only academic to receive both the Karnataka Sahitya Akademi and national Sahitya Akademi literary awards for his contributions to pioneering research in classical Kannada literature and epigraphy. His research also won him the Janapad Award, Yakshagana Award, Pampa Award, Nrupatunga Award and Ranna Award.

Another difference is that while Dhabolkar and Pansare were atheists, Dr. Kalburgi was a Viirashaeva. 910 years ago, the great social revolutionary Basava was born. Based on militant Shiva Tantra, Basava led a movement against casteism and created a new spiritual and social order. When Basava dared to marry the daughter of one of his Brahmin disciples with the son of one of his “untouchable” disciples, an outbreak of violence occurred and shortly afterwards Basava disappeared under mysterious circumstances. Thereafter a gradual accommodation took place between his followers and casteism until at the turn of the 20th century, Basava’s militantly anti-caste poems were banned from temples where he was worshipped.

In the 1960s the University of Dharwad began a pioneering research programme to publish and research the poetry (vachanas) of the Viirashaivas. Dr. Kalburgi was one of those scholars who later had become the director of Basava Peetha of Karnataka University. Dr. Kalburgi in the spirit of the saints he studied was outspoken on matters of social justice. He was a critic of corruption in the Lingayat Maths (monasteries), who he accused of abandoning Basava’s ideals of sama-samaja (social equality). Then in 1985, an orchestrated campaign began accusing Kalburgi of insulting the wife and sister of Basava. In reality, the article in question praised Basava’s wife as an ideal of Indian womanhood. A second article after studying the conflicting stories about the husband of Basava’s sister (who were the parents of the later Lingayat leader Cennabasava) concluded that she was married to a lower caste man. Five years earlier a Lingayat swami had expressed the same belief but it caused no controversy. When this hate campaign built up, Dr Kalburgi began to receive many attacks for having insulted Basava. Later, he appeared at a Math and made a public apology and said that he never intended to disrespect Basava. As he later said, “I did it to save the lives of my family. But I also committed intellectual suicide on that day.” Dr Kalburgi was forced to resign from his post as Director and abandoned research on the Viirashaivas but continued research in Kannada literature that was to win him so many awards. However, in one of his last public speeches in Raichur District, he had said: “I am living for two things: Kannada and Basava.”

Dr. Kalburgi continued his forthright statements that now attracted more violent opposition from national religious extremists. He claimed that Lingayats cannot be considered as Hindus because Basava had renounced all existing religions. This brought him the wrath of the BJP which had come to power in Karnataka with the support of the Lingayats. He continued to encourage his students to similarly speak out their convictions. In 2012, Linganna Satyampete, an outspoken journalist and former student of his was shot dead in Gulbarga. In July 2014, while speaking out against idol worship, he quoted a story world-renowned novelist and professor U. R. Ananthamurthy describing how he desecrated an idol as a small boy. Later Dr. Kalburgi claimed his comments had been distorted. This brought Dr. Kalburgi now into the limelight as a national target for Hindu extremists, including the Bajrang Dal. He received many death threats, attacks. He had been living under police protection but a few weeks before his death had requested that it be discontinued.

Two hours after the death of Dr. Kalburgi, Bajrang Dal co-convener Bhuvith Shetty issued the following Twitter message, “Then it was UR Anantamoorthy and now it is MM Kalburgi. Mock Hinduism and die a dog’s death. And dear K. S. Bhagwan you are next.” Later this Twitter message was deleted and Shetty claimed that he never implied he or his organisation was involved. K. S. Bhagwan is a retired professor from the Mysore University, who is also trenchant in his criticism of the philosopher Shankaracarya for his hostility towards Dalits. He recently courted controversy when he invited VHP leader and pontiff Vishveshwara Thirtha Swami to a public debate on Hindu scriptures. Dogma reigns triumphant once more.



DANGERS OF AN IDEOLOGICAL VACUUM

This was such a short but so deep an article. Today communism is gone from Bengal and the people are like Behula traveling upon the Ganga with the corpse of Bengali culture towards Manasa, the snake goddess of religion. We used to think that religion and materialism were separate but today they are one. As the article says no evil can be hidden from Paramatma within us all but when will the true disciples of Paramatman emerge to fill the social vacuum with the light of justice and universal love for all religions and castes in the real world?

Subhroto Deo, Kolkata

RISING CORPORATE MILITARY COMPLEX

This was really an eye-opener to see how foreign companies are taking over our defense industry. In our country everything is for sale while India at present does not have enough stock of ammunition to last more than a month of war. What is needed is a 'Behind the Vindhyas' programme, to create underground factories for mass production of military hardware. India's security needs to be taken out of the hands of corporate politicians and put in the hands of largely autonomous military commissions.

Abhimanyu Singh, Delhi.

BANKING MAFIA BEHIND THE GREEK COUP

It is high time we in Europe realised that the EU is nothing but a creation of the Anglo-Americans and is

designed to create economic tyranny as seen in Greece. More countries are being lined up for the guillotine of Austerity which is nothing but forcing the public to pay for the crimes of the banking mafia. German companies are snapping up deals such as the purchase of profitable airports like wolves tearing away at the corpse of Greek freedom first won at Marathon and Thermopylae. Are we just going to sit and watch while they do this to more countries? Please tell me what to do?

Andre Michelet, Lyon

INDIGENOUS TUPINAMBA

Such an inspiring writeup on Brazil adivasis. We have so much to learn from them in India. It is time we stopped being victims and stop being manipulated by leftist extremists. It is time that every community reclaim their land, their culture, their agriculture and their freedom. This is not going to be easy but it is simply the only way to survive.

Sodi Kunjami, Jagdalpur

MARATHAWADA

We all know that Marathwada has been a stepchild for the Pune elite. This is seen in the outright lies and corruption of the government revealed in this article. Unless we have Marathwada in control over its own rivers and its own development, nothing is going to change. Already people are awaking to this truth. Sooner or later water democracy will become a reality in Marathwada. Without water democracy, all other democracy will only be a mirage.

Gurumukh Singh, Nagpur

FROM SLAVERY TO SELF-RELIANCE

This was very special article for us to see how women can reclaim their dignity. However, hundreds of women are chained by this temple prostitution and thousands upon thousands are enslaved in the mines. Yet we never hear about these women at all in the media. Unless the media is taken out of the hands of elites and put into the hands of local women we cannot unite. Let us work for the dream that by the end of this century no woman is a slave in a temple or in a mine.

Leela Poddar, Mangalore

CHARACTERISTICS OF A COMMUNITY

This concept of Prana Dharma is an interesting one. I think the loss of this is what drives so much destructive behaviour in our world. For example we here in Kenya have had different rulers belonging to different tribes ruling us. Their parties are nothing but mafias who are destroying the country but seizing as much land and wealth while they are in power. Some call this negative ethnicity but really it is simply the fact that these tribes have lost their Prana Dharma back during British colonialism. So how do we, how does every tribe get back their Prana Dharma. In an earlier issue an article mentioned something about a economic-cultural freedom movement I think you called samaj. Is there any active samaja movement we can learn from or is it just another beautiful dream?

Uhuru Ngengi, Mombasa

"When people's ideas are so fixed that they will not entertain any discussion or argument it is called "fanaticism". It is said that religion is a question of faith, not logic. In India, there are many religious fanatics."

-Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

For Whom the Bell Tolls

In Punjab, January is bone-chilling cold. Canals, fields, dwellings, roads are wrapped in fog which persists till the sun brings in mild respite. Way back in 1992, this proud, ancient and fertile land was however aflame: it was Punjab's winter of desolation and discontent. Khalistan was being bandied around and terror killings were the norm.

The Army, deployed in discreet support of Director-General KPS Gill's police force, was tasked to win "hearts and minds" by its reassuring visibility and presence. The combat mode was to be adopted only when unavoidable; our focus being on assuring a hurt, anguished, hard-working people that the granary of India needed its world-class people-power to return to winning ways. My unit was deployed in the Samana tehsil of Patiala district. It shared borders with Haryana across the Ghaggar and was considered disturbed and sensitive; being home-base for the dangerous, ultra-active Khalistan Commando Force.

Showing the flag one day with my Quick Reaction Team (QRT) — eclectic all-India all-castes mix, including local Jat Sikh lads — I halted at a small hamlet, Patran, 60 km from Patiala, for a "mood-of-the-people" assessment, when an elderly man sought my help. "That *bebe* (elderly woman) who is selling boiled eggs on the pavement is a soldier's widow, sir. She is near-blind, forsaken by all... Help her. Buy eggs for your men".

I was deeply moved by the sight of the frail, spectacled, shivering old woman with unkempt, receding white hair; a torn shawl and resignation written all over her persona. A stack of boiled eggs lay in front of her in a grimy wicker basket. I paid for the eggs, asking my QRT to consume these in front of her. Her weathered face lit up, murmuring a light reproof about being overpaid. I gently asked her for her husband's details. She looked with faded, care-worn eyes. "*Kuj nhi hona saab... chhado. Tusi ande khao*". (Nothing will happen, sir, just enjoy the eggs).

Men don't cry, of course, being genetically coded to hide public display of emotion. Instead, we got her to take out her second tranche of eggs from her ramshackle hovel and distributed these among the growing crowd of onlookers. The money she received seemed to lift some gloom from her persona.

With trembling hands and a moving expression of sepia recall, she pulled out a faded dupatta-wrapped package from her tin money box. It was her late husband's pay book and had his photo: a beardless handsome Sapper Pioneer Sikh who had died young; and hers as pretty lass; and barely legible ink-pen entries of his brief career and death in Africa in 1944.

Though overcome with the enormity of the task, I needed to prove that we cared. Three months and many tears and frustrations later, the Military Pay Office finally put over Rs 5 lakh unclaimed dues into her account. She was back to being a widow but one for whom recognition and financial sustenance had finally come. She would now eat eggs; not sell them.

As a critical spin-off, the government's deafening silence on one-rank one-pension isn't about veterans seeking unfair dues; it's about people like brave widows seeking dignity and earned dues for which their soldier-husbands and peers have lived and died for. It's time for the government to honour the one fraternity for whom the bell tolls 24x7: soldiers.

Major General Raj Mehta (Retired)



AWAKENED CONSCIENCE

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

People with defective mentality, who are wallowing in geo-sentiment, socio-sentiment, or ordinary humanistic sentiment, have not done any good to society, nor can they do so in future.

The bondages that human beings are likely to suffer from are not purely physical – they are psychic and spiritual as well. The fundamental cause behind physical bondage lies in the psychic realm. The tortures, the exploitations, of human by human are no doubt physical phenomena, but these events have their source in the human mind. The pains and agonies experienced by those afflicted persons are more psychic than physical. Thus ultimately, the root of bondage is in the mind. Mind is independent from matter, but not altogether dissociated from it; it has some direct association with matter.

Food, clothes, education, medical treatment – these are the material needs of human beings. The world of the five fundamental factors is no doubt material, but it is not purely physical or psychic; it also touches the fringes of the spiritual world. For example, psychic diseases may create such an unhealthy situation, that the spiritual atmosphere may be

badly affected. Take, for instance, those for whom religion is the stock-in-trade. They may do many things that may seriously jeopardize the entire spiritual world. Because of their anti-spiritual misdeeds, the affected people might become apathetic to spirituality. Thus the disease, though fundamentally psychic, has some direct relevance to the material world and also to the spiritual world. The demoniacal human beings of this type are not only depriving their fellow humans of their physical wealth, or deceiving them in the psychic sphere, they are also depriving them of their precious spiritual treasure.

Just consider for a moment what enormous refuse these people are bearing with them. These people with defective mentality, who are wallowing in geo-sentiment, socio-sentiment (religious, social, caste, etc.) or ordinary humanistic sentiment, have not done any good to society, nor can they do so in future. They do not have any such capacity. **A strong determination must be taken to rectify them. And when you take such a determination to rectify them and act accordingly, you will notice**

that those who refuse to be rectified will be destroyed – they will be completely annihilated.

Such people attempt to cover their harmful or defective sentiments under a veil of hypocrisy. This concealing mentality is one aspect of hypocrisy. Consider, for instance, the case of vocal revolutionaries. They talk glibly of revolution outwardly, but in their heart of hearts, they want to avoid revolution. They say one thing openly, but they do just the opposite in practical life. It is very hard to identify such gilded human chameleons. At least the reactionary forces can be easily identified: they are openly antagonistic to anything which they do not like. They say directly, “We won’t allow this to happen. We won’t grant liberty to the people. We won’t provide them with full-stomach meals. We will keep them languishing in poverty... or else, where shall we find menials for our domestic chores?” However, it requires some knowledge of human behaviour to identify those

people who are difficult to detect.

Study

I said that there are two ways to fight against those people who are motivated, knowingly or unknowingly, by geo-sentiment. One of these ways is through study, and the other is through rationalistic mentality, rationalistic outlook. "Study" here means intensive intellectual analysis. What do I mean by intensive study? – internal assimilation, subjective assimilation of objective happenings. You should remember that existence is also an event, an external event. The assimilation of events is achieved through study. Now, knowledge can be divided into two categories, and indeed the entirety of knowledge does not come within the scope of study.

Knowledge is of two types: *parājināna*, or *āptajināna* [transcendental] and *aparājināna*, or *prāptajināna* [non-transcendental]. Transcendental knowledge operates in the purely spiritual world, and derives its inspiration from the Cosmic Centre, the Universal Nucleus. It has nothing whatever to do with worldly gain or loss, exploitation or administration; nor has it any relation with imperialism, fascism or any variety of 'ism'. This transcendental knowledge will inspire people to move in the purely spiritual world; it will inspire them with countless elevating spiritual ideas. It is also called self-knowledge. Those who, in the name of this transcendental knowledge or in the name of God or of incarnation (avatar) theory hoodwink the simple and semi-educated, unwary masses to achieve their selfish ends, deserve extreme reprobation. But here our topic of discussion

is not this transcendental knowledge; that comes within the scope of purely spiritual philosophy. Here our main concern is non-transcendental knowledge related to this material world. I have already spoken about transcendental knowledge, and I will do so again in future.

There are so many defects or drawbacks in study as well. Even in the case of intensive study, one may commit certain errors. You may ask, how will an illiterate person study? To this, I will reply that such people can also study; they will learn by hearing others' discourses; so no one is handicapped in this regard. Moreover, study does not mean only the study of books. Study is of two types: literal and non-literal. Those who can read and write can avail themselves of literal study, and those who cannot read can benefit from non-literal study by listening to others.

Regarding non-literal study, people can collect much information from the material world by coming in contact with different objects through their various senses. There is a necessity for both literal and non-literal study, and human beings can avail themselves of both.

Now, there may be defects in both literal and non-literal study; thus knowledge acquired through study cannot be accepted as absolute, nor should it be. There are two kinds of defects. What is the first? Defect due to ignorance. And the second is defect due to change in tempor[time].

The person who taught me or the person whose writing I read – within that person's knowledge there may be a defect, and that defect may be passed on from person to person. This is called defect due to ignorance.

The second defect is due to change in time. For instance, a certain book was written at a particular time, or certain knowledge was imparted at a certain

time. That book or that knowledge expresses a certain reality according to its own temporal perspective; but the moment there is a change in time, then that reality loses its validity. In my childhood, we used to read in geography books that Allahabad was the capital of Uttar Pradesh (Uttar Pradesh had a different name then). But now that is considered erroneous due to change in time, because now Lucknow is the capital of Uttar Pradesh. After the shifting of the capital due to the change in the time factor, what was written in that book in those days is now confusing. So if the internal, or subjective, assimilation of external objectivity is effected through study alone, it may be wrong.

Suppose you collected certain knowledge through study, but the knowledge thus collected is defective. Those people who are motivated by geo-sentiments have been harming society in countless ways. You cannot identify such people through your defective knowledge; you cannot detect those human chameleons. So what is the solution? They will certainly continue to follow the path of vice; they are sure to harm others.

If you alone are personally harmed by those people, if you alone are persecuted, humiliated, or exploited, it does not matter much. But if a whole social group is affected, that cannot be ignored. You will have to identify such reactionary forces in the society, such vocal revolutionaries who claim to be socio-economico-political reformists, but who actually befool the people by adopting such pseudo-reformist, pseudo-humanistic strategies. You will have to recognize them all.

When you fail through



study to detect those pseudo-revolutionaries, those who are depriving the masses of the minimum necessities of life, what will you do? You will have to identify them. You will have to analyse each and everything in the proper perspective. Until you come to a clear conclusion after proper analysis, you cannot rescue the people from the tightening noose of exploitation. **Here the importance of study is tremendous – you will have to do it. You cannot afford to shut the pages of your books and remain like frogs in the well. You must enlarge your mental horizons and move ahead by shattering all social bondages.**

What sorts of bondage? The bondages of geo-sentiment. You will have to shatter all of them. The frog in the well thinks that its well is perhaps the biggest body of water in the world. But when it comes in contact with a big pool, it realizes that the pool is greater than was the well. After coming in contact with a pond it further realizes that this is greater still than the pool. When finally it sees the ocean, it realizes that this is something really big. It thinks, “As long as I was in the well, I thought the well to be the greatest.” Similarly, until geo-

sentiment is removed, people will fail to realize the truth. Hence the tremendous importance of study.

But at the same time, care must be taken to avoid the limitations inherent in study. For instance, we are taught that our country is blessed with profuse water and laden with fruits. After hearing this, we may pass on this information to thousands of people. But after proper study, we come to discover that our country is suffering terribly from an acute scarcity of water: People do not even get a sufficient supply of drinking water, what to speak of water for irrigation. We are told, “Our country abounds in agricultural produce, especially fruits, which are then exported to different countries;” but after we study, we discover that our country is importing thousands of tons of food grains from different countries, and the very lives of our people depend upon these imports. Sometimes even rotten flour comes from distant lands, and that flour, after being soaked in water, serves as food. Yet we say, parrot-like: “My golden land, I adore you.” These are some examples of the bondages of geo-sentiment which people fall into due to their ignorance. Those who detect the facts later on simply burst into laughter and think, “When I repeated these tall tales to others, I wonder what they thought of me!” **These types of false notion based on geo-sentiment have to be totally smashed, and for this there is no other way but careful study.**

But even study is not enough. There are some people, particularly vocal revolutionaries, who glibly speak many high-sounding words. Through these high-sounding

words, they sway the weak and sensitive parts of the mind. For instance, they say: “My native land is like this, like that”... “We are such-and-such race”... “We are a race of heroes and heroines.” This is how they sentimentalize people. And, caught up in these geo-sentiments, the people become devoid of rationality and also shout to the same tune. At that time, they do not realize that their shouting is inspired by false information.

One will have to escape from those bondages of false information. “The water of such-and-such river of my country is so pure that it never becomes spoiled. By drinking it – what to speak of human beings only – each and every protoplasmic cell of the human body will attain [spiritual] liberation!” But strangely enough, in that river there are so many fish and aquatic creatures who do not attain liberation! Moreover, scientists, after examining that water, concluded that that so-called pure water is not fit even for bathing, much less for drinking! These are all different expressions of geo-sentiment.

Thus the importance of study is tremendous. Those who are educated must conduct seminars among themselves and also among the less-educated – they must make the latter understand. Knowledge must be disseminated throughout all sections of society. **You must create opportunities for all people to judge everything in the light of truth. Liberate the intellect of each and every person. Human intellect is now bogged down in a marshy quagmire – let people enjoy the sweet taste of intellectual freedom.**

Rationalistic Mentality

You should remember that

defects in study – defects due to ignorance and defects due to change in time – are all non-transcendental – *prāptajināna* and not *āptajināna*. That which establishes one in the spiritual realm is transcendental knowledge. It is also called *āpta vakya* in Sanskrit. How to eliminate these defects? Through rationalistic mentality. Everything written in books should not be automatically accepted. I may read and understand everything written in books, but my mental acceptance will come later. When shall I accept it? After thoroughly verifying all that I have read. Now for this verification, one must develop rationality. You should remember that study is the first step, and rationalistic mentality is one step higher. In which direction? Towards the establishment of Neohumanism.

The first step towards the establishment of Neohumanism is study; the second step is rationalistic mentality. I will hear something, then I will analyse its positive side and its negative side through rational analysis. I will weigh the pros and cons of everything. If the positive side is predominant, I will give my verdict in its favour – I will say, “Yes, it will do.” And when I see that the negative aspect is predominant, I will conclude in the negative – that is, I will say, “No, it will not do.”

(This sort of clear conclusion, this logical decision – not a mere decision only – in favour of either the positive or the negative is termed *siddhānta* in Sanskrit. So *siddhānta* means “logical decision”. Not just “decision”, “logical decision.” Do not confuse the word.)

This logical decision in favour of the positive or negative is not final either; you will still have to proceed ahead. And in

which direction is that next step? If that logical decision is conducive to human welfare, for the benefit and happiness of all beings, for the spiritual well-being of all, then only will we support and propagate that idea and devote ourselves wholeheartedly to its implementation. Otherwise we will someday say, “This decision is good, no doubt, but it has no value in the practical world. Its dazzling colour will vanish after some time, just like a firefly’s glow.”

Similarly, when you reach your clear decision in favour of the negative, and when you see that the rejection of that idea leads to the benefit and happiness of all beings, the spiritual well-being of all, you will reject it permanently – “My ‘no’ is final.”

Or else, if you see that by proper cultivation it may be used for human welfare, then you should say, “My ‘no’ is not final – this idea may be used in future.” That is, regarding anything that may later be used for promoting human welfare, the “no” is not a final one; but if it cannot be used at all for human welfare, the “no” is final. Perhaps in the future you will support it; not only support it, you may devote all your time and energy for its propagation. So this final discrimination for promoting human welfare which is the final outcome or desiderative point of discrimination, is called *viveka* – “conscience”.

Now, what will you do to counteract geo-sentiment, to safeguard yourself and also the collective body? (It is more important to protect the collectivity than to save yourself.) First, you will study. And what will you do to remove the defects in study? You will have to come to a logical decision after examining the positive and negative sides. And then, after reaching a conclusion, you will decide whether that conclusion will be implemented or not; whether or not you will

materialize that conclusion will be decided on the basis of whether or not it is conducive to human welfare. When you reach this final decision, this final desiderative point, which is your conscience. Finally, through your conscience, you can successfully combat geo-sentiment.

Many people have come into this world, whom by their cunning have instilled various dogmas in peoples’ minds and exploited them in various ways. Ultimately the greatest necessity to fight against them is your conscience. I have already explained to you what conscience is. **You must keep your conscience ever-vigilant. You must never merely applaud after hearing others’ words or reading books. You must not give undue importance to any person or any theory.** In this way you will have to fight against geo-sentiment through study and rationalistic mentality.

In the first stage you study; in the second you analyse the positive and negative sides; and in the third stage you arrive at “blissful or non-blissful, auxiliary (helpful) or non-auxiliary.” When you complete this whole process of logical reasoning, the outcome is your “awakened conscience”. This state of awakened conscience is what is called “rationalistic mentality.”

Keep your conscience ever-vigilant. Develop a firm rationalistic mentality, and no one will be able to deceive you by false geo-sentiment. This rationalistic mentality will provide you with sufficient inspiration and strength to fight against socio-sentiment, ordinary humanistic sentiment, and pseudo-humanistic strategy. You will not only gain vocal strength, but become strong in all respects.



5th Principle of Economic Democracy

The fifth requirement for economic democracy is that production and distribution should be organized through cooperatives. One of the principal reasons for the past failure of the cooperative movement is economic centralization. It is extremely difficult for cooperatives to succeed in an economic environment of exploitation, corruption and materialism, so people cannot accept the cooperative system wholeheartedly. Cooperatives are forced to compete with the monopoly capitalists for local markets, and the rights of the local people over their raw materials are not recognized. Such circumstances have undermined the success of the cooperative movement in many countries of the world.

On the other hand, decentralized economy is one of the principal reasons for the success of the cooperative system. The availability of local raw materials will guarantee constant supplies to cooperative enterprises, and cooperatively produced goods can be easily sold in the local market. Economic certainty (security) will create increasing interest and involvement among the cooperative members, and as the local people will be confident of their economic security, they can wholeheartedly accept the cooperative system.

The cooperative system is a must, and it is only possible through decentralized economy. The cooperative system and economic democracy are inseparable.

As far as possible, agriculture, industry and trade should be managed through cooperatives. In these sectors of the economy private ownership should be abolished in stages. Only where production cannot be undertaken by cooperatives because of the complex nature or small scale of operations should it be undertaken by private enterprises. The distribution of commodities should be done through consumer cooperatives. Adequate safeguards for cooperatives will also have to be arranged.

Commentary:

We have seen that economic democracy involves community control over the local economy so as to guarantee the minimum requirements and the maximum possible goods to everyone. We have furthermore seen that the entire process of economic production is geared towards helping people fulfill their needs and desires for consumer goods. We have already seen that both socialism or state capitalism and corporate capitalism result in economic autocracy and exploitation. To mix either of these two systems with cooperatives such as in a mixed economy (as seen formerly in Scandinavia or Yugoslavia) is to give the temporary illusion of economic freedom without the practical reality of economic democracy. So long as the rights of the national government or the corporations to control the local resources and the local economy is not severely restricted, local resources will inevitably be taken outside the local area and used in industries in these areas. Furthermore if the economy of a local area is dependent on either the government or corporations, then it will be innately unstable and guaranteeing the minimum necessities of life to all citizens will become very difficult, if not impossible.

There are some who simply advocate distributing land to individuals. This is a false solution for two reasons. First, if surplus land were distributed among landless people, no one would get more than an acre of land at the most. This acre of land would not be an ideal economic holding because it could not be cultivated with the latest scientific methods. A sizeable portion of the land would be wasted in demarcating boundary lines, so it would be impossible to increase productivity. Increased productivity is the most important agricultural requirement in India today. Besides this, if land were distributed in this way, land would be further subdivided with the increase in the population, further aggravating the problem.

Secondly, this approach would have the effect of increasing the number of *petit bourgeoisie*. By *petit bourgeoisie* I mean those who derive unearned income by giving their land to others for cultivation because they are in economic difficulty. If landless peasants acquired a plot of one acre, they would certainly get some psychic satisfaction, but when they failed to earn anything after cultivating the land, they would definitely become disheartened. It would require all their time, energy and money to cultivate one acre of land productively because the land would be too small to utilize modern agricultural techniques. The amount of produce they would get in return would not be enough to maintain their families. They would have to lease a portion of the land and try to earn their income through other methods. By this process, the number of landowners would increase and they would all become part of the *petit bourgeoisie*. Politicians who claim that they hate landowners and raise slogans for their destruction deviate from their professed platform, because such an ideology only results in the creation of more landowners.

The Commune system of communist nations is an even worse solution. In the commune system individual ownership is denied. In some countries, the right of individual ownership may be accepted in principle but not in

practice. In such places there is no scope for workers to get either the inspiration or the incentive to fully utilize their skills in either agriculture or industry. There is no opportunity for them to enhance their working capacity. They are like oxen moving around an oil grinding mill with their eyes blindfolded. The oxen may move one hundred miles a day but they make no forward progress. Similarly, the workers in the commune system are confined within the four walls of intellectual staticity. They have no opportunity to develop subtle thoughts, so their lives can never be elevated to higher strata. People living in the commune system are like animals trapped within the vortex of staticity till the last breath of their lives. They have no psychological or human relation with their work. This is the nature of the commune system. The whole system runs counter to human psychology, and consequently production never increases.

The commune system is based on subordinated cooperation – the relationships are those of supervisor and supervised or master and servant. Such relationships are detrimental for human progress and retard any possibility of progressive movement. They are *ultra vires* to the wonts or characteristics of the human mind to yearn for, work for and fight for freedom.

Benefits of Cooperatives

“Operation” means “to get something done through any medium or media”. Suppose you are operating a tool machine. If this type of operation is done with collective effort then it is called “cooperation”. In the case of cooperation, something is done with equal rights, equal human prestige and equal *locus standi*.

In every field of collective life there should be cooperation among the members of society. Where this cooperation is between free human beings, each with equal rights and mutual respect for each other, and each working for the welfare of the other, it is called “coordinated cooperation”. Where people do something individually or collectively, but keep themselves under other people’s supervision, then it is called “subordinated cooperation”. In each and every stratum of life, we should do everything with coordinated cooperation and always avoid subordinated cooperation.

In the world today different socio-economic systems are in vogue, but none of these systems are based on coordinated cooperation. Rather, in these systems social relationships are mainly based on subordinated cooperation, resulting in the degeneration of society’s moral fabric. For example, in some countries there is a glaring lack of racial parity and no coordinated cooperation among the different ethnic or caste groups whatsoever. This lack of proper equilibrium and equipoise in social life is causing the whole structure of society to crumble down.

PROUT supports the implementation of the cooperative system because its inner spirit is one of coordinated cooperation. Only the cooperative system can ensure the healthy, integrated progress of humanity, and establish complete and everlasting unity among the human race. People should work to enjoy sweeter fruits by establishing the cooperative system. Industry, agriculture, trade and commerce – almost everything – needs to be managed, as far as possible, through cooperative organizations. For this, special facilities will have to be provided to cooperative organizations whenever necessary. Adequate safeguards will have to be arranged, and slowly private ownership, or the system of individual management, will have to be eradicated from specific areas of agriculture, industry, trade and commerce. If the spirit of cooperation is truly followed, those commodities which are essential for supplying the minimum requirements such as food, clothing, housing, education and medical treatment will have to be cooperatively produced. Cooperatives develop in a community which has an integrated economic environment, common economic needs and a ready market for its cooperatively produced goods. All these factors must be present for cooperatives to evolve. Properly managed cooperatives are free from the defects of individual ownership. Production can be increased as required in cooperatives due to their scientific nature.

It must be emphasized the PROUT’s cooperative commonwealth is radically different from other cooperative movements. Firstly PROUT’s cooperative movement is localized and focused solely on making the local region economically independent of products from outside regions. Secondly PROUT’s cooperative movement is not aiming to work within the capitalist system but rather to create the basis for liberation from capitalist control over the local economy. Thirdly PROUT’s cooperative movement does not simply aim to abandon society and return to a primarily agricultural or tribal hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Rather PROUT’s cooperative movements seek to provide for a renaissance of diverse forms of intellectual knowledge, artistic and literary expression as well as diverse forms of localized mysticism and spirituality. To aid this, all sorts of technological developments are utilised. Fourthly PROUT cooperatives work to develop the security, intellect, talents and even spirituality of animals while working to protect and develop the spread of plant species. In addition PROUT seeks to infuse the plants, rivers, hills and other landforms with spiritual vibrations. This is a part and parcel of life in PROUT cooperatives.

Rising Corporate Military Complex In India— Part 2

With so much at stake, the allegations of ‘corruption’ are omnipresent in the military deals involving the highest and the mightiest.

★ **Rahul Varman**

III. Corporate Military Complex: Where are we headed?

A. Increasing Sway of Special Interests

Special interests predominate in the whole defence decision making and policy making process. Even the then Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises Minister Praful Patel, no foe of the corporate sector (see, for instance, his role as the minister for

civil aviation in compromising the interests of the public carrier) was forced to raise questions on the move to bar PSUs from participating in the tender for supply of 56 transport aircraft (as discussed in II.C above). Patel wrote to the PM and defence minister in 2013: “There are many PSUs who meet all the prescribed criterion for participating in this tender, but are being denied the

opportunity to participate... only because they are PSUs.” At that time the process was stalled because of the protests of Patel, but in the tender issued by the NDA government in May 2014, the defence ministry has bypassed PSUs like HAL and decided that the aircraft will be produced by the Indian private sector firms in collaboration with foreign vendors.

Amid these special interests, it is very hard to discern the real efficacy of any of the procurement decisions, even within the framework of the present system. Given the strong vested interests involved, it is difficult for one to assess the validity of such claims; what needs to be noted is that these vast sums are spent without serious public scrutiny or debate.

With so much at stake, the allegations of ‘corruption’ are omnipresent in the military deals involving the highest and the mightiest. The Bofors deal under Rajiv Gandhi in the 1980s is well-known, but a Wikileaks report suggests that he was involved in promoting a Swedish fighter during the Emergency in the mid-1970s



itself, when his mother was at the helm. Recently, the Italian Augusta Westland helicopter deal worth Rs 3600 crore had to be cancelled on suspicion of a Rs 300 crore bribe. Similarly, the Defence ministry has also put on hold purchase of all-terrain army transport vehicle Tatra truck following allegations that top officials of BEML siphoned off at least Rs 750 crore in bribes and commissions over the past 14 years in the purchase of components for the trucks. The HDW Submarine scandal (1981), the Scorpene submarine scandal (2005), the Barak missile scandal (2000), the ordinance factory scandal (following which certain firms from Israel, Germany, Russia, Singapore and India were blacklisted in 2012) are prominent instances. The widely-publicised journalistic sting “Operation West End” in 2001, claimed to have identified 15 deals involving kickbacks. So endemic are the ties between senior officers and arms agents that the erstwhile chief of naval staff, the late Admiral S.M. Nanda, who had been at the helm at the time of the HDW scandal, became an executive of Crown Corporation on his retirement from the Navy. (Crown is a notorious arms trading firm headed by his son Suresh Nanda, who was raided in connection with the Barak missile scandal.) Similar instances of corruption can easily be multiplied for all three services.

In the 1980s, when private agents were banned from military deals, for all practical purposes, defence PSUs filled in the role of the front for the agents or doubled up as agents themselves for the foreign suppliers. Being State-owned, the DPSUs were immune from any ban and so, over the 1990s, became importers and manufacturers of military equipment worth billions. As the Soviet-equipped Indian military began looking westwards in the early 1990s to replace and replenish military equipment, the role of the DPSUs in brokering this switchover steadily increased. Since the early 1990s, PSUs such as BEL,

Bharat Dynamics, BEML, Electronic Instrumentation India, Hindustan Machine Tools, HAL, Mazagon Docks, and the Garden Reach Shipbuilders profited considerably in procuring military equipment, often accompanied by a transfer of technology for local manufacture, usually to other DPSUs. Bharat Heavy Electricals (BHEL), for example, brokered deals worth over \$1 billion for Armoured Recovery Vehicles from Czechoslovakia, 76 mm guns from Italy for the navy, naval simulators, armour plating for T-72 tanks and Arjun, India’s indigenously developed Main Battle Tank. “By acquiring defence equipment through DPSUs, the MoD has been legitimising agents through the back door,” said a MoD official. In a majority of contracts, the DPSUs do little other than deal primarily with local agents representing foreign manufacturers of military equipment. And, having negotiated purchases almost exclusively through these agents, the DPSUs then enter into a contract with the MoD to supply the equipment. In short, the DPSUs end up playing the role of sub-brokers for the foreign vendors, sharing the commission in one form or the other with the local representative – all in the name of indigenisation and plugging corruption!

The latest development is that the new government has decided to ‘review’ all cases of blacklisted armament firms on ‘merit’, and has partially lifted a ban on Tatra trucks. It is preparing a new policy that will allow foreign armament firms to legally hire agents, defence minister Manohar Parrikar said on the last day of 2014. On lifting the ban on Tatra, which was proscribed after the scandal during UPA, Parrikar said, “We have lifted the restricted ban for technical and purchases of spares from the original company provided they... should not have relations with questionable individuals” (once again ‘corruption’ is being attributed to some sundry dispensable official,

while ‘business as usual’ can continue). He added that this is being done as Tatra trucks have “become critical for certain applications.”

The interesting part is that Tatra was banned in March 2012 after the then Army Chief General (retd) V K Singh, now a minister in the NDA cabinet, had alleged that he was offered bribe to clear “sub-standard trucks” supplied by the company to the Indian Army.

B. Further Entrenchment of Foreign Interests

Not only do special interests seem to be influencing the armament procurement process, the real levers of control appear to be increasingly in the hands of the foreign vendors. For instance, reports suggest that the French firm, Dassault Avions, originally offered the Rafale combat aircraft with comprehensive transfer of technology (ToT) for \$10 billion. But after winning the tender, it increased the cost to over \$30 billion and the “MoD did not even blink”!

Navlakha cites several examples of such remote control and the helplessness of the Indian military establishment. He quotes former Naval Chief Arun Prakash’s statement that every imported piece of military hardware, spare part, or component means that “we are at the mercy of the seller nation for 30-40 years thereafter” (Times of India, March 14, 2013). Sixteen of the 66 Hawks aircraft of the IAF were grounded, according to the then Minister of Defence A K Antony, because BAE Systems failed to deliver spares and components. Even after imposing a fine in 2010 “gaps remain”, he said (Indian Express, December 18, 2012).

Or take the upgradation cost of 51 Mirage 2000 aircraft. It was officially said to cost Rs 167 crore for each jet fighter. But Antony told Parliament in March 2013 that “an escalation of 3.5 per cent per annum...to the contracted cost of the year 2000...works out to be Rs 195 crore at 2011 levels. Thus the upgrade has been undertaken at 85 per cent of the aircraft’s escalated



“Make Indian” category. With 53 aircraft already delivered and more on the way, a Business Standard report claimed that Pilatus was shrugging off direct responsibility for their maintenance, repair and overhaul (MRO). This after Pilatus charged 80.25 million Swiss Francs (Rs 515 crore) for maintenance knowhow to HAL in the contract signed in May 2012. This so-called “Maintenance Transfer of Technology” (MTotT) was to

be formalised in a separate contract within three years.

With just six months left for that deadline, there was no contract in sight towards the end of 2014, only uncertainty about how the PC-7 Mark II trainers would operate over decades. Pilatus has told HAL — which will eventually maintain the PC-7 Mark II fleet through its service life after receiving maintenance technology — to negotiate directly with sub-vendors for licenses to use and maintain its equipment. Reports suggest that Pilatus only assembles and integrates the trainer, using sub-systems bought from global vendors. That means HAL will have to seek licenses from sub-vendors that include Pratt & Whitney, Honeywell Aerospace, Rockwell Collins, Claverham and Ontic. Pilatus has flatly refused to be even a signatory to those licensing agreements.

According to Pilatus, the PC-7 Mark II has 159 sub-assemblies, which are called “line replaceable units” or LRUs (e.g. the engine supplied by Pratt & Whitney). The MTotT contract drafted by Pilatus covers just 65 LRUs. Pilatus says 72 LRUs are non-repairable, which should just be thrown away when they go bad. Seven more LRUs are the responsibility of IAF, while the remaining 15 items are on various countries’ “export control lists” and would have to be stocked in advance! Thus, Pilatus wants HAL to negotiate individually with 29

global vendors that provide the 65 replaceable items. There is no telling what price they will demand. When Pilatus charged Swiss Francs 80.25 million for MTotT, it did nothing to bind the sub-vendors to conform to this price. With foreign vendors confident that IAF has nowhere else to go, they are negotiating for fees much higher than had been budgeted, the Business Standard report adds. Contacted for comments, Pilatus cited a confidentiality agreement with MoD, but stated that, “suffice it to say that we are working on this diligently to achieve an acceptable outcome for the GOI and IAF. As Pilatus does not hold authority over the individual companies regarding licensing of other vendor IP rights, it is using its best endeavours to mediate between each company and HAL to reach an acceptable position.” The report further suggests mutual blaming by the three parties, Pilatus, IAF, and HAL for the mess, while very soon the country may face a situation that the equipment may not be available for use in spite of the huge price paid! Newspaper reports in February this year suggest that a key defence ministry official has termed the deal as “fundamentally flawed”: the cost of the deal over its 30-year span will now be almost exhausted over just the first seven years of the use of the Pilatus, due to maintenance costs!

In a further twist to this tale, HAL claims that it can build the HTT-40 basic trainer aircraft, a cheaper and better trainer than the PC-7 Mark II. They further claim that it is built to Indian specifications, can be upgraded over its 30-year service life as technology advances, and maintained and overhauled at less cost than a foreign trainer. HAL also says it can fit sensors and weapons on the HTT-40 to make it a “light attack aircraft”, prohibited by the “end-use conditions” on foreign trainers like the Pilatus. In September 2009, the ministry decided to procure the IAF’s requirement of 181 basic trainers from two sources — 75

cost.” However, Rs 167 crore per aircraft works out to Rs 8,517 crore for 51 aircraft, and does not include the Rs 2,430 crore being spent for “other” items, which takes the total cost to Rs 10,947 crore. This does not take into account the two separate contracts signed by India with Dassault Aviation and Thales for Mirage 2000 weapon systems integration at a cost of Rs 6,600 crore. Thus, the total cost of upgradation becomes Rs 17,547 crore, or Rs 344 crore for each aircraft, more than double of what was cited by the defence minister, Navlakha points out.

The 14th report of the Standing Committee of Parliament on Defence (2011-12) noted that there had been a fourfold increase in the initial estimated cost of the aircraft carrier, Project 15 (destroyer), Project P-15A (war ship), and Project P-17 (warship). It observed, “Russian equipment initially estimated to cost about Rs 93 crore per ship finally cost Rs 707 crore per ship”.

Take especially the import of the trainer aircraft, put on hold by the MoD in November last year. India was to buy 106 PC-7 Mark II basic trainer aircraft from Pilatus to supplement the fleet of 75 trainers already contracted for, at a price of Swiss Francs 577 million (Rs 3,727 crore). The defence ministry was not convinced by the IAF’s reasons for abandoning a 2009 decision to buy 75 trainers from the international market in the “Buy Global” category, while HAL built 106 in the

bought off-the-shelf from the global market so that IAF training could continue; while HAL would develop and build 106 HTT-40s under the “Make” procedure. All the while it was evident that IAF was not keen on the HAL aircraft and wanted to buy the remaining supply too from Pilatus. For Pilatus, that would have amounted to a windfall of some 700-800 million Swiss Francs (Rs 4,500-5,000 crore), while it would mean curtains for the HTT-40 project. When rebuffed by the MoD for further purchases of Pilatus, IAF even considered making it on their own facilities in collaboration with Pilatus or even finding a collaborator in the private sector, but did not consider relying on home-grown trainer aircraft, for whatever reasons.

C. FDI: The Solution?

In spite of such experiences with foreign vendors, there is constant clamour for increasing liberalisation of the FDI regime in the military production sector. Reports and opinions by various experts, think tanks and corporate bodies argue that FDI is at least better than imports, and since the indigenous production-research regime has miserably failed, ‘there is no alternative’. Hence the spectacle of successive governments since 2001 opening the sector for FDI, with the NDA government now allowing FDI to the extent of 49 per cent. Indeed there is a persistent demand for increasing it to 74 per cent and even 100 per cent, and it should not be a surprise if the NDA proceeds step by step in that direction, in the name of ‘make in India’. All the same it is worth noting that since liberalisation of FDI in the armament sector in 2001, and further opening up to larger percentage of FDI under the UPA dispensation, only \$4.8 billion (Rs 28,800 crore) worth of foreign investment has come in to the armament sector compared to a total of \$322 billion FDI in all sectors taken together.

Since 2006 the government has permitted even 100 per cent FDI in

military production on a ‘case-by-case basis’ for hi-tech projects, yet not one original equipment manufacturer (OEM) has responded with a proposal; nor is anyone likely to, argues Ajai Shukla. The primary constraint is that there are tight controls on export of proprietary technology by the parent governments, and such conditions are legislated by every major armament exporting nation through laws like the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) for the US as well as international treaties like Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Thus it is inexplicable how the 100 per cent FDI route will give access to know-how (and know-why) and lead to positive externalities merely by foreign firms setting up production shops within the boundaries of the country. How much success has such a policy had in the much-touted automobile sector, which is relatively lower-tech and involves fewer proprietary technologies than, say, the aerospace sector? Even today we continue to be held to ransom by foreign investors like Suzuki, who use mechanisms such as royalties to extract super-profits while maintaining a tight control on technology. A stark case is that of the telecom sector, where, in spite of 100 per cent FDI being permitted, our hardware import bill is competing with the oil sector. In a nearly Rs 50,000 crore telecom market in 2012-13, the local industry with intellectual property rights within the country had less than 3 per cent share, while close to 90 per cent was imported. The point is that if the real transfer of know-how (and know-why) has not happened in relatively low-tech sectors like auto, white goods, or telecom, how will it happen in armaments production, where there is tight State control on technology transfer for most of the parent corporates?

As we mentioned earlier, it is not a coincidence that it is in precisely the areas where, due to historical reasons, the ready ‘help’

of the foreign sector has not been forthcoming, that we see some success in development of the indigenous capabilities.

D. Serious Violations of National Security

Control by special, particularly foreign, interests not only means drain of resources, but also serious violations of the security and strategic interests of the nation. According to a 2013 news report, Verint Systems, an Israeli cyber intelligence solutions provider closely linked to the Israeli intelligence services, was to get a contract from the Indian government to aid and abet the Department of Telecommunications in intercepting encrypted electronic communications in India. The Israeli daily Haaretz in February last year stated, “India is now the No. 1 export target of Israel’s military industries. Both India and Israel avoid revealing details about the scale and nature of their security trade... India’s share of that is probably between \$1 billion and \$1.5 billion. And the potential for growth exists.”

According to another report last year, MongoDB (formerly called 10gen), a technology company from the US that is **co-funded by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), entered into a contract with Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI), the apex agency for the Aadhar card. Similarly, former CIA chief George Tenet was on the board of L-1 Identity Solutions, a major supplier of biometric identification software**, which was a US company when UIDAI signed a contract agreement with it. This company has now been bought over by Safran group, a French armament company. The subsidiary of this French company in which French government has 30.5 per cent shares, Sagem Morpho, has also signed a contract agreement with UIDAI.

So not only are we sharing our citizens’ private information with foreign firms but also indirectly with Israeli, American as well as French intelligence

agencies! If telecom and IT companies with apparent civilian applications have such intimate ties with intelligence agencies and military establishment of their parent countries, we can imagine the strategic ties enjoyed by the likes of Lockheed Martin, BAE Systems, Dassault Aviation, or Israel Aviation, and the implications of their hold here for our national sovereignty. Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat, former chief of the Indian Navy, asserts:

"One of the primary means of SUBVERSION of the new nation - states is through the arms trade. I would say corporations in the advanced capitalist nations have not only installed their men in leading positions in the state apparatus, they have also taken an increasing share of the orders for new military acquisitions, logistics contracts and R&D budgets and now use the local companies who have deep linkages with them to monopolise the new JVs and FDI route and to dominate. It is they who have a major say in a number of key appointments in the MoD and the Services headquarters through the big arms firms (emphasis in original)."

E. Sell-out of Public Assets, Provision of Subsidies

What is likely to follow with the current noise of 'make in India' is the selling out of the public assets. One can now hear regular chatter recommending 'privatisation' of ordnance factories and defence PSUs. For instance, Bharat Karnad, senior fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, recently proposed, "Keeping in mind the need to amortise sunk costs in building up impressive laboratories and physical facilities for R&D and weapons testing under DRDO (whose "chalta hai" attitude was decried by the PM) and production facilities in innumerable DPSUs and ordnance factories, I proposed that all these installations, some 50-odd, be divided into two nearly equally capable defence R&D and manufacturing combines and be led as commercial enterprises by two of

the most ethical and industrially versatile business houses—Larsen & Toubro and Tata." (emphasis added)

One need not further dignify the idea of 'ethical business houses' in a system in which corporate houses and their managers are accountable primarily for immediate profits and stock prices! Had the scandals of the past decade regarding 2G spectrum, coal mine allocations, KG-D6 gas, iron ore mining, and innumerable other cases not sufficiently laid bare the sordid practices of all the major business houses, fresh evidence has been provided by the latest revelations regarding systematic corporate espionage in various ministries. Of course, when 'ethical' corporate houses are caught in wrongdoings, those wrongdoings are attributed to 'questionable individuals' by the likes of our defence minister (as in the Tatra case above).

In anticipation of private investments in the military sector, there is the usual talk of further incentivising them. A recent such suggestion to the defence ministry is for "championing the establishment of military production ecosystems within National Investment and Manufacturing Zones", a whole new regime of sops for the domestic manufacturing sector on the lines of SEZs (SEZs themselves have hardly been able to take off in spite of almost a decade of massive subsidies in the name of incentives). There is talk of additional incentives for foreign investments in the armament sector by further liberalising the offset policy!

Nevertheless, **news reports simply ignore this truth, and keep touting the potential of the Indian private sector, which has nothing to show for itself but riding piggyback** on the global giants. As Premvir Das, who has been a member of the Task Force on Higher Defence Management constituted by the government in 2000 and has also served on the National Security Advisory Board, says about 'make in India' for the military:

"Desirability aside, there are few private sector entities in India, including the bigger and better-known names, which have the ability to produce much more than sub-assemblies or the less sophisticated equipment. To hope that any one of them will be able to manufacture major platforms in the foreseeable future is to live in a dreamland."

In the face of this, all the woes of the military production apparatus are now being put squarely at the door of the public sector, and an array of consulting groups and reports are arguing that if only things are left to the private sector, they will magically turn around.

IV. Conclusion

In conclusion, while the people of this country are incessantly told that there is no money for their basic necessities, such as food, shelter, and health care (that is why, we are told, that India needs to get foreign capital), a colossal amount of money has been spent on creating and sustaining a huge military production-research complex. However, this complex has little to show in terms of accomplishments. While the people are getting ever more immiserised, the nation's strength is being increasingly equated with its military might, justifying the State's spending ever more resources on it. The military establishment is the focus of attention, whether as part of the 'make in India' campaign, the Vibrant Gujarat summit, or recent visit of President Obama.

Some may argue that the real way to secure a society is healthy and educated citizens who are provided the basic amenities and rights. Others may even contend that, given that the Indian military may be used against the Indian people themselves, the more potent its armaments, the greater their danger. We have not examined these propositions here. Our question here is, what perpetuates such a wasteful system and whose interests does it serve? Perhaps in light of the discussion here, we can make four

tentative propositions:

Whatever has been built up in terms of indigenous capabilities, whether in space, nuclear, or missile establishments due to specific geopolitical or historical reasons, or even other aspects of military production and research, has been at an enormous cost to the exchequer in an impoverished country like India. Much of this is now ready to be palmed off to the Indian private corporate sector, which has little to show in terms of building its own competence.

More significantly, much of this will come under the influence and control of the international corporate military establishment, as most of the Indian big business has only plans to ride piggyback over the former's capabilities and strengths.

What the corporate sector most desperately needs, is assured and continuous demand in current times of ever-deepening global economic crisis. In fact this is one of the key attractions of the military sector, besides of course padded profits due to complete lack of accountability in the name of security of the nation and oligopolistic nature of the industry. And thus as a nation's military establishment is increasingly corporatised, military tensions and even war may suit vested interests, domestic and foreign. Despite the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the US military industry has perpetually found new outlets for its wares, and the US seems to be in never-ending wars across the globe.

And finally, the logic of war does not stop at the border but is extended within the country as well. This is a bonus for the ruling dispensation in one more way: as the security concerns take a centre stage, the dissenting voices can be silenced with so much more impunity. Witness the recent case of a Greenpeace activist being stopped from going to the UK to depose to the British MPs on Essar's human rights violations in India in the name of 'national interests' – note that Essar Energy is a UK registered



corporation. **Thus while foreign corporates are welcome to supply and invest in Indian military and other key sectors, the citizens of the country are not welcome to dissent when these corporations violate their rights, either within or outside the country!**

Thus, military procurement has become an ever more closed loop system created in the name of security and nationhood that has little to do with the larger population of the country and their needs. For instance, the bauxite or iron mines are opened up in Jharkhand, Orissa or Chhattisgarh by grabbing people's lands and homes against their will, in spite of their great resistance, and UAVs and increasingly sophisticated weapons are used to quell their resistance. The corporate sector is the beneficiary both of mining the ore, and of the demand for weapons, demand which is independent of the vagaries of the market system.

Eisenhower (the only general to be elected US president in the 20th century) had warned in his 1961 farewell speech of the 'military-industrial complex'⁶⁵. We

have sketched above the outlines of India's new corporate-military complex. Of the consequences of such phenomena French litterateur Anatole France wrote a hundred years ago:

"A people living under the perpetual menace of war and invasion is very easy to govern. It demands no social reform. It does not haggle over expenditures for armaments and military equipment. It pays without discussion, it ruins itself, and that is an excellent thing for the syndicates of financiers and manufacturers for whom patriotic terrors are an abundant source of gain."

The question the ruling elite may have to confront is: is such a closed loop system, where the overwhelming majority is out of its very logic, sustainable?

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The Secret Country Again

Wages War on its Own People

★ John Pilger

Australia has again declared war on its Indigenous people, reminiscent of the brutality that brought universal condemnation on apartheid South Africa. Aboriginal people are to be driven from homelands where their communities have lived for thousands of years. In Western Australia, where mining companies make billion dollar profits exploiting Aboriginal land, the state government says it can no longer afford to "support" the homelands.

Vulnerable populations, already denied the basic services most Australians take for granted, are on notice of dispossession without consultation, and eviction at gunpoint. Yet again, Aboriginal leaders have warned of "a new generation of displaced people" and "cultural genocide". Genocide is a word Australians hate to hear. Genocide happens in other countries, not the "lucky" society that per capita is the second richest on earth. When "act of genocide" was used in the 1997 landmark report 'Bringing Them Home', which revealed that thousands of Indigenous children had been stolen from their communities by white institutions and systematically abused, a campaign of denial was launched by a far-right clique around the then prime minister John Howard. It included those who called themselves the Galatians Group, then Quadrant, then the Bennelong Society; the Murdoch press was their voice.

Genocide is a word Australians hate to hear. Genocide happens in other countries, not the "lucky" society that per capita is the second richest on earth.

The Stolen Generation was exaggerated, they said, if it had happened at all. Colonial Australia was a benign place; there were no massacres. The First Australians were victims of their own cultural inferiority, or they were noble savages. Suitable euphemisms were deployed. The government of the current prime minister, Tony Abbott, a conservative zealot, has revived this assault on a people who represent Australia's singular uniqueness. Soon after coming to office, Abbott's government cut \$534 million in indigenous social programmes, including \$160 million from the indigenous health budget and \$13.4 million from indigenous legal aid.

In the 2014 report 'Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage Key Indicators', the devastation is clear. The number of Aboriginal people hospitalised for self-harm has leapt, as have suicides among those as young as eleven. The indicators show a people impoverished, traumatised and abandoned. Read the classic expose of apartheid South Africa, *The Discarded People* by Cosmas Desmond, who told me

he could write a similar account of Australia. Having insulted indigenous Australians by declaring (at a G20 breakfast for David Cameron) that there was "nothing but bush" before the white man, Abbott announced that his government would no longer honour the longstanding commitment to Aboriginal homelands. He sneered, "It's not the job of the taxpayers to subsidise lifestyle choices."

The weapon used by Abbott and his redneck state and territorial counterparts is dispossession by abuse and propaganda, coercion and blackmail, such as his demand for a 99-year leasehold of Indigenous land in the Northern Territory in return for basic services: a land grab in all but name. The Minister for Indigenous Affairs, Nigel Scullion, refutes this, claiming "this is about communities and what communities want". In fact, there has been no real consultation, only the co-option of a few.

Both conservative and Labor governments have already withdrawn the national jobs programme, CDEP, from the homelands, ending opportunities for

employment, and prohibited investment in infrastructure: housing, generators, sanitation. The saving is peanuts.

The reason is an extreme doctrine that evokes the punitive campaigns of the early 20th century "chief protector of Aborigines", such as the fanatic A.O. Neville who decreed that the first Australians "assimilate" to extinction. Influenced by the same eugenics movement that inspired the Nazis, Queensland's "protection acts" were a model for South African apartheid. Today, the same dogma and racism are threaded through anthropology, politics, the bureaucracy and the media. "We are civilised, they are not," wrote the acclaimed Australian historian Russel Ward two generations ago. The spirit is unchanged.

Having reported on Aboriginal communities since the 1960s, I have watched a seasonal routine whereby the Australian elite interrupts its "normal" mistreatment and neglect of the people of the First Nations, and attacks them outright. This happens when an election approaches, or a prime minister's ratings are low. Kicking the blackfella is deemed popular, although grabbing minerals-rich land by stealth serves a more prosaic purpose. Driving people into the fringe slums of "economic hub towns" satisfies the social engineering urges of racists. The last frontal attack was in 2007 when Prime Minister Howard sent the army into Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory to "rescue children" who, said his minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Mal Brough, were being abused by paedophile gangs in "unthinkable numbers".

Known as "the intervention", the media played a vital role. In 2006, the national TV current affairs programme, the ABC's 'Lateline', broadcast a sensational interview with a man whose face was concealed. Described as a "youth worker" who had lived in the Aboriginal community of Mutitjulu, he made a series of lurid allegations.

Subsequently exposed as a senior government official who reported directly to the minister, his claims were discredited by the Australian Crime Commission, the Northern Territory Police and a damning report by child medical specialists. The community received no apology.

The 2007 "intervention" allowed the federal government to destroy many of the vestiges of self-determination in the Northern Territory, the only part of Australia where Aboriginal people had won federally-legislated land rights. Here, they had administered their homelands in ways with the dignity of self-determination and connection to land and culture and, as Amnesty reported, a 40 per cent lower mortality rate.

It is this "traditional life" that is anathema to a parasitic white industry of civil servants, contractors, lawyers and consultants that controls and often profits from Aboriginal Australia, if indirectly through the corporate structures imposed on Indigenous organisations. The homelands are seen as a threat, for they express a community solidarity at odds with the neo-conservatism that rules Australia. It is as if the enduring existence of a people who have survived and resisted more than two colonial centuries of massacre and theft remains a spectre on white Australia: a reminder of whose land this really is.

The current political attack was launched in the richest state, Western Australia. Last October, the state premier, Colin Barnett, announced that his government could not afford the \$90 million budget for basic municipal services to 282 homelands: water, power,



sanitation, schools, road maintenance, rubbish collection. It was the equivalent of informing the white suburbs of Perth that their lawn sprinklers would no longer sprinkle and their toilets no longer flush; and they had to move; and if they refused, the police would evict them.

Where would the dispossessed go? Where would they live? In six years, Barnett's government has built few houses for Indigenous people in remote areas. In the Kimberley region, Indigenous homelessness - aside from natural disaster and civil strife - is one of the highest anywhere, in a state renowned for its conspicuous wealth, golf courses and prisons overflowing with impoverished black people. Western Australia jails Aboriginal males at more than eight times the rate of apartheid South Africa. It has one of the highest incarceration rates of juveniles in the world, almost all of them indigenous, including children kept in solitary confinement in adult prisons, with their mothers keeping vigil outside.

In 2013, the former prisons minister, Margaret Quirk, told me that the state was "racking and stacking" Aboriginal prisoners. When I asked what she meant, she said, "It's warehousing." In March, Barnett changed his story. There was "emerging evidence", he said, "of appalling mistreatment of little kids"

in the homelands. What evidence? Barnett claimed that gonorrhoea had been found in children younger than 14, then conceded he did not know if these were in the homelands. His police commissioner, Karl O'Callaghan, chimed in that child sexual abuse was "rife". He quoted a 15-year-old study by the Australian Institute of Family Studies. What he failed to say was that the report highlighted poverty as the overwhelming cause of "neglect" and that sexual abuse accounted for less than 10 per cent.

The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, a federal agency, recently released a report on what it calls the "Fatal Burden" of Third World disease and trauma borne by Indigenous people "resulting in almost 100,000 years of life lost due to premature death". This "fatal burden" is the product of extreme poverty imposed in Western Australia, as in the rest of Australia, by the denial of human rights.

In Barnett's vast rich Western Australia, barely a fraction of mining, oil and gas revenue has benefited communities for which his government has a duty of care. In the town of Roeburne, in the midst of the booming minerals-rich Pilbara, 80 per cent of the indigenous children suffer from an ear infection called *otitis media* that causes deafness.

In 2011, the Barnett government displayed a brutality in

the community of Oombulgurri the other homelands can expect. "First, the government closed the services," wrote Tammy Solonec of Amnesty International, "It closed the shop, so people could not buy food and essentials. It closed the clinic, so the sick and the elderly had to move, and the school, so families with children had to leave, or face having their children taken away from them. The police station was the last service to close, then eventually the electricity and water were turned off. Finally, the ten residents who resolutely stayed to the end were forcibly evicted [leaving behind] personal possessions. [Then] the bulldozers rolled into Oombulgurri. The WA government has literally dug a hole and in it buried the rubble of people's homes and personal belongings."

In South Australia, the state and federal governments launched a similar attack on the 60 remote Indigenous communities. South Australia has a long-established Aboriginal Lands Trust, so people were able to defend their rights - up to a point. On 12 April, the federal government offered \$15 million over five years. That such a miserly sum is considered enough to fund proper services in the great expanse of the state's homelands is a measure of the value placed on Indigenous lives by white politicians who unhesitatingly spend \$28 billion annually on armaments and the military. Haydn Bromley, chair of

the Aboriginal Lands Trust told me, "The \$15 million doesn't include most of the homelands, and it will only cover bare essentials - power, water. Community development? Infrastructure? Forget it."

The current distraction from these national dirty secrets is the approaching "celebrations" of the centenary of an Edwardian military disaster at Gallipoli in 1915 when 8,709 Australian and 2,779 New Zealand troops - the Anzacs - were sent to their death in a futile assault on a beach in Turkey. In recent years, governments in Canberra have promoted this imperial waste of life as an historical deity to mask the militarism that underpins Australia's role as America's "deputy sheriff" in the Pacific.

In bookshops, "Australian non-fiction" shelves are full of opportunistic tomes about wartime derring-do, heroes and jingoism. Suddenly, Aboriginal people who fought for the white man are fashionable, whereas those who fought against the white man in defence of their own country, Australia, are unfashionable. Indeed, they are officially non-people. The Australian War Memorial refuses to recognise their remarkable resistance to the British invasion. In a country littered with Anzac memorials, not one official memorial stands for the thousands of native Australians who fought and fell defending their homeland.

This is part of the "great Australian silence", as W.E.H. Stanner in 1968 called his lecture in which he described a "cult of forgetfulness on a national scale". He was referring to the Indigenous people. Today, the silence is ubiquitous. In Sydney, the Art Gallery of New South Wales currently has an exhibition, 'The Photograph and Australia', in which the timeline of this ancient country begins, incredibly, with Captain Cook.

The same silence covers another enduring, epic resistance. Extraordinary demonstrations of Indigenous women protesting the





"I am always in charge of the cooking, I look after my family." says Sussanne Charmawina (L). Together with her family and friends Mary Nyamme, Christina Wilson, and Clare Galova (L to R) form Balgo (dry community, no alcohol permitted). They are squatting in a condemned house in Kennedy Hill. Sussanne is preparing damper, a popular dish with Aboriginal people. The basic ingredients of damper is flour, water, and sometimes milk normally cooked in the ashes of the camp fire. Sometimes it is the only meal of the day that people can afford. Photo: Ingetje Tadros/Diimex

removal of their children and grandchildren by the state, some of them at gunpoint, are ignored by journalists and patronised by politicians. More Indigenous children are being wrenched from their homes and communities today than during the worst years of the Stolen Generation. A record 15,000 are presently detained "in care"; many are given to white families and will never return to their communities.

Last year, the West Australian Police Minister, Liza Harvey, attended a screening in Perth of my film, 'Utopia', which documented the racism and thuggery of police towards black Australians, and the multiple deaths of young Aboriginal men in custody. The minister cried. On her watch, 50 City of Perth armed police raided an Indigenous homeless camp at Matagarup, and

drove off mostly elderly women and young mothers with children. The people in the camp described themselves as "refugees... seeking safety in our own country". They called for the help of the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees.

Australian politicians are nervous of the United Nations. Abbott's response has been abuse. When Professor James Anaya, the UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous People, described the racism of the "intervention", Abbott told him to, "get a life" and "not listen to the old victim brigade". The planned closure of Indigenous homelands breaches Article 5 of the International Convention for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP).

Australia is committed to "provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for... any action which has the aim of dispossessing [Indigenous people] of their lands, territories or resources". The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is blunt. "Forced evictions" are against the law.

An international momentum is building. In 2013, Pope Francis urged the world to act against racism and on behalf of "indigenous people who are increasingly isolated and abandoned". It was South Africa's defiance of such a basic principle of human rights that ignited the international opprobrium and campaign that brought down apartheid. Australia beware.

The writer may be followed on Twitter @johnpilger



Tribal Alienation in an Unequal India

Of the world's poorest 20 per cent people, nearly one in four are Indians.
One view of India's inequality is that this is nothing to be worried about.
This is the normal progression of economic development.

★ Mihir Singh

The Boston Consulting Group's 15th annual report, "Winning the Growth Game: Global Wealth 2015", has received extensive coverage in the Indian media. The report comes on top of the Global Wealth Databook 2014

from Credit Suisse, which provides a much more accurate and comprehensive picture of the trends in global inequality.

The Global Wealth Databook reveals some startling facts. The richest 1 per cent of Indians today

own nearly half (49 per cent) of India's personal wealth. The rest of us 99 per cent are left to share the remainder among ourselves. And that too is very unequally shared. The top 10 per cent Indians own nearly three-quarters (74 per cent) of the country's personal wealth. The remaining 90 per cent share a meagre quarter. At the other end of the spectrum, of the world's poorest 20 per cent people, nearly one in four are Indians. Just to show by contrast, China's share is a mere 3 per cent.

One view of India's inequality is that this is nothing to be worried about. This is the normal progression of economic development. A set of expanding industries located in an urban area induces further development of economic activity throughout its zone of influence. For some years, this generates increasingly large differentials in income and development, but after reaching a maximum level, inequality begins to decline, in the manner of an inverted 'U', what economists call the Kuznets Curve. In U.S President



*Thanks to the caste system, India has always been an unequal society.
What is even more worrying is that inequality appears to have deepened
in the past two decades*

John F. Kennedy's memorable phrase, "a rising tide lifts all boats".

A Widening Gap

Now, there is no doubt that poverty has declined significantly in recent times in India. But can we say the same about inequality? The Credit Suisse report gives an unequivocal answer: No. Even nearly three decades after economic reforms and high growth, inequality continues to rise and wealth has become even more concentrated at the top. The share of India's richest 10 per cent families has grown from 66 per cent in the year 2000 to 74 per cent today. India's super-rich (top 1 per cent) who owned 37 per cent of India's personal wealth in 2000, have even more rapidly increased their share to 49 per cent. This kind of regressive change surely has a link with the crony capitalism of the last three decades. Hopefully the Indian electorate, very exercised over corruption, will place sufficient pressure on the ruling classes for this to change sooner rather than later. Meanwhile, millions of Indians do not find themselves a part of the growth story. And there is growing resentment over this gaping inequality. With greater access to the electronic media across the country, the differences are glaringly visible for those at the base of the development pyramid. Inequality in India operates on multiple axes — of gender, class, caste, region, religion and ethnicity. But perhaps the worst suffering is of India's tribal people, who suffer a double whammy of both disadvantaged region and ethnicity.

A paper in the *Economic and Political Weekly*, (Sanchita Bakshi et al: "Regional Disparities in India: A Moving Frontier", January 3, 2015) reveals that **if we want to get an accurate picture of regional inequalities, a well-recognised element of India's growth experience, we have to look much deeper than just States or even districts. We need to go to the subdistrict or block level.** And there we find that an overwhelming share of the most backward

subdistricts has a high concentration of tribal population.

India's Forgotten People

Official data on all indicators of development reveal that India's tribal people are the worst off in terms of income, health, education, nutrition, infrastructure and governance. They have also been unfortunately at the receiving end of the injustices of the development process itself. Around 40 per cent of the 60 million people displaced following development projects in India are tribals, which is not a surprise given that 90 per cent of our coal and more than 50 per cent of most minerals and dam sites are mainly in tribal regions.

Indeed, contrary to what economic theory teaches, we find that many developed districts paradoxically include pockets of intense backwardness. Bakshi et al show that many districts include the most backward and most developed subdistricts of India; 92 districts have subdistricts that figure in the list of both the top 20 per cent and bottom 20 per cent of India's subdistricts. To give a few examples, "developed" districts like Thane, Vadodara, Ranchi, Visakhapatnam and Raipur have some of the most backward subdistricts. In Korba and Raigarh districts of Chhattisgarh, Valsad of Gujarat, Pashchimi Singhbhum and Purbi Singhbhum of Jharkhand, Kendujhar, Koraput and Mayurbhanj of Odisha, the most industrialised subdistricts are flanked by the most underdeveloped subdistricts. And invariably these backward subdistricts are overwhelmingly tribal. Clearly, the tribal people have not been included in or given the opportunity to benefit from development.

Inequality is important not only because of the acute perception of injustice it creates. Even economists at the traditionally free-market fundamentalist International Monetary Fund, Andrew G. Berg and Jonathan D. Ostry, have recently argued that "inequality can also be destructive to growth by amplifying the risk of crisis or making it

difficult for the poor to invest in education". They conclude: "reduced inequality and sustained growth may thus be two sides of the same coin".

Inclusive Growth

What then are the elements of a vision of development much more inclusive and empowering of those left out? First, the overall direction of growth needs to change. We cannot continue with a pattern of jobless growth. It is clear that some models of growth are inherently more inclusive than others, which is why our focus should be not just on GDP growth itself, but on achieving a growth process that is as inclusive as possible. For example, faster growth for the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises segment will generate a much broader spread of employment and income earning opportunities and is, therefore, more inclusive than growth largely driven by extractive industries or the service sector. It is also clear that sustainability has to be at the core of our development strategy. This is because the poorest regions of India are also the most eco-fragile. If we truly want to build tribal incomes, we need to offer them a range of sustainable livelihoods, including non-pesticide managed agriculture, an imperative also for the health of Indian consumers, as well as for reducing the escalating financial and ecological costs of farming.

Huge income-generation and biodiversity conservation possibilities also exist if we can imaginatively utilise the vast unutilised potential of the Non-Timber Forest Products market, which is estimated to run into several thousands of crores, of which only a minuscule fraction accrues to the tribal communities. Of course, this requires careful attention being paid to the rights of the tribal people, as enshrined in the Forest Rights Act and a complete restructuring of their relationship with the Forest Department, historically seen by the tribal communities as standing in an adversarial relationship with them.



Participatory Governance

Much better state capacities in regions of high poverty are also an urgent requirement. For these regions suffer not just from rampant market failure but also widespread government failure. A crucial reason why the poor are unable to take advantage of the possibilities opened up by growth even within their districts is the absence of requisite health and education facilities. Globally, India spends among the lowest share of its national income on public provision of health and education. These are the sectors in most urgent need of government reform. We need to equip our most disadvantaged people with the skills demanded by a rapidly changing economy. Programmes meant for poverty elimination such as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act do not work as they are meant to because the requisite human resources do not exist precisely where these programmes are most desperately required.

A key feature of the changing

economy is growing market penetration. More than 80 percent of India's cultivators are small and marginal farmers and they are invariably hapless victims of participation in the market economy. But this need not necessarily be so. Wherever farmers have come together to form powerful institutions to buy and sell, they have been able to compete on much fairer terms in the market.

Most of all, the excluded regions and people need better governance, which is much more participatory in nature, for only then will the slogan of cooperative federalism really acquire concrete substance. Panchayati raj institutions, including the gram sabha, need to be empowered and activated for this purpose. We need to learn to involve the "last citizens" in decisions that affect their lives, such as taking their consent while acquiring land for an avowed public purpose.

There is nothing automatic about a decline in inequality under capitalism. The Kuznets Curve

remains a mere fantasy if the right programmes and policies are not in place. Inequality did decline when the appropriate policy framework was adopted in Europe and America during the so-called golden age of capitalism in the mid-20th century. These were the decades that saw the emergence of what economist, public official and diplomat John Kenneth Galbraith termed "countervailing power". And it is the unravelling of this balancing power and a shift towards free-market fundamentalism that led to the rise in inequality after 1980.

Indian policymakers must recognise the urgent need to redefine the very meaning of reforms so as to make them pro-poor, rather than merely pro-corporate. Without these reforms, inequality in India will continue to escalate and create dangerous tensions, threatening the very survival of the delicate fabric of Indian democracy.

(The writer is a grass-roots activist who has lived and worked in the tribal regions of central India for the last 25 years.)

DISSECTING THE DRUG WAR

GLOBAL CAPITALISM

PROFITS FROM “WAR ON PEOPLE”

★ Amando Carmona

In her newly released book *Drug War Capitalism*, journalist Dawn Paley demonstrates how the so-called war on drugs is really a war on people. To understand this ongoing war against people, Paley argues that we must recognize how capitalist expansion of new markets is linked to the reorganization (or destabilization) of a country's security state and political economy. Militarization and paramilitarization have been central to allowing multinational corporations to extract resources and expand territorial control in Colombia and most recently throughout Mexico. Her book traces the reforms that have had the most impact on facilitating foreign investment and increasing military presence. These policies have been extremely destructive for local communities and caused hundreds of thousands of deaths, displacements, insecurity and terror. Aside from Drug Capitalism, this model of development through paramilitaries in general is currently being duplicated around the world such as in the Bastar region of Central India.

The conditions that help spur such reforms are manufactured. The author draws from Naomi Klein's theory of the “shock doctrine” which is often described as a process of implementing exploitative neoliberal policies quickly

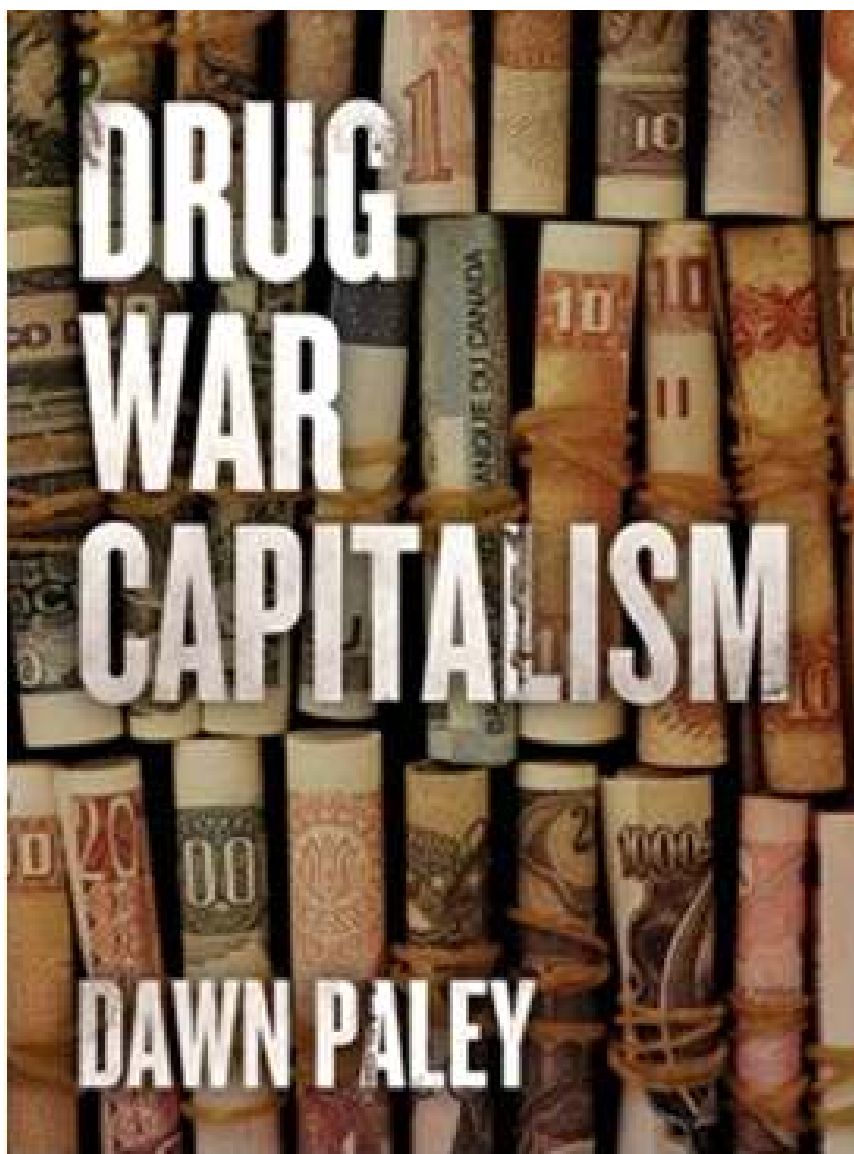
following a natural, political or economic disaster while the population is too distracted to organize resistance. In conversation with Mexican sociologist Raquel Gutierrez, Paley agrees that this type of “shock treatment” was not enough to destabilize and open the markets to foreign investment in Mexico. It was much more difficult to destabilize community because of Mexico's long history of grassroots landholder organizations such as *ejidos* and indigenous communities, in addition to movements such as the Zapatistas.

Paley demonstrates how Plan Colombia, a military and diplomatic program to fight drug cartels and insurgent groups implemented by the United States in Colombia, has been the model from which the US has learned how influence reforms of legal institutions and foreign policy in Colombia. Specifically, the US has used Plan Colombia as reference point for the Merida Initiative, often referred to as Plan Mexico. A similar program is designed to combat transnational drug trafficking and money laundering in Mexico and Central America. Paley exposes some of the contradictions of these programs by tying in the corporate interests that have a stake in the destabilized conditions of the region. She argues that banks, specifically US based banking institutions, are “possibly

the highest profile beneficiaries.” (106)

The drug war is part of a larger strategy which is tied to the new epoch of global capitalism. According to William I. Robinson, author of *Theory of Global Capitalism*, this epoch consists of “transnational circuits of production across nations, instead of between nations.” This allows for a “transnational elite” to heavily influence political actors and foreign policy. Paley exposes how the most resource-rich communities and states, as well sites where corporate manufacturing is operating, are the most heavily militarized areas, resulting in higher levels of violence and civilian casualties. She grounds this argument with stories from people who have lived through daily bombings, kidnappings and killings that are consequences of the heavy police and paramilitary presence that are a result of Plan Mexico and Plan Colombia. Paley notes that while the violence in Mexico is under-reported by the international community, any other country with less economic interests at stake would be worthy of international attention.

Tactics to eliminate the actions of guerrillas, activists and revolutionaries have often been used in the midst of political upheaval or moments of uprising. In the context of *Drug War Capitalism*,



*Book Reviewed: Drug War Capitalism by Dawn Paley,
(Oakland: AK Press, 2014).*

counterinsurgency tactics are integral to the economic reforms being implemented through the Merida Initiative, similar to Plan Colombia. Counterinsurgency, Paley writes, “can be understood not only as a form of warfare, but also as a kind of war.” This war has very different outcomes than traditional combat. Success is not measured by the “number of enemies vanquished” but by “the increase in trust and sympathy” of local communities.” For example, the efforts of foreign policy and the Merida Initiative focus on strengthening “rule of law” and building “stronger communities.”

While these statements seem well intentioned, Paley argues that the real goal is to reorganize trade policy, and reform the legal system in a way that replicates the US. This allows transnational corporations to set up shop, and be able to use their own lawyers to navigate and influence the legal and justice system throughout the country they’re operating within.

Though *Drug War Capitalism* invites us to think of political and corporate maneuvering in a radically different way, some scholar-activists might be left wanting further analysis and understanding of the current

resistance movements organizing around drug war-related issues. Some readers might wonder why there was not a deeper elaboration of both the autonomous and spontaneous mobilizations that have emerged throughout Mexico explicitly against the drug war strategy. There are a number of groups that have emerged in recent years with efforts to rebuild community cohesion and sovereignty. Some were mentioned briefly, such as the **self-defense groups in Michoacán** and the **community police in Guerrero**, but overall, they are not well known by people outside of Mexico. The Zapatistas, for example, have presented a highly sophisticated strategy of mobilization by constructing alternative forms of governance and justice. Readers would benefit from understanding that the people of Mexico are not only victims, but are actively seeking and constructing alternative strategies that do not solely depend on the state.

Furthermore, an analysis of how low intensity warfare extends north of the US-Mexico border is necessary to further understand how militarization and racist state violence is interconnected. Latinos in the US have faced systemic discrimination, and criminalization made most visible by the millions that have been deported, the racist militias targeting migrants crossing the border, and by killings carried out by US border patrol agents.

Overall, these are merely proposals for further investigation that should not overshadow the success of an undertaking such as *Drug War Capitalism*. With this book, Dawn Paley invites us to understand the war on drugs in a broader context of expanding capitalist markets and increased militarization. Paley’s investigations should make those concerned with human rights critical of the US government’s role in continuing to support programs such as Plan Mexico and its counterparts across the Americas.

PAKISTAN'S SEDITION SWEEP IN GILGIT-BALTISTAN

**Dozens of activists have been charged with
sedition for calling for greater self-rule
in the mountainous region.**

★ **Umar Farooq**

Gilgit, Pakistan - The Pakistani government appears to be cracking down on dissent in Gilgit-Baltistan, a mountainous region of vital importance to Pakistan's alliance with China. Since last October, more than 50 activists have been charged with sedition for calling for greater self-rule in the region, which is controlled by Pakistan but claimed by India.

Gilgit-Baltistan, which borders China, Afghanistan, and Kashmir, has not been granted full constitutional status by Islamabad - meaning that it is not an official province, and that its residents cannot vote in national elections.

Ever since the people of Gilgit and Baltistan made the mistake of requesting the Pakistani government, in November 1947, for 'expert help' to run affairs of the government, they have been run either by a 'viceroy' of Islamabad or bureaucrats from there.

In all administrative set ups Islamabad always ensured the following:

- That a non local – a Pakistani is at the helm of affairs, no matter what the administrative arrangements are;
- That local people have no role in appointment or dismissal of this 'chief'; That democracy does not take root in these areas;
- That administration is not pro people rather it is pro-establishment and pro-Islamabad;

Chinese President Xi Jinping was given a red-carpet welcome when he visited Pakistan this April. The two countries signed a series of memoranda to build highways, power plants, gas pipelines, and an expansion of the port of Gwadar on the Indian Ocean, which Beijing hopes will become a major outlet for its burgeoning manufacturing industry. There is a big Chinese presence in Gilgit-Baltistan. Apparently they are involved in construction of many mega projects, but presence of Chinese army and their designs to take control of this region is worrying to many. Not only they are opening Chinese banks there and building infrastructure by investing billions of dollars, they are

secretly and assertively taking control of the region.

China is expected to pour more than \$46bn into the projects, which are the largest foreign investment that cash-strapped Pakistan has ever seen. Islamabad and Beijing have had a military alliance since the 1960s, when the countries' armies built the Karakoram Highway connecting China's western Xinjiang province with Gilgit-Baltistan, which was called the Northern Areas until 2009.

Pakistan has used the region to launch several offensives in an attempt to wrest control of Indian-held territory in neighbouring Kashmir. In 1963, Pakistan ceded part of the region to China - much to the chagrin of India, which has fought a war with Beijing over control of the area.

India maintains that Gilgit-Baltistan is a part of Kashmir, and belongs to it. Several United Nations Security Council resolutions have called for a plebiscite in Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir to determine their political status, and a small contingent of international military observers maintain a presence in Gilgit and Srinagar, the capital of Indian-controlled Kashmir.

A Trade Route for China

Throughout its conflict with India, Pakistan has found China to be its only local ally, and India has long accused the two countries of building the Karakoram Highway to allow the movement of troops in the region. The highway will become



Gate Way at China - Gilgit Baltistan border

the main artery for the planned China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, a network of roads for transporting Chinese goods through Pakistan. These development plans, argue activists in Gilgit-Baltistan, is why Islamabad is anxious to squelch dissent from residents of the region.

"China wants to send its goods through here, and Pakistan is looking for its own benefits," claimed Baba Jan, one of hundreds of political activists in Gilgit-Baltistan who have found themselves at the centre of the government crackdown in the region. Last year, Jan was among 12 people who were given multiple life sentences by a special anti-terrorism court, which was set up to prosecute the Taliban and al-Qaeda, for charges that include sedition against the state.

The sentences came in response to protests that took place in the town of Aliabad in 2012, which criticised Islamabad for not following through on promises to provide aid to those displaced by a landslide a year earlier.

Police killed two men trying to disperse the protesters, triggering riots in which residents burned down dozens of government buildings in the region. Jan and more than 100 others were arrested, and Islamabad initially threatened to prosecute all of them in anti-terrorism courts for sedition.

"There is a fundamental right to protest in Pakistan, but it is not being given to us," Jan told from his prison cell in the city of Gakuch, where he is awaiting a ruling in an appeals court. "We were never violent. We just stood in the road and talked to people," Jan said.

This June, Jan ran his election campaign for the Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly from his prison cell, coming in second place. The polls drew criticism from India, which called them "an

attempt by Pakistan to camouflage its forcible and illegal occupation of the region".

Pakistan, in turn, levelled the same charges against India, saying troops maintained an "illegal hold" on its portion of neighbouring Kashmir, and that polls there were "sham elections" held "at gunpoint" that violated UN resolutions maintaining the region was disputed territory. More than 400 candidates stood for election last month to the 24-seat assembly, which has no powers to legislate important matters like how the region's natural resources are used, or how trade with neighbouring China is conducted.

A central issue was the new China corridor, which Jan, along with a handful of other activists who ran for the assembly, see as a slight to locals.

"They should have asked people what they want," said Jan. "Our environment will be destroyed. The local people were not given any option to give their input." Naeem, a truck driver in Gilgit, was also unhappy about the plan. "What are we going to get from this deal? We can't even control our own border. Pakistan will collect customs from China, and it will go to Islamabad."

'Making Chutney'

In the lead-up to the polls, more than 50 activists were arrested and charged with sedition, said Israr-uddin Israr, the local representative of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

Israr argued that the charge of sedition itself makes no sense in Gilgit-Baltistan, since Pakistan's constitution makes no mention of the region, and in international fora

Islamabad maintains that the region is part of the dispute with India over Kashmir.

Because of its disputed nature, Gilgit-Baltistan has not been made a province, so the only laws that apply there are those extended by the Prime Minister.

Spokespeople for the Pakistani Prime Minister's office and the foreign ministry did not respond to queries from Al Jazeera. The Ministry of Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan Affairs, which manages the region, refused to give a comment also, as did local officials, including the District Commissioner, the highest local officer.

"How can there be sedition here?" asked Israr. "I hold a Pakistani ID card, but I cannot vote for people in Parliament. I cannot become Prime Minister or a member of parliament. I do not fit the description of a citizen, according to the constitution," Israr stated.

Economy Shattered by Conflict

Last October, Israr and nine others were charged with sedition after they led a march to the UN observer's office in Gilgit to deliver a letter calling for the organisation to look into the arrest of Bab Jan and other activists, whom they termed "political prisoners". The case against Israr and the others was thrown out by an appeals court, but the campaign picked up steam.

This February, 19 people who spoke at a seminar in Gilgit entitled "Gilgit-Baltistan in Light of the Kashmir Dispute" were arrested and charged with sedition because they referred to the region as a "disputed" territory. This June, eight activists were beaten and arrested by police as they attempted to deliver a letter to the UN observers in Gilgit calling the planned elections "illegal", and demanding a plebiscite be held to determine the region's political status. "India and Pakistan are making chutney with us," said Jan. "No one cares about the people here, their economy, their real problems."

POLICE AND PLUNDER

★ Peter Linebaugh

Plunder is the leading social activity at the base of racist violence beginning with slavery days and continuing to now.

The discussion of “police” needs to begin to look at the roots of the institution. Peter Gelderloos concluded a three part study of this flatly stating, “The police are a racist, authoritarian institution that exists to protect the powerful in an unequal system.” Sam Mitrani, a scholar of the Chicago police, concluded similarly, “The police were not created to protect and serve the population. They were not created to stop crime, at least not as most people understand it.” Yet a physician in Ann Arbor, Catherine Wilkerson, caused a local stir when she stated “that neither racism nor racist police violence can be abolished under this economic system, i.e. under capitalism”.

On 21 January 2015 Ta-Nehisi Coates in a speech in Ann Arbor argued persuasively that plunder is the leading social activity at the base of racist violence beginning with slavery days and continuing to now. Capitalism is such a social activity! It is relatively new in human history. It depends on the exploitation of those who don’t own the means of subsistence and production by those who do. It creates racist oppression in order to divide the exploited so that the Few may rule the Many.

Two sources of knowledge are especially pertinent. The first is the report called *Lynching in America* issued last week by the Equal Justice Initiative. It describes 3,959

Plunder is the leading social activity at the base of racist violence beginning with slavery days and continuing to now.

lynchings in the American South between 1877 and 1950. The second is *Stolen Lives* which documents more than 2,000 people killed by law enforcement in the decade of the 1990s. If we add the data of capital punishment to these data we can begin to understand that the resulting murderous pattern of terror is the punishment of capital.

Investigation into the history of police soon finds it to be inseparable from conquest, slavery, debt, industrial discipline, and social hierarchies. Armed settlers, “pioneers,” militia, army units, slave patrollers, Texas rangers, posse comitatus, slave catchers, factory guards, troopers, private security forces, vigilante groups, MPs, lynch mobs, Ford’s “service department,” death squads, night riders, and the KKK have all served police functions.

It may help to define police as armed, uniformed, salaried agents of government, part of the civil service, but it was not thus clear at the beginning.

Etymologically the word is related to “policy” and to the Greek *polis*, or city. “Police” was a new word in English, gaining usage in the 18th century at the time of the sugar plantation, textile factories, racism, and mechanization. The thing itself was integral to the city power forces

of merchant, manufacturer, banker, shipper, factor, and insurer, as well as to planter and landlord. It developed on the one hand in opposition to parochial forces of the civil power – the constables and the watch – and on the other hand it developed separately from the military – the army and navy.

As for capitalism, let us go back to Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* of 1776, because it connected the actual details of the labor process (exploitation) to the world market of commodities (globalization). He said “civil government, so far as it is instituted for the sanctity of property, is in reality instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor.” His student, Adam Ferguson, said plainly “wealth comes from inequality.” The “poor” created wealth, i.e. worked, labored.

These ideas first appeared as “police” as reported in Adam Smith’s *Lectures on Police* (c.1763) delivered in Glasgow, a new hub in the Atlantic economy for banking and commerce of tobacco plantations. He defined police as “cleanliness, security, cheapness and plenty.” At first, then, “police” encompassed health, commodity, market, privatization, labor, and force. Already policy makers and profiteers were studying the

intricate political relationship between low wages and high food prices. Although political economy and police violence were soon to separate as different limbs within the ruler's body politics, they never lost their actual association with its heart. The goal was to make people work longer and harder.

Adam Smith's contemporary wrote *An Essay on Trade and Commerce* (1770). "A multitude of people being drawn together in a small territory will raise the price of provisions; but, at the same time, if the police be good, it must keep down the price of labor." The poor house must become "a house of terror." The workers are "a many-headed monster which everyone should oppose." To establish the six-day working week, "a good police must be established."

Divisions within this class were formalized by wage, geographic, gender, and racial differences, producing apparently permanent segments of that class of

people without much of anything to call their own. So it comes as no surprise to learn that parallel to these "economic" developments was the development of racism. Carl Linneas, the Swedish biologist and deviser of binomial nomenclature in his *Systema naturae* (1758) created the term *homo sapiens* in a hierarchy of skin color. With spurious pretensions to science he identified four "races" describing white people as gentle, acute, quick, and governed by fixed laws and describing black people as crafty, indolent, careless, and capricious. These are not biological attributes but ones concerning obedience of interest to HR, bosses, foremen, overseers, in short, slavers! This is why later writers like Comte Gobineau also described North India as a former Aryan race polluted by mixing with lower non-Aryan race and hence **recommended a free India retaining the hierarchical social and economic structure of the caste system. This has indeed**

become the basis of capitalism after the British left.

Global commodity production entailed the enclosure of the commons, the fractionation of human beings, and the enslavement of women, children, and men. The social formation of Atlantic capitalism consisted of massive labor camps in America and the "Satanic mills" or factories of Britain. The international political order had to change and did so creating new entities of power, the U.S.A. (1789) and the U.K. (1801).

Plantation (sugar, cotton) met factory (textiles) at the port (London, Liverpool). The proletarian woman, the slave, the factory hand, the urban artisan, and the maritime worker, sailors, dockers. The port was where the first police were introduced. A new era of history commenced. If you call it "industrialization," or "modernization," or even the "anthropocene" you are in danger of overlooking the demons at the center of it, Moloch [demon of human sacrifice] and Mammon [demon of greed].

By the time of the Haitian slave revolt (1791) which brought the sugar system into crisis and at the time of the invention of the cotton 'gin (1793) which brought the cotton system into expansion, the "pushing-system" began the transition of the most dynamic world commodity from sugar to cotton. Edward Baptist in the latest historical study of slavery and capitalism notes that the increased productivity of "the pushing system" depended on a decisive technology, "the whipping machine." The whip intensified labor to the limit of human endurance. It accompanied the expansion of slavery to new territories and the expansion of the internal slave trade from the Chesapeake to the Mississippi.

Economically speaking sugar began in the realm of production (slave plantation) and in Europe entered the realm of consumption (the tea cup, the rum bottle). In



The Police System - A Colonial Legacy

- » The police system in India was established by the Police Act of 1861
- » This legislation came in the wake of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny of 1857
- » Aim was to quell rebellion & Perpetuate the rule of British exploiters

The Police Act produced A Police Force:

- » Totally subservient to the executive
- » Accountable to anyone except their own hierarchy and the executive;
- » Whose managerial philosophy was based on distrust of the lower ranks;
- » Highly militaristic and authoritarian in design

contrast, cotton began in the slave labor camp or plantation like sugar, but unlike sugar it became a means of exploitation on the other side of the Atlantic. Private property may belong to an individual for consumption, or it may be used as capital as an input of production. Police protect and serve the owners of these forms of property.

Capital exists in three modes or forms, as money (bank), as production (factory, plantation), as commodity (commerce, inventory). Capital as commodity sits in dockside warehouses. Capital as money sits in banks, insurance offices, and other counting houses. Capital as production will be in the field, the factory, and the ship. Thus the plantation, the docks, and the factory became three sites of a single economic system on either side of the Atlantic.

Glasgow (Scotland) was the city of Patrick Colquhoun (1745-1821). As a youth between 1760 and 1766 he lived on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay. He was a planner of the trans-Atlantic cotton economy compiling stats of the workers, wages, factories, and imports in order to assist the prime minister and cabinet of England maximize profits from the cycle of capital in England, India, America, Ireland, Africa. That work was interrupted by the revolutions in France and Haiti.

In the 1790s he criminalized custom. He led the hanging of those committing money crimes. He led the apprehension [arrest] of those in textile labor who re-cycled waste products to their own use. He organized political surveillance by spies and snitches of those opposing slavery. In addition to his Virginia cotton interests he owned shares in Jamaican sugar plantations. Financed by West India merchants and planters in 1798 Colquhoun established the Police Office. In 1800 Parliament passes the Marine Police Bill expanding and making official the police as a centralized, armed, and uniformed cadre of the state. His treatises on police inspired the foundation of police in Dublin (Ireland), Sydney (Australia), and New York (USA).

In the colonies like India, these police codes were applied in an even more brutal way. India is still governed by the Indian Penal Code written by the British. The Indian Constitution which is supposed to protect the rights of citizens from unwarranted police crimes was based on the Government of India Act of 1935 written by the British. As Ambedkar revealed, 250 clauses or 4/5th of the Indian Constitution was taken from laws written by the British to smoothly exploit India. It is small wonder that postcolonial police departments are essentially a form of State corruption (i.e. cooperation with corporate

exploitation) and State terror.

To summarize, then, in two points. First, at the time of the independence of America (1776) “police” (intellectually, theoretically, and politically) meant the social and economic relations between the rich and the poor in the governance and planning of world-wide empire. Second, at the time of the creation of the U.S.A. (1787-1791) the actual institution of police simultaneously criminalized the urban commons and efficiently linked plantation and factory, the U.S.A. and the U.K., into a temporary Atlantic system, call it capitalism. This system has spread out and caught the whole world in a culture of violence by those who are supposed to protect.

Finally, there is no ‘moving forward’ without reckoning with this past. If it took more than a century (a blink in history’s eye) to produce this unsustainable amalgam of production and police, work and violence, wealth and terror, we must expect that our efforts to eliminate effectively the one must be accompanied by the restoration or reparation of the other. There is no reason, historically-speaking, why this can’t be done in a hurry. The ideal of justice is infeasible and undivided; it is a unity and does not wait.

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Two policemen at Jallianwala Bagh after the slaughter



Almost No Industry Profitable If Environmental Costs Included - UN Report

★ Michael Thomas

If you haven't been paying attention, I don't blame you for at first not believing this. After all, companies go to great lengths to greenwash their image and present themselves as progressive and environmentally responsible, even while they turn your land to deserts and your oceans into dead zones. Unfortunately, as Mark Twain once famously said: "It's easier to fool people than to convince them that they have been fooled."

The truth is that our current system allows pretty much every

corporation to externalize both environmental and social costs. In this article, we won't even be touching on social costs. If you don't know what cost externalization is, you can imagine it as making someone else pay part or all of your costs. For example, BP externalized the environmental costs of the Deepwater Horizon disaster by consuming all of the profits but making the government pay for anything beyond the most shoddy and superficial attempts at stopping the crisis.

A new report by Trucost on behalf of The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB) program sponsored by United Nations Environmental Program, examined the money earned by the biggest industries on this planet, and then contrasted them with 100 different types of environmental costs. To make this easier, they turned these 100 categories into 6: water use, land use, greenhouse gas emissions, waste pollution, land pollution, and water pollution.

The report found that when you took the externalized costs into effect, essentially NONE of the industries was actually making a profit. The huge profit margins being made by the world's most profitable industries (oil, meat, tobacco, mining, electronics) is being paid for against the future: we are trading long term sustainability for the benefit of shareholders. Sometimes the environmental costs vastly outweighed revenue, meaning that these industries would be constantly losing money had they actually been paying for the ecological damage and strain they were causing.

In terms of land and water use: almost no companies are actually paying a price remotely comparable for what they are actually taking away from the ecosystems. Consider that fact that Nestle pumps water out of drought-ridden California without limits for an unannounced but extremely low price, and turns around and sells this exact same water back to those affected by the resulting droughts

for approximate \$4 billion profit per year (based on 2012 data).

The even scarier fact in all this is that the indirect costs "downstream" from the industries are actually even greater. Here are the top 5 sectors passing along insane costs:

If you didn't notice yet: meat and coal are probably the largest offenders. If you look at table 2 again, you can see that cattle ranching in South America carries 18 times a higher environmental cost than all the revenue it brings in. Once you think about this, it is probably less surprising that 91% of Amazon rainforest destruction is fueled by increased animal agriculture. How much money would these companies be losing if they were actually covering the environmental costs or paying to reduce their environmental impact? Well, the report also covers this: So, now that it has become abundantly clear that our current regulatory system is corrupt/deficient, what do we do about it? Well, firstly we need to stop allowing companies to

pretend that they are "environmentally responsible" when they are worse behaved than any child you have ever met. If someone came in and destroyed your kitchen to make you a piece of bread with butter, demanded money for it, and then bragged about being a "responsible cook," it wouldn't be any less ridiculous.

After we have stopped tolerating the vile lies, we need to seek and support actual solutions. We have to be willing to boycott and campaign against "cheap" products that are actually environmentally costly, as well as putting pressure onto governments to amend their regulations. Why should we expect companies to change if neither consumers or governments are forcing them?

To finish up, I will include what the Trucost report suggests for industries, investors, and governments. Please join in helping inform people about this situation, about these costs, and helping create more pressure to remove these "externalities."

TABLE 2: RANKING OF THE 5 REGION-SECTORS WITH THE GREATEST OVERALL NATURAL CAPITAL IMPACT

RANK	SECTOR	REGION	NATURAL CAPITAL COST, \$BN	REVENUE, \$BN	IMPACT RATIO
1	COAL POWER GENERATION	EASTERN ASIA	452.8	443.1	1.0
2	CATTLE RANCHING AND FARMING	SOUTH AMERICA	353.8	16.6	18.8
3	GOAL POWER GENERATION	NORTHERN AMERICA	316.8	246.7	1.3
4	WHEAT FARMING	SOUTHERN ASIA	266.6	31.8	8.4
5	RICE FARMING	SOUTHERN ASIA	235.6	65.8	3.6

TABLE 4: TOTAL DIRECT ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE AS A PERCENTAGE OF REVENUE FOR AN ILLUSTRATIVE SELECTION OF PRIMARY, MANUFACTURING AND TERTIARY SECTORS USING GLOBAL AVERAGES

SECTOR	TOTAL DIRECT IMPACT RATIO (NATURAL CAPITAL COST AS % OF REVENUE)
CATTLE RANCHING AND FARMING	710
WHEAT FARMING	400
CEMENT MANUFACTURING	120
COAL POWER GENERATION	110
IRON AND STEEL MILLS	60
IRON ORE MINING	14
PLASTICS MATERIAL AND RESIN MANUFACTURING	5
SNACK FOOD MANUFACTURING	2
APPAREL KNITTING MILLS	1

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COMPANIES

1. Focus on gathering primary impact data, and conducting primary environmental valuation studies, on likely hot spots in direct operations and in supply chains.
2. Identify existing mechanisms that could internalize natural capital costs and the probability and financial impact of these costs being internalized in the future.
3. Consider using valuations for EKPIs to apply "shadow" pricing in procurement decision-making and financial analyzes.
4. Explore opportunities for adaptation and to improve resource efficiency, both internally and within the supply chain.
5. Evaluate options to change suppliers, sourcing location or materials, where existing suppliers are not willing to change.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INVESTORS

1. Identify which assets are most exposed to natural capital risk, and which companies and governments are able and willing to adapt.
2. Identify the probability and impact of natural capital costs being internalized.
3. Build natural capital risks, adjusted for the likelihood of internalization, into asset appraisal and portfolio risk models.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENTS

1. Identify the distribution of natural capital risk across the economy, and look for hot spots of low natural capital productivity.
2. Understand how business sectors' global competitive position may change in the future as a result of natural capital costs.
3. Develop policies that efficiently and effectively internalize these costs, avoiding sudden shocks in the future, and helping businesses to position themselves for a natural capital constrained world.

TABLE 3: TOP 5 SECTORS WITH THE GREATEST OVERALL IMPACT AND AT LEAST 50% OF IMPACTS IN THEIR SUPPLY-CHAIN

RANK	SECTOR	TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS PER US\$ MN OUTPUT (US\$MN)	INDIRECT IMPACT AS A MULTIPLE OF DIRECT IMPACT
1	SOYBEAN AND OTHER OILSEED PROCESSING	1.52	154
2	ANIMAL (EXCEPT POULTRY) SLAUGHTERING, RENDERING, AND PROCESSING	1.48	108
3	POULTRY PROCESSING	1.45	98
4	WET CORN MILLING	1.32	80
5	BEET SUGAR MANUFACTURING	1.29	86

OROP: DECEIT & BITTERNESS

★ Maj Gen S.G. Vombatkere (Retd)

One-Rank-One-Pension (OROP) was coined by Veterans of the Indian Armed Forces – the army, navy and airforce, collectively called the “Fauj” - to indicate what they have been demanding since the 1980s. “OROP” is used by Veterans to unambiguously state the concept: “uniform pension for military personnel retiring in the same rank with the same length of service irrespective of their date of retirement, and any future enhancement in the rates of pension be automatically passed on to past pensioners”, the meaning and import of which has been understood by successive parliaments and successive governments.

The reason for use of the word “military” is that over 90% of Faujis are soldiers who are compulsorily retired with a meagre pension (less than Group 'D' government employees) at 35-37 years of age, so that the fighting force remains young, with the vigour, strength and stamina required in battle. Indeed, the generic term for the Indian soldier is “Jawan”, which means “youth”. This does not apply to any other service in India, armed or unarmed, uniformed or not.

The reason for demanding OROP is to overcome the double disadvantage of soldiers who receive basic pension based upon

the Central Pay Commission (CPC) in force at time of retirement – they are compulsorily retired at age 35 years, thus denied earnings up to age 60 available to all non-military pensioners, and their basic pension is not upgraded with increased pensions of subsequent CPCs.

Politically emasculating his own ministers soon after taking oath of office, PM Modi directed senior bureaucrats to report directly to the PMO. Thus, especially after Mr. Modi's own promises, the entire responsibility for not implementing OROP lies squarely on the PM and his bureaucrat advisers. And, as with previous governments, OROP for the fauj, the most trusted institution in India, is being consistently denied by politicians who are in a nexus with the publicly-named “most corrupt” civil service.

While there is no copyright on the term “OROP”, the irony is that in just 18 months, government is amending the law to grant OROP to the judiciary, while even 18 years after coining the phrase, disillusioned Veterans are staging satyagraha with no light at the end of the tunnel of arrogant bureaucratic malfeasance over a supposedly decisive PM.

Veterans' peaceful and dignified agitation including relay fast for OROP at Jantar Mantar crossed the 2-month mark. The ill-conceived police action against

demonstrating Veterans on August 14 raised nation-wide condemnation and media attention, and caused two Veterans to start an indefinite fast. Veterans hold PM Narendra Modi along with his cabinet of Defence, Home and Finance ministers accountable, while on the opposite side, some persons are stating obstacles to OROP.

One such is Mr. Avay Shukla, in his article titled “The Bitter Truth About OROP”, which raises the following main points, namely, the premise of OROP is “inherently flawed”, OROP “cannot be limited to the armed forces only”, and OROP is “neither fair nor possible”.

Credibility and Justice of OROP

In raising the first point, he argues that Generals and specified Lt Gen appointments (and their equivalent ranks in the navy and air force) were, over the years, co-opted by bureaucrats' “sleight of hand” into accepting the so-called Apex Scale, thus treating OROP – a decades-old demand – for all other faujis casually and without serious opposition or backing down when confronted, thus enabling bureaucrats in MoD to keep denying OROP by different stratagems like “granting rank pay” but deducting it from basic salary which dictates pension fixation, and ensuring that successive Central Pay Commissions (CPCs) ensured civilians' salary advantage.



It is true that Generals and specified Lt Gen appointments (and their equivalent ranks in the navy and air force) are in the Apex Scale, and their pensions are automatically adjusted upwards as every Pay Commission makes provisions for Apex Scales to keep bureaucrats comfortable. It is also true that these retired gentlemen, to their discredit (with one or two notable exceptions), have not backed OROP for the rest of the armed forces until very recently. The Defence top brass over the years are certainly to blame for succumbing to the blandishments of scheming “babus”, and not pursuing OROP to make it available to the rest of the Fauj. But in no manner does that diminish the credibility or the justice of Veterans' OROP demand, as explained below.

Serving the Nation

Mr. Avay Shukla writes: “Extending OROP to just the defence forces is neither fair, nor possible. It is not fair because, emotive claims apart, they are not the only ones serving the nation – the primary school teacher in a Naxal village in Dantewada is also doing so, the coal miner spending twelve hours every day in the pitch darkness of a flooded mine in Jharia is also doing so, the fireman rushing into a burning building in a Mumbai slum is also doing so.”

Regarding fairness, Shukla is quite right in saying that teachers, coal miners, firemen etc., all serve the nation. However, Veterans have never claimed that they are the “only ones serving the nation”, and Shukla

saying so is unwarranted. However, what Veterans have been saying is that (1) the army (here this means all three Services) Jawan serves until he is only 35-37 years of age, after which he is compulsorily retired, (2) he serves in areas distant from family and community, (3) he serves with hardship and risk under a necessarily rigid, even harsh, code of discipline and conduct of military law, (4) he is denied the freedom of expression and of association by law, and most importantly, (5) he cannot refuse to obey orders even if it means risk to his life or permanent disability, or regarding transfer, posting or deployment, or being refused leave. Thus the Jawan, who numerically comprises about 85% of the army, is especially disadvantaged vis a vis a teacher, coal miner, fireman, etc., all of whom undoubtedly have the disadvantages of their professions, but not this combination of disadvantages.

The advantages that a Jawan enjoys which a civilian does not, are: ration, military clothing, railway warrant for travel on leave, and canteen facility. And he gets these only for the 17 years of service, in postings which involve physical hardship and risk. He is also entitled to canteen facility after retirement, and the advantage is limited to exemption of excise duty on a limited range of consumer goods that he can afford on his meagre pension. However, civilians paid from defence estimates enjoy canteen facilities.

At this point, Shukla may do well to think why it is that the army is called out in aid of civil power (for which there is constitutional provision) for controlling riots, containing law & order situations, flood-cyclone-earthquake disaster relief, rail-air accident relief, rescuing little children fallen into borewells, etc., when there are so many central and state civil servants including the police, who all claim that they serve the nation every bit as much as the Jawan. Could it be because the Jawan is simply more reliable than his civilian government counterpart?

In this connection, a report titled “Democracy in India: A Citizens' Perspective”, is revealing. It states: “As in 2005, political parties were the least trusted political institutions, and the police the least trusted unelected institution. Trust in Parliament, while low, rose between 2005 and 2013, while the Army continued to be the most trusted institution. The civil service was perceived as the most corrupt, more so than local, State and Central governments”. [Ref.1]. Thus, citizens' opinion in relative terms, of the trustworthiness of the institutions of government, specifically, the political parties, the police, the army (meaning, of course, the Armed Forces) and the civil service (bureaucracy), is unequivocal. Shukla, himself a retired Apex Scale bureaucrat, would fully appreciate its import.

Salary and Pension – Soldier and Civilian

Compare the Jawan with a central government employee. Consider Jawan-A who joined military service in 1970 when he was aged 18-years. He retired in 1987 on attaining age of 35-years. A Group-D central government employee, Shri-C, also joined government service in 1970 at age 21-years, but while Jawan-A was compulsorily retired in 1987, Shri-C continued in service and retired in 2009 at age 60-years. Thus Shri-C was able to receive salary between 1987 and 2009, upgraded by CPCs in the

intervening years, while Jawan-A, compulsorily retired in 1987, continued with a basic pension fixed in 1987, which was not upgraded by subsequent CPCs. It is extremely likely that Shri-C would have been promoted to a higher grade and drawn higher salary at retirement and consequently higher basic pension.

If Jawan-A had not been compulsorily retired when he was aged 35-years, he would have continued serving and drawn salary until he was aged 60-years. (Incidentally, the CRPF policeman continues to serve until age 57-years, and the Home Ministry is reported to be contemplating enhancing it to age 60-years to provide additional benefit of 3-years salary and consequent pension). Thus Jawan-A is disadvantaged relative to Shri-C.

Shukla would probably argue that Jawan-A and Shri-C both joined their respective services voluntarily. While that is quite true, it obfuscates the disparity in the conditions of military service of Jawan-A and civilian service of Shri-C, and especially the effects of failure of either on national security. It is the Jawans' disadvantage which

justifies linking Jawans' past pensions with present pensions/salaries. Shukla, with blithe ignorance of facts, fails to recognize this and alleges that OROP is "inherently flawed".

Salary and Pension – Soldier and Soldier

However, the idea of OROP is primarily connected with pension disparity within the Fauj. Noting that more than 85% of all military pensioners are Jawans, let us compare one Jawan with another who has the same length of military service but joined service later. Jawan-A who joined military service at age 18-years in, say, 1970, would retire at age 35-years in 1987, and his basic pension would be fixed according to the CPC in vogue in 1987.

Now consider Jawan-B who joined military service at age 18-years in 1990 and retired in 2007 after 17 years service at age 35-years. His basic pension would be fixed according to 6CPC, and his basic pension would be substantially higher than Jawan-A's. Thus Jawan-A is disadvantaged with respect to Jawan-B, even though he had the same length of

military service. This disparity is huge and unfair, and is the primary reason for OROP, which simply means: "Uniform pension for military personnel retiring in the same rank with the same length of service irrespective of their date of retirement, and any future enhancement in the rates of pension be automatically passed on to past pensioners".

This disadvantage does not occur among civilians because they all serve upto age 60-years and basic pension is fixed at retirement, and therefore OROP is a concept limited to the Armed Forces.

The Police & The Military

The comparison drawn by Shukla between the police and the military in regard to OROP needs to be addressed in some detail. Here the comparison is between the soldier and the policeman in central government service. At the outset, it is necessary to note that the life of a policeman is undoubtedly tough, even while the life of the soldier is additionally risky and subject to stringent legal action in case of non-performance of assigned duties.

The State Police are directly responsible to their respective State administrations for maintenance of



law & order, regulating traffic, etc., and protection to state civil authority in implementation of state's policies and programs. Thus State Police under the control of the state's Home Ministry, are the first level of protection for the law-abiding citizen. When situations and security issues exceed the capability or capacity of State Police, the state calls for central police, known as Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs), which come under the union Home Ministry.

The military (army, navy and air force) or Armed Forces or Defence Forces are meant to “defend the sovereignty and integrity of the nation” against external threat as their primary role. They are called in by state governments “in aid of civil power” in their secondary role, when the state government administration along with its integral police and the CAPFs have failed in their own primary role to cope with law and order situations, and the state government has officially declared an area within the state as “disturbed”. In addition, the military is called for relief operations for flood, cyclone, drought, earthquake, air or rail accident, and children fallen into borewells. This is because the state government is unable, incapable or incompetent to handle situations calling for discipline, method, planning, courage and ability to bear hardship and risk. When the Armed Forces engage in their secondary role, there can be no slackening of their primary role of border defence against external threat. Thus, the Armed Forces are quite literally the “last bastion”, the ultimate bulwark, the instrument of last resort, for the civilian administration at state or centre.

When the Armed Forces fail due to political-cum-military failure, as in 1962 against Chinese aggression, national sovereignty and stature receive a body blow, and there is deep public concern and anguish. But when CAPFs fail or are inadequate, as they unfortunately

often are, the Armed Forces are called in to retrieve the situation.

Apples and Oranges

It is now well known that heads of the CAPFs had represented to the union Ministry of Home Affairs that their rank and file would be demoralized if OROP was sanctioned for the Defence Forces. They have represented that their troops face similar dangers as the Defence Forces and undergo similar conditions. In other words, they were equating the CAPFs with the Defence Forces.

But in fact, there is no comparison between these two forces because their roles, service conditions, deployment and command structure are different. It must be emphasized that the need for CAPFs is inescapable just as the nation cannot do without the Defence Forces. Also, this is not to say that CAPFs have no physical hardship or risk, but to emphasize their difference, particularly early retirement ages of Jawans, NCOs, JCOs and officers. (The CAPF policeman being referred to as “jawan” is a gross misnomer, because he serves until age 57-years, long after he has lost his “jawani”, while the soldier retires as a jawan at age 35-37 years). Thus, comparing Armed Forces with CAPFs is like comparing apples with oranges – both are forces which are armed, both are essential, but they are different.

Briefly, delay in government's implementation of OROP for military Veterans cannot be justified because of a similar demand from CAPFs or any other quarter. The legitimacy of OROP for Veterans cannot be diminished by spurious “me-too” claims for OROP.

OROP is Possible

Shukla writes: “Extending OROP to just the defence forces is neither fair, nor possible....” The “fairness” issue of OROP is dealt with in foregoing paragraphs. Inasmuch as the “possible” issue of OROP, there is no shortage of finance to implement OROP for military Veterans. Considering the huge waiver of

NPAs of big-business, “revenue foregone” in every budget, tax concessions to SEZs, self-granted salary hikes to parliamentarians and state legislators, etc., the plea of shortage of funds making OROP not possible, is nothing short of laughable.

However, what is certainly in shortage is justice to Veterans by non-implementation of OROP, when the Koshiyari Committee appointed by Parliament has agreed to the validity of OROP, the Supreme Court has agreed to its justice, and successive governments have agreed to its provision. That is, the legislative, the judiciary and the executive – the three pillars of our Constitution – have agreed to the Veterans' OROP demand.

Government of India (GoI) finally announced its version of One-Rank-One-Pension (OROP) for military Veterans. This was welcomed only in part by the Veterans, because there were important sticking points which were not included or inadequately included in the announcement. Fortunately, the Veterans who were on fast-unto-death were persuaded to end their fast, but the Veterans' resolve to remain on protest until outstanding points were settled to their satisfaction, resulted in planning a “Sainik Ekta Rally” on 12th September at Jantar Mantar.

But reverting to the GoI's OROP announcement, obviously at the instance of the bureaucracy, it included a hitherto unmentioned stipulation that soldiers who opt for VRS (voluntary retirement scheme) would not be entitled to OROP. When GoI was informed that there was no concept of VRS in the defence services, the same stipulation was shifted to soldiers who took premature retirement. This has angered Veterans because many soldiers take premature retirement since promotion avenues are severely limited, or because there are problems in distant homes, or they try their luck at some job in civvy street since there is no job assurance on retirement anyway.



Today, Veterans are waiting for GoI's signed document on OROP since they have been repeatedly cheated and have long since ceased to trust the spoken word of politicians and bureaucrats.

Ekta Rally

It is learned that GoI had "advised" Veterans not to hold the "Ekta Rally". But the rally on September 12th was a huge success, with thousands of Veterans from all over India converging at Jantar Mantar, exceeding the expectations of the organizers. When TV crews present were asked as to why the rally was not being screened, on condition of anonymity they revealed that GoI had "advised" the TV channel managements not to air the event. It has also come to light that buses crammed with Veterans were stopped at the Delhi border to deter Veterans (all old and many infirm) from reaching Jantar Mantar.

It is abundantly clear that GoI has tried, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to make the "Ekta Rally" fail. But Veterans, even some in wheelchairs, have spoken with their feet; the discomfiture of GoI is complete. One Veteran even asked whether GoI's stratagem of breaking Veterans' unity was a harbinger of the days to come. Serious rumblings! And what would be the thoughts of the serving soldier on his cold vigil on the Himalayan and

trans-Himalayan heights?

The World Watches

It has already been brought out how apex-scale-pension retired bureaucrat Avay Shukla's article titled "The Bitter Truth About OROP", in which he argued that OROP is "inherently flawed", "cannot be limited to the armed forces only", and is "neither fair nor possible", was being gleefully discussed in "Pakistan Defence". The whole world and especially India's neighbours are well aware that GoI's intransigence on the OROP issue is affecting the morale of the serving soldier who guards our frontiers. However GoI, under thrall of an obstinately self-serving and strategically myopic civil service, appears to be oblivious to the rapidly worsening situation. It has escaped nobody's attention that PM Narendra Modi, ordinarily a self-confident and loquacious person, has not spoken with Veterans since the agitation began, and speculation of the reason is rife. The unfortunate gap in civil-military relations having widened to a chasm is apparent.

The Veterans' agitation at Jantar Mantar starting on 14 June 2015, moving on to relay fast and finally some Veterans undertaking fast-unto-death to force the hand of GoI to announce OROP, is undoubtedly being watched by

intelligence agencies worldwide, and especially by Pakistan and China. Its effect on serving soldiers would inevitably be carefully assessed. The fast has been called off temporarily for the soldiers have now learned they cannot trust their government who sends them to die in battle.

Conclusion

With ready access to social media, the OROP issue is being closely followed by serving soldiers all over the country. Continued denial of its full implementation is affecting the morale of serving soldiers, since they will be Veterans sooner or later. The PM's inaction and delaying tactics on OROP bodes ill for the security of the nation, even while Pakistan and China observe the deteriorating situation with glee. The honour of India is in question.

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Healing Despondency in the Human Heart

★ Ravi Logan

Long before the invention of electricity and modern conveniences, people spent their time in the evening hours sitting beneath the rising moon and the starlit sky. They heard the voices of the wilderness, and in the night they stayed close together around the fires to feel safe. In those times, people had a sense of the natural rhythm of the earth.

This sense is now lacking for many people because when it grows late the lights go on and there is no connection with the natural rhythm. Many people do not even know if the moon is full or new, and they do not see the sun rise or see it set. Their entire biological mechanism is disassociated from the natural rhythm of the environment in which they have taken birth. Instead, they have the rhythm of the alarm clock and the TV set. Humans have become disassociated from the natural cycles of the earth, from the cycles of the moon, and from the

rising and setting sun. There are even those who barely notice if it is spring or winter, fall or summer, for they are in their heated and air-conditioned office buildings, and the change of the seasons makes little difference.

People living in this artificial world, in their electrically heated and lit homes, do not get the benefit of the natural rhythms, and so they do not feel this internal connection to the living beings around them. In most people, there is a yearning for this. They yearn to be in the natural world. One result of this is that they become despondent, disassociated, disconnected; they feel alone in the world. Though they may go to parties and have fine luxury items, still they are unhappy, restless. And they cannot find the source of their restlessness, because they do not know the source.

People's bodies and minds become out of rhythm with their natural environment. And they

become disconnected, disassociated from other species—and even from other human beings. They have just a few friends, and they have no extended family. They do not gather in the night close together to protect each other from the wild. They do not come together; they do not stay together. The sons and daughters move far away. Their lineage is lost. They do not have a sense of home and family. They are wanderers in the world. Many people are now in this position.

The Oppression of Materialism

And what is the cause of this present condition? The cause is materialism. The emphasis has been on building or producing bigger, better, and more at the expense of the natural environment. It is not technology that is the problem; it is how it is applied. Technology disrupts the natural environment. There is so much chemical, noise, and electromagnetic pollution, so the environment has become very toxic.

When technology is applied in the service of the materialist desire to have more and more possessions, more and more pleasures, and more and more disassociation from the natural world, then people become isolated in their wealth and luxury— isolated from the natural rhythm, from the living beings with whom they share this planet, and from each other. They do not learn how to rely on each other, how to care what happens to others, or how to live together and make a human family. With their fine cars and nice homes, their TVs and video games, they have many luxuries and



entertainments for the mind — but they do not have love. They do not have the feeling of caring for others, of being a part of a community, of being a part of an extended family, or of being a part of the rhythms and cycles of the earth. They are disconnected, disassociated. And this leads to feelings of alienation, isolation, and depressed mood.

Despondency is a worldwide epidemic. This despondency is due to this lack of interconnectedness with plants, animals, and human beings. In some places it is more, in some less. The homeless in these rich countries and in poor countries corrupted by corporate culture suffer so much more as their internal suffering is compounded by the suffering of poverty.

So people are not having their basic human needs met in the society. They are the slaves of materialism, and they have lost their interconnected, inter-associated relatedness with life. This is the main cause of their sorrows. It is a society which has lost its balance, its prama, that has brought this condition to people's lives.

In this disconnected life of material comfort people cannot find the source of their problems. But they feel the pain. Though they appear wealthy compared with those who have little, if we compare the lives and happiness of the two we may find that the ones with so little often happier than the ones with so much. So who has so little and who so much cannot easily be judged. For what is material luxury without happiness?

Restoring Balance

There is a lack of balance in the human society, and in human life. There is a natural need to be connected, to have family, to have love, to share a common ideal and goal, to have association with the natural world and with the living beings. All of the problems the world faces today have a solution, and they will be resolved sooner or later, for by the laws of Nature all returns to a state of equilibrium. A time will come when human

technology will advance toward greater subtlety. And as the technology becomes more subtle, the pollution will go away. Technology will become very refined, and people of high technological development will live amid the trees and the natural lands, and their footprints will barely be noticeable. Though they will traverse the stars, their technologies will leave no trace upon the earth. And when they build their cities, these cities will fade into the natural order of the world.

This type of understanding will come as human beings become more developed and as balance is restored to human life and human society. People's lives are impacted by the condition of the world today, and they seek that which is missing in their lives. These chains of materialism cannot bind the human heart forever. The yearning in human beings to feel their inter-associated connection with the natural world grows ever stronger. People feel the pull within them, the longing to reestablish community and family, to feel a part of something greater than themselves. Many cannot yet identify the need, but it will come.

Some may say certain disastrous events are a great tragedy. But the net result may be no tragedy at all, but of great benefit for human beings. For Prakriti will not allow the disruption of her natural order and her ways. If her children get out of line, she will put them back in line. That is her way.

Spirituality and Human Liberation

Human life is very precious, very rare. It is not to be wasted. Spirituality is that which uplifts the human spirit. The pursuit of balance, the pursuit of interconnectedness with all life, is a part and parcel of spirituality because this uplifts the human spirit. When the human beings come to see they are a part of all, that there is an interconnected association between them and the rising of the moon and the setting of

the sun, when they see there is a rhythm in life and that they are no island but that all people need each other, and when all come to desire this closeness to each other, then they will begin to feel they are part of something larger than themselves — a part of a whole, a part of something great — and the human heart will get satisfied. The human spirit will be uplifted.

Woes and sufferings are transformed in the inspiration of the human heart, in giving people hope, giving people new beginnings, giving people ways to interconnect, to associate with the larger environment in which they live and with each other so that they may feel they are a part of something greater than themselves. This it is why collective fight against exploitation brings the greatest joy.

So spirituality has two thrusts. One is to come to know the divine Brahma which is in all; to come to know the all-compassionate love of the Supreme, to feel an intimate association with that Divine Entity. And the second is for humans to liberate all the living beings that they might know their interrelated association with this universe, and that they might not pine away alone and sorrowful.

This twofold aim of spirituality of internal and external revolution-is found in the Rig Veda shloka "Atma moksartham jagat hitaya cha" — "Spiritual liberation for self, and service to the world." Shri Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar gave this ancient aphorism even more emphasis, accepting it as a motto that embraces the mission of human life.

A bright dawn awaits the human beings — a new beginning, a time for the liberation from the bondages of materialism and for the formation of a true human society. The future is not bleak. The door is opening to a bright, new future. Now is the time for a profound change in human history, for the restoration of balance and love in human society. If we work for this end, our lives will reflect the all-compassionate love of the Supreme for all the living beings.

Tantra and Leadership

Shrii Shrii Ānandamūrti

What is Tantra? The process of transforming [latent divinity] into the Supreme Divinity is known as Tantra sādhanā. The sleeping divinity in animality [at the base of the spine] is termed, in the language of spiritual aspirants, the *kulakundalinii*. So we find that actually the spirit of Tantra sādhanā lies in infusing a [vibration] in the *kulakundalinii* and pushing her up towards the spiritual goal.

The significance of the term tantra is “liberation from bondage [the bondage of dullness, or staticity]”. The letter ‘ta’ is the seed [sound] of dullness. And the root verb ‘trae’ suffixed by ‘da’

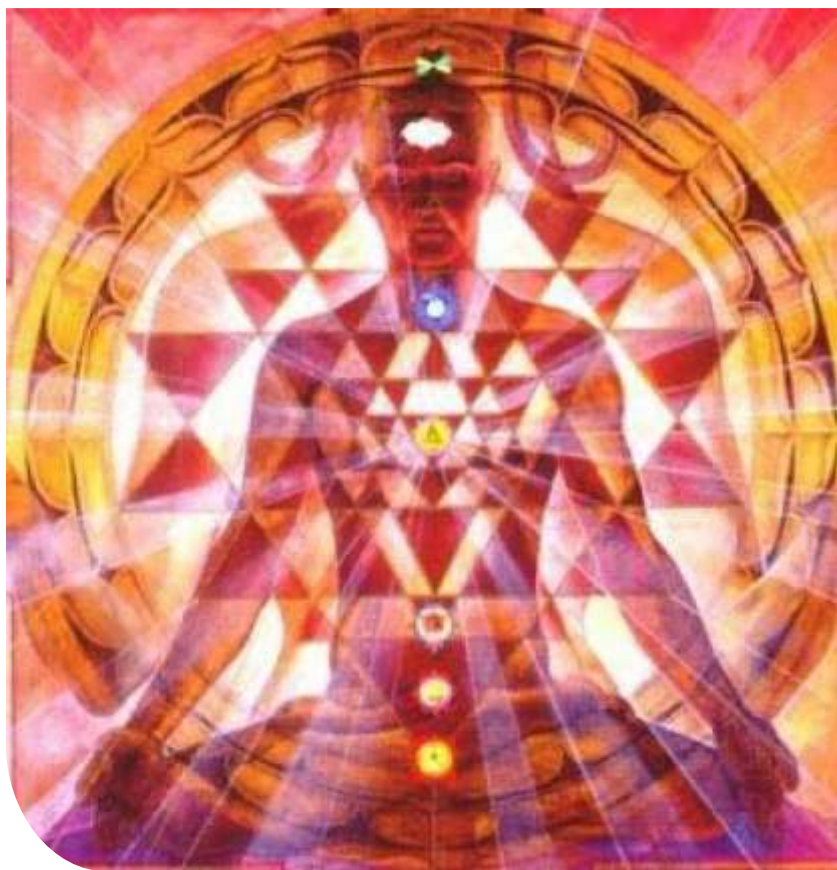
becomes ‘tra’, which means “that which liberates” – so the spiritual practice which liberates the aspirant from the dullness or animality of the static force and expands the aspirant’s [spiritual] self is Tantra sādhanā. So there cannot be any spiritual practice without Tantra. Tantra is sādhanā.

Spiritual practice means practice for expansion, and this expansion is nothing but a liberation from the bondage of all sorts of dullness [or staticity]. A person who, irrespective of caste, creed or religion, aspires for spiritual expansion or does something concrete, is a Tantric. Tantra(1) in itself is neither a religion nor an

‘ism’. Tantra is a fundamental spiritual science. So wherever there is any spiritual practice it should be taken for granted that it stands on the Tantric yoga. Where there is no spiritual practice, where people pray to God for the fulfilment of narrow worldly desires, where people’s only slogan is “Give us this and give us that” – only there do we find that Tantra is discouraged...

There are various glands of various types in the human structure. Each and every gland may be treated as the controlling station of a particular mental [propensity], and the intensity of expression of the mental [propensities] depends on the proper secretion of hormones from these glands. As a general rule hormones secreted from the lower glands cannot influence the upper glands, but they can, directly or indirectly, influence the glands situated at lower points. Since the *Sahasrāra Cakra* [corresponding to the pineal gland] is the highest cakra, or plexus, hormones secreted by that plexus can control all other glands of the human body. Just now I said that the *kulakundalinii* is awakened by the force of spiritual waves, or of mantra, and these glands help spiritual aspirants by creating such a force. The *Sahasrāra Cakra* being the controller of all the glands, it is the central station of all the waves and mantras.

In each and every important gland or sub-gland there resides the seed of its expression, that is, a *mātrkā varṇa*. So in the *sahasrāra cakra* there [lie the seeds] of all expressions – that is, all the *mātrkā varṇas* are there. The synthetic



form of all the *mātrkā varṇas* is the *Onmākāra* [onm-sound]. So it is crystal-clear that the potentiality of expression of all the instincts of the human mind lies in the Sahasrāra Cakra.

Human [staticity] can be converted into spirituality or divinity only after arriving at the Sahasrāra Cakra. The lowermost plexus, the *mūlādhāra* [at the base of the spine], is the site of crudeness, and the uppermost plexus, the Sahasrāra, is just the opposite, it is the site of Consciousness. So people of animal instinct have no other way, if they want to free themselves from worldly illusions, than to take the *kulakunḍalinī* from the *mūlādhāra* to the sahasrāra. The inner spirit of raising of the *kulakunḍalinī* is for one to control the [propensities] and seed sounds of the different glands and to suspend one's self in Parama Shiva [the Nucleus Consciousness], whose rank is beyond the scope of all the instincts and seed sounds. It is a process of shattering the *pāshas* [bondages](3) of all mental weaknesses; and after conquering these weaknesses and other mental *ripus* [enemies] (4), to transform animality into divinity. This *sādhana* of the *kulakunḍalinī* is a great fight. After establishing oneself above the scope of each and every instinct, idea and seed sound, a spiritual aspirant must go on with his or her fight, with the intention of merging himself or herself into the Supreme Entity which is beyond the arena of the world of ideation. So the *sādhana* of Tantra is a great battle, a *sādhanāsamāra*.

The main characteristic of Tantra is that it represents human vigour. It represents a pactless fight. Where there is no fight there is no *sādhana* (meditation). Under such circumstances Tantra cannot be there, where there is no *sādhana*, no fight. It is an impossibility to conquer a crude idea and to replace it by a subtle idea without a fight. It is not at all possible without *sādhana*. Hence, Tantra is not only a fight, it is an all-round fight. It is not only an external or internal fight, it is

simultaneously both. The internal fight is a practice of the subtler portion of Tantra. The external fight is a fight of the cruder portion of Tantra. And the fight both external and internal is a fight in both ways at once.

So practice in each and every stratum of life receives due recognition in Tantra, and the coordination and cooperation of the practices in all strata represents Tantra in its proper perspective. The practice for raising the *kulakunḍalinī* is the internal *sādhana* of Tantra, while shattering the bondages of hatred, suspicion, fear, shyness, etc., by direct action is the external *sādhana*. When those who have little knowledge of *sādhana* see the style of this external fight, they think that the Tantrics moving in the cremation ground are a sort of unnatural creature. Actually the general public has no understanding of these Tantrics. In the direct fight against the *ripus* and *pāshas* they may appear to be unnatural for the time being, but one cannot ignore the fact that in wartime every person becomes, to some extent, unnatural in his or her activities.

Those who did not understand the inner spirit of the subtler *sādhana* of Tantra, or those who did not or could not understand the essence of [Tantric] practices or could not follow those practices in their lives, misinterpreted the real idea and did whatever they liked according to their sweet will, with the intention of furthering their narrow individual interests and fulfilling their worldly desires. A section of the polished intelligentsia, because of their meanness and degraded tastes, misunderstood Tantra and went against its idea. Those who could not understand the inner spirit of the terms *madya*, *māmsa*, *minā*, etc. (known as the *Paincamākāra*),(5) accepted the crude worldly interpretations of those articles, and their Tantra *sādhana* was nothing but an immoral antisocial activity.

The process of Tantra *sādhana* is gradual. But with even a

preliminary advancement in this *sādhana*, *sādhakas* (spiritual aspirants) attain certain mental and occult powers which make them stronger than the average person in terms of mental and spiritual development. But if in the process *sādhakas* forget Parama Brahma (Supreme Consciousness), the culminating point of all our vital expression, and employ their mental and occult powers to exploit the common mass and to satisfy their lusts, then the demerit lies with those individuals, not with Tantra. If *sādhakas* remain vigilant and alert regarding the principles of Yama and Niyama(6), that is, the cardinal moral principles, there is little chance of their degradation. Rather with their developed mental and occult force, they will be in a position to render better service to humanity and to utilize their intellects in a better way.

People can use any of their powers or attainments either for virtue or for vice. If anyone applies his or her potentialities in evil or destructive designs instead of in good ones, then the powers or potentialities are not to be blamed – all the lapses are lapses of the person. Money can be used in various public welfare projects; yet it can also bring on various social evils. Swords can be applied to suppress the stupid, but also the gentle. So is the sword or the money responsible for its own good or bad use? Certainly not. It is highly improper to allow the powers attained through Tantra *sādhana* to become extroversial; it is proper to exercise all these attainments in more complex *sādhana*, in the subtler pursuits, so that spiritual obstructions are forced out of the human mind. This spiritual attainment helps the *kulakunḍalinī* to ascend and to merge with, or unify with, Supreme Consciousness.

Tantra should be utilized only in the subtle field; if applied extroversially, it brings about so much of the crude impact of worldly affairs that the degeneration of a *sādhaka* becomes unavoidable. The



power that is applied by degenerated Tantrics in the *sāt karma* of Tantra – that is, psychically killing, psychically dominating or controlling, stupefying, hypnotizing, etc. – has, in reality, nothing to do with spirituality. All of these powers are simply mental powers attained through Tantra *sādhana*. They can be attained even without practising Tantra *sādhana*, by practising certain mental processes. But then such powers can be successfully applied only against mental weaklings. No endeavour of this sort will find any opening with mentally stronger persons. And none of these actions carries any value for a spiritual *sādhaka*.

To attain Tantric power one has to practise both external and internal *sādhana* – has to stage a fight of both kinds. As a part of the external fight one has to apply a vigorous force or control over his or her worldly conduct and expression, while in the internal fight one has to arouse and to take up his or her *kulakundalinii* against one's crude thought with all the strength of one's intuition.

The ascent of the *kulakundalinii* is brought about through the practice of certain processes. At the *Sahasrāra*, or pineal gland, the *kulakundalinii* drinks the hormone secreted by that plexus. The biological explanation

of this is that the *sādhaka* attains control over the flow of nectar secreted from the *Sahasrāra* (i.e., over a particular hormone secreted from the pineal gland). This flow of nectar is the main support of divine life. During this period of *kundalinii* *sādhana* (*sādhana* establishing control over the “coiled serpentine”), *sādhakas* attain or establish control over the ascent and descent of the [*śuśumnā*] fluid. The mental trends of *sādhakas* are vitalized by the nectar of the *Sahasrāra* – by this hormone – and by the well-controlled movement of the [*śuśumnā*] fluid, bringing the *sādhakas* uncommon sagacity and vigour. The blending of such sagacity and vigour adorns a *sādhaka* with an attractive personality, with sharp intelligence and with an unparalleled spirit. Only under the sound leadership of such Tantrics can a dharmic social and national life be lived...

The spirit of *sādhana* is to control the extroversial trends of the mind – to guide one's self in a proper way – so *sādhana* and the Tantric cult are synonymous. Ceremonial sacrifices, prayers, and other extroversial rituals are neither Tantra nor *sādhana*. Every *sādhana* that aims at the attainment of the Supreme, irrespective of its religious affiliation, is definitely

Tantra; for Tantra is not a religion, Tantra is simply the science of *sādhana* – it is a principle. In reality, can anyone stand up in any sphere of life without [*sādhana*]? Can we achieve the honour, the status and the other commodities that we want in this material world without a struggle? And when we consider our aspiration for development and advancement in the mental world – this cannot be brought about without a struggle either. So everywhere – whether in the crude sphere or in the subtle sphere – struggle is the essence of life. The proper role of human beings lies in [controlling] and harnessing all sorts of crude forces or trends. Thus not only is Tantra an asset in the spiritual world; but even in the most material and crude spheres of life there is no other recourse than to accept Tantric ideals.

Those who sparkle and arouse their vigour in the physical and the mental worlds by staging a struggle against crude tendencies become superhuman persons in human frames. Such personalities, adorned with vigour and vitality, receive ovations everywhere. As a matter of fact, whatever may be the social or administrative [system of a country] – whether it is a democratic republic, or a bureaucracy, or a dictatorship – only those rule who have [invoked] vigour and personality in themselves. Vigorous personalities always rule the weaklings. If individuals having great personalities and great vigour enter into politics, they become [strong or autocratic leaders], while others bow to their command.

Personalities of intermediate category [in regard to their vigour] do not like to shoulder the responsibilities of a [strong leader]. They carry on their [autocratic leadership] under the safe shelter of a monarchical or republican government (by making the crown or the parliament a puppet in their hand); though it cannot be emphatically stated that democracy succeeds only in countries where people lack vigour. There are many

countries where the people do not lack vigour, yet where democracy has claimed success. Of course, this has a political side too. [Autocracy] makes its appearance only in those countries where the people have an ample store of vigour yet where the government has become infested with a high degree of corruption. In England and the United States of America there is no dearth of vigour, yet due to efficient forms of government, democracy has never failed. But in Pakistan and Egypt, because of hopeless and pitiable sorts of governments, the people in general have accepted [autocracy] wholeheartedly.

In this world there are also many countries where there are no honest, sincere leaders in the political sphere and whose governmental body is full of corruption, but where, nevertheless, democracy has not suffered any setback. Anyway, the essence of my comments lies in the fact that even in worldly affairs one's personality is developed through Tantra sādhanā, and sādhanā meets success everywhere.

In this regard, it may be asked whether the [strong leaders] of the world practise any Tantra sādhanā or not. To this my answer will be that, perhaps unknowingly, they have always followed Tantric principles. You perhaps know that the great hero of Indian independence, Subhash [Chandra Bose], was an ardent follower of the Tantric cult.

The caste system is based on the principle of distinctions and differences. This system has constituted the greatest obstruction to the formation of a strong, well-organized, well-knit society. This system does not provide a clue to or a seed of the possibility of unity in diversity. The caste system is recognized by the Vedas only, not by Tantra. In the Tantric cult, although there is cent per cent scope for a person's all-round development, nevertheless, as human beings, all remain in an equal status. That is why there cannot be any compromise between Tantra and the

caste system...

Tantrics are to stage a fight against all crude forces, a pauseless struggle against inequality and cowardliness. Equality in society cannot be achieved if the [basis of power] is quantitative alone, without any consideration of qualitative value, for today those who do not try to invoke vigour in themselves by sādhanā far exceed in quantity those who do. So it is not by democracy, but by entrusting power to the true Tantrics, that equality in the economic and social spheres must be established in this material world. The establishment of equality is possible only by Tantrics and not by non-Tantrics. Of course not only in the mental and spiritual arena, but in the material sphere as well, complete or cent per cent equality is an impossibility. So Tantrics have to continue their fight indefinitely. For them where is the opportunity to have a rest?

Footnotes

(1) In the discourse "Bhaerava and Bhaeravii", the Author explained this further saying, "*I think you all know that Sadāshiva was the first Tantric Mahākāola on this planet. His mission was **Kurvantu vishvam** **Tātrikam** – "To get the whole universe initiated into the Tantric cult". To become a Tantric means to fight directly against the opposing forces and obstacles on the path of progress and to preach the lofty gospels of universal humanism. That human beings are the greatest of all living beings is to be proven in action, not in mere words or theoretical moral principles.*" – Eds.

(2) In the discourse "Why Are People Afraid of Intuition Practice?" in the book *Ananda Marga: Elementary Philosophy*, the Author states that this fear is firstly the fear of having to renounce life of a young monk, secondly fear of practicing celibacy and the fear of giving up worldly pleasures. – Eds.

(3) The pāshas, or "fetters", are externally imposed by learning for society. They are – *ghrṇā* [hatred, revulsion], *shaunka* [doubt], *bhaya*

[fear], *lajjā* [shyness], *jugupsā* [dissemblance], *kula* [vanity of lineage], *shiila* [cultural superiority complex], and *māna* [egotism]. – Eds.

(4) The ripus, or "enemies", of the mind – *kama* [longing for physical objects], *krodha* [anger], *lobha* [avarice], *mada* [vanity], *moha* [blind attachment], *mātsarya* [jealousy] – are innate. – Eds.

(5) In the discourse "Tantra and Sādhanā", the Author explains these principles are *māmsa* which literally means meat but refers to control over speech and surrender of all actions, *matsya* which literally means fish but actually one who takes the breath flows of the left nostril and the right nostril to the *trikuṭi* [ājina cakra between the eyebrows] and suspends them there by *puṇa kumbhaka* [holding the inhalation] or *shunya kumbhaka* [holding the exhalation], *mudra* which literally means alcohol but actually means keeping good company and *maethuna* which literally means sexual intercourse but actually means the union of the kundalīni or Radha at the base of the spine with Parama Shiva in the Sahasrara Cakra. – Eds.

(6) The Principles of Yama are *ahimsa* (not harming anyone by thought, word or deed), *asteya* (not stealing or depriving anyone of their just due in thought, word or deed), *satya* (use of truthful words for the welfare of everyone), *Brahmacarya* (moving and acting while merged with Pure Consciousness) and *Aparigraha* (not taking more than the minimum goods needed for survival. The principles of Niyama are *Shaoca* (internal and external purity), *santosā* (cheerful contentment in the face of hardship and difficulties), *Tapah* (austerities and suffering willingly undergone for the welfare of other beings), *Svādhyāya* (study of one's inner Self through spiritual books) and *Ishvara Pranidhāna* (meditation whereby one runs after the Supreme within one's I-feeling and full surrender of doership and devotional love expressed in all actions). – Eds.

PBI in Bihar Electoral Fray

Patna (Bihar) : Proutist Bloc, India (PBI) the sole votary of strict morality in politics has also decided to field its candidates in ensuing Bihar assembly elections. So far we have information regarding the following persons contesting elections in the respective constituencies



Dr. Pramod Kumar
Constituency - Bankipur



Ramesh Chandra
Constituency - Kumharar



Ram Vilas Baitha
Constituency - Riga



Ravishanker
Constituency - Bhagalpur



Sogarith Paswan
Constituency - Parihar



Rashi Prasad
Constituency - Purnea



Bipin Kumar Yadav
Constituency - Chhatapur

The main plank on which the party is contesting elections is Amiirri Rekha, i.e. ceiling on wealth. This election is seeing obscene spending on wealth in violation of electoral laws and the refusal of the Election Commission to even question the candidates let alone stop the flow of black money. It is not enough to bring about electoral reforms, the very right of individuals to accumulate vast sums of money is a threat to the safety of society as Chanakya said long ago. This right must be restricted to a fixed limit, in order to prevent the endless lawlessness and violence that results from money power run amuck. The other most important agenda of the party is to get a law enacted regarding allowing only moralists in politics. Currently candidates with criminal cases against them for murder and other crimes are becoming minister. Other candidates are being financed by such criminals due to the lack of powers and inactivity of the Election Commission. This all will come to an end with the new era of Proutist politics.

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Sud-Tirol PROUT Seminar

The learning cooperative 'Cosmic Mind' organized a course on "Neo-humanist economy and future vision" with Dada Vandanananda and Acharya Kamaleshvara.

From August 31st to September 4th, every night from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m., a group of proutists and some new people met at the cooperative head office. A few others connected through Skype.

On September 5th they met from 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. The trainers worked very hard to prepare a new power point in Italian for each class.

This led them to learn more about Prout by planning to this schedule:

1. Neohumanism: Vision for a social and mental growth
2. Neohumanism and the importance of social, cultural and economic coordination in local communities.
3. The social cycle and the science of social dynamics.
4. Solutions to pseudo-culture and the various types of exploitation.
5. The concept of progress in neohumanist economy and PROUT principles.

They were altogether 17 people, some joined them on the webinar. The course was very interesting and inspiring. They had the opportunity to ask questions and deepen their knowledge regarding many points. The use of various means (visual and audio) helped expanding the concepts better. Planning is on to start a committee which will first keep on studying in order to have more people prepared to educate others about Prout. Apart from this they want to study the unique specialities of the area of Italian Sud Tirol and later of Austrian Tyrol to see how they can implement Prout vision for a renaissance of the self-reliant communities of the past in the form of a Cooperative Commonwealth comprising networks of cooperatives. Based on this new economic self-sovereignty, it is aimed to build on the social and cultural unity developed between the two regions in the recent past. This will be a bright start for Samaja in both Italian and German cultures.



Prout Propagation in Madagascar

A young Proutist, Acarya Anindya Brahmachari, was invited to M3TV station in Mahajanga in Northwest Madagascar. He explained the importance of inner development for social transformation. This expansion of Consciousness takes place by Tantra Yoga. It is able to expand the mind beyond narrow views and most importantly it generates a new psychology based on love. Unless the money-centred psychology of capitalism and communism is replaced by a love-based psychology, real social transformation is impossible.



Acharya Anindya Brc. explained this practically by pointing out the plight of poor young girls selling products at midnight in remote bus stations. Due to lack of a love-based psychology, no one thinks about how these girls are not being educated or how by working at such late hours their safety is endangered. Such a change of mindset must come from a people's movement and not through governmental programmes.