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A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis

SHOULD STATE OW DIAN BANKS BE PRIVATISED?



→

The Indian government has announced a series of major banking reforms, including lowering its stake in state-owned banks to a staggering 51 per cent. This means the public banking sector will be taken over by private banks.





Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar



WE SHALL MARCH AHEAD

KEU TORÁ YADI BHAYA PÁS, ÁMRÁ JÁBOI, ÁMRÁ JÁBOI GHERE YADI BHAYÁL AŤŤAHÁS, EGOBOI, EGOBOI,

KÁTAR COKHE TÁKÁSO KENO, AÁ KÁTAR COKHE TÁKÁSO KENO, MAN KE DAMÁSO NÁ JENO ÚSÁR MARU TUSÁR MERU, PEROBOI, PEROBOI ÁMRÁ JÁBOI, ÁMRÁ JÁBOI

BHÁGYA DEVI VIMUKHA HOLEO, ÁÁ BHÁGYA DEVI VIMUKHA HOLEO, ÁKÁSHA BHEUNGE BÁJ PAŔALEO ÁDARSHA KE SÁMANE REKHE PÁ PHELO BOI, PÁ PHELO BOI ÁMRÁ JÁBOI, ÁMRÁ JÁBOI If any of you are afraid, Close together

We shall go onwards, we shall go onwards If ever fearsome, raucous laughter surrounds us We shall march ahead, we shall march ahead

With sad eyes, why do you keep staring? Let your mind never know or accept Any suppression or coercion. Arid deserts and snowy mountains We shall cross over, we shall cross over.

Even if the goddess of fortune turns away her face, Even if from the sky crashes with roaring thunder Keeping our ideology in front of us Our feet shall march ahead, our feet shall march ahead Issue 04

April 2016

Cry of the Suffering Humanity

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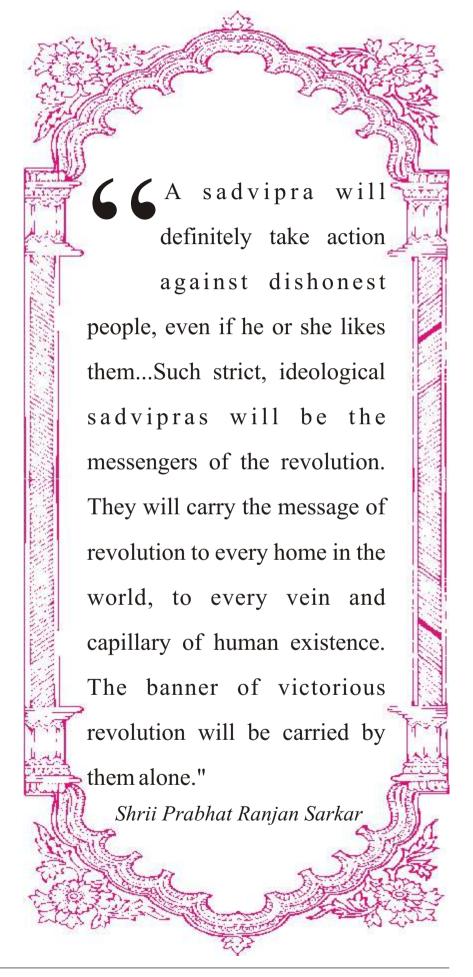


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Fundamental Principles:

- 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.



MOBOCRACY

There comes a time in one's life, in the life of every generation to stand up to the mob. The first and foremost way to stand up is to refuse to hate what the mob tells us to hate. The second way to stand up is to refuse to condone the mob and never to allow oneself to fear it. Crony capitalist democracy in lands where education is minimal and inequality is abysmal, cuts people off from their culture, spirituality and dignity. In times of economic crisis, capitalist democracy reduces one's humanity to one's caste, reduces one's love for one's motherland to hatriotism, reduces one's spirituality to communalism. Shakespeare perfectly revealed this essence of this degraded state of the mob in *Coriolanus* saying, "Anger's my meat; I sup upon myself, And so shall starve with feeding." And this is why our hearts go out to the haters who threaten to murder, rape and even those who do it, because they are hating what is inside their own hearts and they are truly killing themselves in their rage riots.

Extraordinary hate hysteria enveloped the country in recent days over a minor incident in JNU. This has been the culmination of a campaign of religious zealots to shut down ideological resistance in India's educational institutions. The main ideological opponent is Dalit revolutionary youth. Few people know that while JNU was always dominated by upper caste Marxists, since 2006, OBC reservation has cause the percentage of upper castes to dwindle down to less than 20%. Furthermore JNU has been at the heart of the movement to honour the "demons" of traditional religious festivals as martyrs to Aryan imperialism by observing Durga Puja as the martyrdom day of Mahisha Asura who has been honoured by adivasis in eastern India for centuries.

In addition the national movement after the suicide of Rohith Vemula was leading to a national movement that had to be stopped. The result was a doctored video which appeared to show JNU student leaders making outrageous anti-national statements. This video was played obsessively on all news channels and Facebook. Without confirming anything, the Home Minister of the nation believed a false rumour that a Pakistani terrorist had supported the students. Without waiting for the courts, the Home Minister pronounced the students guilty after a media trial. The entire country was caught up in a wave of hate hysteria and even so-called Neohumanist yogis bayed for blood like jackals. Violence broke out in the courts defying the Supreme Court while the police simply watched. The attackers even admitted thinking to use a bomb on the student leader. Eventually the truth emerged and the video was shown to have been doctored as the student leaders never said any anti-national statements. A journalist with Zee TV resigned in disgust. The Kashmiri outsiders who did say anti-national statements were never even charged so as not to disturb the ruling Hindu extremist party's craven alliance with a Muslim party in Kashmir that has been associated with the same anti-national sentiments that so outraged the nation in Delhi.

This was not all. Around the same time this drama unfolded, Jats rioted in Haryana. Jats are the dominant rural caste in Haryana that has dominated politics, land ownership and wealth in the state. However, two years of drought, joblessness in the cities has created unrest. The Jats have responded by trying and failing to get reservation as a backward caste. When this failed, their rage was diverted into riots against Muslims and Dalits. But once having tasted the thrill of lawlessness, former military Jats trained Jat youth commandos dressed in Blackshirts like those of Mussolini. Their plan was to forcibly cut of the water, milk and vegetables to the nation's capital. With military precision the violence unfolded and eventually the Army had to be called out to bring water to the capital. Sixteen people were killed, ten women were raped and there was Rs 20,000 crore property damage. The Haryana government again promised reservation thus rewarding this outright criminality. The ultimate truth is that the Jats are a formerly great community who are the descendants of the Pandavas and of the disciples of Guru Nanak who have lost their spiritual and moral *maryada* (honour) in modern times.

India faces now an epidemic of mob violence as youth in UP are being given military training to fight ISIS. Hitler used the Brownshirts but then was able to crush them and establish his police state. The question is that will this happen in India or will India collapse into warlordism like in China during the Japanese invasion. However, the real crisis is what will happen to India's civilization and that of other countries - will the wolf packs of religious fascism ravage the Earth or will humanity unite to fight this menace and to establish one human society? As Shrii Sarkar has said,

"You, who have understood the predicament, realized the urgency, seen the naked dance of evil and heard the hypocritical and raucous laughter of the divisive forces should throw yourselves into this noble task without further delay. When the ends are just and noble, success is inevitable."



Exploitation in Rarh

This was a most unusual article. Instead of a traditional economic analysis what we find is a brief evocation of history tying this land to cardinal human values as well as very practical but unknown economic solutions. Rather that merely arouse anti-exploitation sentiment, the article creates a synthesis of history, poverty, economic creativity along with deep love for humanity. It is to be hoped that the call given in the article to humanitarians around the globe to work for the liberation of this land shall be honoured.

Sandib Bauri, Seraikela

Crony Capitalists Facing Bankruptcy

This was a real terror of an article. All India's top corporates are basically at the point of collapse. India's public sector banks are also at the risk of collapse. On top of it all we are seeing China's meltdown creating less demand for India exports in raw materials. The West also is on the verge of another major crisis like in 2007. Not only are we on the verge of collapse, we are being robbed. The public sector banks are the property of the Indian people. It is our money that has been stolen by these parasite corporations. More than 30% of children are malnourished and not getting high school education or medical care. The government tells us there is no money. The corporate media tells us to stop wasteful subsidies. But the fact is there is money and we do not need any subsidies or handouts. If the chor corporates paid even half of their dues we would have plenty of money and so many children would not die, would be healthy and educated. Everything would be possible if the Indian people were to take action against these corporate parasites. We just heard about child starvation deaths in Rajasthan. We will hear of more deaths this year. They are paying the price for our irresponsibility in allowing these corporates to loot the Indian people year after year as the economy plunges into the abyss.

Dolly Fernandes, Kolhapur

Smart Cities

Hard to get a handle on all this high tech. Everything seems so cheap but we get sucked in and our lives get turned inside out. We become addicted to machines and gadgets. Millions of dollars are spent by companies to keep us addicted. And you know what - our family, our society goes down the drain. It's hard to understand all about these high tech cities and about all these sinister high tech corporates. All we need to know is that we will be in prison. You know in the old days people talked about how may created so much false joys and sorrows. Now scientists do that. And the aim in both cases is to keep us enslaved. Where is the path to enlightenment for us as a city and a country?.

Tenali Raman, Secunderabad Poverty and Education

It is simply astonishing to read this article

show in detail how much harm the ordinary poverty we see all around us has on small children. It is heartbreaking to see how the brains of poor children are less developed than rich children. In the MRI picture of their brains we see the sheer evil of this current economic system which keeps almost half of the population below the poverty line. This article showed how much suffering is there for poor children in every small aspect of their lives. We also appreciate the author for providing simple solutions for teachers.

Dipa Rawal, Bhopal

Kindness Economy

Everyone knows that our relationship with babies is the heart of our families and our communities. Finally someone has gone out and shown this common sense to the academics and gone further to advocate an economy based on this family tenderness. It is amazing that even many animal societies like the bonobo monkeys know how how to live in harmony without one person feasting and many starving and without wife beating, crime and other human traits. It has taken economists nearly 400 years to learn what our monkey ancestors knew long ago. Let us start to think about all the "minor", "unimportant" forms of love and affection in our lives and try to see how we can use them to build a new humanity.

Jayraj Natarajan, Trichy

Farmers Rights

We are amidst chronic drought across India and no one seem to take it as an emergency. We have heard a lot of talk about programmes to farmers but in the end they are dependant on MNREGA which is mainly given to connected higher caste people. The aim of all governmental programmes is to make us into beggars and the aim of the conservatives is to take even these small handouts away and to distract us into murdering each other based on fascist media hysteria. We need a farmers' movement like in the time of Swami Sahajananda. But unless we root out caste exploitation in the rural sector this will not be possible. Without ending casteism there is no way out of the crisis in the farming

Jarnail Singh, Faridkot

India No.2 in Global Murder Rate

We see rampant violence and we see socalled politicians and sants engage in threatenting people with murder all the time. Let's not even go into places like Manipur where the Army supports lawless paramilitaries. This is normal. No one thinks about it or gets really upset by it. Murder of innocent people in encounter killings so as to pretend to be fighting mafias is also a tired news topic. No one is shocked that the police and politicians murder the people they are supposed to serve. On top of it various mafias and criminals also murder adivasis, dalits who refuse to give up their land. Most of this is never reported in the newspapers who instead talk about how ISIS is the major threat to India. Strangely now people are saying that we should no longer tolerate corruption. But how long should we tolerate murder?

Riju Thorat Saharanpur

Accountability Yatra Attacked

This is truly a revolutionary movement. Who could even imagine trying to legally force bureacrats to be accountable to the Indian people rather than vice versa? It would be interesting to see how this movement will evolve. The proposals seem very straightforward but seem to need more development. But the question is how will the people be empowered to make sure their local officials obey the law? There are many good laws but there is only a corrupt colonial administration system. Unless this system is drastically reformed or replaced, it is difficult to see how the lot of the common people will become better. But it is movements like these that will awaken the people to dream of the freedom such a new system would bring.

Rekha Singh, Kota

Revolutionaries Need Yoga

A profound meditation indeed in a short space. Revolution in the mind is the real task of the day. The age of revolutions based on nationalism and communism is long gone. We cannot fight evils in the society without fighting the evils in our own minds. These evils may seem like dark shadows will become demonic when we have to struggle to remove criminals from power and when we finally get power. As the article beautifully explains the real power of a revolutionary is love and love must increase more and more to deal with the coming struggle to establish humanity as one big, beautiful family.

S. N. Nair, Kochi

Super-rich

We have to realise that 62 people owning more than 3 billion people has only happened in the last ten years. The fact is during the last ten years while millions have suffered, the elites have been looting people all over the world. And we can further note that usually Oxfam and other reports do not include the wealth of the Rothschilds and the Rockefellers who are multi-trillionaires. Every time we see some child starving on TV or hear of an unemployed husband beating his wife, we must realise we are guilty because we are not stopping the crimes of these 62 people. There is the famous Iranian legend of Kaveh who finally revolted against the tyrant Zohak after more than ten of his children had died. The question is that when are we going to take action against these 62 people? When are we going to demand and impose Amiiri Rekha (Wealth Limit)?

Faridoon Shah, Surat



You are at the edge of a canyon. Below you is a procession of thousands upon thousands of gagged people marching forward, their hands behind them in steel handcuffs. The sun mercilessly beats down on you and on the marchers causing real pain and distress. From your vantage you can see that they are marching to a cliff and to their certain deaths. You have been yelling and screaming to warn them, but your voice is distant and it is growing hoarse. It is never completely hopeless because occasionally people look up. Sometimes small groups together follow the gaze of someone who has heard you yelling. You wave frantically.

This has gone on for hours that seem like centuries.

When people see you their reactions vary. Some shrug in disbelief or denial. Others panic. Those who panic understand that they face death but instead of giving them salvation, all you have done is add more suffering to their last moments of helpless torment. Some manage to scramble out of the press of bodies to outcrops or scraps of shelter that vary in their levels of discomfort and precariousness. Some of those who stop try to gesture warnings to marchers with head and eyes. Others try to shield themselves from the merciless sun. After a time of watching hundreds marching by, many of those you warned decide that you must be wrong, or at least that all the other people might be right. They rejoin the death march, relieved to once again be going with the flow. The marchers have been promised that security and freedom lie ahead of them. They may be sceptical about that, but all you can offer is endless suffering and struggle against impossible odds.

There seems little hope. Your skin blisters and your voice is nearly gone.

There is a pool of water. Sometimes you leave the cliffedge to quickly drink. If you didn't your voice would already have given out. There are also materials around to with which you could build a shelter. You would love to just build that shelter. You could even build a shade that kept the sun off the marchers as they pass your section of cliff. One time you splashed water on the marchers and they loved it. It was genuine joy. You could be sheltering yourself, alleviating suffering, and providing genuine happiness instead of giving only the hoarse panic cry of impotent truth and helpless love. It is the obvious thing to do.

The problem is that the pool of water gives the best view of people dying.

When they reach the cliff people try to scream through their gags. Some marchers turn on others, kicking and butting. Some are simply paralysed with fear. Many, perhaps even most, secretly thought that this might come and they go to their deaths hating themselves for not having fought back. They fooled themselves and now they realise that they should have paid any price to avoid this fate – for them and for their loved ones. No one at the cliff will thank you for having once splashed them with water.

You could build a screen to block the view of voiceless death and suffering, but you couldn't live with the screen.

If you close your mind, then your acts and the choices you make will be part of the concealment of the truth. If you can't bear to bring joy or alleviate suffering without denying the truth, then your acts will perpetuate the lie that sends people to their deaths. You will be complicit in mass murder.

The only answer to the cliff, is to keep screaming and crying.

You know that there is just a small chance that enough people will stop marching and will accumulate at the sides of the canyon. Or maybe enough will look up and see you at one time. Enough to make a real difference. Then....

...Things could go very badly. It could create a stampede. The death might be worse than the cliff itself. Maybe that might be worth it if it ended the death march for good, but there is no guarantee that the march won't just start again after the stampede. Marchers will go right over the bodies of the trampled if they have to. It only makes them more resolute and narrow-minded in going forward.

On the other hand....

...If the marchers can fight fear, if they can hold firm despite the discomforts of the canyon, a ripple of refusal might travel back right through the march. The marchers aren't stupid. Most harbour serious doubts about the march, but they have no access to other voices. They have no access to each other's voices – except for incoherent grunts, tweets, status updates, and moans. That is the only thing that gives power to the distant cries of a lone lunatic.

They don't like the source, but deep down many marchers feel that the crying madman might be the only one who is being honest with them.

Once they stop the death march, they will realise that they have no choice but to bear the sun while they work together to get rid of the gags and handcuffs and try to find or make ways out of the canyon. Not easy tasks, but better than marching enslaved in the blazing sun to certain death.

It is not much hope, but it is hope. And even a drop of hope dissolves despair and sets your eyes ablaze with the impossible dream that this Death March of Humanity will end...must end. Soon. Very Soon. If only we can keep crying out with all our bursting hearts then... then anything is possible, everything is possible. Because when we shout out, our love just bursts out...our aching love for every member of handcuffed humanity. And with love everything is not just possible...it is inevitable.

- Kieran Kelly

Birth of A New Bihar

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR



The economy of the area and the social life of the people should be balanced. The development of big industries alone should be avoided, because in such industries the local people have no place.



uman beings are not isolated beings. Each human being is universal. The longing for physical and psychic pabula comes from Neohumanism, and these longings should be guaranteed by PROUT. Neohumanism is universal humanism. Not a single person should be confined to a particular area. Each and every human being is universal. PROUT is the practical approach. It keeps in view factors such as water, soil,

body, mind and mental faculties in combination, in association, and in friendly contact with other developed creatures. PROUT and Neohumanism will free the world from all difficulties.

To achieve all this, a healthy economy is essential, and for a healthy economy there must be proper planning. Planning should include factors such as population, local conditions, socio-economic potentiality, the sentimental legacy of the people, and the availability of raw materials; otherwise economic

progress is not possible.

In a healthy economy raw materials should come from the local area. Industries which are based on imported raw materials are always weak industries, sick industries. A sick economy depends upon raw materials from outside – it depends upon inputs. For example, the Barauni Oil Refinery in Bihar is a sick industry because it depends upon crude oil from Assam. If there is any disturbance in Assam or if India is balkanized, then the refinery will have to close down. The establishment of this refinery was a foolish act. It does not represent a healthy economic structure. It is a sick industry, a foolish industry, a stupid industry!

The economy of the area and the social life of the people should be balanced. The development of big industries alone should be avoided, because in such industries the local people have no place. As one moves from the north to the south of Bihar, there is



increasing surplus labour.

In Bihar many types of healthy industries can be established. For example, in northern Bihar healthy industries based on concentrated alcohol derived from sugar beet and sugar cane can be established, and the residual pulp can be used in the paper industry. Fossil fuels are fast diminishing; they should be replaced by concentrated alcohol. Motor cars can run on this fuel.

To properly organize and accelerate socio-economic development, Bihar should be divided into five socio-economic units — Mithila, Magadh, Nagpuri, Angadesh and Bhojpuri. Magadh, Nagpuri and Angadesh are the three socio-economic units which are entirely within Bihar [and Jharkhand]. Mithila and Bhojpuri include portions outside Bihar. Let us briefly discuss a few features of each of these units.

Mithila

Mithila includes eight districts from India and four districts from Nepal. The boundaries of this socio-economic unit are as follows — in the north the Himalayas, in the south the Ganges, in the east Angadesh, and in the west the Kali-Koshi River. The first Maethilii literature was written 900 years ago by the first poet of Mithila, Jyotiriishvar Thákur, and was called *Varna Ratnákara*.

In the Mithila area of Bihar, Maethil Brahmins, Kayasthas and Dogamayas speak Maethilii and the rest of the population, including the Bhumihars, speak Angika. The Dogamayas are neither Bhumihars nor Maethils, and they only speak Maethilii. Groups such as the Rajputs, Yadavas, Kurmis, Kuiris, and Kayasthas such as the Amustha

Kayasthas and Srivastava Kayasthas, speak Angika. The Maethil Brahmins speak Maethilii at home but Angika outside the home, and the Dogamayas do the same, therefore Maethilii is not the people's language there.

The Paswans and Pasis also speak Angika and not Maethilii. There are two communities of Pasis – the Trisuniya Pasis and the Byadha Pasis. Those who live in Madhusalai are Trisuniya Pasis and speak Angika. Those who live in Magadh are Byadha Pasis and speak Magahii.

The Trisuniya Pasis have black complexions and they speak in a direct way. The Byadhá Pasis are dark skinned, but not as black as the Trisuniya Pasis.

The Brahmins always speak Maethilii in their homes but Angika outside. Where all the castes speak Maethilii, the language of the non-Maethil Brahmins, the non-Maethil Kayasthas and the non-Dogamayas is influenced by Angika.

Around Muzzaffarpur there is rich, loose alluvial soil which is extremely good for horticulture, tropical fruits, juicy Mediterranean fruits, and pulses. Nitrogenous soil is not very good for winter paddy, though it is good for growing jute. However, the jute industry does not have a bright future, so it should not be encouraged. Rather, the remi silk industry and the artificial synthetic fibre industry should be developed.

Bihar must not try to establish two or three oil refineries because they will be uneconomic. Moreover, although there are deposits of oil under the ground on the Nepal border, no steel industry should be developed because there are not sufficient quantities of red hematite or coal. Nevertheless, many healthy industries based on local raw materials can be developed. For example, high-quality concentrated alcohol fuel can be produced from sugar beet and sugar cane.

Concentrated alcohol can replace fossil fuels, as the stock of crude oil is fast diminishing.

In addition, the hardened bamboo industry can be developed. If the internal knots in bamboo poles are removed, hardened bamboo pipes which are as strong as steel can be manufactured. The entire Himalayan foothills have abundant bamboo, but no bamboo industry has so far been established in Muzzaffarpur. If this industry is properly developed, it can capture the world market. You should go to the public and explain all these things.

Magadh

About 4,000 years ago Magahii was the most important language in all India. Magahii is 5,000 years old and it has its own speciality which is not found in any other language. The four dialects of Magahii are Aurangabad, Central Magahii of Nalanda, Mungeria and Magaribadh. Magahii is spoken by nearly 30 million people and is the most widely spoken language in Bihar.

Patna, Biharsharif and Gaya are big cities which have a population of more than 100,000 people. The entire population of Bihar is about 80 million people.

What is the topographical order of Magadh? Where are the different stages of the main rivers? In the rainy season, sufficient water passes through rivers such as the Falgu and Sone. In the plain stage of Mithila there is very soft soil, and this is why the rivers in Mithila always change their courses. No river has its delta stage in Mithila – the hill stages of all are in Nepal, the plain stages in Mithila and the delta stages in Bengal. So to tame the rivers, the cooperation of Bengal



and Nepal is required. Unlike in Mithila, in Magadh the hill, plain and delta stages of the rivers are all in Magadh, except for the Suvarnarekha, which flows just on the border line between southern Magadh and northern Chattisgarh. The Koel River must be tamed through the cooperation of Magadh and Kaoshal. Magadh and Kaoshal share many common problems.

Old Gondwanaland, included Ranchi, Purulia, western Madhya Pradesh, Burdwan, Bhanjabhum, Surdargarh and some portion of Orissa. This is the place where the first humans were born. It is the first human habitat in the whole world, but people do not know how to develop it. Throughout this area, the per capita income is minimal. Rice comes from Midnapore district. From Dhanbhad to Ranchi, rice comes from Burdwan district. In Lohardaga and the western portion of Chotanagpur, the per capita income is also minimal, while in the Visnupur subdivision it is a bit better. The rivers are still wild, and only the Kangsavati River has been partly tamed.

Is there any possibility of mangological development in Patna district? What about the mango and papain industries? Papain is good for the stomach. It is especially good for dysentery and other stomach diseases. Mango and guava are two horticultural items that can be grown here. What types of mangoes should be cultured? Where and how can they be grown? What sort of fertilizers do they need? You should know the answers to all these questions.

In Magadh, the Ganges flows from west to east. On one side of the Ganges is Magadh and

on the other side is Mithila. The soil beside the Ganges is riverine alluvial and is good for growing mango. lychee, banana and lemon. Some portions to the south of the Ganges in Patna - which in Sanskrit is Pataliputra and in Hindi Patna - and some portions to the north of the Ganges also contain soft alluvial soil. In the southern part of the Ganges for ten miles towards Patna, the soil is fit for mangoes. Digha is within a ten mile radius of the Ganges, as is Maner. Beyond ten miles, there is clay soil which is not fit for mangoes. Further out the soil becomes laterite and Gaya mangoes can be grown. The land around Mokama is not fit for mangoes as the soil is hard. In Begusarai soft alluvial soil is found, so mangoes can be grown. In Magadh - in Gaya and Nawada for example – there are no mangoes, and if they are grown, they will be sour and contain worms. Thus, the soil is alluvial towards the south up to ten miles from the Ganges, then it is clay after ten miles, beyond that it is hard and laterite, and towards Gondwanaland it is laterite. North of Patna is suitable for lychee, mango and lemon, but not suitable for papain fruits such as papaya or guava. While guava can be grown, the large type such as that found in Allahabad cannot be grown. In the southern part of the Ganges, papaya grows better than in the north and the papain industry can be developed. The papayas will be small but sweet. Mangoes will also grow well there. In the Ganges Basin mango and lychee can be grown. The Malda and Murshidabad districts of Bengal are also very good for mango cultivation.

For agriculture, we must consider factors such as the soil condition, soil blending, climate, water supply and the types of land. For example, there are several types of land according to how the soil holds water. First, high and dry land

is barren land and retains little or no water in the soil. If water and fertilizers are added to the land, it can be made productive, and some fruit crops, beans (kurti) and lemon grass for the cosmetic industry can be grown. The land at Ananda Nagar [garden city created by the author] is high, dry land. Secondly, barren plain land will hold water if it is properly tamed. It should be transformed into farming land into horticultural and agricultural fields – and for this irrigation is essential. Thirdly, average land will hold water longer than barren plain land. Fourthly, moist fertile land is suitable for most types of farming and retains water well. The best land is moist fertile land, followed by average land, then barren plain land, while high dry land is the worst. Farmers do not know how to fully utilize the various types of land and soil...

After proper manuring, mangoes can be grown in Deoghar district. In Patna district, especially the northern portion, castor can be grown. Paddy grows better in plain land, whereas wheat grows better in dry land. The word "wheat" comes from white. Wheat means "whiteness".

Rivers will cut paths right through waterlogged soil, but it is more difficult for them to cut through barren plain land or hard laterite soil of the clay type. So while constructing a bridge, both sides of the bridge should be built on foundations of hard soil. While constructing the Rajendra Bridge over the Ganges at Mokama, the soil towards Mokama is plain land, but towards Barauni the land is waterlogged, which means that the bridge can be easily washed away.

If farmers adopt the cooperative system they will enjoy many benefits. For example, the land wasted in constructing boundaries around individual plots will be utilized, significantly increasing the area of farming land. Land of the same level should be consolidated into one area for cooperative farming, but if the land is wavy, the area of the consolidated land should be smaller. In wavy land and land which contains small river valleys, small-scale inexpensive irrigation projects which cost only one to two hundred thousand rupees should be started. Such amounts can easily be arranged through cooperative effort. In addition, mixed farming and crop rotation can also be done through cooperatives. At Ananda Nagar there can be four crops in a year. I have already said which fertilizers and manure are best for what types of land. The fertilizer used for farming should depend on the type of soil.

Sericulture can be developed on barren land according to the climatic conditions. In Bihar, endy and muunga silk can grow well, but not mulberry silk. Endy silk is golden and muunga silk is reddish.

Nagpuri

Standard Nagpurii is the language spoken in Gumla. In Ranchi the language is influenced by Bengali and Magahii. Magahii, Maethilii, Bhojpurii and Nagpurii are not recognized by the government of India. Maethilii is recognized by Calcutta University [and later Sahitya Akademi]. Angika is not even recognized by the Sahitya Academy, the government of Bihar or the government of India.

What are the soil problems



Kanti Waterfalls, Amjharia

and rock conditions of Palamu district? What are the main rivers? Palamu district starts in the northwest corner of Chotanagpur and is a small place. In the Sone River Basin in the west of Palamu district, the Sone River flows from southwest to northeast, while in the east of Palamu district it flows from northwest to southeast. In the heart of the district is the Koel River.

Palamu was once the central portion of Gondwanaland and the rock is sedimentary. The Damodar Valley is located in the eastern portion and the central west of Palamu district. Along the Damodar Valley there are coal deposits. In the western portion of the river valley there are also coal deposits, old hard rock, metamorphosed rock, tungsten, hard metals, iron ore and red hematite. This is a Magahii speaking area. Latehar subdivision and Garhwa are also Magahii speaking areas. The other side of the Sone River in Madhya Pradesh is also Magahii speaking. The red soil is laterite soil.

The history and annals of Palamu are unique. It is the old habitat and abode of the Oraon tribe who speak the Kuruk language, a tongue of Dravidian origin, and a sister language of Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. There used to be Rajput kings in this area, but after they were overthrown, blood relationships with outsiders began. Palamu was independent up to the Pathan period. In the Mughal period Palamu became part of the Mughal empire and paid tribute to the Nawab of Bengal, but practically it remained independent. Gaw in Malda district was the capital of Bengal in the Mughal period, and later it became part of British Bengal. In the British period, the headquarters was changed to Hazaribagh.

In Hazaribagh district most people speak Magahii; the biggest river is the Damodar. The extreme south and central is the industrial belt which has great industrial potential. There is also a mica belt, and the major portion of it is Koderma, which is now separated from Hazaribagh and included in the newly formed district of Giridih. Coal can be found in the Damodar Valley.

How did Hazaribagh get its name? Hazaribagh was named

(65)

after Harailal Singh Deo of the Ratu clan, who owned a large estate. He died in a clash with Shish Nath, the last of the Chotanagpur kings. In Hazaribagh district subterranean minerals, forestry and agriculture can be developed. The soil is fertile.

What are the problems of Nagpuri and the lower Lohardaga district? How are you to solve the irrigation problem of lower Lohardaga district? Where shall you get the water from? Some water is available near Netarhat, where good laterite soil is also available, but this area suffers from lack of water due to deforestation. Magadh also suffers from deforestation. So for development schemes, large-scale afforestation everywhere is most essential.

Lohardaga district has mixed soil. It is a very small district carved out of Ranchi. The main tribe there is the Oraon tribe who speak Kuruk among themselves and Nagpurii or Sadri with others. Kuruk is of the

Tanabhagat group. The Mundas speak Sadri. Bauxite can be found there, and an aluminium factory should be established. Hardly any industry has been established from the locally available raw materials. The land currently produces only one crop of paddy a year, hence the people live in extreme poverty. Sixty-five percent of the population are tribals and thirty-five percent are non-tribals. The non-tribals are blacksmiths and traders.

Angadesh

Angadesh is more downtrodden than the Kaoshal region of Orissa. There is no industry in Angadesh, and even the people's language, Angika, is not recognized. The people's language should not be suppressed. If your mother tongue is not recognized, nobody will recognize you.

None of the mother tongues of Bihar are recognized in the Indian constitution, and that is why a Bihari has to live like a second-class citizen while many other minor languages are recognized. The government of India, the National Sahitya Academy, the Sangit Academy and the Bihar government have not

> recognized the Angika language. In fact, not a single mother tongue in Bihar has been recognized either t h e b y government of India or the government of Bihar. This reflects badly on the government leaders. Primary school education should be in the people's language, and primary school books in Angika should be introduced.

In Angadesh the indigenous population is being exploited by outsiders. The Angiks are poor and destitute, and most of them depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Their lot can only be improved when some progressive farming methods are adopted. For example, those parts of Purnia, Katihar, Madhepura and northern Bhagalpur which extend up to six miles from the southern bank of the Ganges River should grow cash crops successfully. An integrated system for growing certain cash crops is outlined below.

Kerala hybrid variety of **coconuts**: Before planting each sapling a hole three feet deep should be dug, and five kilos of salt should be put into the bottom of the hole. The salt should be covered with a layer of sand, then the sapling should be planted erect, and the roots compacted with more sand to fill the hole. A pyramid of sand should be made above the level of the soil around the base of the sapling. Leaf mould should be placed at the top of the pyramid. This will be gradually absorbed into the soil. In the event of a shortage of rainfall, the saplings should be irrigated by a sprinkler system which will resemble rain for the plants, thus enabling them to grow in a natural way.

Black pepper farming: If black peppers are planted beside coconut trees, no further land will be required as the black peppers will climb the trees. Black peppers do not need any fertilizers other than leaf mould and cow dung manure.

Areca nut cultivation of the Coochbehar variety: This can be cultivated very successfully on the same land as the above crops. Cow dung manure should be administered



once a year before the rainy season starts. All the old dead leaves of the areca nut plants should be removed and the plant should be cleaned in September and October.

Pineapples: A good harvest of pineapples can be gained in those fields of Purnia, Katihar and Madhepura districts, where the rainfall is more than six inches. In salty soil also there can be good harvests. In Purnia, the Siliguri variety will produce a good harvest, and in Katihar and Madhepura, the Baruipur (Calcutta) variety is suitable.

Red pepper and green chilli: Red peppers and green chillies of the Kalna (Burdwan) variety will yield good harvests as second grade seasonal cash crops if they are grown in the northern and southern portions of Angadesh respectively. Green chilli of the sowa variety will grow better in southern Angadesh. The manure used should be mustard cakes, custard cakes and baranj cakes – that is, the residue of these seeds after the oil has been extracted.

Mangoes: Malda district to the north of Angadesh will grow good crops of fajali, langara, asina, svajpuri, laksmanbhag, etc. - in fact, all varieties of mangoes. Where there is a scarcity of land, these varieties can be grown in large earthen pots. The manure should be a mixture of twenty-five percent cow dung compost, twenty-five percent leaf mould compost, twenty-five percent bone fertilizer and twenty-five percent crushed bricks. Dead lime can replace bone fertilizer.

Some other crops: In southern Angadesh, grapes will be very good seasonal crops. Jackfruit of the Bankura variety and jam of the red Jammu variety also grow very well.

In the hilly land of southern Angadesh, the following can be produced – cloth, carpets and mats from the fibres of the sisal variety of bamboo (ram bamboo); silk from custard plants; and mulberry and mulberry silkworms. In addition, in southern Angadesh papaya can be grown, and from this papain can be produced. Rice bran oil and cement can also be manufactured from rice husks. In northern Angadesh, jute cultivation can be used to produce match sticks, and paper can be produced from the residue of sugar cane, and also from maize or corn cobs.

In the red soil of Angadesh, the Hyderabad variety of grapes, the Bankura or Ánanda Nagar variety of papaya, cashew nuts and jackfruits of the Bankura variety, jam of the red Jammu variety, mangoes of the Rárhi Bombay and Rárhi Madhukalkali varieties will grow very well.

There is a tri-portion of land, which includes parts of Nepal, Bihar and Bengal, where Bhojpurii, Angika, Maethilii and Bengali are spoken. The Angika speaking part of this tri-portion was conquered by Prithvi Naryan Saha of Nepal in the first phase of the British Raj in the battle of Plassey in 1757. The Angika speaking population of Nepal live in Morang district, which has a provincial city at Viratnagar. The Angika speaking portion of Nepal should be included in Angadesh. This is a geo-economic necessity. There should also be a train from Bhagalpur to the Himalayas. The indigenous people of Nepal include the Sherpa, Bhutia, Newari and Lepcha.

What about underground wealth in Angadesh? In the western portion of Godda district there is limestone, dolomite, China clay and coal. In the eastern portion there is no dolomite, only coal. Red hematite and iron ore can also be found around Jamalpur, but not on a large

scale. Recently gold deposits were discovered in the Sonu block of Jamui district, and there are coal deposits in Lalmotia.

The cheapest electricity in Angadesh is thermal electricity from coal. There is no need to purchase coal from outside as is being done now. Solar power can also be generated in the plain areas where the land is wavy.

Northern Angadesh suffers from lack of proper irrigation and drainage, and from waterlogging. Southern Angadesh suffers from lack of proper irrigation. The land is to be systematized for proper water management. For example, as there is a scarcity of water in the south, the surplus water form northern Angadesh should be drained and shifted to southern Angadesh. If oil from Assam can travel all the way to Bihar by pipe, why not water from northern Angadesh to southern Angadesh?

The Kosi belt in the north – that is, the land around the Kosi river – remains submerged due to waterlogging. The entire Kosi belt is a waterlogged area. The sediments carried by this river have a bad effect on the fertility of the soil, hence the water should not be used for irrigation in the rainy season. Drainage does not mean the wastage of water. If the water from the Kosi River goes into the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal, it will be wasted.

There is immense agricultural potentiality in Angadesh, and many more agroindustries and agrico-industries can be developed. You should get three crops in a season from the land, but now there is only one crop. In southern Banka there is only one crop of paddy and no other crop in a year.

The meeting point of





Magadh, Angadesh and Bengal is] formed out of Jamui, Deoghar and a little bit of Banka. This district is very dry but has very fertile land which is ideal for agriculture.

The main industries in Angadesh are agro-industries and agrico-industries. In the extreme southern portion limestone can be found. Limestone and China clay are also available in western Godda, so a cement factory may be started there. From rice bran and limestone, cement can be made—these are two of the main raw materials for cement...

I want a detailed scheme – an ideal scheme or blue print – for Angadesh, Magadh, Nagpuri and Kaoshal (western Orissa) from north to south. Angadesh is almost plain, except the southern portion. The other three socio-economic units are mixed. Magadh is plain and wavy land, while Nagpuri and Kaoshal are wavy and valley land. Utilize each and every inch

of land. Utilize each and every drop of water.

Exploitation exists in every sphere of life - the social, economic, cultural and psychic. Exploiters do not care whether an area is a surplus labour or deficit labour area. Bhoipuri is a surplus labour area, while parts of Bengal and Assam are deficit labour areas. All of these areas are exploited. Angadesh and Assam are the worst affected areas. In Angadesh, Bhagalpur and Monghyr are the only cities, and in these

two cities outside exploiters dominate. They have no sympathy for the local people, their language or their sentimental legacy. Ranchi is also controlled by outside exploiters, while in Orissa land and assets are in the hands of outsiders. In India elections are very costly. Money for elections comes from both local capitalists and foreign agencies.

Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri covers several districts including Gorakhpur and the entire Bhojpur area except Bastar district. There are three scripts in Bhojpuri. The first is Nagari script, which is used to the west of Allahabad. Max Mueller wrote the Vedas in Nagari script, which was named "Devanagari" 800 years ago. The second is Sharada script which is used to the northwest of Allahabad and is 1,300 years old. The third is Kutila script which is used to the east of Allahabad. It is the script for Oriya, Bengali, Bhojpurii, Maethilii and Angika and is 1,100 years old.

The mother tongue of Krsna

was Shauraseni Prakrta. Later on Braja emerged from Shaurseni Prakrta, and is spoken to the west of Allahabad. The Muslim poet Raskhan, and Rahim and Surdas, were the poets of Prakrta. The Agrawals of Braja belong to the Braja area and are not Marawaris. The Muslims of Allahabad speak Avadhi, although the Shias speak Urdu.

The three large cities of the Bhojpuri area – Varanasi, Gorakhpur and Chapra – have no industries. All the assets are in the hands of outside exploiters. Let there be a fight against outside exploitation. Let the people understand the meaning of polarization!

What are the agricultural possibilities of Gorakhpur and Deoria districts in Uttar Pradesh? Are they the same? Deoria is more riverine than Gorakhpur, so more jute can be grown in Deoria than in Gorakhpur. If wool is mixed with jute, good quality jute's-wool can be prepared. Good jute can be grown near Nepal.

Transportation and marketing should be kept in mind when developing all agroindustries. For example, if horticulture is developed in the ten mile radius around a big city such as Gorakhpur, it will be more economically beneficial for the farmers than if the orchards are located further away.

You should know your country and the entire globe. Know all their secrets. The fight to restore one's mother language is a fight for dignity. Each mother language should be spoken and developed. While working for the welfare and development of your country, also spend some time for the development of your mother language.





Should State Owned Indian Banks Be Privatised?

The Indian government has announced a series of major banking reforms, including lowering its stake in state-owned banks to a staggering 51 per cent. This means the public banking sector will be taken over by private banks.

* Great Game India

hile the entire nation was busy talking about the #JNU row in the ongoing debate on tolerance and fascism, a very important development with major consequences to everyone in the country has seemingly gone unnoticed. Those who talk of nationalism fail to protect the nation from foreign economic imperialism and those who talk of the fascism of the current religious regime forget that the Nazis were simply tool of the corporations to seize power and that they still continue to control Germany today.

The news that all have failed to pay attention to is that the US based bond rating company Moody's Investor Service cautioned the Indian government that if it did not boost the capital levels of PSUs by revising its capital infusion plan for the public sector banks in the upcoming budget, the banks will see negative ratings.

Rating 11 state owned banks in India Moody has estimated an external capital requirement at the tune of Rs 1.45 lakh crore for the four financial years, ending March 31, 2019. Following the orders

foreign capitalists, the Indian government has announced a series of major banking reforms, including lowering its stake in state-owned banks to a staggering 51 per cent. This means the public banking sector will be taken over by private banks. This includes the foreign banks (in partnerships with Indian banks) who have bankrupted banks in USA, UK and across Europe and then used the resulting economic crisis to steal the people's tax money in the form of the bailout. The bailout was then used as a government justification for cutting government services and selling more and more of the government sector to the corporations. These foreign banks will now be moving into Indian public banks. Under these banking reforms PSB mergers are a top priority, in spite of nationwide protests from the bank employees union of each of these

Interestingly of the Rs 1.45 lakh crore projected by Moody's, Rs 1.14 lakh crores had been written off by PSU banks in the last 3 years alone. It is a major fraud and has been continuing on a regular basis

since a long time. Even the Supreme Court has reprimanded RBI whose responsibility it is to keep a watch on this and ordered it to share the list of major defaulters which RBI didn't have any information on.

Additionally the government recently announced the setting up an autonomous Banks Board Bureau to improve the governance of public sector banks. The BBB has a mandate to select the heads of public sector banks and financial institutions, and "help banks in developing strategies and capital raising plans". The appointment of former comptroller and auditor general Vinod Rai as the first chairman of the Banks Board Bureau has caused the opposition to accuse BJP leaders of using "the lure of post-retirement jobs" to weaken the independence of constitutional functionaries who are meant to function at arm's length from the executive. The CAG's position is one of those whose incumbents are constitutionally barred (Article 148(4)) from accepting any future government employment. Given the major embarrassment Rai caused the erstwhile UPA government of



Corporate Infrastructure Advisory Facility (PPIAF), 2010

Manmohan Singh with his audit reports on the 2G and coal scams, the Congress was quick to accuse the BJP and former CAG of engaging in a *quid pro quo*.

An examination of the main arguments extended to build a case for privatisation of the public sector banks in India by K B L Mathur published in *Economic and Political Weekly* reveals that the arguments are based on

- 1. Perceptions rather than factual analysis
- 2. The use of partial information
- 3. Evidence on international experience which is ambiguous

It can be concluded that the case for privatisation of PSBs in India is not strong enough at least on the grounds usually proposed by the advocates of privatisation. Private sector banking would have a larger probability of crisis if the supporting legal and regulatory framework were not sound enough to insulate the systems from extraneous pressures.

This is exactly the case here. If the problem of the banks are in the first place because of the bad-debt write offs (which is a major fraud), what should be the appropriate solution? Should it be to ensure an appropriate regulatory mechanism to prevent such frauds from occurring and bringing the fraudsters to book? Or is the solution to ignore the criminality and simply privatise the banks? Is privatisation the only one-stop solution to all of the problems the country is facing, be it the railways, energy, education or any other sector?

Any country's policies, be it related to related to defence, economy, education etc., are drafted keeping its history as a reference for improvisation and by studying similar case studies in various other countries to understand the entire life-cycle of the phenomenon better. It is a tragedy for the country that the approach of our policy makers is very shallow and short-sighted, and not one seeped with wisdom gained from the centuries of experiences through which the country has evolved. A short lesson in the history of privatisation and liberalisation to our economists, advisors, policy makers, diplomats and bureaucrats will go a long way to do much good for our country.

The concept of Liberalisation and Privatisation is not in any way a novel concept. It is just a rebranding of the concepts of Free Trade and Globalisation under which the East India Companies were given exclusive rights to trade with India and Southeast Asia by the British Monarchy, and to implement these it was also given the right to *civilize India*.

Historical Summary

In the year 1600 East India Company was formed and given exclusive right to trade with India and South East Asia by the British

Monarchy under the concept of Free Trade and Globalization. It was also given the right to civilize India. In the year 1965 the Club of Rome (top industrial houses-real owners of EICs or MNCs) divided the world in 10 economic segments and gave unbridled authority to ruthlessly exploit Segment 9 (India belongs to this segment 9), a group of mineral (diamond, gold, uranium, life saving medicinal plants, organic food and drinking water) oil and natural gas rich South East Asian nations consisting one third of the population of the world- under liberalization (liberalize domestic economy to globalize its owners) and privatization (privatize so that Free Trade can further control domestic economy via global owners) to a group of MNCs. Also we wish to present that the ideologies of trade are the same as far as EICs or MNCs are concerned, what changed was just a flip of words.

It is the same grand children of the original owners of East India Company which subjugated us ruthlessly, exploited miserably, slaughtered close to millions of innocents for sheer economic gain and to dislodge whom India took almost 100 years of intense struggle. We never recovered from the economic, social and geographical loss of that oppressive British EIC rule. It is the reemergence of this colonial monster EICs as MNCs in the modern times again to help modernize and civilize India that may lead to another round of 400 year spiritual disaster (the only strength that we retained from being commercialized), if we do not watch the real intentions and motivations of these EICs turned MNCs and their Indian collaborators domestic Indian Partners.

East India Company was a group of British Merchants that joined together and formed a company whom the British, Dutch, French and Belgium Kings gave unbridled charter rights to *Trade* over vast India, China, Far East Asia and Africa. This company had 40

owners. They elected a Governor, a Deputy Governor and a board consisting of 24 Directors. The same structure was identically followed when the Bank of England was chartered. Who are these 40 share holders/owners of this company? The East India Company was not one but 4 companies chartered in 4 different countries and all are owned by the same owners ruled by the same Governor, Deputy Governor and elected Directors. They are: British East India Company, French East India Company, Belgium East India Company and Dutch East India Company. We also know that in 1858 one of these four, British East India Company was relieved from managing India and India became part of British Empire, while other East India Companies functioned until late 20th Century.

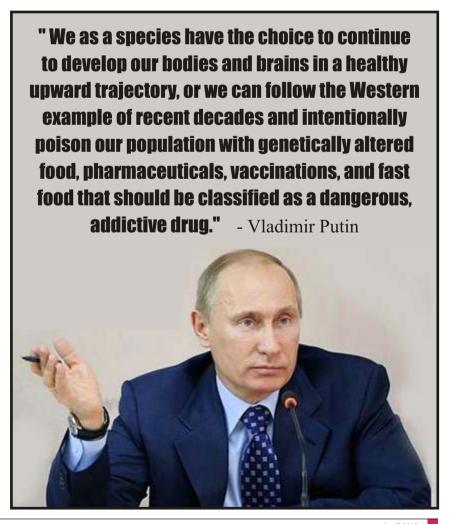
The East India Companies (British, French and Dutch) in their noble cause of civilizing mankind looted close to \$1.6 trillion worth of wealth from the countries they traded with, ruthlessly exploited more than a dozen countries by selling their people as slaves, killed more than 100 million people in order to maximize their profit and minimize their cost, encouraged wholesale addiction of opium among 30 million people in order to maximize their profit and minimize their cost, encouraged the wholesale addiction of opium among 30 million people, created more than 30 famines all across the nations. These gigantic behemoth East India Companies were the true multinationals of their time.

In the 20th century when almost all colonies of the EIC became independent countries and got rid of all European colonialists, the above groups lost their most valuable markets. Most of these colonies became either Socialist/Communist nations or Monarchies. They had fantasies of following their own destiny, of creating new free and united communities. But the European nations who were producing industrial goods desperately needed

markets for their goods after the hardships of WWII. So the question arose, how to make the colonies buy western goods?

There are two ways this could be achieved. First is blocking the technology of production. Without technology of production colonies remained backward. The second step is to re-capture these colonies once again, not militarily or politically but economically. So in the 20th century all EICs were scrapped and they were reborn as multinational corporations (MNCs). These MNCs main agenda is to dump their products, exploit resources and manufacture goods including food and water in all these former colonies. But these colonies are now ruled by different forms of political governments. Thus for all socialist and communist government, a new concept of Liberalization and Privatization was

evolved. Privatization involved asking these governments not to control the resources of their own countries and to instead sell the national industries to private businessmen. To buy them involves billions of dollars which local businessmen do not have. The next stage was Liberalization. The former East India Companies come back to India in their new avatar as multinational corporations and fored partnerships with Indian corporations. It was indeed a grand re-union. Most of the Indian business empires made their money helping the British Empire rob the world and sell drugs to China. Now they were reunited with their long-lost partners-in-crime. Of course these new raias want government control over not just natural resources but also over the commodities markets.



The MNCs want the commodities markets to be controlled by what is in their inventories. Hence these foreign companies decide once again what people should enjoy (music, cinema and television) and how people should live (where to travel, the fuels the use) and what people should know (what to read, learn, analyze and how to teach as they form partnerships with their universities). The role the MNCs have given the Indian government is the same as during the days of the British – to protect their economic interests in all the above fields and use the military against their own people when these interests are threatened.

Unlike in the past when the British army would attack any Indian leader who challenge their supremacy, today if any political party challenges their economic raj of India, immediately they instigate the Indian media that is vulnerable to their corporate control. Media attacks will search for all the crimes of the party and even make up scandals if necessary and brand them as corrupt. As a result so-called democracies in former colonies do not control anything within their countries including their own operating budgets – all they have is the simple right to rule. For example when the Congress was in power it was pushing AADHAR violating Parliamentary procedure. The BJP denounced this and pointed correctly to security concerns (due to the foreign corporations involved being connected to foreign intelligence) and to privacy concerns. However after coming to power the BJP has done a 180 and is also trying to push the bill through illegally by declaring it falsely as a money bill. The India media makes the public hate one party but it is the MNCs who are the ones who profit from this party "divide-and-rule". Even to fight a political battle and enforce their rule these parties need vast amounts of money that is liberally provided by corporate funding. In some cases foreign companies like Vedanta are directly accused in court of paying money to both the BJP and the Congress in the last election. Truly **our Prime Ministers, our Chief Ministers are as helpless as the rajas of princely states during the British rule.** To understand why we need to briefly look at the history of banking in India

Unknown Banking History

Let us briefly examine the history of the banking sector in India.

1806

The State Bank of India's origins lay in Calcutta - the then capital of British India – when it was born as the Bank of Calcutta on June 2. 1806, mainly to fund General Wellesley's wars against Tipu Sultan and the Marathas. It was renamed Bank of Bengal on January 2, 1809. Similar joint stock banks, the Bank of Bombay and Bank of Madras, came up in 1840 and 1843, respectively. These banks with their 70 branches were merged to form the Imperial Bank of India. After Independence, several state-owned banks were merged with the Imperial Bank of India to form the State Bank of India in 1955. It is still known as State Bank of India.

1851/1853

Later The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China was founded in London by Scotsman James Wilson following the grant of a Royal Charter from Queen Victoria. The bank's business dealt specifically with large volume discounting and re-discounting of opium and cotton bills. Although opium cultivation gradually increased in China, opium imports still increased from 50,087 picul in 1863 to 82,61 picul in 1888. Chartered Bank merged with the Standard Bank in 1969, and the combined bank became the Standard Chartered Bank. That same year the Government of India nationalized Allahabad Bank.

The same year (1853) The Mercantile Bank of India, London and China was established in Bombay by the Parsis who were the middle men (drug runners) for the East India Company. Later, the Bank also became one of the principal

foreign banknote issuing institutions in Shanghai; which we know today as the HSBC Bank.

1859

James Wilson (founder of The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China) was sent to India to establish the tax structure, a new paper currency and remodel the finance system of India after the revolt of 1857. He is known as the forefather of the Indian Tax structure. Transactions in the opium trade generated substantial profits for Chartered bank.

1898

The question of the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks was taken up in 1898, when several witnesses before the Indian Currency Committee (Fowler Committee) drew attention to the inadequate banking facilities in India and the sharp fluctuations in the rate of discount. A few favoured the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks into a "State Bank"

One witness, the most powerful capitalist Mr. A. de Rothschild, outlined a strong scheme for the creation, in India, of a bank with privileges similar to those of the Bank of England, by absorbing the Presidency Banks. It was to have a capital, the same as that of the Bank of England, viz., £14 million, to be held partly in gold and partly in sterling securities. The bank was to have the right to issue notes. Government were to use the bank and its branches as their Treasury. The proposed bank was not to conduct any foreign exchange transactions.

The bank was to make advances to the Indian Government, when necessary, against 'deficiency' bills. The management of the bank was to be vested in a Board comprising representatives of merchants and bankers (agents of a certain A Rothschild maybe) and also those of Government. Government representation was regarded as necessary to ensure that the policy of the bank and that of Government were in 'absolute harmony'.

One of the members of the Fowler Committee, Mr. Everard Hambro, (and Rothschild agent) urged the establishment of a strong bank in India, despite the fact that the question of banking facilities in India had not been referred to the Fowler Committee, Mr. Hambro stated that such a bank would be able to carry out the currency regulations more effectively and more in harmony with the trade needs of the country than any Government Department could possibly do, and, that, moreover, such a bank alone with ample facilities at its disposal, would be in a position to expand the supply of capital in times of pressure and contract it in times of slackness. In short Rothsheild and his agents wanted to control the money supply in India.

When the British tried to pass a bill to set up the Reserve Bank of India in 1928, Indian freedom fighters successfully blocked the move as they believed that it was against the interests of India. However, during the Round Table Conferences held in 1931 and 1932, the British insisted on the establishment of a Reserve Bank as a condition for the transfer of power to India. They also wanted the Indian legislature to have no powers over the bank and Britain to retain the right to appoint the top two positions in the bank. Such extraterritorial controls form the basis of the calls for RBI's complete 'autonomy'.

'RBI's recent actions have been aligned with current American objectives and the aims outlined by the British before they left India, and these actions have vindicated the fears of Indian freedom fighters. For example, it has imposed curbs on the import of gold thus shoring up the US dollar while depriving Indian citizens the opportunity to seek shelter from inflation. Such curbs do not exist on the people of Europe or the US. It is thus important to review the reasons for the existence of the RBI and find an alternative currency system that is not based on capitalist bankers

central control either at the national or the international level.

The creation of a global economic system combined with the 'autonomy' of RBI would only mean that the RBI will be unaccountable to the people of India while it actively works for international powers. India must swiftly act to prevent this situation and forbid the RBI from coming into contact with foreign institutions.

Aren't our economic experts, politicians, policy makers, bureaucrats aware about this history? If not, at least shouldn't these important policy matters also be given the same importance and debated in the parliament as well? What would happen if such matters start taking a centre stage in the parliamentary debates? Wouldn't uncomfortable secrets be spilled out as has happened many a times before? The most important question to be asked is who gains most when such policies are passed with minimal or no debate and scrutiny at all? Starting from the Nirbhaya case, then the documentary of the same India's Daughter, Lalit Modi case, JNU row, didn't all this scandals perfectly coincided the parliament sessions and resulted in its dis-functioning? What does this pattern indicate?

Let us remember the real history underlying the 20th Century. In 1917 Rothschild financed Vladimir Lenin and Trotsky in the over throw of The Russian Monarchy (the greatest opponent of the British Empire), to Establish Communism and thus centralize the finances to the Rothschild Banking Empire.

In 2006 Putin had paid off Russia's debt to the Rothschilds. Russia's financial dependence on the Rothschild financiers was now over. Putin could then establish what became his Russian Unity Party's 2007 campaign slogan: Putin's Plan Means Victory For Russia! This slogan continues to make the New World Order Rothschilds very nervous. Now That Russia has kicked out Rothschilds —

Rothschild's Military influence through Rhodes Scholars is embedded within the White House and has unleashed NATO confrontation with Vladimir Putin.

"Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty". This liberty earned for the Republic of India was founded on the sacrifices of many millions of souls who opposed the oppression, economic exploitation, moral ethical bankruptcy of colonizers, highly racist hate-based intolerance of the while British Merchants and Rulers. Liberalization has meant nothing but betraying this swaraj earned more than 60 years ago by Gandhi's swadeshi satyagraha or the revolts of Adivasis from the Chuar rebellion to the Santhal rebellion or by Subhash Bose's gallant war to dislodge the British and liberate India. Now, even the banks of the government of India are under threat. This betrayal will now prove truly destructive as the global economy moves into another major crisis.

This truth of how India was looted in the past, how the robbers were welcomed back into the country and are now swallowing the remaining bits of economic swaraj India has, is the real Satya of the history of the nation since 1947. Those who have faced this Satya and are ready for another struggle for swaraj are the real nationalists. Satyameva Jayate should not only be on the logo of our money or confined to history or philosophy – it has to transform our lives as this Satva or truth alone is worth defending. And beholding this Satya and dedicating oneself to a new struggle because of it is the real Dharma – righteousness in action, in the real world where the corporate sahibs keep being freed from taxes and the media teaches the Indian people to hate each other based on caste or religion.

As we witness their renewed foreign economic Raj in India and as they make in India and loot India, the call rises up from the depths of this ancient, sacred soil – a cry for total freedom finally after 7500 years of



125 Million Crying for Help Symbolize World's 11th Largest Nation

* Thalif Deen

an Ki-moon may be fighting a losing battle to resolve one of the biggest humanitarian problems facing the world body – even as he completes his last 10 months as UN Secretary-General.

Currently, there are over 125 million people – a staggering figure by UN standards — in need of immediate humanitarian assistance worldwide. To put it in perspective, Ban points out, if all of the 125 million people comprise a new country, it will be the world's eleventh largest, next to Japan.

"The numbers are unsustainable and the human costs are intolerable," he mourned.

Providing a breakdown of figures, the President of the General Assembly Mogens Lykketoft of Denmark says there are 20 million refugees across borders; 40 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) inside war zones; and an additional 65 million temporarily in need of support to survive because of climate-related famine.

"We in the UN are now trying to raise awareness and awaken conscience. The UN needs extra 1520 billion dollars annually to support these people. Is it much money? Yes – but it is less than one out of every 4,000 dollars in national income worldwide," he said.

In his appeal for funds, the Secretary-General says the world's total gross domestic product (GDP) is over \$78 trillion while the world's financial institutions are worth more than \$200 trillion.

"So \$20 billion should not be a big issue, "says Ban, "provided there is a will – a political will." He pointed out that "the world is being tested." Addressing a meeting in London early February, Ban recounted his early days growing up in Korea as a one-time refugee depending on UN agencies for handouts—and for survival.

"I myself was once a displaced person. Some of you might have read my life story. I was born in Korea just before the end of the Second World War. When I became 6 years old, the Korean War broke out in 1950."

"I had to flee my home with my parents without knowing where to go. Life was miserable, terrible, but for a young, young boy, I couldn't feel as seriously and terrible as my parents might have felt. Most of you may not feel as I felt at the time."

He said both he and his family survived on food and medicine provided by the United Nations and UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund].— humanitarian assistance, powdered milk and small toys, and UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] provided us textbooks, notes.

More importantly, "the United Nations provided us security," with the United Nations, exercising for the first time, its authority to maintain international peace and security.

"Without the United Nations, I would not be able to stand before you today. If I think about all what had happened to me and to my country, to my people, I only was able to survive because of the United Nations, with the aid of the United Nations. And now I'm standing as the Secretary-General and feeling humbled."



Imagining "One World"

Rabindranath Tagore's Critique of Nationalism

Mohammad A. Quayum

Introduction

In a poem entitled, "The Sunset of the Century," written on the last day of the nineteenth century, India's messianic poet and Asia's first Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), launched a fierce diatribe on nationalism. In a mood of outrage and disenchantment, tempered with intermittent hope, he wrote:

The naked passion of self-love of Nations, in its drunken delirium of greed, is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance.

The hungry self of the Nation shall burst in a violence of fury from its own shameless feeding.

For it has made the world its food.

"Our mind has faculties which are universal, but its habits are insular." - Rabindranath Tagore

And licking it, crunching it and swallowing it in big morsels, It swells and swells

Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends

the sudden shaft of heaven piercing its heart of grossness.

The crimson glow of light on the horizon is not the light of thy dawn of peace, my Motherland. It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning to ashes the vast flesh,

the self-love of the Nationdead under its own excess.

Thy morning waits behind the

patient dark of the East, Meek and silent. Keep watch, India. Bring your offerings of worship for that sacred sunrise.

Let the first hymn of its welcome sound in your voice and sing "Come, Peace, thou daughter of God's own great suffering. Come with thy treasure of contentment, the sword of fortitude,

And meekness crowning thy forehead."

Be not ashamed, my brothers, to stand before the proud and the powerful

With your white robe of simpleness.

Let your crown be of humility, vour freedom the freedom of the

Build God's throne daily upon the ample bareness of your poverty And know that what is huge is not great and pride is not everlasting. (Nationalism 80)

This anti-nationalist sentiment that nationalism is a source of war and carnage; death, destruction and divisiveness, rather than international solidarity, that induces a larger and more expansive vision of the world remains at the heart of Tagore's imagination in most of his writings: his letters, essays, lectures, poems, plays and fiction. He was



always opposed to the nationalism of Realpolitik and hypernationalism that breathed meaning into Thucydides's ancient maxim that "large nations do what they wish, while small nations accept what they must" and that in which, as Radhakrishnan said, "selfinterest is the end; brute force, the means; conscience is taboo". Radical nationalism that acted as opiate of the people, making them irrational and fanatical, blind to the senses of truth and justice, and willing to both kill and die for it, perpetuating a logic of "lunacy" and war, instead of a cycle of freedom and peace, was an anathema to Tagore. He spurned it as "a cruel epidemic of evil . . . sweeping over the human world of the present age and eating into its moral fibre" (Nationalism 9); a terrible absurdity that is seeking to engulf humanity in a suicidal conflagration.

Tagore was a believer in an interactive, dialogic world, given to a deep sense of sympathy, generosity and mutuality, and in which nations would not be parochial, xenophobic and centripetal, or guided by mere selfishness and selfaggrandisement, but poised towards a morally and politically enlightened community of nations through the espousal of a centrifugal outlook, multilateral imagination, principal of universality and reciprocal recognitions. In this sense Tagore stands a precursor to many of the modern critics and philosophers of post/trans-nationalism and globalism such as Frantz Fanon, Edward Said and Noam Chomsky. Much like Chomsky, Tagore believed, to put it in Chomsky's words, that 'another world is possible' [by] seeking to create constructive alternatives of thought, actions and institutions," and by bringing "a measure of peace and justice and hope to the world". Tagore imagined of a commonwealth of nations in which no nation (or race) would deprive another "of its rightful place in the world festival" and every nation

would "keep alight its own lamp of mind as its part of the illumination of the world".

Tagore was an avid advocate of inter-civilisational alliance: his vision was given to a symbiosis of the East and West. He was no doubt furious with the British cruelty and oppression in India during the colonial period, and felt that the West was often immersed in commercialism, "moral cannibalism", "political expediency", militarism and "warmadness", and was unduly full of contempt for the East; yet he never gave up hope for a possible union of the East and West, in which the East and the West would meet as equal partners in a creative engagement; "I believe in the true meeting of the East and the West", he affirmed in a letter to Charles Andrews. In a letter to Foss Westcott, Tagore further wrote, "Believe me, nothing would give me greater happiness than to see the people of the West and the East march in a common crusade against all that robs the human spirit of its significance" Moreover, he took exception to Kipling's remark that the East and the West were too divergent and "Never the twain shall meet" by affirming, much like in Emerson's spirit in his essay "Compensation," that the realisation of a unitary and stable world was contingent upon the meeting of these two opposing halves, which compensated one another:

Earnestly I ask the poet of the western world to realize and sing... with all the great power of music which he has, that the East and West are ever in search of each other, and that they must meet not merely in the fullness of physical strength, but in fullness of truth; that the right hand, which wields the sword, has the need of the left, which holds the shield of safety." (Dutta 213)

Tagore took the view that since nationalism emerged in the postreligious laboratory of industrialcapitalism, it was only an "organisation of politics and commerce" (Nationalism 7), that brings "harvests of wealth"

(Nationalism 5), or "carnivals of materialism" by spreading tentacles of greed, selfishness, power and prosperity, or churning up the baser instincts of mankind, and sacrificing in the process "the moral man, the complete man . . . to make room for the political and commercial man, the man of limited purpose" (Nationalism 9). Nationalism, according to Tagore, is not "a spontaneous self-expression of man as social being," where human relationships are naturally regulated, "so that men can develop ideals of life in co-operation with one another" (Nationalism 5), but rather a political and commercial union of a group of people, in which they congregate to maximise their profit, progress and power; it is "the organised self-interest of a people, where it is least human and least spiritual" (Nationalism 8). Tagore deemed nationalism a recurrent threat to humanity, because with its propensity for the material and the rational, it trampled over the human spirit and human emotion; it upset man's moral balance, "obscuring his human side under the shadow of soul-less organisation" (Nationalism 9).

Thus, Tagore called into question both the constructed aspect of nationalism, which stifled the innate and instinctive qualities of the human individual, and its overemphasis on the commercial and political aspects, at the expense of man's moral and spiritual qualities. Both of these limitations reduced nationalism to an incomplete, monolithic and unipolar ideology essentially inadequate for human beings given to an inherent multiplicity and seeming contraries, that needed to be unified and synthesised, through a process of soulful negotiation and striking of an axial line between opposites, to create the whole and wholesome person. Tagore explains:

"The Nation, with all its paraphernalia of power and prosperity, its flags and pious hymns, its blasphemous prayers in the churches, and the literary mock thunders of its patriotic bragging, cannot hide the fact that the Nation is the greatest evil for the Nation, that all its precautions are against it, and any new birth of its fellow in the world is always followed in its mind by the dread of a new peril". (Nationalism 17-18)

The logic is simple but cruel, and is sustained by a privileging norm, that in order to have rich and powerful nations, some nations ought to be left poor and pregnable: "Because this civilization is the civilization of power, therefore it is exclusive, it is naturally unwilling to open its sources of power to those whom it has selected for its purposes for exploitation" (Nationalism 13). By its very nature as an organisation, Tagore argued, nationalism could ill afford any altruism in this regard.

Tagore and Indian Nationalism

Tagore was opposed to the idea of the nation; he was even more fiercely opposed to India joining the bandwagon of nationalism. This would compromise India's history and identity as a culture and bring it under the shadow of the West. He warned: "We, in India, must make up our minds that we cannot borrow other people's history, and that if we stifle our own we are committing suicide. When you borrow things that do not belong to your life, they only serve to crush your life. . . . I believe that it does India no good to compete with Western civilization in its own field. . . . India is no beggar of the West."

Tagore maintained that India's immediate problems were social and cultural and not political. India is the world in miniature, this is where the races and the religions have met; therefore she must constantly strive to resolve her "burden of heterogeneity," by evolving out of "these warring contradictions a great synthesis".

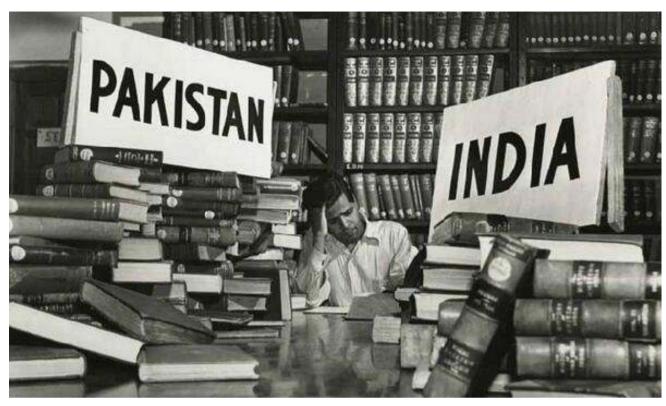
First and foremost, Tagore insisted, India must address the caste issue. The caste system has become too rigid and taken a hypnotic hold on the mind of the people; what was once meant to introduce social order by accommodating the various racial groups in India, has now become a gigantic system of coldblooded repression. India ought to come out of this social stagnation by educating the people out of their trance; only when the immovable walls of society were removed, or made flexible, will India regain her vitality and dynamism as a society and find true freedom. What is the purpose of political freedom when the elites in society are exploiting the lower classes, especially the untouchables so ruthlessly?

In his short story, "Purification," he exposes the absurdity of Gandhi's Satyagraha movement and the hypocrisy of the Indian nationalists by showing how selfish and superficial the nationalists were in their quest for freedom; they were fervently opposed to the British oppression, but oppressed the poor as well as the untouchables themselves; they wanted dignity and respect but wouldn't allow the same to their less fortunate brethren. Such "mendicant politics" that fails to tear down the customary barriers between people, was of little worth to Tagore.

His hope was that if India could establish equanimity between the various races and religious groups, through a basis of social cooperation and regeneration of the spirit, then she could hold herself as a model of unity for the rest of the world. Tagore emphasises racial and religious unity persistently in his writings. In a beautiful hymn to India, entitled Bharat Tirtha ("The Indian Pilgrimage"), he urges all Indians to unite across race, class and religion, shedding their differences, to fulfil the noble destiny of their homeland, standing above the whirlwind of dusty

"Unfortunately for the minorities in India, Indian nationalism has developed a new doctrine which may be called the Divine Right of the Majority to rule the minorities according to the wishes of the majority. Any claim for the sharing of power by the minority is called communalism, while the monopolising of the whole power by the majority is called nationalism. Guided by such political philosophy the majority is not prepared to allow the minorities to share political power, nor is it willing to respect any convention made in that behalf as is evident from their repudiation of the obligation (to include representatives of the minorities in the Cabinet) contained in the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governors in the Government of India Act of 1935. Under these circumstances there is no way left but to have the rights of the Scheduled Castes embodied in the Constitution."

Dr. Ambedkar (March 24, 1947)



Books in a library divided during Partition.

politics:

Come, O Aryans, come, non-Aryans, Hindus and Mussulmans Come today, O Englishmen, come, Oh come, Christians!

Come, O Brahmin, cleansing your mind

Join hands with all

Come, O Downtrodden, let the burden

Of every insult be forever dispelled. Make haste and come to Mother's coronation,

The vessel auspicious is yet to be filled

With sacred water sanctified by the touch of all

By the shore of the sea of Bharat's Great Humanity!

Tagore was of the view that such unity and plurality of consciousness could be achieved only through proper education of the people, eradication of poverty through modernisation and cultivation of freedom of thought and imagination; "Freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth" he said.

To break the spell of stasis through intellectual/cultural revival

and find freedom, India ought to keep itself open to the West and not become insular from the rest of the world through the appropriation of a provincial nationalism; "We of the Orient should learn from the Occident . . . to say that it is wrong to cooperate with the West is to encourage the worst form of provincialism and can produce nothing but intellectual indigence". The West could in fact help liberate India from its "mind-forg'd manacles" and lift the dead weight of tradition from its soul through a constructive engagement and inducement of energy, strength, elasticity, tolerance, resolve and courage among its people-qualities that the West possessed but India lacked. Tagore's vision of a free India - free from the fetters of materialism, nationalism as well as religious and racial orthodoxy actively seeking a common destiny with the rest of mankind, constantly evolving towards a global society, is most ardently and expressly expressed in the following poem in Gitanjali, written in the form of a supplication:

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father,

Let my country awake. (27-28)

The poem in Bengali ends with a prayer to the Supreme Being asking that India be struck again and again until it becomes this world in reality.

Tagore could perhaps be faulted for impracticality; his vision for India was too sublime and unrealisable in an imperfect world. His wish that the West could help India in her mission was also impracticable, especially since he

knew that the West came to the subcontinent, as he recounted in his essay "East and West," "not with the imagination and sympathy to create and unite, but with a shock of passion passion for power and wealth". West had its own axe to grind; in spite of their "superior force of character", they were not interested in the "nest-building of truth" but in money, machine and matter. Yet his transcendent thought provides a testament to his noble and beautiful mind, and strikes a cord in the moral person in each of us.

Moreover, the on-going violence in the subcontinent vindicates his position India has since been broken up into three countries: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh; ten million people were made homeless in the aftermath of the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, one million of which also lost their lives in interreligious riots; two major wars have been fought in the subcontinent, with border skirmishes and threats of further wars, including a nuclear war, casting a shadow of desperation on the people; several riots have also broken out between the Hindus and the Muslims, claiming thousands of lives. India still remains a poor country, with political corruption rife, and plights of the downtrodden a daily reality.

Tagore's prediction that joining the bandwagon of nationalism would make India a beggar of the West has also come true. Although India is a free country now (ironically broken up into three fragments), the appropriation of nationalist ideology has erased the sense of India's difference as a society, capable of standing on its own; forging of links with the West on unequal terms (since India has merely copied Western thoughts and has nothing to offer of her own) has allowed neo-colonialist controls to operate over the country both explicitly and implicitly, spelling political and cultural doom for its people. Finally, India's assumption of a separate identity by driving the British out has also dealt a blow to

the possible realisation of Tagore's vision for "one world," at least for the time being, since anti-colonial nationalism also carries the seeds of provincialism and cultural particularism.

Conclusion

In "My Reminiscences", Tagore humorously recollects that when he was young he was brought up under the rule of the servants, who were not only negligent but also oppressive. To avoid their responsibility, they would often put the young Tagore at a spot in the servants' quarter, draw a chalk line around him, and warn him "with a solemn face and uplifted finger of the perils of transgressing the circle". Tagore, aware of the fate of Sita in the Ramayana, for overstepping a similar circle by her husband, would accede to the forceful confinement, but would feel a defiant wish to wipe out the chalk line and find the horizon. This childhood experience became the poet's lifelong companion; he would feel muffled by any confining circle and challenge it with utmost vigour. The national boundary was another such arbitrary "circle" for him that circumscribed his wish to be one with the rest of mankind. He would not accept such thorny hedges of exclusion or the labels and divisions that stood on the way to the formation of a larger human community. He said that if nationalism is something imaginary, humanity has to readjust their imagination by being more inclusive and encyclopaedic, or by extending the horizon of their mind's eye, so

that the fellowship of the species does not stop at a geographical border, like commodities. He affirms:

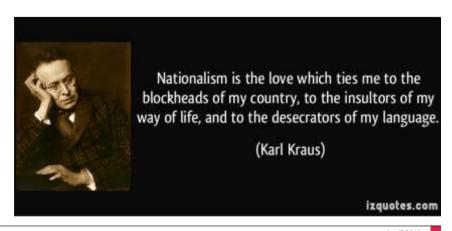
"Therefore man will have to make another great moral adjustment which will comprehend the whole world of men and not merely the fractional groups of nationality. The call has come to every individual in the present age to prepare himself and his surroundings for this dawn of a new era, when man shall discover his soul in the spiritual unity of all human beings."

In "Nationalism in India," he explained,

"Even though from childhood I had been taught that idolatry of the nation is almost better than reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teaching, and it is my conviction that my countrymen will truly gain their India by fighting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity".

Responding to a criticism by Abala Bose, the wife of the celebrated Indian scientist, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Tagore further wrote, "Patriotism cannot be our final spiritual shelter; my refuge is humanity. I will not buy glass for the price of diamonds, and I will never allow patriotism to triumph over humanity as long as I live" (qtd. in Sen 86).

Tagore denounced patriotism that, like religious formalism, "breeds sectarian arrogance, mutual misunderstanding and a spirit of persecution" (Letters to a Friend 85).



In a letter to C.F. Andres, written from New York, he explained, "This is the ugliest side of patriotism. For in small minds, patriotism dissociates itself from the higher ideal of humanity. It becomes the magnification of self, on a stupendous scale magnifying our vulgarity, cruelty, greed; dethroning God, to put up this bloated self in its place" (Letters to a Friend 98).

Tagore was acutely aware of the distrust of his people for his indifference to Gandhi's Swaraj or nationalist movement. He wrote to C.F. Andrews, in the letter cited above, "I am afraid I shall be rejected by my own people when I go back to India. My solitary cell is awaiting me in my motherland. In their present state of mind, my countrymen will have no patience with me, who believes God to be higher than my country" (Letters to a Friend 98).

In spite of such rejection, Tagore never sacrificed his global vision for mankind or his sense of "creative bond of wholeness," and he did so fully aware that "It is the sense and craving for wholeness [which] has been the cause of [his] separation from others and also their misunderstanding of [his] motives" (Letters to a Friend 91).

The current form of nationalism that works rationally within a "lunatic" doctrinal framework is threatening our very survival. Violence is spreading around the world like virus. Our vast killing power is multiplying everyday with the introduction of yet more sophisticated ammunition in our arsenal.

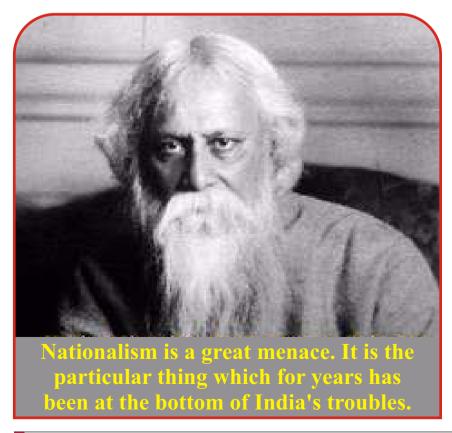
Paul Hirst, a leading international social theorist, has predicted that with the prospects of climate change that might attenuate our resources and result in mass migration from a loss of "habitable land in highly populated areas like Bangladesh or the southern coast of China," or "desertification or water shortages in the Middle East or Southern Europe"; increase in the global income inequality; accretion of human rights violation worldwide; America's quest for global dominance and challenges from "new 'beggars' armies" to the military hegemony, as well as the

general selfishness of the developed nations, threatens the world with a "conflict ridden international environment" in the twenty-first century, with the prospects of several conventional wars, "to limited nuclear war".

Such a prospect casts gloom and doom on humanity. Perhaps it is not too late for us to wake up from our horrific moral slumber and accept the path of international solidarity, peace, harmony and justice paved by the Indian enlightened humanitarian poet, Rabindranath Tagore; by challenging the reigning ideological system of self-seeking nationalism and jingoism, we could still avert the all-consuming nightmare before us and alter the damning course of history. And in this task we cannot risk to forget Tagore's sublime samkalpa

"And we of nations of the world, whose heads have been bowed to the dust, will know that His dust is more sacred than the bricks which build the pride of power. For this dust is fertile of life, and of beauty and worship. We shall thank God that we were made to wait in silence through the night of despair, had to bear the insult of the proud and the strong man's burden, yet all through it, though our hearts quaked with doubt and fear, never could we blindly believe in the salvation which [nationalist] machinery offered to man, but we held fast to our trust in God and the truth of the human

And we can still cherish the hope, that, when power becomes ashamed to occupy its throne and is ready to make way for love, when the morning comes for cleansing the bloodstained steps of the Nation along the highroad of humanity, we shall be called upon to bring our own vessel of sacred water the water of worship to sweeten the history of man into purity, and with its sprinkling make the trampled dust of the centuries blessed with fruitfulness." (Nationalism in the West)







A farmer at a dry paddy field at Gour in Malda district of West Bengal. Credit: PTI

Been Short-Changed Again



Agriculture has become unviable not because it is unproductive or does not pay enough but because it has deliberately been kept impoverished for many years



Devinder Sharma

he average income a farmer earns from farming activities, including what he keeps for his family's consumption, is 20,000 rupees a year in 17 states across the country. This means the monthly income of a farmer in these states is a paltry 1,666 rupees.

Now, put yourself in this situation. If you were a farmer and made only 1,666 rupees a month, what would you like to do?

When Finance Minister Arun Jaitley said, "We need to think

beyond food security and give back to farmers a sense of income security," while presenting the Budget in parliament yesterday, I was hopeful. But when all he promised was to double farmers' income by 2022 five years away all my hopes came tumbling down.

Jaitley wants the farmers to wait five years for their income to rise to 3,332 rupees a month, if the promise is realised. I can imagine the Economic Survey presented in 2022 proudly stating the success. Certainly economists will praise the 'achievement'. But the reality is, by 2022, adjusting for inflation, the doubled income would be equivalent to what a farmer makes now.

This is the income security the government has promised.

Challenge of income security

At a time when the agriculture sector is in deep crisis, having faced great distress over the past several years, a fact detailed in the Economic Survey 2016, I was expecting the

government to perform an immediate surgical operation. Considering that the number of farmer suicides nationwide rose to an average of 52 a day in 2015, the farming sector requires urgent attention. But simply mentioning agriculture numerous times in the budget speech provides no succour to a sector that is languishing in neglect and apathy.

The current crisis is not an outcome of low agricultural productivity. Farmers are aware of how to increase crop productivity, but if this is not backed by remunerative prices, they will continue to suffer. Take for instance Punjab, India's frontline agricultural state. Punjab's farmers produce 4,500 kg/hectare of wheat and 6,000 kg/hectare of paddy - a very high crop productivity indeed in an area that has 99% assured irrigation. All development indices projected by the government in this year's budget, including expanding irrigation, already exist in Punjab. Yet, according to calculations by the Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices, the net income from a hectare of cultivating wheat and paddy (the usual cropping pattern followed in a year) is about 36,000 rupees, which is a monthly income of only Rs 3,000. Compare this to the basic monthly salary of Rs 18,000 a peon will get after the Seventh Pay Commission is implemented. However, this promise is another jumla as to meet the target, 15 per cent agricultural growth in 5 years is required. Even in agriculturally prosperous countries this is next to impossible let alone in India where every year in many states production is declining.

The Economic Survey is therefore wrong when it says the central challenge to Indian agriculture is low productivity. The primary challenge is what Jaitley spelled out but failed to address - income security.

Penalising farmers to check inflation

I was appalled to see how panelists in budget discussions on several TV

channels were visibly disappointed at the emphasis on the word 'agriculture' in Jaitley's budget speech. What many fail to understand is that agriculture has become unviable not because it is unproductive or does not pay enough but because it has deliberately been kept impoverished for many years.

In 1970, the minimum support price (MSP) for wheat given to farmers was Rs 76 per quintal. By 2015, the MSP for wheat had increased a mere 19 times, to Rs 1,450 per quintal. In the same period, the basic salary (plus dearness allowance) of government employees has increased by as much as 150 times, for college teachers and university professors by as much as 170 times, for school teachers by up to 320 times and for top corporate executives by a whopping 1,000 times.

While the salaries of employees rose phenomenally over the past 45 years, farmers were starved of their legitimate dues. If only the wheat price had been raised by the same yardstick, perhaps by 100 times, the MSP for wheat would have been at least 7,600 rupees per quintal.

A common argument is that if wheat prices go up, food inflation will skyrocket. Thus farmers have been penalised merely to keep food inflation in check. This is the reason why the government has backtracked on its promise to provide farmers a 50% profit over the cost of production. Furthermore if one studies the so-called budget for farming one will find that a large chunk of it goes to corporate providing insurance that most farmers can ill afford. All this while the budget spent on fertilizer and food storage has been cut. And to culminate the cycle of woes, the PDS budget has also been cut.

To make up for its 'anti-farmer' image, perhaps the government should have announced an economic bailout package for the farming community and set up a commission to ensure that farmers get a guaranteed monthly income. Were this done, the wheels of economic growth would have spiraled. More income into the hands of the nearly 60 crore farmers would have not only provided them with income security but would have also created a huge domestic demand, thereby leading to the revival of industrial growth.

This in reality is the only prescription for Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas.

The writer is a food and trade policy analyst, and an awardwinning Indian journalist, writer, thinker and researcher.





Allah Bakhsh: Shaheed For **United India**

Shamsul Islam

hamsul Islam's new book, "Muslims against Partition" (2015), points towards how Muslims, from across the length and breadth of India, from Sind in the north-west of the country, down south to Kerala, stood against the demand for a division of the country espoused through the Partition resolution of the Muslim League (1940) and voiced a clear vote for an undivided India.

This important study, based on contemporary original sources, suggests that in 1940-2 there was more support among Muslims for an undivided India than for the Pakistan option. An excerpt from the book by Prof Islam, who is professor emeritus, Stockholm University:

Allah Bakhsh (Allah Bux Muhammad Umar Soomro), who rose from the grassroots among the Muslims of undivided India organised an effective and massive opposition to the nefarious designs of Muslim League in pre-Partition days. Allah Bakhsh was the Premier (those days chief minister was known by this designation) of Sind during the eventful days of 'Quit India' Movement of 1942 as head of the 'Ittehad Party' (Unity Party) which did not allow Muslim League to gain any foothold in the Muslim majority province of Sind.

Allah Bakhsh and his party were not part of the Indian National Congress, but when British Prime Minister Winston Churchill made a derogatory reference to the Indian freedom struggle and the 'Quit India' Movement in a speech in the British

Parliament, Allah Bakhsh renounced in protest all titles conferred by the British Government.

While announcing this renouncement he stated: "It is the cumulative result of the feeling that the British Government does not want to part with power. Mr. Churchill's speech shattered all hopes." The British administration could not digest this dissent of Allah Bakhsh and he was removed from office by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, on October 10, 1942. This great sacrifice of a Muslim leader for the freedom of the country remains unknown even today.

The fact is that Nathu Ram Godse, closely associated with Hindu Mahasabha, Savarkar and the RSS (all staunch supporters of the British) killed Gandhiji on January 30, 1948 is known by all. But how many of us know that Allah Bakhsh, a great fighter for the independence of a united India and prolific opponent of the idea of Pakistan, who was murdered on May 14, 1943 in Sind by professional killers hired by Muslim League?

Allah Bakhsh needed to be liquidated because he was able to muster massive support of common Muslims throughout India against Pakistan. Moreover, Allah Bakhsh as a great secularist with massive support in Sind and opposed to the formation of Pakistan could prove to be the greatest stumbling block in the physical formation of Pakistan as without Sind, the 'Islamic State' in the west of the country just could not



have materialized. He was 43 years old at the time of his death.

It is a well-known fact that dismissal of Allah Bakhsh government in 1942 and his murder in 1943 paved the way for entry of Muslim League in the province of Sind. One could see the brazen ganging up of the British rulers and Muslim League in the political and physical liquidation of Allah Bakhsh and his kind of anti-communal politics.

Sind Muslim League leader MA Khushro was put on trial as the main conspirator in the killing of Allah Bakhsh. He was found not guilty, as the state could not produce an 'independent' witness to prove his involvement. Significantly, it was the same ground on which Savarkar later secured acquittal in Gandhiji's murder case.

It should be a matter of serious inquiry why political trends like those led and represented by Allah

Bakhsh among Muslims have gotten pushed into oblivion. It suited both British colonial masters and the Hindu-Muslim communalists just fine. They saw India as a land of perpetual conflicts among religions. But the Indian secular state, which has the name of Sind in its national anthem, has also been totally unmindful to this legacy which stood for a secular, united and democratic India. Allah Bakhsh spent all his life countering communal politics of Muslim League and its two-nation theory. In fact he laid down his life for this cause.

Allah Bakhsh's contribution

Perhaps the greatest contribution of Allah Bakhsh against communal and the politics behind the two-nation theory and its propagation was when he joined hands with Muslim leaders like Mohammed Ibrahim, Hifzur Rehman, MA Ansari and Ishaque Sambhali in organizing lower and backward caste Muslim organizations (who did not belong to the Congress or the Muslim League) on one platform named as Azad Muslims' Conference (Independent Muslims' Conference).

It held its session in Delhi from April 27-30, 1940 with 1400

delegates from almost all parts of India attending it. The then British press which was mainly pro-Muslim League had to admit that it was the most representative gathering of Indian Muslims. This highly significant conference was presided over by Allah Baksh and passed the resolutions affirming that "India would have geographical and political boundaries of an indivisible whole land and, as such, was the common whole land of all the citizens irrespective of race or religion."

The conference also resolved that Pakistan scheme was "impracticable and harmful to the country's interest generally, and of Muslims in particular." The conference called upon Muslims of India, "to own equal responsibilities with other Indians for striving and making sacrifices to achieve the country's independence."

Muslims like Allah Baksh who opposed the Muslim League and challenged its communal politics had done their homework well. This is clear from the contents of presidential address delivered by Allah Baksh at the 1940 Delhi Conference. He advanced historical facts to counter postulations of Muslim League and invited its

leadership to respond to the ideological issues raised.

But how many of us know that Allah Bakhsh a great fighter t h e f o r independence of a united India and prolific opponent of the idea of Pakistan who was murdered on May 14, 1943, in Sind by professional killers hired by Muslim League?

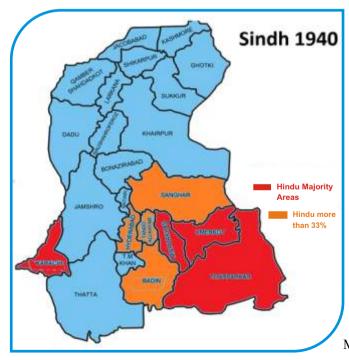
He firmly and convincingly denounced the concept of a theocratic state itself.

He said that "it was based on a false understanding that India is inhabited by two nations, Hindu and Muslim. It is much more to the point to say that all Indian Mussalmans are proud to be Indian Nationals and they are equally proud that their spiritual level and creedal realm is Islam. As Indian nationals -Muslims and Hindus and others. inhabit the land and share every inch of the motherland and all its material and cultural treasures alike according to the measure of their just and fair rights and requirements as the proud sons of the soil...

"It is a vicious fallacy for Hindus, Muslims and other inhabitants of India to arrogate to themselves and exclusively proprietary rights over either the whole or any particular part of India. The country as an indivisible whole and as one federated and composite unit belongs to all the inhabitants of the country alike, and is as much the inalienable and imprescriptible heritage of the Indian Muslims as of other Indians. No segregated or isolated regions, but the whole of India is the homeland of all the Indian Muslims and no Hindu or Muslim or any other has the right to deprive them of one inch of this Homeland."

He made it clear that communalism was the creation of wealthy ruling classes among Muslims and Hindus. "These feelings and ambitions among those who hope to constitute the ruling caste among Hindus or Muslims, as successors of the present imperial rulers, revive and invent excuses for popular consumption from historical or other sources, and by securing the support of groups, manoeuvre themselves into a position to play the political chess, which promises a possible prospect of success in their aim of becoming the rulers of the masses either integrally of the entire country or of a delimited region."

He asked Muslim Leaguers,



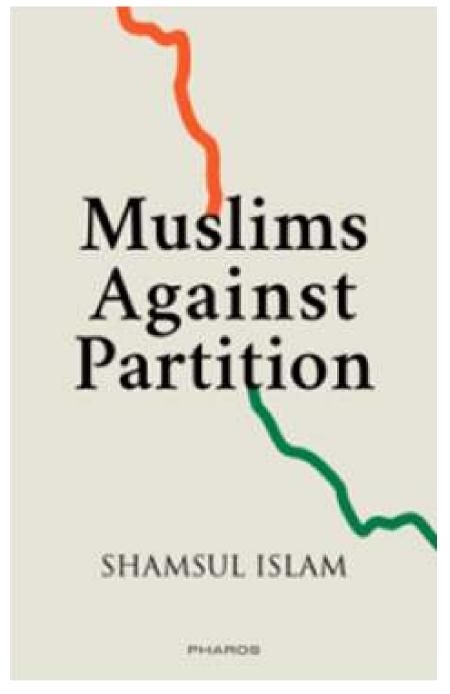
"Had the imperialistic structure of society been a guarantee of the prosperity of the Muslim masses and had empires not carried the germs of their own decay in them, then the mighty Omaiyad, Abbasid, Sarasenic, Fatimid, Sassanic, Moghal and Turkish empires would never have crumbled, leaving one-fifth of the human race, who live by Islamic faith in the condition in which they find themselves today disinterested, and destitute in the bulk.

"Similarly those Hindus who entertain similar dreams, and who out of tendentiously written pages of history or out of the stimulating examples of the modern imperialists select ingredients for the nourishment of their imperial dreams, or dreams of exploitation, imposition and domination will be well advised to discard such ideals."

He reminded both the protagonists of Hindu Rashtra and Islamic Nation that if all Muslims were one nation then why they were divided in so many countries and if all Hindus were one nation why India and Nepal were two countries.

Allah Bakhsh in his address also vociferously defended composite Indian culture, "When they talk of Muslim culture they forget the composite culture which the impact of Hindus and Muslims has been shaping for the last 1000 years or more and in which is born a type of culture and civilisation in India in the production of which Muslims have been proud and active partners. It cannot now merely by creating artificial states be withdrawn to segregated areas.

"To art and literature, architecture and music, history and philosophy and to the administrative system of India, the Mussalmans have been contributing for a thousand years, their share of coordinated, composite and syncretic culture which occupies a distinctly distinguished place in the types of civilisations which hold a prominent place in the world. It would be a disastrous loss to civilisation if it was proposed to



withdraw all this to two corners of India and leave nothing behind the ruins and debris of this contribution.

"Such a proposal can only emanate from defeatist mentality. No, gentleman, the whole of India is our motherland and in every possible walk of life we are cosharers with other inhabitants of the country as brothers in the same cause, viz., the freedom of the country, and no false or defeatist sentiment can possibly persuade us to give up our proud position of

being the equal sons of this great country."

Allah Bakhsh, while calling upon to guard against communalism, declared that the goal of the anti-communal movement must be, "to build up a vigorous, healthy, progressive and honoured India enjoying its well-deserved freedom."

These prophetic words of Allah Bakhsh hold key to the salvation of India even today.



Making Sense Out of American Politics

"Socialism never took root in America because the poor see themselves not as an exploited proletariat but as temporarily embarrassed millionaires." John Steinbeck

* Dada Vedaprajinananda

he politics practiced in the US is sometimes sometimes bewildering, especially for people living abroad, however, this year's scramble for the presidential nomination is even more bizarre, with a brash billionaire, Donald Trump leading the Republican nomination process. How can this be explained?

Even in normal times, US politics are confounding. A Spanish friend once said to me "In my country the poor people and the working class people vote for the labor and left wing parties, but here they vote for the Republicans." He was absolutely right, poor people are seemingly voting against their very own interests by choosing the party of the rich people. They vote for a party that wants to take away the social safety net and privatize everything. How is this possible?

There are several explanations. The writer John Steinbeck once said, "Socialism never took root in America because the poor see themselves not as an exploited proletariat but as temporarily embarrassed millionaires." There is



The true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situations that we seek to escape, but that piece of the oppressor which is planted deep within each of us.

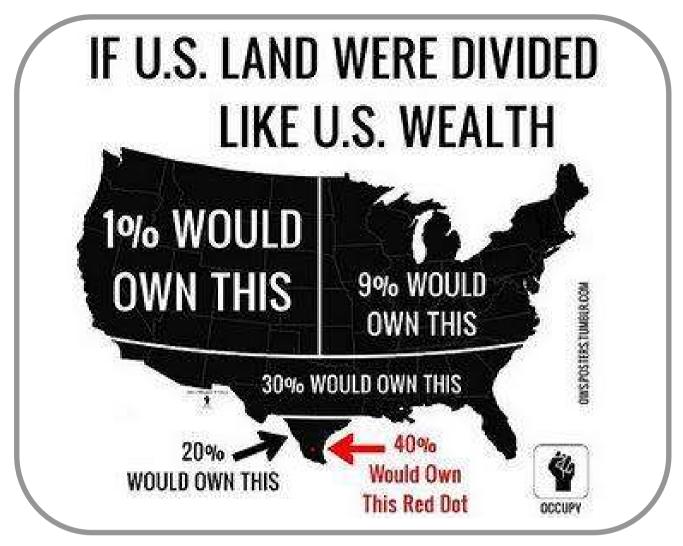
— Audre Forde —

AZQUOTES

a lot of truth in Steinbeck's words. In the US there is a great belief in upward mobility. Many people think that though they may be poor today, they will be rich in the future, so they want to make sure that when they are rich there will be a favorable environment so that they can enjoy their wealth.

On top of this myth of upward mobility, economists and politicians have added some more myths. They say that jobs and wealth are created by the wealthy capitalists, and that these "job creators" should be allowed to work unfettered and with very low, or in actual practice, no,

taxes so that eventually everyone will be benefitted. The wealth that these people create, they say, will eventually trickle down to everyone below them. During the epoch of President Dwight Eisenhower (in the 1950s) there was a 90% tax on wealth in the highest income brackets, but under the sway of "trickle-down economics," which started to be implemented in the Reagan years, the rich people now pay practically nothing. And despite continued GDP growth over the years, the income of working and middle class people has been on the decline since 1970. Income clearly



has not trickled down.

In recent years movements in the US have been promoting this kind of economic thinking. The Tea Party Movement and the Libertarian Movement are two of them. You would think that these would be led by the very richest class of society, but in fact these are insurgent movements populated by ordinary working people, who are fighting as hard as they can to promote the interests of the top 1% of society. It is amazing, but it shows the power of propaganda and a mass media that is owned by the rich.

But there are two more factors that help explain the seeming anomalies of American politics. In many cases the poor do not vote against their own interests. They simply do not vote at all. They see the rigid two party system, and view two parties that are almost

completely alike and then do not even go to the polls on Election Day. Voter turnout in the US ranges between 40 to 60%, and this means that millions of people simply do not bother at all with a process that they think is rigged against them.

Finally we come to the last factor that shapes the framework of American politics, racism and emotive social issues. Racism has been an important fact in American society even before the founding of the republic. Colonial society was highly stratified but poor whites were fed with notions of hatred towards Native Americans and the African slaves working in the plantations, and they were puffed up with the idea that they belonged to a superior race. As a result these poor whites never raised any objections to their own mistreatment and followed the lead of rich whites. In

more recent history the Civil War and its aftermath resulted first in "The Solid South" where all whites, rich and poor, voted for the Democrats and not the party of Lincoln, which they saw as the party that had humiliated their society. In the Solid South, African-Americans were subject to segregation, lynching, and continuous persecution. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1965 Black people entered the Democratic Party, and the white people, rich and poor, shifted their allegiance to the Republicans.

Today there are social issues that politicians, especially Republicans, use to make people forget about their economic plight. These issues include religion, abortion, guns and until recently the fight against gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people.



Dalits Cast Out of the Budget

* Paul Divakar

nalysis of the Union Budget reveals the continuation of the national tradition of discrimination in the allocation of funds to the Dalits and Adivasis who will receive paltry funding much below their share of population and even what will be actually spent on the ground will in fact be much less than allotted in the budget. The BJP government which has announced various measures to celebrate the 125th anniversary of B. R. Ambedkar, had actually allotted 11.42% of the total plan spending, whereas it should have been 25%. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes account for 16.6% and 8.6% of India's population as per Census 2011 data.

We need to move beyond cosmetics. The first step is to allocate money that is in proportion to the population. In 2011-12, after the Jadhav Committee recommendations, the Centre directed 26 Ministries/Departments to strictly allocate towards the development of Dalits and adivasis in proportion to their population and their economic condition. Data analysis of the Budgets in the last 5 years from 2012-3 to the current Budget show that fund allocation to these sub-plans were on average over 50% less than what is due.

Unconnected schemes dominate sub-plans

The Finance Ministry grouped 292 schemes under the Scheduled Caste sub-plan. An analysis by the National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) shows that only

9% or 26 schemes have any direct relevance to scheduled castes. Similarly only 7% or 22 schemes out of a total of 303 under the Tribal subplan have direct relevance to Scheduled Tribes.

So what are the schemes that don't have any direct connection. Rs. 897 crore is allocated to the University Grants Commission (UGC). A closer look at the spending pattern of the UGC shows that 60% was towards creating capital assets under the 2 subplans. Another 30% was to Grants-in-Aid to institutions. Only 8% was spent on fellowships and scholarships.

Another example is Rs 6376 crore allocated under the National Health Mission. Data was not based on the directory of SCs and STs, although one out of every five

Rupees spent under the scheme is budgeted under the two subplans for SCs and STs.

So what are the schemes that work well? Rural housing Indira Awas Yojana, matric scholarship schemes and self-employment schemes to liberate and rehabilitate Dalits force to works in sewers. A common feature among these schemes: the beneficiaries were clearly targeted and accounted for individually.

Sector-specific Allocation

The gap is huge if we compare what is due as per population share and what is actually spent. Hardly 4% of plan-spending benefits the SCs and STs. If we analyse the allocation sector wise, over 86% of the Data budget is spent on Social Service, Welfare and Housing sectors. They



do form the triggers for development except for higher education. Without greater allocations for agriculture, allied rural development schemes, rural energy development, technology and communications development, the overall growth of the SC and ST population will be minimal. Aside from genuine commitment to them as Adi Bharatiyas or Mulanivasis, innovation is needed to design schemes for Dalits and Adivasis in the above-mentioned sectors.

Survival vs Development

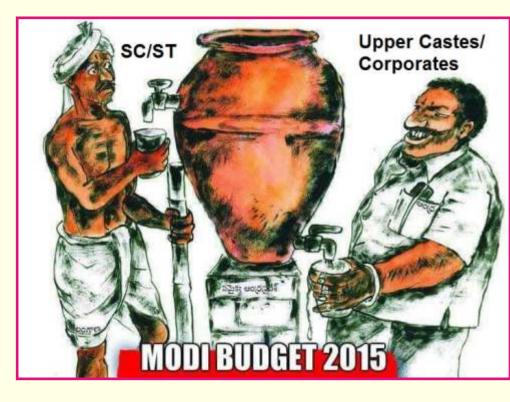
70% of expenses under the two subplans can be categorized as "Survival" Education, art and culture, public and private health regime, women and child development, water supply and sanitation would come under survival expenses.

What is equally important is how much money is spent on improving the captabilities of the communities, who have tremendously higher numbers of people living under the "Poverty Line" and lack steady income and jobs. Expenses under rural development include agriculture, industries, environment and transport come under development. The government allocates only 27% towards development.

Further Denials to SC & ST Women

This is a repeat of past budgets, the only increase is a 26% increase in the post-matric scholarships for women. It is disappointing to note that the Dalit/Adivasi women's needs fall between the cracks. They are neglected within the Dalit and Adivasi Budgets and well as negated in the Gender Response Budget. Can Dalit and Adivasi women hope for a better future? Only the ministries for Social Justice and Tribal Affairs have made allocations for SC. ST women and there is a negligible allocation in other departments. A paltry sum of about Rs. 539 crore (2%) for Adivasi women have been allocated from the total SCSP TSP budget.

Critical intervention is urgently



required to bridge the wide gap of development missing for the uplift of Dalit and Advasi women. Care needs to be taken to provide adequate measures against violence in addition to the specific development concern. We need new and innovative schemes to be designed in the areas of skills training and employment in growing industries like energy and infrastructure. There is an increasing role for women in the software industry. Real development of course involves granting them economic empowerment and control over the resources of the regions where they live.

What Can Be Done

- 1) Formulation of subplans for SCs and STs are often done for propaganda purposes after the Budgeting process is largely completed. As a result, the schemes are not truly designed to be relevant to these communities. Community participation is a must in the designing of these schemes and this mandates decentralized planning.
- 2) Delivery mechanisms are yet to be put in place in many states and districts, so funds are not being utilized. Administrative, logistics

- capabilities must be created on a war-footing to stop the rampant malnutrition and exploitation of these communities.
- 3) Poor publicity campaigns of many schemes means the target audience never gets to know about these schemes which are often stolen from by forward castes in collusion with local government personnel. Hence effective advertisements prominently displayed at the local level is mandatory. Diversion of funds, theft of adivasi lands needs to be rigorously prosecuted by local police.
- 4) Ultimately just as the Indian people became free by controlling their own country, in the matter of budget allocation and delivery it is crucial that Dalits and Adivasis be economically and administratively empowered through participatory budgeting followed by participatory budget review.

Ultimately decentralization of the funds administration and of the economy at the block and subblock level alone can empower Dalits and Adivasis. Until this happens they are at the mercy of the Joothan of NGOs and the Central and State governments.



Road To Redemption? Unmaking Nigeria's Boko Haram

The idea of treating men on terrorism-related charges: that through activities like therapy, sport, schooling and vocational training, their behaviour can be modified; the risk of them recruiting while inside reduced; and eventually they can be reintegrated into society.

Obi Anyadike

s Nigeria attempting the impossible in trying to deradicalise Boko Haram militants? Obi Anyadike speaks to the prisoners, their victims, and the de-rad "treatment teams" trying to reintegrate them into society. He explores what drove the men to join an insurgency that is tearing the region apart.

Prison officer Malam Tata has a calling. He sees it as his religious duty to help people reach salvation, and believes few have erred as grievously as the 43 Boko Haram militants under his care in Kuje Prison, on the outskirts of the Nigerian capital, Abuja.



Tata has spent 26 years in the prison service. He leads a team of imams, Muslim religious leaders, in a unique, homegrown deradicalisation strategy aimed at rehabilitating the Boko Haram inmates. His team, all prison officers, has the most intimate contact with the group, leading them in daily spiritual discussions that question the basis of their ideology of violence.

"Some of them are illiterate. They can't even cite the Quran, yet they say they are doing jihad," says Tata, a cheerful, trim-looking officer. "Some of them are learned. They have read the Qur'an and the Hadith, but they don't really understand Islam. Satan has whispered in their ear."

Kuje, a medium-security facility, is the testbed of Nigeria's prison-based countering violent extremism (CVE) programme, launched in March. At its heart is the idea of "treating" the men on terrorism-related charges: that through activities like therapy, sport, schooling and vocational training, their behaviour can be modified; the risk of them recruiting while inside reduced; and eventually they can be

reintegrated into society.

Building a bond between the "treatment team" and the Boko Haram inmates, officially known as "clients", is seen as crucial to the success of the CVE strategy. Tata talks in patriotic terms about why he joined the team, and his belief that in doing God's work, he earns a spiritual reward.

That offers some comfort. "These are very, very dangerous people. Anything can happen. We know they communicate with their people on the outside," he reminds me.

Tata has personal experience of the risks: he was wounded during an attack on a prison by Boko Haram, although he refuses to talk about it. He believes the military tide has turned and now the insurgents are on the run. The "clients" in Kuje "know they are losing," he says. "They watch TV."

The day I visit the prison, Arsenal is playing Chelsea in Kuje's version of the Champions League: both prison teams lustily supported, the cheers floating over the yard

But my destination is the "derad" wing, a quieter, more secluded set of modern classrooms, originally planned as an open university. Unlike the rest of the austere prison. there is even air-conditioning.

I sit down in a small room with one of the "clients". The stocky man on the other side of the desk wears jeans and a tight t-shirt. He has an Afro, a scraggly beard and a large ring on his finger. He calls himself a commander, but looks more like a guy you might see in a club. He speaks in Hausa, the lingua franca of the north, in short sentences, finishing each thought with a "tell him" to the imam who is translating eager for his story to be understood.

Halfway through the interview, the "commander," who doesn't want to reveal his name, pauses. The imam has a cold so he leans forward and asks whether he wants the airconditioning turned off. It seems a genuine, solicitous moment.

He sees himself as a transformed man, which he ascribes to Tata and his team. When asked during the interview where the Ouran justifies killing civilians, the commander repeatedly says he can't remember. It becomes clear that he doesn't want to explore that old frame of mind. "I've changed. I don't want to talk about justification." The imam suggests we move on.

Ferdinand Ikwang heads the national de-rad programme, which falls under the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA). In his portfolio is a web of interlinked projects tackling the economic and social triggers of recruitment, as well as laying the groundwork for a disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) effort once Boko Haram is defeated or a peace agreement is reached.

He has a robust position on the men that have taken up violence. Those who have committed atrocities will stay in prison under de-rad. But the low-level footsoldiers who have gone through CVE will be considered for release and allowed "to continue with their lives", albeit under surveillance.

The yardstick is not whether

they drop their beliefs, but whether they are likely to "pick up a gun", says Ikwang. Kuje is not the only prison holding Boko Haram inmates. Agwata, near the eastern city of Onitsha, has roughly 100 who surrendered earlier this year, and derad is about to start there as well, staffed by officers trained in Kuje. There are other ONSA facilities filling up as Boko Haram start to lay down their weapons in increasing numbers.

Participation in de-rad is voluntary. In Kuje, four inmates have chosen not to join the treatment programme for apparently practical rather than ideological reasons: they are contesting the government's accusation that they are members of the group.

Most of the 39 other "clients" – all on remand - have been in detention for the past four years, although not always in Kuje, and when in the hands of the security services, not under the most humane of conditions.

The benefits of joining de-rad are clear: firstly, most get to live in segregated cells with a single double-bunk, a far cry from the conditions in the rest of the prison, opened in 1989 as an 80-bed facility, but which currently holds 910 prisoners.

They have a refurbished wing to themselves, funded by the European Union, where their structured daily activities are held. They have basics like toilet paper and soap. It's a level of care unheard of in Nigeria's under-funded prisons, where the word rehabilitation is rarely voiced.

"The cardinal objective of the programme is not to force anyone to join. It's to get voluntary buy-in," says Kasali Yusuf, coordinator of the joint ONSA/prison service team in Kuje. "They may initially join just for the privileges, which do tend to soften their hearts."

But with Boko Haram inmates already deeply unpopular among the general prison population, "the special privileges lead to rancour and have been a challenge for us.



Aftermath: 75 people died in Boko Haram's bombing of the Nyanya bus park in Abuja, April 2014 (Ikechukwu Ibe/IRIN)

We've had to explain [to the other prisoners] that it's funded by a special [EU] programme," says Yusuf.

Yusuf's boss, the manager of the "treatment team," is psychologist Dr Wahaab Akorede. After reviewing the case studies of the 43 clients, he concludes that what differentiates them from the run-of-the-mill criminals he's used to dealing with is their level of anger, their desire to "smash everything".

It suggests they themselves are "victims of trauma": so desperate, with so little opportunity, they are ready to trust that paradise is their reward for martyrdom. Neither Akorede nor Yusuf – both Muslims and senior prison officers – see much evidence of deep religiosity among many of the men in the treatment programme.

Instead, Akorede ticks off other potential triggers: polygamous families where wives compete for their husband's affection to the detriment of the children; an Islam, as traditionally taught in the north, that leaves young men ill-prepared for the modern workplace; and the callousness of successive governments that has consigned so many to suffering and an early death, "to the point where God must be tired of seeing Nigerians".

"Alienation" is his preferred explanation for Boko Haram's appeal. These are mostly men with little formal education, with handto-mouth jobs on the urban margins, "looked down upon even by Muslims in their own community as riff-raff". They are angry, "and religion is the platform to vent that anger".



Praying for deliverance: Maiduguri has come under repeated attack by Boko Haram since 2009 (Obinna Anyadike/IRIN)

Akorede divides the men in Kuje into two groups—the "big fish" and the followers. "The big fish are the smart ones. They know how to manipulate people. They say, 'Your religion is special and it's under threat'." In effect they create a cult, in which everyone—including the religious and traditional establishment—are the enemy.

And where an appeal to religion and martyrdom is not enough, Boko Haram offers aid to your family. "So here's a man that is not happy within himself. He has not been given an opportunity to be educated. He has no future. If you give him 10,000 naira [\$50], he will carry that bomb," says Akorede.

The "commander" smiles when asked the date he joined Boko Haram. The sect was founded in 2002 by a young cleric, Mohammed Yusuf, and took root in the northeastern city of Maiduguri, the heart of a region that has been at the centre of Islamic learning for centuries.

But the commander's radicalism predates the movement. "I was Boko Haram before Boko Haram existed," he boasts, using the group's official name, "Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad" (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad).

He was a member of the Nigerian Taliban ("Al sunna wal Jamma"), which had recruited mujahedeen to fight in Afghanistan. The group had been preaching jihad, or holy struggle, and had attacked police stations and government buildings along the northeastern border with Cameroon through much of 2004, before Yusuf began to talk of violent resistance to Nigeria's secular state.

The Taliban, among them university graduates from the University of Maiduguri, along with some of Yusuf's more radical followers, were routed when their camp was attacked by the army in northeastern Yobe State. But the commander was not among them – he had thrown in with Yusuf, who at the time was building a grassroots movement that senior political leaders in Maiduguri were keen to cultivate.

The commander comes from "a family that valued education". But he was rebellious and quit school early, going into business with a grinding mill in his hometown of Biu. When his father found out, he threw him out of the house. And so the commander began to gravitate towards Islam, ending up in a madrassa in neighbouring Adamawa State run by a Pakistani sheikh.

Nigeria was in ferment at the

time over the issue of Shariah Law. Its introduction by 12 predominantly Islamic northern states in 2000 was driven by a demand from the Muslim street for an egalitarian antidote to the venality and corruption of Nigerian life. But instead, an elite-serving "political Shariah" stopped any real reform, and as a result, the northern establishment came to be seen as the target by some radicals. "It was easy to attract youths. They were eager to hear about jihad," says the commander. Part of the reason is the traditional Almajirai system, under which millions of young boys in the north are still schooled. They are attached to a Quranic teacher (who doesn't always have a firm understanding of the text) to learn by rote for years, supporting themselves and their mentor by begging.

It has left the north educationally disadvantaged, with a simmering street-level militancy.

Nigeria's northeast has the worst social indicators in the country. A tradition of northern progressive movements existed up until the 1980s to champion the rights of the "talakawa" (commoners) against the feudal conservative establishment seen as responsible for their poverty, but nowadays populist resistance against injustice is much more likely to be religiously grounded.

The confrontation between Boko Haram and the authorities exploded in July 2009. Yusuf had fallen out with the Borno State government and, after the killing of a group of his followers, he promised revenge. His men attacked police stations and government buildings in four northern states. In days of fighting, 700 people died, including Yusuf, killed while in police custody in Maiduguri.

The commander, who fled to the northern city of Kano and laid low until his capture, draws a distinction between the early days of Boko Haram, and the extreme violence of the group under Yusuf's successor, Abubakar Shekau, a wartime leader seen as more lethal than learned, who made common cause with the global jihadist movement.

"I don't know how it happened. In all the towns they capture, they kill the people. Who are you going to rule? That's what I don't understand," says the commander. More than 25,000 people have died in Boko Haram-related violence both inside Nigeria and across its borders – the vast majority fellow Muslims.

Tata has lined up another "client" for me to talk to, a slight man in glasses with a neatly trimmed beard and a clean white dashiki, or tunic. He speaks reverentially about what he regards as Yusuf's integrity and "truthfulness". His explanation for Boko Haram's emergence is that Nigerian society needed to be cleansed of corruption, injustice and homosexuality.

He'd been part of Yusuf's cabinet or "shura," and says that before he was caught in 2011 he led Boko Haram in three states: Bauchi, Gombe and Plateau. He accuses the authorities of unwarranted aggression, exemplified by the bulldozing of the group's sprawling Markaz mosque complex after the Maiduguri uprising, and the extrajudicial killing of Yusuf, for which no policeman has been convicted.

If anybody epitomises Akorede's thesis on the dangers of frustrated, angry individuals, it is this intense man. He was one of "38 or 40" siblings, and although he completed primary school, he dropped out of secondary school around the age of 12. He became an electrical car mechanic in Maiduguri, but the poverty of the north and the indifference of the wealthy stirred him. "I believed if you were ready to use violence, you could achieve your aims," he says.

He doesn't talk about where he fought or what he did, simply saying: "Before this programme, I would have no time for you. There would be no jokes. I was hard. Now I realise it's important to listen and share views."

Ahmed Musa is weeping, his face buried in the crook of his arm. He is a member of the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), a vigilante group that emerged in 2013 in support of the army to drive Boko Haram out of Maiduguri. But Ahmed's two brothers were both militants. The youngest one "I loved so very much," he says.

He tried to get him interested in his small business, to turn him away from militancy, "but he never stayed". Instead, his youngest brother approached him with a group of men and asked him to keep some weapons for them. Ahmed had recently joined CJTF and heard his brother had put his name on a kill list. The arms storage request was his last chance.

Instead, Ahmed led a group from the task force to arrest his brother and hand him over to the army – an almost certain death sentence. "I tied him up," says Ahmed, the anguish still raw. "I promised that I would not let anybody live in this society that was Boko Haram."

He's unsure if his elder brother is still alive but knows he was involved in an attack on 33 Artillery Barrack in Maiduguri in 2013. He'd been a reluctant Boko Haram recruit, initiated by a friend who sold petrol on the black market. Initially, he'd just kept arms for the group, "but gradually they showed him how to fire [the weapons], and then how to cut necks [of captives]."

It's just after midday prayer in Maiduguri, and I'm in an area called Monday Market where Mohammed Yusuf initially used to preach. It is here he made his declaration of war against the Nigerian state in June 2009, when Maiduguri was a thriving city, the centre of a livestock-based economy with trade networks extending as far as Sudan and Central African Republic.

I'm talking to a couple of men about what gave birth to Boko Haram, and others are joining the conversation, eager to distance the city from the violence and bloodshed that followed. But Suleiman Aliyu, a headmaster, admits there was support for Boko Haram in the community. In their simple traditional clothing, the hem of their trousers above the ankle, the movement's members were seen as pious and disciplined. Their anticorruption message resonated; some of their wealthy followers, swept up by the millennial zeitgeist, donated lavishly. "If you didn't think deeply, you followed them," he says.

When the insurrection was suppressed, Boko Haram scattered. But an infusion of cash from jihadists in Algeria and Mali allowed them to regroup and return in 2010. An early ban by the state government on motorbike taxis, often used in ride-by shootings, meant an estimated 34,000 people lost their livelihoods – driving yet more recruits to the group.

An inept counter-insurgency operation by the army, imposing collective punishment on neighbourhoods in response to attacks, further tested people's loyalty. Meanwhile, Boko Haram splashed cash: it would "solve your needs", whether it was money for a wedding or a naming ceremony, its members "wanted to draw you in" – and killed you if you resisted.

"They wanted to take charge of everything in the community," says Aliyu. The rise of the vigilante Civilian JTF – armed with just machetes and axes – was a brave, desperate response to the terror the



Ahmed Musa: "I promised that I would not let anybody live in this society that was Boko Haram" (Obinna Anyadike/IRIN)

group imposed. These men provided the army with the eyes and ears that allowed it to drive Boko Haram from Maiduguri by the end of 2013, and largely keep it out.

Few people in Maiduguri admit to relatives joining Boko Haram, but Mohammed Garima is ready to talk. His 25-year-old nephew joined the group and he's still trying to understand why. "Poverty is maybe [one reason]," he says. The young man was a roadside puncture repairer, known as vulcanisers, probably earning around \$5 a day. "But there was something else. He was always isolating himself from people, always pretending to be more religious than everyone else."

Garima had himself heard Yusuf preach, and wasn't impressed. "He condemned everything: the roads, social services, education, the hospitals, things we use – things he used – and there was little in what he said that was spiritual."

In 2009, his nephew disappeared and the family realised he had joined Boko Haram. He periodically kept in touch, and when his grandmother died last year, his father demanded that he visit. While in town, he was recognised and arrested, and Garima heard that he had died in detention in Maiduguri's Kainji air force base. There is unanimous conviction among the people I speak to in Maiduguri that mirrors the position of the de-rad programme: there can be no reintegration for the most hardcore Boko Haram. "They appear in human form, but really they are devils," says one man who asked not to be named. "This person killed your mother or father, burned your house; how can you live with them? It's not possible," adds Garima. He is slightly more conciliatory towards those coerced to join. There could be an amnesty in those cases, "but they will have to be taken to another state, otherwise people will take revenge,' he says.

According to Ikwang, the head of the de-rad programme, but also a DDR specialist and lecturer at the



British Defence Academy in Shrivenham, those allowed back into society will be in "halfway houses" and monitored. They will be grouped into cooperatives based on vocational skills where counselling will be mandatory.

Community acceptance is essential. "If you're returning say 400 ex-combatants to the community, you have to engage the community. If it's 400 [ex-Boko Haram] in, then you need to find places for 400 local youths in government programmes, otherwise the host community will scream and say they are going to kill them," says Ikwang.

But considering the poor track record of previous Nigerian governments in rolling out mediumterm programmes, ring-fencing the funding, and spending appropriately, what's to prevent derad from collaps

There is a more fundamental question: does de-radicalisation actually work? Certainly the de-rad wing in Kuje does not feel threatening, which is in the interests of both staff and detainees. The treatment team wear civilian clothes and mix and talk freely with the "clients", a novelty for some used to jails where inmates must squat before they can address an officer.

"The challenge has been to enter the hearts and minds of the extremists," says Ekpedeme Udom, in charge of all prison-based CVE. "This is a first in Africa, and we're having exceptional results." But as a senior prison manager, she is shrewdly aware a battle of wits plays out daily between "clients" and treatment staff inside Kuje, with both sides looking to advance their interests.

Udom is part of a new generation of reform-minded prison officers. She was "given a clean sheet" to develop the Kuje programme on behalf of ONSA, drawing on and adapting CVE approaches used in Asia and the Middle East. De-radicalisation requires huge investment, from training staff to upgrading facilities and funding post-release programmes. But the literature is unclear on recidivism rates, and whether indeed they are the right gauge. Part of the problem, is that "it's too early to tell," says Udom. "CVE has only been going for something like 10 years in the rest of the world."

But Ikwang worries about a more systemic problem, rooted in Nigeria's appalling record of governance that Boko Haram – and other simmering conflicts across the country – has fed on. "All extremism is an ideology that has to be dealt with at the grassroots, starting even in kindergarten, with the government being far more responsive and responsible to its citizenry," he warns, pausing in reflection.

"How have we lost this generation of children?"

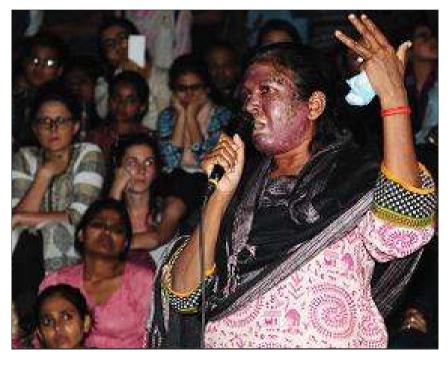


Bastar: India's Mullaitivu In The Making?

* Sreekumar Kodiyath

here is an accelerated offensive in South Bastar. In the last six months the war strategies have escalated and even the air force has been roped in for 'strafing'—a technique of aerial bombing—over a specified area in Bijapur on 13th October 2015. As area domination exercises, the security forces have raided villages and arrested people. The coming months have been dubbed as "Mission 2016" and intensified operations are expected in Bijapur, Sukhma and Darbha districts. Already the statistics are staggering

It is a manifestation of our times that while the adivasis residing in the shadow of security camps have been attacked, plundered, thrown behind bars and left to fend for themselves, those who question and counter, are harassed and silenced.



as the police has reported 23 encounter deaths and 50 arrests for the month of January alone. A WSS (Women Against Sexual Violence and State Repression) team which visited Bastar in November 2015, highlighted repeated acts of gang rapes, looting and other acts of physical violence in five villages in Bijapur district between 19th and 24th October 2015. A recent team of WSS and CDRO (Coordination of Democratic Rights Organization) members have documented similar incidence of sexual violence and physical attacks in Sukma and Bijapur districts and instances of fake encounter and shooting of minors in Bijapur district, between

11th and 16th January 2016. Most importantly, anyone questioning the war or investigating the atrocities committed by men in uniform is being silenced. It is a manifestation of our times that while the adivasis residing in the shadow of security camps have been attacked, plundered, thrown behind bars and left to fend for themselves, those who question and counter, are harassed and silenced. The administration has adopted the timetested method of labelling critics as sympathizers in a bid to intimidate them. 'Lists' have been created and watches and vigils have been mounted.

The next phase of the

campaign has been attacks to drive out journalists, human rights lawyers and adivasi activists. Son Sori who was already brutally raped and tortured by the police has again come under attack despite being an Am Admi candidate. She has been leading a movement which has taken on the State over killing of Adivasis in fake encounters, arbitrary arrests, torture and sexual assault of their women by the police and security forces. She planned to undertake a 200-km march from Bijapur, which was set to end in Jagdalpur on March 8, the International Women's Day, but was attacked before it materialised. Acid was put on her face that created terrible burning and after some days started to swell causing her to be taken to Delhi for treatment. Yet, the media, which has felt so much disturbed by a group of students' slogans in a university campus, has largely chosen to ignore it. If the students who were expressing dissent over the functioning of the State are "antinationals", wasn't the attack on an Indian who fights for the rights of her compatriots anti-national, too?

Our prime time shows on news channels hardly take up the issue of

land grabbing, be it in any state and that is not without a reason. They pick up whistle-blowing individuals at the most but never really focus on the deeper roots of the problems. The news channels are so obsessed with party politics today that they forget their basic duty towards the society. The editors and their foot soldiers act more like intellectual clerks (though they are neither intellectuals nor clerks) who survive more on corporate or political affiliations and mostly do not have the guts to pursue the cases of Soni Soris and others who are regularly put to torture and deprived of their basic rights. They instead focus on bashing students, who they know are helpless to retaliate.

Second, the highly opinionated bosses of today's electronic media shamelessly serve the middle-class by constantly generating a negative wave directed at one particular party or another. This obsession with party politics turns them blind towards issues that concern human wellbeing and demand a social panacea. These journalists, (if they are at all), know that their hollow business of raising the TRPs will only run as long as they bash a Modi or a

Mamata or a Rahul Gandhi because their viewers hate politicians. But then, what about the basic duty that the media is supposed to do: Creating mass awareness?

So we ask the crucial question: Is Bastar going to become the next Mullativu? Readers may recall that the fourth and final phase of war between Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE of 2009 was marked by a systematic program from Sri Lankan Government's side to make the affair a private one. One after the other, humanitarian agencies, international organisations, reporters and human rights activists were asked to leave or were expelled from the war zone. Activists and reporters who stubbornly remained either disappeared or were detained by the security forces. They called it, a "War without witnesses". The idea was to give a free hand to the armed forces to wipe the slate clean. It was efficiently done but for the many videos and images that surfaced later evidencing torture, rape, execution and even desecration of dead bodies. The final battle between LTTE and the army ended with more than 20,000 civilians dead and 200,000 injured in Mullativu District of Sri



Lanka's Northern Province. The scars still remain in the minds of the international community as the island nation is making efforts to convince the world of its commitment to healing and reconstruction.

It was a case study for security forces worldwide in dealing with the human rights activists or independent journalists during their operations whom they often find to be their greatest obstacles. "War without witnesses" remains a model that could be emulated for efficient military operations, be it against hungry citizens, protesting students or armed militants.

It is in this context that one has to analyse the developments in the central Indian state of Chhattisgarh. With a forest cover of about 40 percent, it is home to two entities vulnerable to exploitation, minerals and indigenous tribals. The indigenous tribal population inhabiting this region is one of the poorest in India and are the easiest targets of bonded labourer hunters and moneylenders. As far as the land goes, it is a miner's paradise, having everything from coal to diamonds, and a very mining friendly government ready to confront laws or Supreme Court orders to let the mining work proceed smoothly. Despite this attitude, the mining operations do not proceed unhampered as both the state and the central government prefers to. It is due to a creature that the state manufactured in its classical unbalanced development policies coupled with a frenzy to bag the unaccounted profits associated with mining leases, the left wing extremists called Naxalites. The Naxalites, nurturing under the repressive handling of the issue by the Government, grew to become the "biggest threat internal security" and even facilitated parts of central India be christened "red corridor".

The mining companies were waiting, contracts pending and millions of rupees stuck which otherwise may have reached different hands from local leaders to

election funds of major political parties. Successive governments continuously toyed with stranger and stranger strategies against Naxals including the creation of a state sponsored militia. Most of it resulted in humanitarian catastrophes including the state sponsored militia called "Salwa Judum" committing mass rapes, executions and arson to be finally declared illegal by the Supreme Court of India in 2011.

The conflict canvas was becoming livelier as things progressed with the affairs in the area catching the attention of human rights organisations and journalists. What they were interested in were reports of many tribals disappearing and later appearing as lifeless bodies with instant naxal identities, press conferences with claims of victories battles against armed groups by the police but refuted later by tribal villagers to be summary execution of unarmed civilians, mass rapes and burning of villages and so on. Adding to the woes of the State, an apparently harmless law that it had passed due to pressure from various tribal rights groups called Forest Rights Act in 2006 vested the tribal population with rights over forest land and its management. It never foresaw that this would be a big obstacle for it to hand over the mineral rich forests of Central India to the mining companies.

With the political climate in India shifting further right and lack of adequate patriotism determining every Indian citizen's liberty or bodily integrity, the old strategies were reviewed. Need for subtlety in operations was not bearing fruits. It was time for a "War without witnesses". Policemen with shocking human right records were handpicked and deployed throughout the state. A senior police official, S.R.P.Kalluri who remains accused of raping tribal women (including Soni Sori) and orchestrating encounters was appointed in charge of the Bastar region. The outlawed process of manufacturing and arming vigilante

organisations to target human rights activists and organisations in the area was reinvented. Slogans are now raised high, "Bharath Mata ki Jay" (Hail mother India) and "antinationals leave India".

A group of young lawyers, who left their high paying jobs to provide legal aid to the tribal prisoners were intimidated, harassed and finally driven away by coercing their landlord to evict them. The latest developments began with a ban by the local bar association after prolonged interference in their work, continued with vigilantes targeting them and now successfully concluded with their enforced exile. Shalini Gera, Isha Khandelwal and others who support them now helplessly remain in Bilaspur, about 400 kms from Jagdalpur as you read this.

The residence of Malini Subramaniam, a journalist working with the website scroll.in who focused her work on tribals, conflict and displacement in the area was attacked. Her domestic help was summoned by the police, coerced for hours compelling her to implicate Malini of being a Naxalite. Her landlord was threatened by the police and directed to evict her from her house. She finally had to leave the place on 19th February. Bela Bhatia, an independent researcher documenting human rights violations was threatened by the pro-state vigilantes and her landlord was similarly summoned to the police station. These individuals are just the ones in the end of the list. Expulsion and detention of iournalists and activists had started some time back.

Finally Soni Sori was attacked near Kodenar in Bastar. About three men threw some substance on her face causing intense burning and pain. She is now being treated in Delhi.

In Africa, Congo, Darfur, Angola, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone; in Indonesia- West Papua; in Australia's Bougainville; in Latin America and Combodia- all these



A body is carried away for post-mortem after the 'encounter' in Ehadsameta, Bijapur district, Saturday.

EXPRESS PHOTO

Chhattisgarh 'encounter' leaves 8 villagers dead, no Maoist link yet

nations have seen bloody rampage and killings of millions of people, starvation, droughts, epidemics, and long standing unbearably cruel human rights abuses. In all these nations, the wars began with division of resources, by selling of rivers, by felling of forests and c r e a t i o n o f d r o u g h t s, malnourishment, starvation and epidemics. These nations have been fighting off zillion dollars worth civil wars, purchasing arms from the very same nation that have caused the wars.

All these nations have one chilling common factor with Bastar. These countries were all rich in minerals and they had tribals staying over the land in peace with nature, forests, mountains and rivers. In each of these nations, now torn and plagued with precise impunity at the

behest of various Corporate giants, the greedy macabre game of loot, rapes, murders, human traffickings, armed conflicts and civil wars has been played for years even as the Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and even the United Nations invariantly failed to protect the rights of the people. Brothers killing brothers, raping daughters, brothers ratting out on sisters; neighbours turning into blood thirsty zealots; or closer home exsurrendered naxals and seemingly innocent tribals raping women and children at the behest of local Police and Corporate and Political goons. All this human rights abuse goes on as millions of tonnes of precious metal remains protected under the hallowed land of Bastar.

The Prime Minister has already made a statement during his tour in

Central India including Chhattisgarh that NGOs are trying to discredit his government. District Collector of Bastar has warned people that stories coming from Bastar are mere propaganda; just some one sided anti-establishment narratives. Even otherwise, affairs in the forests of central Indian states rarely make it to the front pages of mainstream Indian newspapers or attract the attention of news channels.

Bastar is now more or less free of any limitations as far as the security forces are concerned. It is high time to remove the shackles of distinguishing civilians and combatants. The stage is set and the time is ripe. It can begin the carnage without witnesses.

The writer is an Independent Researcher (Human Rights)

Never Retreat

Shrii Shrii Ánandamúrti

The ensconcement in the Macrocosmic stance is not possible through morality alone. "I will speak the truth, I will not harm anyone" — This simple morality alone cannot take human beings very far along the path of progress. So-called moralists can all too easily degrade themselves under the nefarious influence of evil company. The only way to advance is to follow the path of vigorous spiritual practice. To repeat high-sounding words of morality like a parrot, while cherishing narrow sentiments within one's mind, will not take one far.

To effect psycho-spiritual expansion constant spiritual practice is a must. I have called this spiritual practice "attraction of the Great". Through physical or psychic clash absolute self expansion is not possible; even the awakening of hiranmaya kośa (subtlest layer of mind) is not possible. Of course physical clash can take a person a certain distance, but not to the final destination. I have already said that only when attraction of the Great is supreme can the centrifugal force within the microcosm become strong enough to lead an entity to liberation or salvation. Where there is no attraction for the Great, no matter how intellectual or moral a person might be, his or her entire existence will be dominated by the kamamaya kośa (crude desiring mind). Out of narrow self interest, such a person will betray low morals at every step in live. Those who have no love for the Supreme may be considered as humans today, but tomorrow will surely degenerate into animals like dogs, and the day after into inert bricks or stones.

Now a question a may arise: Since animals cannot act independently, and thus cannot discriminate between virtue or vice (only developed human beings can do that), why do some animals live in constant pleasure while other animals undergo constant pain? Why are some dogs treated lovingly, fed tasty food, and driven around in cars, their heads stuck out of the window to enjoy the fresh breeze; while other dogs are forced to eat out of dustbins to survive, or are shot by hunters' bullets, or are run over by passing cars? The answers to these question have already been given: in most cases the psychic clash caused by these incidents, under the direction of Prakrti, helps to accelerate the dogs' psychic development.

In the attraction of the Great lies the secret of greater well-being. You will have to rush towards the fundamental Source of the entire creation. You will have to merge your individual stance in the Absolute Stance of the Supreme Transcendental Entity. You will have to advance at a speed greater than that of ordinary microcosms in the Cosmic Cycle.

Having accelerated your speed, if you embrace the force of Vidya (wisdom), rejecting Avidya (nescience), you will certainly reach the Macrocosmic Nucleus. If Non-attributional Brahma and not Purusottama is accepted as the goal one will transcend the Cosmic Cycle. This transcendence is not affected by the centrifugal force of Macrocosmic Nucleus, because that force is confined to the periphery of Saguna Brahma. One will have to transcend the Cosmic Cycle with the help of the Cognitive Force. To become one with the Macrocosm is called liberation, and to transcend the periphery of the Cosmic Cycle and becomes one with the Non-attributional stance is called salvation. The Tangential Entity which connects the path of liberation and the path of salvation, who, although infinite, comes within the domain of the finite, is called Táraka Brahma. Whether you want to become one with Purusottama (Nucleus), or one with the Non-attributional Stance, or one with Táraka Brahma, you will have to continue your spiritual pursuit, you will have to surrender yourself to the force of attraction of the Great.

The one performing sadhana must be ever vigilant to ensure that the small "I" cannot hinder spiritual progress. The ego that can so easily develop on the path of knowledge and action may not develop at all on the path of devotion. A spiritual aspirant must take the help of devotion at the final stage of spiritual attainment. If ego remains, even on the path of devotion, the best way to counteract it is to superimpose Cosmic ideation on the small I-feeling through devotion. Intelligent people should understand that the objects their ego uses as its support may not last long. The vanity of power of today will disappear tomorrow; the leader of today may be thrown out of office tomorrow (those who clamour for a chance to garland them today will not even cast a glance at them tomorrow); a man swollen with the pride of scholarship today may become mentally abnormal tomorrow – people will point at him and say, "See that lunatic over there, he used to be great scholar".

The vanity expressed by the so-called civilized human beings of today is extremely dangerous. These people hide the cruder propensities of the mind under the cloak of sweet words and decent behaviour. They are more harmful to the well-being of the human race than the so-called uncivilized humans, because they are hypocrites. The defects of the uncivilized humans pale into insignificance before their abominable hypocrisy. The uncivilized humans of the past may have killed twelve people at most in the battles they fought with bows, arrows, sticks and spears, but the so-called civilized human beings of today kill millions of unarmed, innocent people indiscriminately with their dreadful and lethal weapons. Human society of today is being exploited by the so-called civilized people. Such people should not make themselves look ridiculous by claiming otherwise.

All entities must advance along the path of progress. This evolution will lead to the expansion of the psychic arena and, ultimately, liberation. This struggle for liberation is the struggle against those forces which attempt to thwart one's psychic expansion. These are one's enemies. Through meditation and contemplation one must surrender oneself at the altar of the Almighty, merging one's finite identity into the Infinite. Only by surrendering one's mind to the vast Macrocosm and becoming one with the Supreme Consciousness can one attain final salvation. The struggle for salvation is the struggle against those forces which strive to prevent one's total self surrender to the Supreme.

Never retreat. Keep advancing, and you will certainly attain the highest fulfilment of your existence.

Activities

RU NATIONAL SEMINAR ON SHRII SHRII ANANDAMURTIJ'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Renaissance Universal (R.U.), New Delhi, the intellectual forum of Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha has organised a one day National Seminar on Shrii Shrii Anandamurtijii's Contribution to Philosophy, Language, Literature, Music, Science and Economics on 27th Feb 2016, at Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies Seminar Hall, JNU, New Delhi. Dr. Ramnath Jha, Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, JNU, New Delhi spoke on "Microvitum and Anandasutram". Prof. Uttam Pati, Dean, School of Biotechnology, JNU, New Delhi spoke on Microvitum: Living VS Non living. Dr Rajneesh Mishra, Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, JNU, New Delhi spoke on "Language and Culture". Dr Satyamurti, Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, JNU,



New Delhi spoke on "Social Philosophy". Dr. S. M. Mishra, Department of Sanskrit, Kurukshetra University spoke on "Neo-Humanism". Dr. Subendu Bag, IIT Guwahati presented a paper on "Applications of Neo-Humanism". Dr. Bulbul DharJames, Department of Political Science, Jamia Millia Islamia University gave a talk on Social Justice". Mr. Gunjan Kumar, Department of Economics & Philosophy, Indraprashta College, Delhi University presented a paper on the "Applied Side of Prout".

Professor Ramnath Jha, of the Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, JNU gave the introductory speech. Speaking on the philosophical treatise "Ananda Sutram" of Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji , he said that Anandamurtiji stands among select philosophers who was able to express His philosophy in Sutra form as per the tradition of great Indian philosophers. The next speaker Shrii Sham Bang, Secretary R.U., New Delhi gave a brief introduction to the personality that was Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji. He elaborated that the relationship of a the human mind and the cosmic entity was felt in every society and unfortunately it took the shape of religions, and more and more inter-religious clash occurred as the human race intergraded. So the need for a integrating synthetic philosophy was felt in this juncture. At such situation Shrii P.R Sarkar also known as Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji arrived to provide the solution, with His synthetic approach, this comprehensive philosophy clarified all the doubts, gave thread bare, crystal clear definitions, in exceptional detail as never before by anyone in history. This was followed by a presentation on "Microvitum: living vs Non-living" by Prof Uttam Pati, Dean of School of Biotechnology, JNU, New Delhi. According to Prof Uttam Pati, Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji re-formatted our perception of the principles that govern the universe, He was able set up a rational filtering mechanism to filter out the non-essential garbage in the field of philosophies and scientific thought after going through each every philosophical idea, scientific hypothesis that has been given until our present age. According to Prof Uttam Pati, Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji deleted all "ism" like casteism, religious 'isms', regionalism, provincialism, nationalism. Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji was supposedly anti-caste, anti-doctrine, anti-religion, into a new rational, scientific thought process which if followed by human beings will lead them to new age of enlightenment called "The Microvita Age".



PBI's Rally In Vidarbha

On 29 February 2016, PBI (Vidarbha) took out a rally in Pandharkoda city of Yavatmal district of Maharastra, demanding statehood for Vidarbha. PBI also demanded that the tribals in Ghatanji taluka be given the ownership of the land they have been cultivating for years. Passing through the major roads of the city, the rally ended at Tehsil office, where a sit-in was also held. The rally was headed by Madhukar Nistane. A large number of party cadres, tribal farmers and other supporters of a separate Vidarbha state took part in the rally and the sit-in.

Addressing the participants, Madhukar Nistane said that great leaders of freedom struggle laid down their lives for a prosperous India, but a majority of Indians are still languishing in poverty. He said that PBI has taken up the issue of statehood for Vidarbha and would not rest till the goal is achieved. Talking about the exploitation of Vidarbha by Western Maharastra, he said that in the last 15 years more than 45000 farmers have committed suicide in Vidarbha, which shows how neglected this region has been even in independent India. He said that his party is fighting for the land ownership rights of tribals and will continue to do so till its demands are met, because snatching land from the farmers is tantamount to snatching their right to life.



Acharya Santoshanand Avadhuta said that so far all the leaders from Vidarbha, who have reached got into the parliament or state legislative assembly, have betrayed the people of this region; now they are more concerned with their chair than Vidarbha, and are, therefore, equally responsible for the plight of the people. He said emphatically that PBI is here to change this trend and a separate Vidarbha state would be a reality very soon. He also warned that just statehood is not enough for an exploitation-free Vidarbha. it must be ensured that it is ruled by the moralists, otherwise the sufferings of the people will continue for eternity.

Senior proutists and PBI's vice-chairman Dr. Baba Sahab Dhotre said that not only good intentions but also a sound and foolproof socio-economic system is required to bring about the needed change, and this is possible only with PROUT. He said that proutists should take the leadership in their hands and unite all the moral forces. Other speakers like Annaji Rajedhar and Arun Kedar gave a picturesque description of the sufferings of the people and farmers in particular. They said despite having best minerals, Vidarbha has not seen any industrial development, and farming in Vidarbha means committing a sin. They said that if Vidarbha achieves statehood under the leadership of PBI, a golden future for the people of Vidarbha is guaranteed.

Social activist Kranti Dhote Raut spoke about corruption in administration. Expressing her anger about the insensitivity of the leaders to the farmers' cause, she said that the people in power will be thrown out of their seats if they do not mend their ways soon. Another social leader Lalji Raut talked about the exploitation of Vidarbha and expressed his solidarity with PBI.

The following office-bearers of PBI(Vidarbha) were present on the occasion: Haribhau Pendore (Atikraman Dharak Sangharsh Samiti), Dilip Bhau Umre (Pandharkoda), Anant Katkojawar (Ghatanji), Narendra Dhanre (District Vice-chariman), Prafful Raut (Sarchitnis), Bhushan Meshram (Taluka Sanghatak, Ghatanji), Ramesh Solanke (Taluka sanghatak, Darwha), Mohan Pawar (Taluka sanghatak, Yavatmal), Arun Kamble (Taluka Vice-chairman), Ashok Jaiswal, Gopal Naampellivar, Dinkar Maankar etc.

Activities

PROUT Party Contests In German Elections



MENSCHLICHE WELT is a Proutist Party in Germany. It contested in two constituencies in the state elections of Baden Württemberg. During the election campaign hundreds of thousands of people saw and heard Proutist and neo - humanisitc message through TV, radio, major newspapers, government websites, events and posters.

Despite the party starting only last year and despite a very small staff, Acarya Madhuvidyananda Avadhuta worked non-stop traveling across the country and then across Baden-Wurttemberg.

The party platform discussed a variety of issues including

- The party works for a peace policy of reconciliation and negotiation - instead of the arms race and military confrontation. The party is against the province of Baden Württemberg

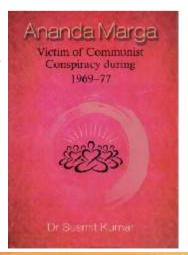
hosting the US command center in Stuttgart AFRICOM, used for waging war in Africa. The party also wants to remove EUROCOM troops from Germany. Germany hosts more than 20,000 US troops and many military bases. We would tackle terrorism in any form at its roots and overcome with wisdom - instead of creating a spiral of violence.

- -The party advocates proper support for families in the form of free counseling, free child care when parents work as well as financial incentives to enable women to spend at least the first 3 years of their child's life at home.
- -The party also advocates freeing the public sector medical care system from the private sector and freeing hospitals from the culture of profiting from patients.
- -The party also advocates decentralizing education and freeing education from the needs of the corporate sector and from the ideology of political parties
- The party works on many issues such as fostering animal rights, ecological rights, regional economic development, local currency but above all the party advocates enlightened leadership in all spheres of society based on spirituality and Neohumanism

Ananda Marga: Victim of Communist Conspiracy during 1969-77

Dr. Susmit Kumar chronicles how in the early 1960s, the Ananda Marga sociospiritual movement emerged as a powerful force in India, taking on critical issues including corruption and casteism.

Due to its significant educational movement and efficient relief operations, Ananda Marga gained popularity in large areas dominated by Communist parties. In addition its revolutionary ideology of PROUT revealed the path to freedom from communism and capitalism. During 1969–77, the Indira Gandhi-led Congress Party government, supported by the Communist Party of India, severely persecuted Ananda Marga making numerous slanderous statements which were all proved false in the courts. This book narrates what took place when the Indian government went after the Ananda Marga organization and its founder Shrii Shrii Anandamurti, and how Ananda Marga continued to be victimised since due the pervasive propaganda established against it culminating in the massacre of more than 15 monks in Calcutta in 1982 that currently the subject of a judicial enquiry.



PBI holds public meeting in Kinhi

On 3 February 2016, PBI held a public meeting in Kinhi, a village in Ghatanji, Vidarbha. It was attended by a large number of villagers and the party cadres. From the National committee of the party, Acharya Santoshanand Avadhuta, Baba Sahab Dhotre and Ravindra Singh were present on the occasion. Addressing the people, Madhukar Nistane said that Vidarbha can progress only when it gets the status of a separate state, and PBI is determined to fight for it sincerely. Party's vice-chairman Baba Sahab Dhotre said that PBI's objective is to establish economic democracy in the country, and the formation of Vidarbha state is an important step to that end. He said that being a native of Vidarbha, he knows the problems of the region and also their causes, and strongly believes that PROUT is the only solution.

Acharya Santoshanand Avadhuta said that Vidarbha as a state can only succeed if it is ruled by the moralists. He reiterated that PBI would never compromise with immoral forces at any cost, for a moralist leadership is a prerequisite for the implementation of PROUT's principles and policies. Emphasizing the need of Ameeri Rekha, public relations secretary Ravindra Singh said that it is the foundation of economic democracy. He said the major cause of most types of exploitation is the unbridled freedom to hoard wealth. He said that without recognizing agriculture as an industry, farmers cannot be saved. He added that the demand for the formation of Vidarbh state is justified and completely proutistic.

The locals, particularly the youths, were excited to hear the views of the speakers, and expressed their wish to work for the party and disseminate proutistic ideas in the region

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Activities

PBI's Sit-in in Amravati, Vidarbha

On 1 March, 2016, under the leadership of Prahalad Ingle and Madhurkar Nistane, Vidarbh unit of PBI held a daylong sit-in at the office of District Magistrate in Amravati district of Maharasthra.

Besides the PBI cardres of Vidrabha, national convener Acharya Santoshanand Avadhuta and public relations secretary Ravindra Singh were also present on the occasion. A memorandum of the following demands to the chief minister was handed over to him:

1. Formation of a separate Vidarbha state: Since the beginning, Vidarbha has been continuously neglected. A very little portion of Maharastra's budget is allocated to Vidarbha, which hardly suffices

to fulfill the needs of this region. Despite holding 2/3 of the minerals and 3/4 of the forests, Vidarbha has had inadequate industrial development. Most of its coal and other mineral resources are sent

to other parts of the state and the country, which has lead to the shortage of power and underdevelopment of other industries in the region.

Before the elections, BJP supported the demand for a separate Vidarbha state, and before getting into the power, the incumbent chief minister, Devendra Fadnavis, had also supported the demand on many occasions. The development of Vidarbh, therefore, is possible only when it is accorded the status of a full-fledged state.

2. Agriculture as an industry: In the last 15 years, 11 districts of Vidarbha have witnessed the suicides of more than 45000 farmers. The various factors responsible for these unfortunate deaths are: failure to repay the loans, bad weather, lack of irrigation facilities, unfair price of crops, government apathy etc.

PBI believes that farmers can be saved only when agriculture is re-organised as an industry and the farmers get the same facilities and protection which the other industries enjoy. The farmers should also get the right to fix the price of their products.

- 3. Every family must get at least one job: Vidarbha has a backlog of 1.72 lakh vacancies. PBI demands that these vacancies must be filled at the earliest. At least one member of every family must be given a suitable job. Besides, unemployment allowance is a dire need of the hour. The party believes that sufficient employment opportunities can be generated in this region, provided the government is serious about it.
- 4. The determination of Ameeri Rekha: There is abject economic disparity in the state and the country. More than 76% India's wealth is controlled by 10% of the Indian people. In Vidarbh too, majority of the population earns less than Rs. 50/day, which means a good life is next to impossible for the comman man. Therefoe PBI demands that 'Ameeri Rekha' must be determined and implemented at the earliest, paving the way for economic democracy.
- 5. Pension for the senior citizens and the differently-abled: PBI demands a provision of pension for the senior citizens and the differently-abled citizens.

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