https://www.facebook.com/proutmagazine

📴 https://www.twitter.com/proutmagazine

Vol No. 29 | Issue No. 04 | April 2018 | Price 25/-

# PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis



Micaculous, Torturous Fast

The First Self-Immolation

Jaya Bharat Jananiya Tanujate

A New Vision for Prosperuous, Self-Sufficient, Self Esteemed Karnataka







Scan the code with mobile/tab using QR Code reader CRIMINALITY WITHIN THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM — ONE THAT WILL TAKE MORE THAN A FEW GOOD MEN AND WOMEN TO SOLVE.

28

INDIA IS SEEN AS A SOURCE, TRANSIT AND DESTINATION COUNTRY FOR TRAFFICKED Children, with an estimated 1.2 million Children trafficked in India every year

## **READ & SUBSCRIBE PROUT** A Vibrant Magazine that Informs & Inspires

# PROUT

### PROGRESSIVE UTILISATION THEORY

Propounded by - Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

### **PROUT - Cry of the Suffering Humanity**

#### What is PROUT:

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

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

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

#### Main principles of PROUT and Neo-Humanism

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

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar



# **IGNITE THE FLAMES!**

BANDHU TOMA'R RU'PER CHAT'A'Y DHARA' KARIA'CHE A'LOKA SNA'NA SUPTA HRIDAYE JA'GA'YE DIYECHO JAD'ERE KARECHO CETANA' DA'NA DHARA' KARIA'CHE A'LOKA SNA'NA

SAMBODHIR OI PADMAVEDIITE
TRITA'P YA'TANA' CEYECHO HARITE
PRA'N'ER SHON'ITE CEYECHO BHARITE,
AVAHELITER HRITA MA'NA,
DHARA' KARIA'CHE A'LOKA SNA'NA

PRALAYANKARA AGNI JVA'LA'O
BHAYANKARA BHU'KAMPE NARAO
NIITI BHU'LE HOYE JAKHAN MA'NAVA
DHVNSA YAJINE YATAMA'N.

DHARA' KARIA'CHE A'LOKA SNA'NA

O Friend, by the radiance of Your form, The earth was bathed in effulgence. You have awakened sleeping hearts Giving the gift of consciousness to inert beings.

Seated on the lotus of Consciousness. You removed the three kinds of afflictions\* Filling with life and blood The despised and the defamed.

O, ignite the flames of destruction, Rock with devastating earthquakes When morality is forgotten, in oblivion When humanity is wounded, attacked When there are destructive wars.

\* The Author describes these afflictions as physical, psychic and spiritual. Physical affliction is being deprived of the basic necessities of life and being deprived of one's freedom by other people. Psychic affliction is where one suffers due to the sorrows of life and due to inner limitations of one's consciousness and due to crude pseudo-culture and other forms of mass mind-control. Spiritual affliction is where one suffers the pain of yearning and separation from the Beloved.

# CONTENTS



08 FREEDOM ABSOLUTE

Liberation from Staticity

17 OPPRESSION

Miraculous, Torturous Fast

20 POLICE REFORMS

The Underworld-Politician-Police Nexus

23 FOOD & DRUG ADULTERATION

How the Safety of India's Processed Food

was Compromised

28 HUMAN TRAFFICKING

A Review of the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1986

35 BOOK REVIEW

Peter Gabel Argues for a Psycho-Spiritual Politics

39 A RESOLVE SUPREME

The First Self-Immolation

SUPPRESSION

'Living Illiterate, Duing early': Plight of India's poor and Dalit women

44 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Demand for Government Control of Key Industries First Raised in the Constituent Assembly

#### REGULARS

05 Editorial

06 Letters

07 Inspirational

46 Activities

Editor

A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta

**Editorial Board** 

A'ca'rya Acyutananda Avadhuta / A'charya Vedprajinaananda Avadhuta / Sohail Inayatullah

General Manager: Pranav Koul

Business Director: Hanuman Khanduri

Circulation Manager : Ramkesh Choudhary

Correspondents: Kanhu Charan Behura / Rajesh Singh / Ravindra Singh

Layout & Design : Suman Jha / Heera Pramanik

Rate (INDIA)

Newstand Price : Rs.25/Annual Subscription : Rs. 275/Two Years Subscription : Rs. 520/ThreeYears Subscription : Rs. 730/Five Years Subscription : Rs. 1100/Ten Years Subscription : Rs. 1800/-

Overseas (BY AIRMAIL)

Annual : US\$ 45/-

Overseas (By Paypal)

US : US\$ 45/-Others : US\$ 50/- Payments in India may be made by cheque favouring **Neo-Humanist Education Foundation** mailed to **A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta**, JC-48. Khirki Extention, Main Road, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi- 110017 For outstation remittance from computerized banks/branchesadd Rs.30.00 for bank clearance charges. Or amounts may be deposited directly to any branch of the State Bank of India as per details below:

Neo-Humanist Education Foundation, State Bank of India, Malviya Nagar Branch, C-30 Malviya Nagar, New Delhi 110017 A/C No. 30379188250 IFSC SBIN0001493

Overseas remittances may be made by Paypal using id prout.am@gmail.com
Or electronic bank transferring above details and Swift Code SBININBB382

Head Office: Prout Bhawan, JC-48, Khirki Extention,

Main Road, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi-110017 Mobile No.: 09212199658, 9810625082 Email:prout.am@gmail.com For enquaries, please cotact: Mobile No [s]: 9350860274, 9810625082, 9891826488 Email: proutcustomercare@gmail.com

Printed and Published: By Acharya Santosananda Avadhuta on behalf of Neo Humanist Education Foundation and printed at Royal Press B-82, Okhla Industrial Area Phase-1, New Delhi- 110020 and published from JC-48, Khirki Extension, Main Road, Malviyanagar, New Delhi- 110017 Editor: A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta "Wherever we mention cardinal human values, we are not referring to any religious code, for that is based on religious dogmas. Again I repeat, why should the people of the second half of the 20th century [& the 21st century] follow religious dogmas?

I advise you not to follow them but to revolt."

- Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

# **Fundamental Principles of PROUT**

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

Editor's Desk



# Sadistic Selfies





The past month has seen the Nirav Modi Punjab National Bank scam which cost the people of India more than Rs1323 crore - the biggest so far. Once again the guilty accused was close to the ruling party and was seemingly allowed to escape like Lalit Modi. What was of concern is that this was a diamond scam. Surat is the major centre for processing diamonds. In 2013, the Mumbai diamond merchants weighed the future PM in silver. Diamonds were identified by a government taskforce as being the primary forms of drug smuggling and terrorism including the Mumbai Terror Attacks. An article in 2015 in Indiatimes noted that Dawood Ibrahim was focusing on the blood diamonds from Africa. After the 2016 Pathankot Attack, the media reported that an SP of police was found with diamonds and was alleged to be involved in the drug trade from Afghanistan to Mumbai.

But this month we will not discuss this. We want to bring to your attention the story of Madhu, a 25 year old adivasi youth. Coming from Attapadi where Adivasi babies have died of starvation in the last few years. This is an area, like the rest of adivasi Kerala, where young adivasi girls are routinely abused and left pregnant in the thousands. This is an area where "developed" people have also stolen most of the adivasi lands.

Madhu's crime was to steal a little rice. For this crime, a group of ultramodern youth with ultrabackward mindset killed him and took the selfies seen above.

This is the latest fashion trend - taking selfies while murdering people and beating Dalits. First it was just Muslims but now it is adivasis too. Who is next?

Please take your time to look at these pictures below and think about what we have become as a nation, how we have debased ourselves to this extent, and what is the way out. The longer we delay, the more they will slay.



#### **On February Issue**

Overall, I found the review of Meena: Heroine of Afghanistan to be very inspiring. However, I must take issue with one sentence: ". . . the Taliban promoted male domination . . . through various forms of repression, including . . . opposition to abortion . . ." It would not be true to suggest that opposition to abortion is normally motivated by a desire to promote male domination. Most opposition to abortion is motivated by a desire to save lives. Muslim doctrine on abortion varies, but many abortions are considered intrinsically sinful, so unless there is evidence to the contrary, we should assume that the Taliban opposed abortion in order to follow Muslim doctrine. Remember that of the 150,000 abortions that occur daily around the world, most of the victims are unborn women. Pro-life feminists consider that all-out efforts to save the lives of those unborn women are a non-negotiable cornerstone of true feminism.

Ujjwal Ghosh, Kolkata

# On March Issue **Exploitation No More**

Very interesting account on how to put social pressure on people. What is unusual is that the article focuses on social exploitation and injustice. The question that comes to mind is that is any Proutist fighting social injustice anywhere? Prout is a social and economic theory. But it seems that most Proutists are only interested in a revolution against economic injustice but are not social revolutionaries. Without a revolution against social exploitation by various races, castes and religions, the unity of the people is impossible and hence an economic revolution remains in the land of dreams. We know that Shrii Sarkar said that NeoHumanism and PROUT are two wings of the same bird. Unless NeoHumanism becomes established in mainstream society as a revolutionary movement, PROUT will remain a distant dream.

Shubham Goswami, Kolkata

## Foreign Bribing of Political Parties

India has been so desperate to become an ally of the United States and in the process has become what many allies of the US have become - a banana republic. Or should we say a buffalo republic since this is our largest export. Essentially the process from the 1990s to the present has been the re-colonisation of India. Chandrashekar Azad. Bagha Jatin all died in vain as India is re-colonised. The struggle of SC Bose and the INA has gone in vain. Above all they have all failed because just like during the British area, the so-called educated Indians have no shame at their country and their people being enslaved. If anything the present elites are more greedy, more corrupt and more culturally bankrupt than in the past. What is required is for a new India to be built up from scratch out of the struggle for Artha Azadi.

Kishore Nath, Gava

#### Sexual Harassment

We see how harassment in there in every sphere of life here. We take it for granted as a natural phenomenon. However this has only started after the North Indians have debased the culture of Karnataka. We need a women's revolution in Karnataka. The legacy of the Aryan imposition of patriarchy in Karnataka since the Maurva conquest must end once and for all. Why is Karnataka one of the few places where the devadasi system rampant? It is all part of the Aryanisation of the state and that means the spread of patriarchy. And the divide and rule that makes Kannadigas and Tamils enemies must end once and for all.

Sukri Gowde, Belgaum

#### **Transforming Power & Politics**

This was a truly inspirational article. The reality is that materialist psychology created our poisonous political systems. What I really liked was the questions that need to be asked by people in positions of power everywhere. Another wonderful idea is that a change within is required. And that means a revolution in the various shaktis of our psyche. And that means a revolution in the way we practice Tantra sadhana. A revolution geared towards realising oneness of Advaeta in our social life

Hira Golkar, Pune

#### Medical College SC Bribery Scam

Hard to figure out the details of this but have to agree with Pratap Bhanu Mehta, vice-chancellor of Ashoka University, who said: "Taken together, both the chief justice's and the judges' conduct highlights one obvious fact: There is no Supreme Court left any more. In expanding its powers, the Supreme Court first replaced the rule of law with the rule of the court (they are not the same thing); now the rule of court has been replaced with the anarchic will of individual judges. The Supreme Court has effectively ended an institution."

Hari Gagan Nath, Delhi

## Govt. Violates Food Security

Let's get real here. We need to focus on the fact that India has too many people. How can we feed all these people? It is much better if they just die off rather than prolonging their lives of misery. The government is realistic and facing the simple fact that life is the survival of the fittest. Those who haven't got the courage to fight for their rights and who are stupid enough to be cheated deserve to suffer. Why should our tax money be wasted providing free food to such freeloaders?

Dhruva Ambani, Mumbai

# "I Have No Time Left"

DMC was to be held on the third and fourth of February at Bhagalpur (in 1989). I had reached there with my family on the second of Feb itself. Baba (affectionate name of Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar) had reached on the third of February, nearly at 10 in the morning. After fifteen minutes of His reaching the call for meeting in front of Him reached us. We reached His room at 11 in the morning. I was there with Chandranarayanji, Pradymunanji, Umakantji, Ramanandji, Guruprasadji, Sakaldevji, Sushiilranjanji, Bholaji, Shambhughnaji, Trilochanji etc.

Baba smiling gently asked:-

"Below the table how many legs are there? Is it twenty or twenty two?"

He again smiled gently and said "The base of the Samaja like table is spirituality and above also it is spirituality. But this table has six legs. They are

- 1. Social,
- 2. Economical,
- 3. Cultural,
- 4. Educational,
- 5. Linguistic and
- 6. Political."

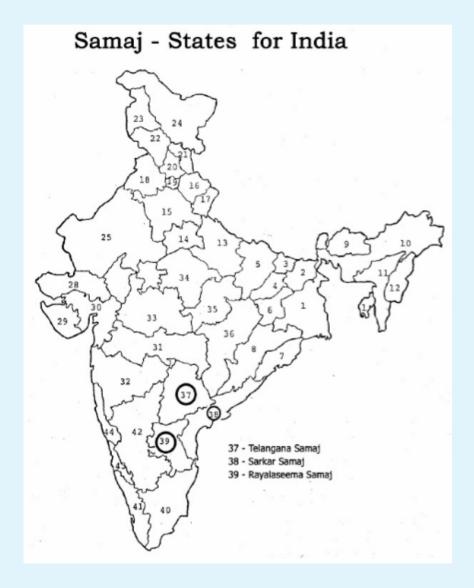
Regarding our language Angika, Parama Purusa said:-

"Mother tongue Angika is like a maid servant today. The pups of cats and dogs fight for their mother. We are children of human beings. Do you wish your mother or mother tongue should remain like a servant of other languages?"

Every one unanimously replied "No Baba, No Baba, No Baba."

Then again Parama Purusa Baba said ":

"Then when will you liberate your mother? I have no time left. Let Me know your reply within one



hour?"

We prostrated and came back."

----

(The above story was translated by Ac. Bhaskarananda Avt. from pg 350 of the Hindi book "*Tumi Amar Praner Priyo*" by Krta Narayan Pyara)

**Note:** Still today the Angika language is not recognized or taught in school. Still today in the Angika speaking districts of Araria, Banka, Jamui, Deoghar 45% or more of the children are malnourished. Still today Baba's directive for creating Anga Sarvakalashala (Angika Cultural University) has yet to begin. The first newspapers (Angika Samachar and Anga Dut) created in this language by Baba are defunct. The first grammar of the Angika language given by Baba is not to be found. The 10 Angika songs given by Baba (including 4 songs to rouse the samaja of Angadesh) have not been presented unto the Angika society.

# Liberation from Staticity

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Now, a question may arise in some minds: when liberation is meant for all human beings, what does the liberation of intellect mean? Intellect is primarily an impersonal or an abstract idea. Can the question of liberation of something which is impersonal, which is only an abstract concept, arise? In this connection my considered opinion is, yes, the liberation of intellect is indeed necessary. In fact whatever is in this universe - crude matter, subtle idea or consciousness - everything needs to be liberated. In the absence of liberation, the natural expression of an object or an individual does not take place. That is, if we want to see the full expression or the total unfoldment of the qualities and capacities that are latent in anything, the liberation of that object or that individual is indispens-

Human beings long for liberation from the bondage of staticity. Now what is the Nature of this liberation? It is not possible to attain liberation from this crude physical body; liberation from the physical

# Liberation from worldly bondages is essential for human beings.

body means death. But to attain liberation from the bondage of staticity, one will have to make an effort. The effort to attain liberation from economic bondage, political slavery and all sorts of social dependence in the physical world, is the liberation from staticity in the crude world. In order to attain liberation from worldly bondages of this sort, human beings will have to make conscious efforts.

If a certain country is held in bondage to another country, then that subjugated country will have to wage war in order to attain liberation from the chains of slavery. That is why liberation from worldly bondages is essential for human beings.

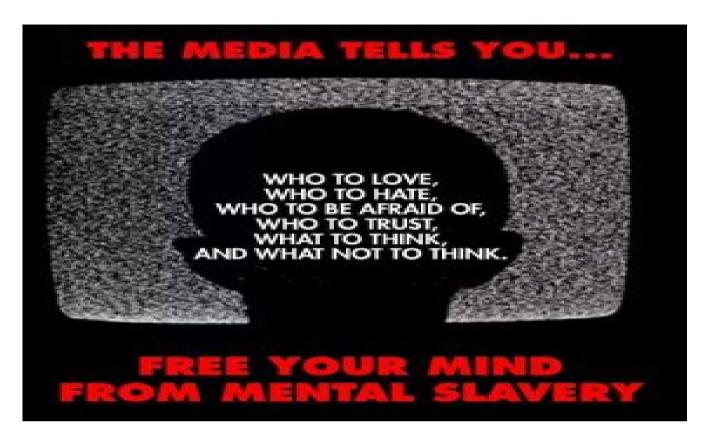
We have noticed that wherever there is worldly subservience – whether economic, political or social – the proper development of the innate qualities, or the genius of human beings, remains remote. That is why in every sphere of life liberation is necessary; liberation from the bondage of staticity is a must.

Subtler than matter is the mind. From psychic slavery, also, the mind should be liberated. We notice in human society various forms of psychic pressure, numerous ways of exploitation. In order to attain liberation from this exploitation and tyranny, human beings must endeavour for liberation from psychic bondages. The internal urge to attain liberation in every sphere of life is a natural wont of each and every human being.

The essence of the human mind is known as intellect. Intuition cannot be precisely called the essence of mind. In fact, intuition is subtler than the mind, and a very special

"All dogma must be rooted out. You should start a revolution against dogma. But to start a revolution you need courage. So gather that courage and start a revolution against dogma."

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar



aspect of human existence. Intuition should be called the eleventh organ or the sixth sense. Discrimination between holy and unholy, permanent and impermanent, pure and impure in the intellectual sphere has a certain yardstick of its own. This yardstick should remain unstained.

Due to the bondage of various types of exploitation and tyranny against the intellect in the physical sphere, the human spirit writhes in suppressed agony. Likewise in the mental sphere, the human capacity to think is snatched away. And in the same way in the intellectual sphere, when human beings try to think and act for their spiritual and intellectual unfoldment, various kinds of dogmas arise and create obstacles.

What is dogma? Dogma is a preconceived idea which forbids human beings to outstep the limits of that idea or object. In this situation the human intellect cannot freely function. Some people say, "All right, we may not get the maximum utilization of our intellect, yet we can have at least ten to twenty percent of its services." My consid-

ered opinion is that where there is dogma, even ten to twenty percent of the human intellect cannot be properly utilized; and the meagre amount of intellect used is not something worthwhile. The greatest treasure of human beings is their psychic faculty, or their intellect. When I cannot utilize this precious intellect to its fullest advantage — what more tragic situation could there be than this! So we need the liberation of the human mind, and even before this we need the liberation of the human intellect.

Let me further explain what dogma is. Suppose the intellect wants to follow a particular path; in the meantime dogma comes from all sides and forbids it, "Oh no, no! Don't take a single step further on that side. If you do, you'll be burnt in eternal hell-fire. You'll be doomed to hell for eternity." When the intellect wants to make the fullest utilization of mundane wealth, dogma comes in and says, as it were, "Oh no – you must not do it. It is harmful for human beings, it is sheer blasphemy. It will lead to the degradation of humanity."

When the human intellect becomes ardently eager to venture into a new enterprise in the psychic sphere, dogma again comes into the picture and insists, "Oh, no! You must not do like this. It will bring about your ruin." Thus, in every sphere, at every step, dogma puts a blockade on the human mind, on the human intellect. That is why until we can liberate our intellect from bondages, we cannot make the fullest utilization of that intellect.

For the service of humanity, the intellect has to be liberated from all sorts of bondages, from all kinds of dogma, from all manner of unholy influences. Unless that is achieved the human race cannot have a radiant future.

If the present humanity wants to herald the advent of a golden dawn they will have to bring about an all-round emancipation of human intellect through a relentless struggle against dogma, backed by unlimited, uninhibited courage.

This is why, in all corners of the world and in all directions, one and only one slogan should echo and re-echo from all mouths, "Dogma – No more, no more!"

#### TRUE DEVELOPMENT

# A New Vision for Prosperous, Self-Sufficient, Self Esteemed Karnataka



Chennakeshava Temple at Belur

#### Ganesh Bhatt

Election for the state assembly is round the corner in Karnataka. Two national parties - Congress and BJP, and a regional party JD(S) are the major players. All the three parties are busy in arranging rallies and trying to fool the people that these parties are the real saviors of the state and are the only capable ones to solve the problems of Karnataka.

Although Karnataka stands relatively high on the scale of comparison among different states of India, its potentiality has hardly been harnessed and utilized in a positive way. It is a disgrace for the state to claim it as an achievement of having helped poor people when there are 1.1 cr BPL (below poverty line) cards out of 1.31 Cr families in the state (i.e. 835 are poor), while we learn from history that gold, pearl and diamonds were traded at roadside during Vijayanagar dynasty in 15th and 16th century.

Karnataka has still not yet recovered from the rampant destruction of the rural economy under the British rule

#### History of Karnataka

Karnataka has an enthralling history and there are reasons for Kannadigaru to be proud of their past. This state lying in the southern part of India has been under the rule of several dynasties that have shaped its history. It has been invaded by a number of rulers at different points of time in history. Due to the influence of various rulers and dynasties Karnataka became enriched with their distinctive culture and values.

In the ancient times Karnataka was known as Karunadu which means elevated land or high plateau. The

history of Karnataka can be traced back to the prehistoric days. The early rulers of Karnataka were from the northern parts of the country.

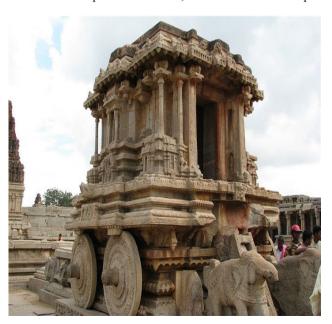
The ascent of the Kadamba dynasty and the Western Ganga Dynasty marked the starting point of Karnataka becoming an independent political entity. The Kadambas (325 AD –540 AD) are regarded as the earliest royal dynasty of Karnataka. The dynasty was founded by Mayurasharma and ruled from Banavasi. (Presently Hobli in Sirsi Taluka of Uttara Kannada district). The Kadambas were the first rulers to use Kannada language at the administrative level. They also minted gold coins and contributed to the architectural heritage of Karnataka.

The Ganga Dynasty (325 AD – 999 AD) laid a strong foundation for the development of Kannada and Sanskrit literature. In fact, King Durvinita is the oldest known writer in Kannada.

The Chalukyas of Badami (500 AD -757 AD) were instrumental in bringing the whole of present-day Karnataka under their rule. Starting with Pampa, the flow of genius in Kannada began to stream forth. And it was literature redolent with noble values of courage, loyalty, sacrifice and renunciation. The numerous masterpieces of epic literature found in Kannada culture is unparalleled in world history.

The Rashtrakuta dynasty on Manyakheta (757 AD – 973 AD) with Gulbarga region as their centre created another great empire that was held to be one of the four great empires in the world at that time. During their rule architecture also flourished as did mathematics and literature. The era of the Badami Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas is considered as the "Age of Imperial Kranataka".

The Hoysala Era (1000 AD – 1346 AD) saw significant development of art and architecture and the world-famous Chennakeshava Temple at Belur, the Hoysaleswara Temple at Halebidu, and the Kesava temple



at Somanathapura are a few examples of their sculptural exhuberance. They also encouraged literature to flourish in Kannada and Sanskrit. Harihara wrote brilliant short biographies of the Shaivite saints. His disciple Raghavanka wrote the story of Harishcandra that is among the greatest works of moral literature produced in history. The Haridasas began their mission of spreading devotion leading to the advent of Kanaka Das – a saint who showed his saintliness by speaking out against social prejudices.

The Vijayanagara Empire was famous throughout the world for not just its architectural splendor but for its being the centre for the renaissance of Telugu literature in addition to Kannada, Tamil and Sanskrit (literary, scholarly and philosophical) literature. This heritage of being a land where all cultures blossom is still a part of the ethos of Karnataka today. The greatest Telugu poets were at this court and at this time Potana wrote his Bhagavata – the greatest devotional work in Telugu. King Krsnadevaraya was a true renaissance king whose work Amukta Malyada is not just among the greatest literary and devotional works in Telugu but in world literature as a whole. In Kannada, epic biographies of saints were written. Above all Kumaravyasa wrote the Mahabharata in Kannada that is considered the greatest adaptation of the epic in any language due to its devotional and literary genius. The architectural wonders of the Vijayanagar Empire are world-famous and have been recognized as part of UNESCO's World Heritage. The Stone Chariot in Hampi is a brilliant example of Vijayanagara architecture.

Vying for power with Vijayanagara was the Bahmani sultanate in the Deccan region which had broken free from the dictatorial Delhi sultanate. Under the Adil Shahi dynasty Bijapur and Gulbarg became a world centre for art, architecture and Arabic and Persian scholarship as well as a Sufism that blended with yoga and Indian spirituality.

The modern history of Karnataka saw the emergence of the Wodeyars of Mysore and Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan. While Tippu Sultan was perhaps the greatest Indian ruler who resisted the British, his war crimes against Hindus who supported the British stained his reputation.

Thereafter Karnataka was torn apart during their wars with the British, the Marathas and the Nizam. The exploitation of the Nizam led to several revolts in particular the Sindagi revolt. But most famous was the revolt of Rani Chennamma in Kittur. The Nagar peasant revolt against the corrupt British exploiters in 1830 was one of the largest revolts against the British in Indian history. When 1857 saw uprisings against the British, many heroes from Karnataka joined this national movement against the British. Karnataka has still not yet recovered from the rampant destruction of the rural economy under the British rule. In particular the adivasis were forced into systematic forms of exploitative lives that continue

to this day. This era saw both the increase in caste exploitation as well as reform movement against it. Above all this era saw the new flowering of modern Kannada literature. Kannada has won eight Jnanapeeth Awards, the most prestigious literary award given by the Government of India. This is the highest number of awards of any language in India

#### Social Movements of Karnataka



A very deep impact was created on the South Indian society by the revolutionary ideals of Basava, also known as Basavanna (1106–1167) - a philosopher, a Tantric, a social reformer and a great humanitarian who fought against social evils of his time such as caste system and the ritual practices of Hinduism. The cornerstone of his movement was the firm monotheistic belief in God as the absolute and universal supreme Self identified as Lord Shiva, and the equality and dignity of all individual beings irrespective of their social and gender status. His emphasis on hard work has made the Lingayats among the most enterprising communities in the country.

He envisioned a society based on sound religious, moral and spiritual values, encompassing one and all. Besides serving the people as a great reformer and a great mystic, he also served as the Prime Minister of the Southern Kalachuri Empire in South India and originated a literary revolution by introducing Vachana Sahitya (Lit. vachana = sayings in prose). Basava's path later gave birth to a new tradition (sampradaya), which became popular in the south as the Lingavanta Dharma or Lingayata movement. Other synonyms for Lingayata are Basava Dharma, Sharana Dharma, Vachana Dharma. He created a flowering of devotional, spiritual and social literature and enabled many so-called lower caste persons to reveal their poetical and spiritual talents. He also was among the first to marry a Brahmin girl to a Dalit boy.

The Gokak agitation in 1980s was the first agita-

tion for the language status of the Kannada language in Karnataka. It was named after the committee that was headed by V. K. Gokak. The three language formulae were adopted in the schools of Karnataka since linguistic organization of states in 1956. In the 1960s there was a strong opposition to the forcible imposition of Hindi language by Hindi speaking politicians from North India.

Sanskrit was the dominant language in schools where students completed their education without having to study Kannada language. This created incompatibility between languages that were used for state administration and education. This led to a linguistic movement against maintaining Sanskrit as the first language in School. This movement was supported by political parties, groups of Kannada teachers, students, college and university professors, playwrights and creative writers.

V.K. Gokak was the former Vice-Chancellor of Karnataka University. He is one of the Jnanpith awardees who headed the committee appointed by the Government of Karnataka to analyse and study the linguistic issues. The report given by the committee recommended that the Government provide first language status to Kannada and also demanded the primary facilities that the language needed at the time.

#### Resources of Karnataka

Karnataka is situated on a tableland where the Western and Eastern Ghat ranges converge into the complex, in the western part of the Deccan Peninsular region of India. The State is bounded by Maharashtra and Goa States in the north and northwest; by the Arabian Sea in the west; by Kerala and Tamil Nadu States in the south and by the States of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in the east. Karnataka extends to about 750 km from north to south and about 400 km from east to west.

The state has three principal physical zones:

- The coastal strip, called Karavalli, between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, which is lowland, with moderate to high rainfall levels. This strip is around 320 km in length and 48–64 km wide.
- The Western Ghats, called Malenadu, a mountain range islands from the Arabian Sea, rising to about 900 m average height, and with moderate to high rainfall levels.
- The Deccan Plateau, called Bayalu Seeme, comprising the main inland region of the state, which is drier and verging on the semi-arid. The humidity in these plains or maidans never exceeds 50%.

Karnataka has a total land area of 191,791 km² and accounts for 5.83% of the total area of the country (measured at 3,288,000 km²). This puts it in seventh place in terms of size. Karnataka is rich in its mineral wealth which is distributed fairly evenly across the state. Rich

deposits of asbestos, bauxite, chromite, dolomite, gold, iron ore, kaolin, limestone, magnesite, Manganese, ochre, quartz and silica sand are found in the state. Karnataka is also a major producer of felsite, moulding sand (63%) and fuchsite quartzite (57%) in the country.

Karnataka has two major centers of gold mining in the state at Kolar and Raichur. These mines produce about 3000 kg of gold per annum which accounts for almost 84% of the country's production. Karnataka has very rich deposits of high grade iron and manganese ores to the tune of 1,000 million tonnes. Most of the iron ores are concentrated around the Bellary-Hospet region. Karnataka with a granite rock spread of over 4200 km² is also famous for its Ornamental Granites with different hues.

The common types of soil groups found in Karnataka are:

- Red soils: Red gravelly loam soil, Red loam soil, Red gravelly clay soil, Red clay soil
- Lateritic soils: Lateritic gravelly soil, Lateritic soil
- Black soils: Deep black soil, Medium deep black soil, Shallow black soil
- Alluvio-Colluvial Soils: Non-saline, saline and sodic
- Forest soils: Brown soil
- Coastal soils: Coastal lateritic forest soil, Coastal alluvial soil

With a surface water potential of about 102 kilometers, Karnataka accounts for about six percent of the country's surface water resources. Around 60% of this is provided by the west flowing rivers while the remaining comes from the east flowing rivers. There are seven river basins in all formed by the Godavari, Cauvery, Krishna, the west-flowing rivers, North Pennar River, South Pennar, and Palar.

There are more than 35 Water Falls in Karnataka There are 26 east-flowing rivers and 10 west-flowing rivers, providing 60% of state's inland water resources. There are more than 10 reservoirs and 7 big lakes.

According to the 2011 census of India, the total population of Karnataka is 6.25 crores. The eight largest cities of Karnataka in order of their population are Bengaluru, Hubballi-Dharwad, Mysuru, Belagavi, Kalburgi, Mangaluru, Davanagere and Ballari.

These cities are famous in India for their universities and scholarship. Countless translations and studies of the treasures of ancient Kannada literature have emerged from them.

#### A New Vision and Mission for Kannada Samaja

Each political party has its own vision of Karnataka but none is a trulycomprehensive view. One thing common among all is that they all think within the frame work of capitalism. Everyone suggests increase in employment opportunities but none asserts 100% employment. Government doles, subsidies, loan waivers etc they believe are the only way to eradicate poverty. The capitalistic mode of development followed after independence has increased the misuse and abuse of resources and brought the state to the brink of devastation and environmental destruction. Gap between haves and have-nots is increasing, and the politicians are trying to cover up their failure by diverting the attention of people towards caste and religious issues.

All the political parties whether regional or national, NGOs and economic experts offer solutions for the problem within the frame work of capitalism. The communists are no different in this regard since their role model is the state capitalism of the former communist imperialist nations. None of them is thinking of a decentralized economy, which rests the economic power with the people and avoids concentration of wealth in the hands of few.

#### A New Approach to planning

The present scenario is that planning is done at the state headquarters and targets are allotted to the districts, talukas and panchayats. This method of planning may at times recognize the local resources but the opportunities provided to the private sector to utilize them, who tend to misuse them because of greed and profiteering. We need a new approach of planning from grass root level.

The main purpose of planning in a decentralized economy is to provide opportunity of 100% employment to the local people by utilizing the resources in sustainable and just way.

#### Karnataka needs 3 Planning divisions:

Because of the unique geo-physical features, the state of Karnataka needs to be divided in to 3 specific divisions for the purpose of planning, viz:

#### Tulu Nadu

Consisting of present Udupi and Mangaluru districts with a few panchayats of adjoining Madigeri Taluk of Kodagu district. The people of these coastal districts have deep affinity towards Tulu language and culture. Moreover they are industrious and hard working people. Because of specialties of nature and human resources this area deserves independent planning for the purpose of development. Due to lack of proper development of Tulu language & literature, there has been an identity crisis which has been exploited by divicive forces for political gain.

#### Konkan Samaja

Coastal talukas of Uttara Kannada district make a contiguous part of coastal Karnataka with other two districts and have unique features and more geographical similarities with other Konkan areas i.e. the neighboring state of Goa and Sinddurga and Ratnagiri districts of Maharastra. It is advisable to prepare a separate devel-

opmental plan for this area as a part of entire Konkan region. However, since the Konkan region is spread over in 3 states, if co-operation among them is not achieved, the state of Karnataka should prepare an independent developmental plan for the Konkan region.

#### Kodagu (Coorg) Samaja

This is the small region of Kodagu District has a unique language, ethnic composition and culture. It also has been a centre of exploitation. The preceptor of PROUT, Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar stressed the importance of this samaja and emphasized the people are among the greatest warriors in the world. What is essential is that the economic tyranny of outside exploiters must end and economic swaraj must be given to the good people of this samaja. Thereafter development can take place in coordination with its sister samajas.

#### Kannada Samaja

Excepting the above mentioned areas, the entire Karnataka state can be brought under single macro level planning unit, making it economically self sufficient.

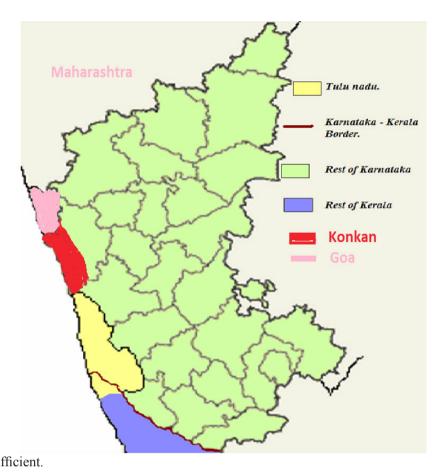
There are a few development authorities like Malanadu development authority, Hyderabad Karnataka development board etc, which serve no real purpose of development since they are basically far away from the principles of decentralized economy. These entities are white elephants and are used to squander government funds by pleasing the local politicians and rehabilitating inefficient officers.

As seen from the map above some panchayats of Kasargod District of Kerala are culturally, geographically and economically linked with Tulu Nadu and Kannada Samaja. Hence cooperative economic and cultural agreements are required between both states for joint development.

The planners have to come out of their shell and their belief that it is the investors who create employment and that without them there cannot be economic progress. A new vision and approach is needed to harness the potentials of Karnataka and guaranteed availability of minimum requirement of life to every Kannadiga and assure ever increasing standard of living.

The planning process has to abandon the present system of centralized planning (either of bureaucrats or corporate executives) and must shift to decentralized system of economy. This means:

- 1. Local people should have control over the local resources.
- 2. Production and distribution through co-opera-



tives

- 3. Block level planning
- 4. Industrial status to agriculture
- 5. Industrial development
- 6. 100% employment

## **Local People to Have Control over Local Resources**

The local resources at present are controlled either by individuals or private sector or by the government. In the new system local people should have control over the local resources.

One way to implement this idea is to form Natural Resources Management Committee (NRMC) at village level and upwards.

One member from each family should be member of the local NRMC. A government Official either from forest or agriculture department should be made secretary of the NRMCs. This committee will work on cooperative principles. It is the duty of NRMC to plan for the utilization of the local resources in a sustainable way and it is their duty to initiate steps for regeneration, replenishment and maintenance of those natural resources.

There has to be NRMCs at various levels like Panchayats, blocks, district and state level. Representatives

from each of the village NRMC in a panchayat will join to form panchayat NRMC.

Representatives from each panchayat level NRMC will form block NRMC and so on. Representatives of different level NRMC should be ex-officio members of the planning body of that level.

#### **Block Level Planning**

A block is the basic unit of planning. Similarities of economic potentialities and opportunities, natural resources etc, comprising a population of approximately one lakh can be recognized as a block. Existing talukas (tehsils) are not based on economic-geographic aspects

of the area. Talukas which are the revenue units may consists of one or more number of economic blocks. Boundaries of these talukas may be redefined as per necessity.

Each block should have a planning body consisting of experts from various faculties, representatives of various panchayats and representatives of NRMC along with local experts.

Experts working in different government departments are hardly allowed to use their technical expertise and talent, their job being more of glorified clerks in submitting statements to government and meeting the targets of distribution of subsidies and other government



Kannada Samaja Workers

doles. Their expertise should be better utilized by entrusting them with the responsibilities of planning for the block based on resources for creating employment.

Block/taluka level planning bodies should work as local units of district and state level planning bodies. While the block level planning bodies concentrate on intra block planning, district level bodies should take up the responsibilities of inter block and district level plans. The driving force behind this process is the network of varieties of cooperatives that form the Foundation of Artha Swaraj.

#### **Production and Distribution via Coops**

The co-operative movement in Karnataka is comparatively strong. And many co-operative institutions are more than a century old. However they are to compete with private sector institutions who have opportunities

to bypass many rules and regulations. A strong political will is needed to reserve certain economic activities exclusively to co-operative sector with a little determination and sincere encouragement from the government, the co-operative sector will easily flourish in Karnataka.

#### **Industrial Status to Agriculture**

Giving industrial status to Agriculture means, adopting the methods, standards and factors in deciding the price of an industrial product, while deciding the price of an agriculture produce. This also means improving the efficiency, reducing the cost of production, addressing disguised unemployment of rural sector, introducing scientific cultivation methods, mechanization, healthy competition, co-operation, creation of economic holdings etc in Agricultural sector.

With proper land use planning, co-operation in cul-

tivation and scientific crop planning it is possible to get better price for the agricultural produces.

Industrial status to agriculture does not mean tolerating inefficiency or giving doles to that sector. It means making agriculture sector more strong and competitive and put an end to exploitation and suffering of farming community including agricultural laborers.

#### **Industrial Development**

Maximum industries should be developed in the local area throughout the length and breadth of Karnataka according to the availability of raw materials or local consumption, at least at block levels. Agro (post harvest) and Agrico (pre harvest) industries should be encouraged as far as possible at village level. Conscious efforts should be made to move away the industries situated in around Bangaluru, Mysuru and a few other cities to interior areas.

#### 100% Employment

Getting employed should not be at the mercy of government or the industrialists or capitalists. It is the duty of just and responsible government to create employment opportunity to every individual. Decentralized economic planning and system will make it possible. All the economic activities from mining to tourism, aforestation to setting up of industries should be planned in a decentralized way with the participation of local people so as to fulfil the needs of the local people - the foremost of them being employment that guarantees purchasing power of the basic necessities of life like medical care, housing, food, etc.

#### **Other Issues**

Tulu language in Tulunadu and Kannada in other areas is being overshadowed by English. The local culture is suppressed and making way to pseudo culture. Genuine interest on the part of government will certainly reverse the trend and make Kannadigas, Tuluvas, Kodavas and Konkani speaking people proud of their culture and heritage.

In the last two years there has been significant activism against Hindi imperialism but a combination of a lack of a clear NeoHumanistic (universal) spirit as well a lack of courage to challenge the outside exploiters who control the state have prevented the emergence of a universal swaraj movement for Karnataka.

By adopting the principles of decentralized economic principles of PROUT (Progressive Utilization Theory) i.e. Universal in spirit and regional in approach (Think globally Act locally) it is possible to change the entire socio-economic situation in Karnataka and blossom forth once more its past glory of literary genius, devotional humanism and cultural blending.

Common people who are carried away by the gimmicks of a few political parties need to be taught to think in a different way. A small beginning has been started by a few persons committed to manifesting Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar's vision for PROUT in the form of Kannada Samaja, to motivate the collective psychology in right direction.

Their slogan in Kannada is [ಗುಡೆ ಚರ್ಚು ಮಸೇದೆಗಳ ಬೆಟ್ಟು ಹೊರ ಬನ್ನೆ, ನಾಮ ಕನ್ನಡೆಗರು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳ ಬನ್ನೆ, ಬಡತನವ ಬುಡಮಟ್ಟ ಕೇಳ ಬನ್ನೆ [

["Come out of Temples, Churches and Mosques,

Say we are Kannadigaru and let us

Eradicate poverty from the grassroots."]

Their mission is a total revolution embracing all aspects of life – linguistic, social, cultural, educational, economic and political. And that revolution is founded upon a spiritual revolution (yoga and bhakti) expressed in the form of a movement for struggle for the establishment of morality – both within and without. The foundation for these dimensions of revolution has already been laid by the great saints and sevakas of this land. Building upon these foundation, Proutists from Karnataka are bringing forth the mission of Artha Swaraja and Samskriti Swaraj to the people of this ancient land.

"The victorious Aryans, coming from cold countries, were a skilled and competent race. Their competence, their sense of superiority over the non-Aryans, and their unity born out of hatred for the non-Aryans, helped them in their victory over India. Though the non-Aryans were defeated by the Aryans in northern India, though the non-Aryans of southern and eastern India were under the spell of an inferiority complex, none of them surrendered to the Aryans without a fight. As they were constantly engaged in warfare with the Aryans, they became much more proficient in battle. Thus Aryan victory in southern and eastern India eventually became impossible."

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

# Miraculous, Torturous Fast

Anubhavati hi múrdhná pádapastiivramuśńam Shamayati paritápam cháyayá sashritánám. (Kalidasa)

[The Tree bears intense heat on its head While it removes the heat for those who take shelter under it.]

#### TN Das

n February 12th, 1973, Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, the preceptor of righteousness (Dharma Guru) was poisoned in Jail after having refused to renounce PROUT - the ideology He created to bring to an end capitalist and communist exploitation. Shrii Sarkar wrote a letter demanding a judicial enquiry into His poisoning. On April 1st 1973. Baba (affectionate name of Shrii Sarkar) wrote a letter to the Governor of Bihar that He was going on indefinite fast from that day. As per Indian law, anyone going on a fast unto death could be force-fed on the grounds that they were trying to commit suicide which was against the law. This is why Baba began His Fast with just 2 cups of horlicks-water. Later Baba changed to having 2 cups of yoghurt water (chaas) a day.

Despite Baba going on fast, the Jail officials continued to try to ruin Baba's health with garbage disguised as food. Acarya Sujitananda visited Baba on April 11th and testified to the Chakraborty Commission saying,

"When I met Anandamurtiji I found Him very weak in comparison to His past and water oozing from His eyes and there were visible black spots below the eyes. I enquired about the watering from eves and the black spots below they eyes and came to know these signs are due to the poisoning. He felt difficulty in recognizing me from the distance. He had also difficulty in vision. I saw the milk supplied to Anandamurtiji. It was not milk but a whitish liquid mixed with some lentils, dust of sand and blotting paper etc. Curd [yoghurt] was also supplied to Anandamurtiji but that was having acidic taste and pungent and obnoxious smell."

In the August 1973 issue of Crimson Dawn, Acarya Yatiishvarananda reported that Baba said,

"I am living only because of My spiritual energy. As far as [the] physical aspect is concerned, there is no more left behind."

From September 30th 1973 to October 1973 Baba suffered from extreme bleeding in His stool. Despite the jail officials being informed, no medical action was taken. On the contrary the jail officials and Jail Doctor continued to harrass Baba while He was going to the toilet in the cell. At this time Baba would often be too weak to stand and so He would have to hop on His hands to the toilet.

In February 1974 Baba's condition was so bad that the jail doctor said that Baba would die in 10 days.

In the July 1978 issue of Crimson Dawn, it is recounted how on Feb 13 1974, a Margi named Ranjan visited Baba in Jail. Baba said, "Kawal fish is a variety of fish which is adorned with thorns all over the body. Howsoever you thrash it, beat it, cut it or roast it on fire but it refuses to part with life."

Baba became silent for a while and asked –

"Am I not like Kawal fish? It is the 319th day of my fast today and still I am alive. I was even poisoned. Even now, every day, every moment I am passing in torment, torture and great pain but still I am alive. Am I not like Kawal fish?"

On March 7th, 1974 Girijanandaji sent a telegram saying "BABA unconscious. Lower portion paralyzed. Hands inactive. Voice inaudible. Publicize, communicate everyone." In June on top of all this Baba got pneumonia and was too weak to communicate at all.

On March 16, a group of Indian MPs (Member of Parliament) visited Baba in jail. They were Professor Samar Guha (follower of Subhash Bose - Socialist Party), Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Jan Sangh - Hindu nationalist party), Bhai Patel (Congress O party) and Shyam Lal Bihari (Bharatiya Kranti Dal of Charan Singh).

After this they issued a statement that said, "We find Shrii (Shrii Anandamurtiji) extremely weak and anemic, always lying and unable to sit, stand or change sides (on the bed) without assistance. His voice has become feeble. He could not talk distinctly; he could complete His sentences haltingly and

in a very feeble voice." These MPs heard from the jail doctor that unless Baba was taken to the hospital, His life was in danger as His blood pressure was falling rapidly and He was in danger of uremia.

Baba told Prof Guha that "My life is less important than my ideas." When Atal Vajpayee told Baba that if He died, He would in fact be helping the government, Baba replied, "If I die My death will (be) for the Ideal - My Ideal will triumph."

When the MPs were leaving, Baba said that democracy without morality cannot survive. Baba said that in India there is no Dharma, no morality and no democracy. Baba then said, "Save India, Save Humanity, Save Dharma."

In June 1974 the 'International Committee to Obtain Justice for Shrii Shrii Anandamurti' launched a campaign of collecting letters of support for the human treatment of Dharma Guru. Many people from around the world wrote letters to India and to Indira Gandhi. The programme also held fasts and protests at Indian embassies.

In the July 1978 issue of Crimson Dawn, another incident from 1974 is quoted. In 1974, a young Acarya visited Baba in jail. Baba asked this dada if he thought that Baba was in pain (due to poisoning and fasting).

The dada said that he did not know.

Baba said no and insisted that dada answer.

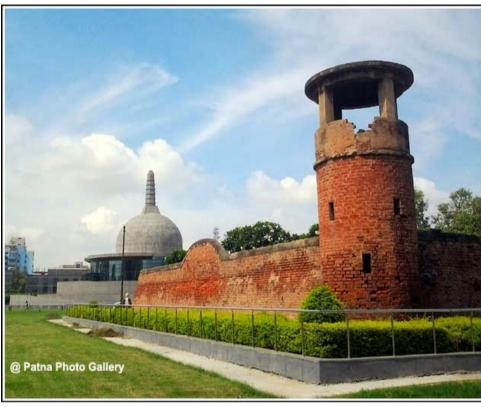
Still this dada said he did not know.

Then Baba asked the dada to use his common sense.

The dada kept quiet.

Then Baba said,

"I feel so much pain. No one else could endure such pain. Why I endure it? Because you, My sons and daughters are in great danger now. If I were not suffering then you would be suffering and you would not be able to endure it. Like the hen and the chicks --



What does the hen do when the chicks are attacked? She spreads her wings and keeps her chicks safe. You all are in great danger now -- and I must save you. If I did not continue My fast, The suffering would be much greater."

This was indeed a rare occasion because normally Baba would always fill despondent disciples with joy and would not talk of the ordeal He was undergoing. He always talked about the work of His Mission to serve suffering humanity and gave bliss to disciples just by His presence and despite His weakened state. He used to ask for more and more newsletters and magazines to be printed as He said they were His food.

In 1975 a National State of Emergency was declared and all disciples were arrested. In 1976 Baba was sentenced to life in prison by a court functioning under government autocracy. Throughout all this Baba maintained His fast but now calmly announced that soon the tables would turn. In preparation for His coming out of Jail, He began performing special Tantra

yoga practices to revive His body. Thereafter despite years of fasting, His health began to improve. Finally on August 2nd, 1978 Baba was released from jail after being found innocent of all charges by the High Court.

#### **Breaking Fast at Last**

Baba's historic Tapasya Fast lasted 5 years, 4 months and 2 days. In fact on some days due to harassment and obstructions by the Jail authorities, Baba did not even have 2 cups of liquid. Baba stopped having horlicks because the Jail stopped supplying this for a while and then Baba switched to yoghurt water. First disciples would churn the milk to remove the butter. Then they would make yoghurt (dahi) from what was left (the milk minus the cream). Then they would mix the yoghurt with water: 3 parts water and 1 part yoghurt. These were Baba's instructions. There was very little substance in it - it was mostly water - but it kept Him from being force-fed.

Around the second week of April 1973, when Baba's elder sis-

ter requested him to take some solid food in jail, Baba smilingly declined saying, "I never went against your likes. But – I have observed a vow – I do not want to break that. One day I will certainly come out and break My fast, taking food from your hands only."

Now on August 2, 1978, Shriimatii Hira Prabha was brought from Chinsura, West Bengal and had become blind during Baba's stay in prison.

When Baba entered His quarters, she held Baba and tried to sense Baba by touching His face and stomach. It was such a touching scene that all family members present could not check their tears. Baba's weeping sister asked Him to break His fast by taking food from her hands. At 4 PM Baba was first offered a glass of coconut water by His sister which was the first time He had taken food outside the jail in seven years. (Later she found to her joy that when she was able to hold Baba's hands, she was able to see during that short time.)

Then Didi Hira Prabha told Baba to only take a little solid food as His long fasting had made His stomach incapable of digesting solid food. Baba like a child answered that He was feeling much appetite and that He would take a lot of food, not little. To justify His demand he also mentioned that according to His doctor, His stomach was as powerful as that of a 20 year old boy. So Baba said that regarding consumption of food, no one should be worried. Hearing this everyone began laughing.

Later at 5 PM, Baba's brother Himanshu Ranjan offered Him a glass of mosambi juice. At 7:30 PM Baba took a cup of liquid containing milk, semolina (suji) and sugar. Finally at 9:30 PM Baba had His first meal consisting of 2 chapatis, a cup of vegetable soup and a cup of milk.

Soon after this, Baba made a special announcement. He declared that He was forgiving nearly everyone who was involved in persecuting Him. Three persons who had

harmed many others beside Him, He said He would also forgive if they expressed remorse. Baba then told the margis that if they met any of the defectors, they should get angry, instead they should say, "It is only by your grace that we are victorious today."

Thereafter Shrii Sarkar plunged ahead into His Mission and revealed so many new dimensions of PROUT and developed a model garden city of Ananda Nagar to manifest the practical solutions of PROUT. He revealed the new social paradigm of NeoHumanism - the philosophy and practice of love for all created beings of the universe. Despite continued violence against His followers, He persevered working 22 hours a day to bring an end to all forms of exploitation that are torturing suffering humanity and all beings on this planet.

Unlike human beings who have been marked for life by their ordeals under persecution and imprisonment, Baba's undaunted optimism was never disturbed by the ordeals undergone both during the fasting and afterwards. He wrote more than 50 books but never thought it worth the time to write any memoir to document all the ordeals undergone by Him in Jail. Indeed Baba very rarely referred to His fast at all. One rare exception was on December 31st, 1978, just four months after ending His fast wherein He said:

"People of this age are foodorientated and grossly materialistic. Eating plays such an important part in their lives that, if there is a shortage of food, they think they will surely die. Their existence is so dependent upon food that they become feeble and lose their stamina to continue vigorous spiritual practices. You should not depend on food too much.

This is why I have prescribed fasting on four days a month for some people and two days a month for others, and personally I have proved by fasting for five years and [four] months at a

stretch that if people try, they can remain without food. If one's dependence on food decreases, one will gain more freedom in a particular aspect of life. In Kali Yuga, as I have said, people are too obsessed with food and other material objects. That is why it is said, "Samghe shaktih kalao yuge" [In Kali Yuga, Strength Lies in an Organized Body].

It is impossible to solve singlehandedly the acute problems of food, medical care, housing and education which we are confronted with today. This requires a collective, organized effort following the spirit of "devábhágam" yathá púrve" [in the olden days the divine, holy personalities used to share all their food and posessions].

With this end in view I have formulated a socio-economic philosophy [PROUT]. The sooner you are able to collectively implement that philosophy, the better it will be for society. At the same time you should always remember to exercise control over food. Do not depend upon food too much.

Personally, I do not believe in this division of time into the Satya [Golden], Tretá [Silver], Dvápara [Bronze] and Kali [Iron] Yugas, although I do admit that there is some truth in the underlying spirit.

You should always remember that Kali Yuga, when people are continually obsessed by food, is also a transitional phase and will be followed by a new Satya Yuga when people will again be more soul-orientated [Consciousness-oriented], Satya Yuga will start as soon as you implement the socioeconomic ideology.

By your collective efforts let Satya Yuga be established on this dusty Earth as soon as possible. May you be victorious."

# The Underworld-Politician-Police Nexus

#### Basant Rath

Retirement brings overnight enlightenment for some Indian Police Service (IPS) officers. "There are more criminals in the Kerala police at the IPS level than at the civil police officers' level" is what outgoing Kerala DGP T.P. Senkumar said on the day of his retirement. Speaking after the farewell parade, he said if 1% of civil police officers (constables) have a criminal nature, this number reaches 5% at the IPS level.

Though this is his subjective rant, the objective reality is no less worrying. According to data released by Kerala's home department in 2014, 950 officials in the 54,000-strong police force were involved in various criminal cases. In 2011, the state government had told the court that around 100 newlyrecruited constables were allegedly involved in criminal cases. If this is what is happening in one of the better-policed states in the country, India's police leaders – the members of the IPS - need to answer a lot of uncomfortable questions about their professional worth.

How criminalised is India's police? And what is the relative contribution of the IPS to this shady state of affairs?

Studying Mumbai, the country's financial capital, the city of dreams, dances and mafia dons, sheds some light on this.

Maharashtra is a well-oiled money-minting factory for political funding in India's electoral politics, cutting across party lines, and port made a reference to a document prepared by the CBI in 1986 on the criminal nexus between the Mumbai underworld and the city police.

Criminality within the Indian Police Service is a serious problem – one that will take more than a few good men and women to solve.

Mumbai is its most productive machine. This is built into the political economy of India's election-based democracy. No political party, its fund managers or its media-savvy leaders can afford to let go of Mumbai's usefulness. The mighty Mumbai underworld economy involves the real-estate business, the construction industry, cricket betting, film financing, hawala transactions, oil theft and adulteration, narcotics and gold smuggling, bootlegging, the share market, the extortion racket, contract killings and protection money. Its combined annual turnover in 2011 was estimated at between Rs 100,000 and 150,000 crore, enough to run the city's Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation for five years.

The 1993 Vohra Committee re-

The report also mentioned, in as many words, the written submission of the then CBI director on how Iqbal Mirchi, the dreaded gangster of the 1990s, started his underworld journey as a petty cigarette seller and ended up owning real estate worth crores of rupees under police patronage.

Former Union home secretary and now BJP leader R.K. Singh revealed in 2015 that a few "corrupt" officers of the Mumbai police had caused a botch-up of the covert operation launched by the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government to take down Dawood Ibrahim in Dubai. The government had roped in some elements from the Chota Rajan gang and they were being trained at a secret location outside Maharashtra. But Mumbai police officials who



were in touch with the D-company landed up at the training camp with arrest warrants for the covert operatives who had been engaged by India. The entire operation to take down Dawood failed due to these rogue elements in the Mumbai police.

A recorded conversation between an officer of the DCP rank, a senior officer of the Mumbai police, and Chhota Shakeel surfaced in 2011. He was heard pleading with Shakeel to spare a builder from extortion. Videos of police officers of various ranks (ACP and DCP included) partying with known underworld characters pop up in the media quite frequently. The usual drama of suspending the officers and after some time, as the media uproar fades, its back to business as usual.

The extent of the police-underworld nexus in Mumbai can be measured from this roll call of lowerand middle-ranking police officers known as "encounter specialists," who have been arrested in criminal cases and placed under suspension from time to time. Needless to say, most of them stand acquitted and have been reinstated, some are back in circulation after spending considerable time in various jails.

- 1. Praful Bhosle (85 encounters): Custodial death of Khwaja Yunus in 2003
- 2. Daya Nayak (82 encounters): Disproportionate assets case
- 3. Ravindranath Angre (50 encounters): Threats to an estate agent in Thane
- 4. Pradeep Sharma (101 encounters): Alleged fake encounter
- 5. Arun Borude (47 encounters): Was named accused in the rape of a minor. He committed suicide later
- Aslam Momin (34 encounters): Allegedly spoke to Ibrahim's brother Iqbal Kaskar (case absolved). Dismissed from service under Article 311 of the constitution for his alleged nexus with the Ibrahim gang.

Around 20 police officers have been dismissed from service over two decades for links with the underworld, with several others suspended. But these numbers do not quite reflect the extent of the rot within

The once-fabled Andheri Crime Intelligence Unit, which boasted of these 'encounter specialists' in its ranks, was officially disbanded in 2002. Asked about gangsters getting killed by the police in Mumbai,

Election after election, leader after leader, IPS officers from the Maharashtra cadre (of which Mumbai police is an administrative part) have lived with the policepolitician-underworld nexus



former IPS officer Y.P. Singh once said, "Most of the encounter killings are supari killings, carried out at the behest of one gang against another for monetary considerations."

#### Police-underworld-politician Nexus

In 1999, then Mumbai police commissioner Ronnie Mendonca had forwarded a report to then state police chief Arvind Inamdar about 17 officers having links with the underworld. In 2007, the Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB) prepared a report chronicling the nexus between a senior Mumbai police officer, assistant commissioner of police Anil Mahabole, and Dawood's powerful sister, Haseena Parkar. This report detailed the network between the police, underworld and builders in Mumbai. A separate 2008 ACB investigation indicated underworld money was being routed through tax havens into the real-estate market and then invested in such projects. The underworld is also known to muscle into projects by offering cash at lower-than-market rates, and helping the builder clear slums and get permission. The builders appoint retired IPS officers by offering them attractive salaries to help with getting projects cleared using their clout in the department where they served for decades.

Election after election, leader after leader, IPS officers from the Maharashtra cadre (of which Mumbai police is an administrative part) have lived with the police-politician-underworld nexus.

The Mumbai police has its share of clean officers too. But the extent of criminalisation in the police under the leadership of the IPS is too strong to be wiped clean by a few good men and women, because the political masters of the day find these few officers bad for their financial health and political fitness.

Is it possible for this police-politician-criminal nexus to survive and prosper without the active involvement of some politically-connected, top-ranking Maharashtra cadre IPS officers and their well-oiled administrative network? This is a question that must haunt the members of the IPS, serving and retired, of this country.

In a headline-hogging disclosure a day before he retired from the police force, former Mumbail police commissioner Rakesh Maria said "influential and wealthy people" suppressed the Sheena Bora murder – in which her mother Indrani Mukerjea and former media baron Peter Mukerjea were among those arrested – for three years. He, however, did not name anyone.

It would appear Maria was hit by the same "retirement bringing enlightenment to some IPS officers overnight" syndrome.

Perhaps we have to wait for the retirement of some other officer who'll divulge the details of the involvement of the IPS officers with the underworld. Much like Senkumar did.

Basant Rath is 2000 batch IPS officer who belongs to the Jammu and Kashmir cadre. Views expressed are personal.

# How the Safety of India's Processed Food was Compromised

The government has done away with scientific scrutiny of how companies mix ingredients in many new processed food products

#### Nitin Sethi & Kumar Sambhay Shriyastaya

As India's processed food industry grows at a compounded 12% a year, companies are introducing a flurry of new flavours and products. Between 2012 and 2015, the industry tried to introduce nearly 4,500 products with completely new formulations.

In December 2013, the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India, which is responsible for ensuring that the food sold in the country is safe for consumers, granted permission to a company called Pushpam Foods and Beverages to sell an energy drink called Restless Ginseng.

Just under a year later, scientists at the food safety authority gave senior officials a piece of information that is well-recognised in the rest of the world: that caffeine and ginseng, the two key ingredients in Restless Ginseng, make for a dangerous cocktail that could increase heart rate and blood pressure.

It took the authority seven months to react. It was only in June 2015 that it withdrew the no-objection certificate given to the company to sell the product. For a year and a half, the company was able to manufacture and sell a harmful product. Despite the authority's action, Pushpam Foods continues to promote the drink on its website. The food safety authority has evidently failed to check whether the product has been withdrawn from the market.

As the Comptroller and Auditor General of India pointed out in a recent report, had the authority followed its own guidelines framed in 2011, products such as Restless Ginseng would not have been put in the market in the first place.

The guidelines required food companies to provide scientific evidence that their product is safe. Only after the authority's scientists were satisfied was the product to be allowed into the market.

#### **Diluting Guidelines**

Restless Ginseng was not an exception. Starting from 2012, the authority has diluted its regulations, bypassed established protocols and ignored warning from its scientists to allow the sale of more than 800 processed foods with new formulations without assessing their safety. Some of these are still on the market.

The authority enabled this, the CAG noted, by diluting the 2011 guidelines to give temporary oneyear no objection certificates to products even before its scientists had examined them.

The dilution goes against the provisions of the Food Safety and Standards Act, 2006, mandating that only scientific panels can decide if a food product or food type is safe to consume.

The bureaucrats heading the authority can issue licences for food business operators to sell a product only after the scientists have approved it as safe.

#### **Proprietary Foods**

Restless Ginseng is one of hundreds of products that are sold as proprietary or novel foods – new formulations of processed food products for which safety standards do not exist in the 2006 Food Safety and Standards Act that applies to all packaged foods. The 2011 guidelines were formulated to regulate such foods.

Among these foods that do not have pre-set safety standards under the law are energy drinks, salted snacks, noodles, soups and pasta. Also in this category are nutraceuticals — dietary supplements such as multivitamins that may improve health but do not treat a medical condition. Though such supplements might be sold by chemists, they are categorised as food, not medicine.

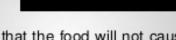
By 2020, the nutraceutical industry in India alone is expected to grow to Rs 26,000 crore, according to the Drug Marketing and Manufacturing Association.

#### **CAG's Findings**

When the CAG did a test audit of 50 proprietary food products approved for sale to consumers between 2012 and 2014, it found that even the diluted regulations were not followed.

In many cases, the authority did not send the product for scientific assessment even after giving it the temporary no-objection certificate.





- Food Safety is defined as the assurance that the food will not caus to the consumer when it is prepared and/or eaten according to its in use (FAO/WHO, 1997).
- □Food safety issues arise from factors such as ;
  - Improper Agricultural Practices
  - Poor Hygiene at all stages of the food chain
  - Lack of preventive controls in food processing operations
  - Misuse of Chemicals and Additives; additives used above per levels
  - Inappropriate storage and handling.
  - Microbiological Contaminants
  - Biological toxins
  - Pesticide and Vertinary Residues e.t.c
  - Counterfeiting, adulteration, mis-brandment e.t.c



By April 2015, a note written by the authority's chief executive in May 2015 shows, it had issued such certificates to over a thousand products but sent only 200 of them for testing.

In the case of at least four products, the authority continued to allow sale for up to 47 months after the scientists rejected them as unsafe.

For some products, the authority did not cancel the no-objection certificates in time. Sometimes when it did cancel the certificate, it allowed the sales licence for the product to stand.

The CAG highlighted the case of a company called Chemical International that had received a no-objection certificate to sell a mushroom-based nutraceutical in August 2012. A month later, the authority's scientists asked for the product to be banned as the company had not submitted clinical data about its claimed health benefits. But the authority did not cancel the licence for the product.

In August 2013, the safety authority gave a company called Surya Herbal a licence to sell Sunova Spirulina tablet. But since the company did not provide scientific evidence of the tablet's safety, the scientific panel cancelled the no objection certificate in August 2014. Yet, the company continued to carry the licence to sell the tablet till December 2017. It still promotes Spirulina tablets on its website, though it could not be ascertained if this is the same product that has been banned. The authority does not require companies to disclose such details on their websites.

#### Licence Raj

In 27 of the 50 cases audited by the CAG, the authority's product approval unit had recommended referring the items to its scientific panels for assessment. But this was not done. Instead, the authority issued no-objection certificates to all the products.

Restless Ginseng is probably not the only potentially harmful energy drink that the authority has allowed. The CAG said it was likely other companies besides Pushpam continue to sell drinks with the same dangerous



concoction of ginseng and caffeine.

The authority has also granted the approvals arbitrarily. In January 2013, it allowed the Indian biotech company Biocon to market its nutraceutical tablet S-Adenosyl Methionine but denied permission to Sun Pharmaceutical Industries to sell the same product in August that year. Although Biocon's product approval was withdrawn about a year later, the company continues to hold the licence to sell the nutraceutical till May 2020.

This arbitrary clearance system was struck down when challenged before the Bombay High Court and its decision was validated by the Supreme Court in 2015.

With the clearance regime banned by the courts, the sale of proprietary food products should have stopped until a new system was put in place. But, the CAG found, a month after the judgement of the Bombay High Court, the food safety authority issued "blanket instructions" to its licensing authorities to renew or continue all existing licences issued on the basis of the no-

#### objection certificates it had already issued.

"Consequently, FSSAI permitted the indefinite manufacture, distribution, sale or import of possibly unsafe foods," the CAG said. "FSSAI did not take any action after the final orders of the Supreme Court to withdraw these blanket instructions."

Despite this, the food authority, and the Union health and family welfare ministry which oversees it, have been dismissive of the CAG's report. The main thrust of their defence is that it is old news and a new set of regulations has been put in place starting 2016.

Pawan Kumar Agarwal, the chief executive officer of the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India, reiterated this. "Product approval [under the guidelines the courts have done away with] is a thing of the past," he said. "Why don't you write a forward-looking article? The CAG report is not based on facts."

But the new regulations promise to be worse, shows an investigation by Scroll.in, which found new evidence that had escaped even the CAG.

#### From Bad to Terrible

When it comes to the safety of many processed food products Indians are eating, they are relying on an honour system: if manufacturers assure the government regulators that their products are safe, they will go to the market, no questions asked, without any scientific assessment of these claims.

This has been allowed under regulations that came into effect in January 2016, framed on the directions of the Prime Minister's Office in August 2014, government records show. The regulations were drafted by the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India, which is responsible for ensuring the food sold in the country is safe to consume. They were framed in consultation with the Union Ministry of Food Processing Industries, whose primary mandate is to promote processed food. The industry bodies such as the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry were consulted too.

Till the new regulations were introduced, the government had a single set of rules to regulate three kinds of foods: proprietary foods, novel products and health supplements. Proprietary foods use known ingredients in combinations that have not been tested for safety before; novel foods contain ingredients that have never been used previously; while health supplements constitute products such as multivitamins that supposedly improve health generally but do not cure any disease.

As we saw, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India recently noted that between 2012-16 these regulations had been diluted, bypassed and violated to allow even dangerous food products to be sold.

In 2014, the Bombay High Court scrapped the old regulations on procedural grounds – they had not been approved by Parliament and were being used merely as guidelines by the food safety authority, which kept changing them at its whim. The decision was subsequently upheld by the Supreme Court.

#### **Business Friendly Steps**

Instead of addressing the procedural problems, the Narendra Modi government in 2014 decided to improve "ease of business" conditions for the food processing industry by recasting the entire proprietary food safety regime just the way industry wanted. It brought in separate sets of regulations for proprietary foods, novel products and health supplements. The regulations for proprietary foods, the CAG found, were put in place in January 2016 without consulting scientists of the food safety authority.

The safety of a processed food product depends not only on the safety of its ingredients but also how the ingredients are mixed together – this is known as "combinatorial effect". As an example, caffeine and ginseng are safe to have separately, but when mixed in an energy drink they make for a

dangerous cocktail.

But, the new regulations for 'proprietary food products' give the food processing industry the freedom to combine pre-approved ingredients in whichever ratio they wish, attest to the safety of these products and sell them.

Previously (at least on paper), scientific panels established by the food safety authority were required to examine whether such combination of different ingredients in new products were safe for humans before they were allowed into the market.

That is not all. A manufacturer now also gets to choose the category of standardised food it wants to label its product under. For each category of standardised food, such as dairy products, the food safety authority prescribes the additives that can be used and in what quantities. Additives are preservatives and other chemicals that go into processed food, in addition to the main ingredients.

#### Who Benefits?

The food processing industry had long been complaining about the old safety regulations, claiming they were arbitrary. It got its wish for new regulations in August 2014. Records maintained by the food processing ministry show the principal secretary to the prime minister conducted a meeting on food safety regulations, which concluded: "Prior product approval shall not be necessary for proprietary products which use ingredients allowed in any standardized food or category. Similarly, no prior approval shall be required for food products using additives already permitted by FSSAI."

Following directions from the Prime Minister's Office, the food processing ministry prepared a detailed note on changing the rules in February 2015. It recommended that non-standardised foods that use already approved ingredients and additives should not be scrutinised: manufacturers certifying their safety would be

#### good enough.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry chimed in to suggest that easier rules would help "facilitate continuity of Indian food processing business". The chairperson of the food safety authority, Ashish Bahuguna asked that the industry association's recommendations be read by all officials and experts formulating the new regulations.

A task force set up by the food safety authority also gave its report which made some recommendations along the lines the Prime Minister's office had earlier decided.

However, the authority's chief executive officer at the time opposed easing the rules, the records show. YS Malik opposed the food industry's demand to ignore the combinatorial effect of the ingredients in proprietary foods even as he promised to regularise and speed up the existing system. "(Industry's) argument appears to be based on the premise that the concept of combinatorial effect does not operate qua the use of such ingredients on the end food product," he said in an open letter to the industry in May 2015. "This is a misnomer. It is not necessary that food ingredients, which are reckoned as safe individually, shall also remain safe when produced in combinations."

He added: "Most of the FBOs – Food Business Operators – especially the aggrieved ones appear to be swearing by the Hon'ble Prime Minister's 'Make in India' initiative conveniently forgetting that it is also accompanied by the words 'Zero Defect and Zero Effect'."

By September 2015, Malik had been transferred out, in what was seen as a reaction to the food safety authority taking strong action over the alleged contamination in Nestle's Maggi noodles, a proprietary food product.

The new leadership of the food authority aligned its opinion to be in congruence with that of the food processing industry. The new regulations came into operation in January 2016, even before they were formally notified. To do this the government used a clause of the food law that it can only use in a matter of "urgency concerning food safety or public health", the CAG pointed out. The new regulations were eventually notified in October 2016, with a few minor changes.

#### **Food Authority's Defence**

Responding to detailed questions from Scroll.in, the food authority said, "Proprietary foods are made from standardised ingredients or ingredients which are allowed in standardised products. Any product prepared by using such ingredients is expected to be safe unless there is specific scientific evidence to the contrary."

The authority failed to point out that, unlike proprietary food items, standardised food products are made from mixing known ingredients in ratios that have been approved after scientific assessment.

The food safety authority's current CEO, Pawan Kumar Agarwal, defended the changes. In a telephonic conversation, he said: "From your questions, it seems they are being dictated to you."

Informed that the queries were based on government documents, he questioned the source of the documents. "The person who has given you the documents, he or she has vested interests," he claimed.

In a written reply to Scroll in, the food authority separately added, "It is the responsibility of the Food Business Operator to comply with these standards to manufacture safe food. It may be pointed out that similar responsibility is also assigned to Food Business Operators who manufacture standardised products for which no separate product approval is required."

It also claimed "the regulation relating to proprietary food was notified after intensive deliberations and it covers all applicable provisions as stipulated in the [Food Safety and Standards Act] and the Regulations, hence the safety of the food is not compromised."

The Prime Minister's Office did not respond to written questions. The food authority claimed it had done away with the old rules not on orders from the Prime Minister Office's but because they had been rejected by the courts. It failed to mention that the Bombay High Court had rejected the previous rules merely for procedural reasons and it had not prescribed what the new regulations should be.

Justifying the relaxation of safety norms for proprietary foods, Agarwal offered the example of the traditional sweet dish, kheer. "Earlier we were into recipes," he said. "Now we don't want to get into recipes. Take, for example, kheer. Your milk is safe and your sugar is safe. What would be the quantity in which you mix them together, we do not want to get into."

However, home-made kheer is a traditional recipe that the food law does not cover. The law covers processed and packaged food that companies produce by mixing chemicals and ingredients in new ways and ratios.

#### **Standards Elsewhere**

India is not the only country that has to deal with new processed foods for which standards do not exist. The European Union has some of the strictest regulations governing such foods. Any food or food ingredient that has not been consumed within the European Union member countries before 1997, when the first novel food regulations were implemented, is not permitted to be sold without scrutiny of all scientific information pertaining to its safety.

In the United States, scrutiny of the product itself is not required but each ingredient and additive is scientifically assessed for use in a specific food product or class of food products. Food companies are required to either provide strong evidence that the ingredient has been traditionally and widely consumed in the US and widely considered safe by food safety experts. If not, it has to the prove that the ingredient is new and the company has conducted enough scientific research to establish its safety. Even after the product is approved, citizens can ask for greater scrutiny of the ingredients. Additionally, the US Food and Drug Administration has a well-established programme to continually monitor the sale and health effects of new ingredients. Even then, the US system is considered relatively weak because at times it allows dangerous ingredients to be sold without deeper scrutiny.

India's new regulations, which are even easier on the industry than those in the US, were drafted with inputs from the US-India Business Council. Clearly more substandard products from abroad will be fed to the Indian people. Their health will be made even worse but then what is more important is for foreign corporations to Make their Raj in India.



# A Review of the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1986

#### Kiran Bhatty

Human trafficking, a form of organized crime that extends across borders, covers various forms of human rights violations, ranging from commercial sexual exploitation to forced labour and organ donation. 1 Over the years it has taken on more complex and diverse forms making it necessary to reform laws and strategies geared towards its eradication and control. Tragically,

the involvement of children, especially girls, has also grown. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in its 2012 Report the share of minor girls trafficked increased from 13% in 2006 to 17% in 2009. The Report also shows that trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation accounts for 57-62% of all victims of trafficking.

In order to deal with this growing menace the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime developed the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000), to provide the international legal framework through which trafficking could be combatted world-wide. Countries, like India, who have ratified the protocol, are obligated to amend their

domestic laws accordingly to deal with the problem at the national level.

In the most recent Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016 released by the UNODC, it has been observed that the profile of detected trafficking victims has changed. Although most detected victims are still women, children and men now make up larger shares of the total number of victims than they did a decade ago. In 2014, children comprised 28 per cent of detected victims. These shifts indicate that the common understanding of the trafficking crime has evolved. A decade ago, trafficking was thought to mainly involve women trafficked from afar into an affluent country for

sexual exploitation. Today, criminal justice practitioners are more aware of the diversity among offenders, victims, forms of exploitation and flows of trafficking in persons, and the statistics may reflect this increased awareness.

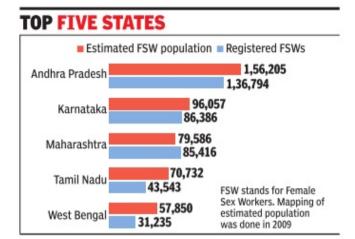
In fact, India is seen as a source, transit and destination country for trafficked children, with an

estimated 1.2 million children trafficked in India every year (US Department of State, 2010). While the bulk of trafficking in India takes place internally and is believed to be targeted mostly at forced labour, lack of consistent and credible data makes it hard to establish the precise numbers especially as far as children and their destination are concerned. According to the National Crime Records Bureau Report (NCRB, 2015)3 – the only credible government data source on trafficking - a total of 6877 cases were recorded in that year, up from 5466 in 2014. Of these, the cases pertaining to child trafficking were 3490 in 2015, which is about 50% of all trafficking cases.

While India signed the Palermo Protocol in 2002 and ratified it in 2011, it has yet to frame a comprehensive anti-trafficking law.4 The current legislation

specifically dealing with trafficking is the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1986 (ITPA 1986) that covers just one aspect of it, namely prostitution or commercial sexual exploitation. Given that forced labour constitutes the largest trafficking problem in India, this seems surprising. However, it is believed that the presence of separate laws dealing with the other aspects of trafficking allow for all aspects to be covered. For instance, a host of Labour laws that deal with child labour and bonded labour; 5 State Anti-Beggary laws; 6 the Prohibition of Child Marriage Law; Sections of the IPC 7 and several Constitutional provisions 8 to name a few. However, despite the multiplicity of these laws the problem remains

India is seen as a source, transit and destination country for trafficked children, with an estimated 1.2 million children trafficked in India every uear



#### **FACTS ABOUT PROSTITUTION**

- In India close to three million women work as prostitutes, of which 1.2 million are below 18. The number of prostitutes rose by 50% between 1997 and 2004.
- The red light district in Bombay generates at least \$400 million a year in revenue, with 100,000 prostitutes servicing men 365 days a year, averaging 6 customers a day, at \$2 each.
- About 5,000-7,000 Nepalese girls are trafficked to India every day. 100,000-160,000Nepalese girls are prostituted in brothels in India. About 45,000 Nepalese girls are in the brothels of Bombay and 40, 000 in Calcutte.
- Sonagachi in Kolkata, Kamathipura in Mumbai, G.B. Road in New Delhi, Reshampura in Gwalior, Budhwar Peth in Pune, host thousands of sex workers & are the famous red light centers in India.

intractable. One reason for the difficulty lies in the fact that laws fall under different departmental and state or central government control, resulting in lack of clarity over territorial jurisdictions. However, anomalies in the law itself such as a lack of consensus on definitions (what constitutes trafficking or exploitation), lack of clarity on the rights of victims, 10 weak punitive measures against perpetrators, and poor enforcement mechanisms impede their justifiability resulting in low conviction rates.

While the gaps as mentioned above in the structure of the legal system have contributed to the ineffective enforcement of law, the weak linkages between law and policy have compounded the problem, especially at the rehabilitation end. For instance, the quality of protective homes provided or the quality of training given to law enforcement officers or the calculation and allocation of compensation for victims, are all determined by policy decisions. Unfortunately, extremely low resources allocated towards these ends have contributed to inadequate capacities within the system to deal with the range and scale of issues involved. Hence, relief or compensation is not properly applied on behalf of the victims or even determined or paid in time or paid in full; homes are run dis-satisfactorily and in some instances in violation of the specifications mentioned in the Juvenile Justice Act and other laws, counseling of victims is inadequate and opportunities for sustainable livelihoods that would enable the victim to transit into mainstream society are largely absent. All these shortfalls greatly increase the risk of victims relapsing into their older lives and frustrate the rescue and prosecution process.

In sum, gaps in the law and law enforcement machinery coupled with poor convergence across departments have meant that the situation of trafficking in India remains far from reigned in. In addition, allegations of corruption and a nexus between law enforcement agents and perpetrators have also grown, without necessary steps taken to curb this trend. This policy brief is an attempt to evaluate the ITPA, 1986 with special reference to the recent changes in law such

as the amended Section 370 and 370A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), in 2013. In particular it makes a case for a comprehensive new law that takes into account the changing scenario and its imperatives.11 Recommendations of the Parliamentary Standing Committee in its 182nd Report released in 2006 and some positive features of new draft Bill [Trafficking of Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) Draft Act, 2017] being contemplated by the Ministry of Woman and Child Development (MWCD) are included in the section of recommendations.

#### **International Context and India's Response**

By way of providing the broader legal framework, it would be useful to say a few words on the international context and covenants that India is signatory to. The most important and pertinent international instrument in the context of trafficking is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, commonly known as the Palermo Protocol.12 It marks a significant milestone in international efforts to control the trafficking of persons and is the base document for efforts across countries to combat trafficking. India signed on to the Palermo Protocol in 2002, and ratified in 2011, but it was codified in national law in 2013, through the enactment of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, which resulted in changes in several sections of the IPC, especially 37013 and 370A.

While it is not necessary for domestic legislation to use the precise language of the Protocol its adoption into domestic legal systems is expected to give effect to the concepts contained in the Protocol. The amended sections have brought a fairly comprehensive definition of trafficking into the Indian legal system, but despite these changes the framework for trafficking falls short of meeting the Protocol requirements on at least three counts.

One, it does not "explicitly recognize and penalize all forms of labour trafficking ...as it excludes forced labour from its definition". This is a rather large gap, as labour constitutes the bulk of the trafficking problem in India.14 Two, it does not provide for sufficient safeguards aimed at preventing trafficking. The ones that do exist are for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation and not trafficking for other purposes. Three, it does not provide for an effective system for the safety, recovery and compensation of trafficked victims.15

Each of these omissions, while being in contravention of the requirements of the Palermo Protocol, has also contributed to the inability of the system to deal effectively with the problem. At the same time the ITPA, has remained unchanged with no reference to the amendments in the IPC. As a result the two main legal instruments for trafficking remain somewhat at variance with each other. This dissonance in the law and the impact that it has had on the failure to curb trafficking led to the Ministry of Woman and Child Development (MWCD) proposing the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Amendment Bill, 2006, as amendments to the ITPA 1986. This Bill was then placed before a Parliamentary Standing Committee in 2006 for review. The Committee submitted its Report the same year with suggested amendments to the ITPA. The Committee held wide ranging consultations with various actors and agencies working on trafficking, including voluntary groups and activists, academics, government officials and police personnel. These deliberations led the Committee to note that the Act had "failed to meet its objectives on several counts" (p.5). It therefore proposed several amendments to the ITPA. However, even as it recognized that by focusing solely on commercial sexual exploitation, the Act was limited, the Standing Committee refrained from expanding its scope. Instead, it took the decision to confine its recommendations to prostitution alone stating that there was a strong case for bringing separate legislation(s) to cover other forms of trafficking.

The Committee did however make several recommendations, some of which are included in the last section of this report. THE IMMORAL TRAFFIC (PREVENTION) ACT, 1986 The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1986, originally the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls (SITA), 1956, is the Central legislation dealing with trafficking in India.16 However, even though the name refers to immoral trafficking of persons, the ITPA's scope is limited to commercial sexual exploitation or prostitution and penalizes those who facilitate and abet commercial sexual exploitation, including clients and those who live off the earnings of prostitutes. It also provides for welfare measures towards rehabilitation of victims in the form of protective homes to be set up and managed by state governments. Unfortunately, even as a law dealing with sexual exploitation it leaves a lot to be desired.

Discussed below are some of the gaps.

# a) Definitional Inconsistencies and Conceptual Loopholes

1. A basic deficiency in the ITPA is the lack of a

- definition of trafficking, even though the title of the Act specifically refers to trafficking.17 In fact, even commercial sexual exploitation is not adequately defined in the Act.18 Instead the focus is on defining brothels as the site of commercial sexual exploitation and thus penalizing the facilitators of commercial sexual exploitation in brothels. What remains unclear therefore is the actual offence, particularly in the context of trafficking. Is engaging in prostitution the offence or is trafficking for prostitution the actual offence? This ambiguity serves to leave out a plethora of offenders involved in the transport and harboring of potential victims of commercial sexual exploitation.
- The assumption that prostitution takes place in brothels alone is also a limitation in the Act. In other words, sexual exploitation in private premises, other than a brothel, is not covered by the Act. In fact with the emergence of newer technologies and the changing global scenario, commercial sexual activity has emerged in diverse forms and can take place in residences, hotels, clubs, or involve mobile locations. Soliciting or use of public spaces within a certain proximity to public places is however included in the Act. These distinctions, in addition to making it harder to provide evidence, also have implications for a range of punitive actions involving persons who rent, lease, own premises used for prostitution/ trafficking, but which are not "brothels", as well as for those who facilitate, propagate or encourage, the process of trafficking or sexual exploitation, in the said premises.
- 3. The treatment of victims as offenders, as reflected by their detention in "corrective" homes, implies a contradiction in terms, as a victim cannot at the same time be an offender. This contradiction reflects the confused position on prostitution inherent in the law. While prostitution per se is not outlawed in India (only when using public spaces), all women in prostitution are routinely treated as offenders under the ITPA. Further, the term corrective institution has been considered offensive for victims when in fact they have been forced into commercial sexual exploitation against their will.
- 4. The existing practice of recruiting girls for prostitution under the garb of religion, as in the case of devdasis is not covered in the Act. Explicit mention of socio-religious practices, which are not exempt from prosecution under the law, would go a long way in ending this form of sexual exploitation.
- 5. The definition of prostitution as 'commercial

- sexual exploitation' or 'abuse of persons for commercial purposes' is too wide and does not allow for commercial sexual activity as part of legitimate sex work. However, in the case of children, it cannot be considered a legitimate activity under any circumstances. Hence, a distinction is required in the definition of prostitution that excludes children altogether.
- 6. Rights of the victims have not been defined clearly in the law. This too is a basic lacuna in the ITPA, wherein welfare measures have been prescribed without first clarifying how they adhere to specific rights inherent in victims. For instance, while victims may be sent to protective homes, this is not a statutory requirement. The rights under rehabilitation, which should include legal, psychological, health and educational support and thus enable them to join the mainstream of society, are woefully absent from the law. This gap has contributed to the poor implementation of the rehabilitation process.
- 7. Lack of a witness protection programme or the option of in-camera proceedings prevents many victims, especially children from testifying.
- 8. Composition and powers of the Central or State Authorities for preventing and combatting trafficking have not been defined in the ITPA and neither has a time frame been set for when the authorities should be formed. As a result, the authorities remain far from adequately prepared for the roles envisaged for them.

#### b) Punishment and its Enforcement

1. Punitive measures: The punitive measures currently in the ITPA do not accurately or adequately reflect the import of the offences they cover. For instance, the punishment of 7 years for offences of trafficking in the ITPA is low, especially in the context of children, even though a provision for extending to life does exist in certain cases. At the same time punishment for anyone "frequenting" (Section 5) a brothel seems extreme, as not all visits to a brothel need involve trafficked persons. And not all visits to the brothel may even involve sexual exploitation. For instance, health workers or other service providers who visit may be implicated in the process, as under the current dispensation simply visiting a brothel invites punishment. Similarly, there is also routine misuse of the punishment for solicitation by the police (Section 8). "This has resulted in harassment and punishment of women in prostitution instead of conviction of perpetrators of trafficking and pimps" (Standing Committee Report, p6). The problem however seems to be that the punishment is restricted to women. If it

- were extended to pimps, agents, procurers etc., the section would target the offenders more accurately. Ideally, the women in prostitution should be dropped from the clause and it be retained only for the other perpetrators of the crime.
- 2. Convictions: The Indian record on arrests, convictions and punishment is disheartening, as noted earlier. It has also been suggested that **complicity between law enforcement officials and traffickers could be** contributing to the low numbers on this account.19 However, without rigorous investigation, it is hard to corroborate the veracity of such claims. There are nevertheless other structural constraints in the law enforcement machinery that can more easily be cited for the low conviction rates. For instance, the absence of a witness protection programme makes it harder to proceed with an investigation, as victims are fearful of deposing.

Similarly, the lack of a single specified and special agency to deal with investigations implies that evidence gathering is dependent on local police, greatly slowing down the process at the initial stages itself. Further, since different laws are implemented through different authorities, with lack of clarity on roles of each actor/agency, there is an overlap of responsibility for action often falling in between stools. For instance, the local police, specialized police of the Anti Human Trafficking Units, Special Juvenile Police Units, Special Police Officers (SPOs), Missing Persons Bureau (MPB), District Missing Persons Unit (DMPU) and the Missing Persons Squad (MPS) all have overlapping jurisdictions. This leads to confusion about who is to be held responsible, eventually impacting action.

#### Other anomalies in the ITPA, include:

- Detaining a trafficked woman in a corrective institution as an alternative to punishment. This amounts to her detention (and then release) in an arbitrary manner without her consent and thereafter without being provided any counseling or opportunities for rehabilitation.
- 2. Involving children. This requirement, missing from the Act, makes it hard for children to feel safe and free to depose especially in the presence of the police and the accused.
- 3. Punishment for living off the earnings of prostitutes (Section 4), without a caveat for children, legal heirs and other dependents of the women in prostitution, penalizes the dependents. In many instances, these women may be the only bread earner in the family. For the children involved it implies a real travesty of justice. A distinction between living "on" the wages and "off" the wages was therefore needed. iv) Cross-border dimensions of trafficking (including interstate trafficking) remain severely neglected in the Act.

## c) Rehabilitation, Compensation and Protection

Perhaps the most glaring anomaly in the law related to rehabilitation and compensation is the absence of a specified set of right for the victims. This includes their detention in protective or corrective homes without their consent as mentioned above, but extends to the entire gamut of rehabilitation, including relief and compensation. Instead of specifying rights the ITPA gives state governments the option of making provisions for corrective and protective institutions.

What this implies is that state governments comply with these provisions only to the extent that their budgets or capacities allow. Invariably budgets for such matters tend to be deficient. As a result, these areas have been grossly underserved, with state governments taking arbitrary and cursory measures to bring relief to the victims. This is evidenced from the fact that protective and corrective homes are poorly equipped. Counseling, including legal counseling is completely absent as are provisions for health and education.

Providing livelihood opportunities, that would go a long way in sustaining rehabilitation are also absent. It is no surprise then that after a period of what has aptly been described as 'detention' victims are released, and more often than not fall back into their older lives. Similarly, the lack of a coherent policy to guide finalization of the minimum and maximum amount of compensation or the procedures to be followed means that victims have to wait long periods before they receive anything, if at all

#### Postive Developments in the Legal Realm

Andhra Pradesh will become the first state in India to target people who purchase sex in brothels as part of a crackdown on the sexual slavery of women and children, authorities said.

India has strict laws against human trafficking, sexual abuse and operating brothels. Pimps, brothel managers and traffickers are often prosecuted.

Yet, those who buy sex from people forced to work in brothels, including children, rarely face charges.

That needs to change, authorities say.

"People who purchase sex go scot free," said H. Arun Kumar, the state government's commissioner for women's development and child welfare.

Andhra Pradesh last January, appointed a panel of legal experts and campaigners to study anti-trafficking laws that could be applied to buyers of sex, and to make recommendations within 60 days.

Panel member Sunitha Krishnan pointed to a section of the Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act, which says charges may be applied to a "person who carries on prostitution and the person with whom such prostitution is carried on".

Campaigners say that anti-trafficking efforts will not work as long as police fail to target people who visit brothels where sexual slavery occurs.

"The buyers are the ones creating the demand," Krishnan told the Thomson Reuters Foundation. "Girls will continue to be sold until buyers are criminalised."

Of an estimated 20 million sex workers in India, 16 million women and girls are victims of trafficking, according to a 2013 report called by four non-profit groups.

#### **Conclusion**

An examination of the ITPA 1986 and the recent efforts to bring amendments to it clearly point to a felt need for large scale changes in the law dealing with trafficking. The fact that trafficking is a complex crime involving both process and outcomes and spanning several areas of human rights violation does make it difficult to adjudicate and may require an incremental process, as evident from the changes in the international regulations surrounding trafficking. Unfortunately India, thus far, has not been able to keep pace with these changes. Apart from the amendments to Section 370 and 370A of the IPC, little other concrete action has been taken to bring law in line with the reality. Even the amendments to ITPA proposed by MWCD and reviewed by the Parliamentary Standing Committee remain untouched.

The growing and evolving nature of the problem, calls for a single a comprehensive law that takes into account the particularities of the Indian context and the concepts of the Palermo Protocol. In addition, the lack of coordination and convergence between the departments and agencies involved impedes further the efficacy of the law. Severe capacity constraints in the law and policy apparatus, reflected particularly in shortages of trained and dedicated staff for prevention, protection and rehabilitation purposes, need to be urgently, as they have the potential to unravel the best-intentioned and drafted legislation. Given below are some specific recommendations with regard to the law as well as policy.

#### Recommendations

#### Specific changes in the ITPA20:

- 1. The ITPA to be substituted with an overarching Bill covering all aspects of trafficking.
- 2. Definition of trafficking to follow Section 370, but with the addition of forced labour, and brought under the purview of the new Bill. The Parliamentary Standing Committee's recommendation of adding the words "inducement of religious and social nature" may also be added to the definition, to cover the Devdasi issue.
- 3. Distinction to be made between sex work per se and commercial sexual exploitation following trafficking. It is therefore recommended by that the term "commercial sexual exploitation" and "trafficked victim" be clearly defined. Further, since sex work is not out-lawed in India, dependents of

women in prostitution (for instance children and parents) should not be penalized along with those that facilitate commercial sexual exploitation through trafficking. Thus, a distinction must be made between living "off" the wages and living "on' the wages of a prostitute, as also recommended by the Standing Committee.

- 4. The minimum punishment to be increased to 7 years for adult trafficking and 10 years for trafficking in children.
- Deletion of Clause 8, which deals with soliciting is believed to lead to further harassment of the victim and should be replaced instead by one that specifically deals with all other agents of trafficking only.
- 6. Concept of "corrective" homes to be replaced with rehabilitation homes, which are fully equipped to provide support and the means of sustained livelihood to the victims once they leave.
- 7. Creating a special fund for the welfare, rehabilitation, health care and education of women in prostitution and their children to overcome the severe resource constraint in this regard. Other recommendations, some of which have been mentioned in the new Trafficking of Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) Draft Act, 2017] as well, are:
- 8. Punishment for Dereliction of Duty. The punishment would extend to all personnel involved in the omission to provide care, protection and rehabilitation to a victim as well as to causing physical or mental injury or hardship or trauma to the victim while performing such duty.
- 9. Applicability of Punishment. If more than one law is involved, the law with the harsher punishment to prevail.

## 10. Provisions for hiding the identity of victims and a Witness Protection Programme

- 11. All offences made cognizable and non-bailable.
- 12. Repatriation of cross-border victims provided for in the law.
- 13. Establishment of a National Anti-Trafficking Bureau to coordinate and monitor all aspects of trafficking. A National unit would also be able to tackle the issue from the perspective of organized crime with international ramifications.

#### **Policy Recommendations:**

 Building a comprehensive database Data on trafficking are inadequate, irregularly collected by different agencies using diverse methodologies, leading to diverse and unverifiable sources of data on trafficking. This makes response mechanisms difficult and ineffective. Most of all it impedes the identification and prevention aspect of the problem. It is recommended therefore that a comprehensive, collated single database be created that is updated regularly by the district authorities.

In developing such a database, the involvement of the Panchayati Raj institutions could be elicited. This would require developing a single methodology across local units and training of personnel to manage the system. Such training of panchayat members (as well as at the block or district levels) would assist in building the capacity of these local units of governance with spill over benefits to other areas of child tracking as well. A local database while useful for tracking the scale of the problem, but would also go a long way in identifying the source and destination of the victims as well. This would make it easier to identify offenders as well as repatriate children back to their homes or communities.

2. Convergence across departments Different statutes and departments deal with different aspects of trafficking, with virtually no convergence mechanisms. Joint review meetings held at periodic intervals and joint action committees set up with concerned departments to follow up on the judicial process would allow for such convergence to take place. The reports of these meetings or action taken by the committees could form the basis of a review at the National level.

Another aspect of convergence, especially related to children involves coordinating with programmes and schemes meant for children such as the ICDS, ICPS and basic education programmes. The officials involved with these programmes must also be included in the fight against trafficking in preventing the problem by ensuring all children remain in school and by assisting in rehabilitating victims.

3. Building State Capacity In addition to increasing resources devoted to fighting trafficking, government must also develop standards for the training of responsible personnel, especially those dealing with children. Further, strengthening the processes of rigorous and regular review and monitoring at all levels with mandated response mechanisms included in the review process would greatly aid in maintaining control over the situation as well as in planning for shortfalls as they appeared.

#### **NOTES**

- Other forms of trafficking include cheap or unpaid labour, illegal adoption, forced marriage, child soldiers and use of children in sports and entertainment.
- 2. See for instance, the following documents:
- i) Trafficking In Persons (TIP) Reports, brought out annually by the Department of the US Government;
   ii) HAQ Child Rights Centre and Campaign Against Child Trafficking (CACT) Report, "Child Trafficking in India" (2016); and iii) Population

- Council Report, "Trafficking of Minor Girls for Commercial Sexual Exploitation in India: A Synthesis of Available Evidence" (2014).
- 4. Crime in India, Statistics (2015), National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- 5. Even though the Constitution specifies prohibition of trafficking in Article 23, which states: "Traffic in human beings and 'beggars' and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this prohibition shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law".
- The Child and Adolescent Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986, The Factory's Act, 1948, The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, and the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Act 2015
- 7. Various state anti-beggary laws.
- 8. See, Sections 362, 363, 370, 370A, 372 and 373
- Article 21 (Right to life with dignity); Article 21
   A (Right to education); Article 24 (Prohibition of employment in Factories) Article 39 (f) related to children's health, Article 45 and 51A both related to right to education.
- 10. Some laws are Central laws, some state and each law is under different Ministerial control. For instance child labour laws fall under the Labour Ministry, while kidnapping and abduction, being criminal activities fall under the Home Ministry. Cross border issues on the other hand fall under the purview of the Ministry of External Affairs. Similarly beggary laws and Devdasi laws Devadasi Prohibition of Dedication Acts, of 1982 and 1988- passed by Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh governments respectively are state laws, while the child marriage law is a Central Act. This results in confusion over roles and responsibilities impeding action.
- 11. While rehabilitation is part of the ITPA, details of specific rights under it, such as the form, nature, processes, time frames by which a victim may expect to be rehabilitated are not clarified. For instance, is livelihood training part of the rehabilitation process, or the provision of legal counsel or even the issue of taking consent before the victim is sent to a protective home? What can a victim expect as a right when rescued is not clear.
- 12. A caveat is in order: While the problem of trafficking is complex and multi-layered, for reasons of brevity and expediency, not all issues will be dealt with here. The selection in no way implies that the omitted issues are not of importance and worthy of consideration.
- 13. In this dispensation, Exploitation includes prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. And,

- Child refers to any person under the age of 18 years.
- 14. Section 370: Whoever, for the purpose of exploitation, (a) recruits, (b) transports, (c) harbours, (d) transfers, or (e) receives, a person or persons, by (i) using threats, or (ii) using force, or any other form of coercion, or (iii) by abduction, or (iv) by practising fraud, or deception, or (iv) by abuse of power, or (v) by inducement, including the giving or receiving of payments or benefits, in order to achieve the consent of any person having control over the person recruited, transported, harboured, transferred or received, commits the offence of trafficking. Further, it states that :1. The expression "exploitation" shall include any act of physical exploitation or any form of sexual exploitation, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or the forced removal of organs. 2. The consent of the victim is immaterial in determination of the offence of trafficking.
- 15. It is believed that physical exploitation and slavery would cover the issue of forced labour. However groups working on bonded labour are not convinced.
- 16. See Avon Global Center for Women and Justice at Cornell Law School, Centre for Health Law, Ethics and Technology at Jindal Global Law School, Cornell Law School International Human Rights Clinic, and International Human Rights Clinic at the University of Chicago Law School Report (2016), "India's Human Trafficking Laws and Policies and the UN Trafficking Protocol: Achieving Clarity". It has a clause-by-clause evaluation of the Indian laws in relation to the UN Protocol.
- 17. SITA was amended in 1986 and renamed ITPA.
- 18. While many attempts have been made at defining trafficking by various organizations, the most commonly used and accepted definition is the one coined by the UNCTOC. According to this, definition, "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs".
- 19. "Prostitution" means the sexual exploitation or abuse of persons for commercial purposes.."
- 20. See USDOS Trafficking in Persons Report, 2017, especially its narrative on India. 20. These have been recommended by the Standing Committee as well.

# What's wrong in our culture and what kind of movement do we need to build to change it?

# **GOING TO THE HEART OF THE MATTER**

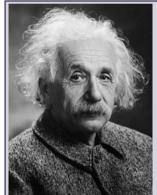
### PETER GABEL ARGUES FOR A PSYCHO-SPIRITUAL POLITICS

Michael Bader

Peter Gabel's brilliant new book, The Desire for Mutual Recognition: Social Movements and the Dissolution of the False Self, seeks to understand both the source of our collective suffering and the prospects for a radical social change movement through a lens that draws from psychoanalysis, critical social theory, and his own sophisticated brand of phenomenology-what Gabel calls a "phenomenology of social being." He uses the highbrow language of philosophy, but his aim is a down-to-earth plea for a dramatic shift in how we understand human alienation and the conditions necessary to effect social change through what he calls a "spiritualization" of politics.

Through illuminating the drawbacks of liberalism, Marxism, psychoanalysis, existentialism, and deconstruction, Gabel urges us to create a social movement that expresses and honors our deepest longings for love, understanding and recognition.

Recognition is at the heart of Gabel's theory. He posits that it is in the nature of "being" (Heidegger's concept of Dasein), manifesting itself from the first instant of life,



"A human being is a part of a whole...
but he experiences himself, his
thoughts and feelings as something
separated from the rest, a kind of
optical delusion of his consciousness."

-Albert Einstein

before language and representational thought, that human beings long for mutual recognition. By mutual recognition, he is referring to an authentic and loving connectedness, something similar to Martin Buber's "I-thou" relationship and also to what some attachment theorists call empathic attunement. All of us long to be lovingly "seen" for who we really are, and we seek to love others in the same way.

While we all want to experience this sense of being joyfully present with the other, we never quite get enough of it. This is because we are systematically "mis-recognized" by our caretakers, who themselves weren't truly recognized by their caretakers. As any psychotherapist will tell you, failures of empathy are ubiquitous. No one can give what they didn't get. Love and approval are inevitably conditional and riddled with the fears and projections of our caretakers, and thus, the trauma of misrecognition is endlessly and continuously reproduced in our families, schools and everyday work and social life

People adapt to what they didn't get by developing "false" selves, isolated and separated from one another, as if by following the "rules," mirroring the fearful and withdrawn states of others, and being the perfect person that everyone else needs us to be, we can finally get some small shred of the truly authentic love that's really needed—love for who we really are, not for our performance.

This process of adaptation and compromise is automatic and normal. The way things are becomes the way things are supposed to be. Both literally and metaphorically, we walk down our streets and go through our lives obeying the rules by subtly averting our gaze from each other, fearful of the vulnerability inherent in making real eye contact. We develop roles and mistakenly identify our true selves with these roles—waiters, psychologists. Democrats. Americans—as if these performances reflect our essence. which they do not.

But as Gabel reminds us, our frustrated desires for mutual recognition do not go away. Instead, they are repressed behind a false self which functions to protect us against revealing our innermost desires to others who might fail to reciprocate. Gabel argues that attempting to be truly present to others without the confidence that they will do the same, risks an ontological humiliation, the danger of which continually keeps us from risking too much or expecting too much from others. So we adapt, comply, and conform to social norms all the while feeling hollow inside. Sadly, these false-self relationships come to seem better than nothing—they are, after all, relationships—even though they feel alienated and even though our true longings for mutual recognition are buried safely and hidden behind our defenses; what Gabel calls a "moat."

But while hidden behind a moat, defended by our false selves, and enforced by fears of humiliation, our deepest longings for authenticity and connectedness always push toward consciousness, like whispers seeking expression. For Gabel, alienated social life is the best of a bad bargain. All of us are split personalities with the hunger for love and recognition always in conflict with the need to protect ourselves from the danger of humiliation. This hunger for love becomes espe-

"Once the soul awakens, the search begins and you can never go back. From then on, you are inflamed with a special longing that will never again let you linger in the lowlands of complacency and partial fulfillment. The eternal makes you urgent. You are loath to let compromise or the threat of danger hold you back from striving toward the summit of fulfillment."

— John O'Donohue

### Chapter 1 – Is Your Life Crisis Really a Spiritual Calling in Disguise?

"You are not dead yet, it's not too late to open your depths by plunging into them and drink in the life that reveals itself quietly there." — Rainer Maria Rilke

In our journey towards "civilization," we've found more and more ways to numb and disconnect ourselves from Spirit. We live and work in gated communities, shopping centers, and office buildings, with air conditioned houses and cars, fences, landscapers, animal controllers, and we spend our leisure time immersed in complex and absorbing technological worlds.

To deal with our soul starvation, we drown ourselves in prescription medications, alcohol, recreational drugs, consumerism and other soulnumbing forms of escapism. We even suffocate ourselves in rigid belief systems that moralize and judge others, promising to alleviate our sense of alienation from life and existential turmoil.

k to page 149 Pa

Page 17

ane 18

9 pages left in this chapte

cially manifest in the world when it is tapped into by social movements.

In the background of Gabel's book is the depiction of the human spirit at war with itself, always seeking reciprocity and connection while at the same time keeping itself withdrawn and artificially separate. We identify with our roles, or other abstractions such as our race, our position in the social hierarchy, or our nation as if these things were real when in fact they are imagined. We invest these static things with reality, as if they exist, "out there," external to who we really are, when in fact, they are collectively sanctioned defenses. We then strengthen these false identifications by projecting all of our bad feelings onto others, some enemy, which then reinforces our sense of belonging—in our collective imaginations—to a superior group. A false but gratifying "we" is created by demonizing a "they."

Liberalism, for example, posits an ideal of people separate, free and equal under the law. Gabel argues (as does Yual Harari, in his book Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind) that this is an imaginary and highly idealized construction. It exists in our consciousness, not as a "thing" that is out there. Gabel notes that seeing life as a competi-

tion of free, equal and autonomous individuals, while on some level expressing a psychological need to see oneself as part of a community of "citizens" is, in its essence, a collective fantasy in which isolated and disconnected monads peer out at each other from behind the "moats" built in childhood, each regarding the other as either threats to one's freedom or as a means to an end.

Gabel goes so far as to argue that even hierarchies, including class distinctions, represent a shared imagined story that affords people the safety of knowing their place, secure from the danger of a vulnerable and authentic meeting of the minds. Hierarchies, for Gabel, are hiding places, which render essentially human connectedness into something static, rigid, and external to our human essence, a social creation in which people can feel "above" or "below" others.

Gabel's description of the alienation of everyday life is powerful, and in my opinion, accurate. The evidence is overwhelming, for example, that we have an epidemic of loneliness in our society. We are isolated from one another, and often feel helplessly caught up in bureaucracies that feel like "things" out of our control. We all have a need to

belong, a need exacerbated by the decline of civic and social communities of meaning so poignantly described by Robert Putnam in his book, *Bowling Alone*.

Gabel's book explores the psycho-spiritual basis of modern alienation and shows how conservative values like patriotism, American exceptionalism, male superiority, and even ideologies of white supremacy perversely reinforce our sense of belonging, of community, by projecting outward all that we are afraid of onto images of a demeaned other: people of color, gays, immigrants, Muslims, etc. By creating a "them," we manage to eke out a real, albeit feeble, sense of "us."

The phenomenology of being strangers to ourselves and each other, of a split between our true and false selves, seems to me applicable to many aspects of modern life. Sociologists and psychologists have long attempted to describe these "softer" forms of alienation and suffering. Erich Fromm, C. Wright Mills, Betty Friedan, David Riesman, Christopher Lasch, and others, sometimes drawing from psychoanalysis or social this psychology, other times from a Marxist or critical theory tradition, have all tried to explain the social and psychological sources of estrangement and isolation in modern life. By describing the nuances of the movement of the self towards authentic connectedness, alternating with fearful withdrawal, Gabel presents a deep and coherent theory that explains the essence of modern alienation

While *The Desire For Mutual Recognition* is a bid for social change activists to change the cause and cure of the psychosocial suffering in our society, it extends its reach into reformulating our understanding of economic life and class conflict. Gabel shows what happens when we look at economic life from inside the lived experience of workers, managers, owners, and consumers rather than from the outside as a "system." From the inside, Gabel shows how we are all coerced into

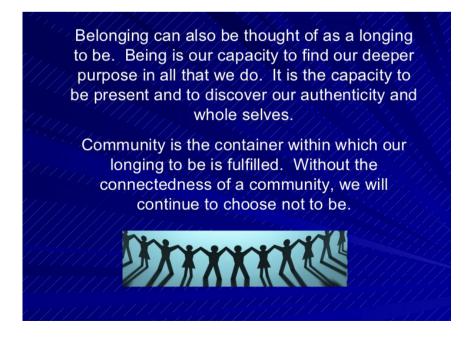
reproducing relationships with each other as false selves, peering out from behind our moats at others who enact the roles, for example, of fellow workers, bosses, or customers. Each of us plays out our role as if it were a thing that is real and "out there," and thus we create patterns of interaction that make up the "economy." But this economy, for Gabel, is a simply a collective hallucination of sorts that delivers material survival things in the most alienated way possible.

Only when a social movement—say, a strike—surges up and calls into question these collective role agreements or when a catastrophe upends business as usual, does the falseness of the economy-as-athing become evident.

Gabel's descriptions of the social phenomenology of everyday life that results when the traditional norms of society break down is especially compelling. He describes the aftermath of the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake in San Francisco, during which, amidst the external devastation and the collapse of traditional norms and rules, people came together in spontaneous acts of altruism, mutual aid, and togetherness. Many people have had similar experiences, for example, in the aftermath of 9/11, Katrina, and other natural disasters. (Rebecca Solnit's book, *A Paradise Built in Hell: Communities that Arise in Disaster,* provides many detailed examples of this phenomenon.)

Gabel describes what happened as a "ricochet of mutual recognition," in which our false selfdefenses temporarily break down and our natural and heartfelt longings for mutual recognition break through and over our individual and collective moats in spontaneous and widespread ways. It feels as if it happens "all at once," because the underlying longing for authentic connection is so powerful and so close to the surface that when external trauma makes it safe to come out of hiding it does so with explosive and exhilarating force.

Gabel wants to investigate how such phenomena can be created intentionally as part of a social movement which in its essence reflects an uprising of desire breaking through the chains of alienation. He believes that such a "ricochet" of recognition occurred in the 1960s in the almost simultaneous emergence of the civil rights movement, the women's movement, the environmental movement, the rise of the counterculture, experiments in collective living and working, the abandonment of conventional family and work choices, countless new programs for the poor, the explosion of



non-profits and volunteerism, etc.

While each of these movements have their own unique history, Gabel argues that they all occur close enough in time and space that they represent an historical moment in which the upsurge of desire for relationships of greater love, mutuality, and recognition burst forward and spread throughout the society, indelibly shaping the lives of millions of people. Whatever we think of the 60's and its problems, few people can say that they haven't been affected.

Gabel also explains how a false collective identity (created by the government and the corporate media) created in the collective psychology must be replaced with a new collective saying, "What I am calling 'politics' is the work of bringing into being this 'realwe' that the collective 'false-self', the alienated matrix of the conditioned world, defines as politics. Just as the 'false [individual] self' reasserts its fear of the other by claiming...that it is the 'real self'... so also the 'false we' asserts that it is the 'real-we' and that its expression in political life is what the people want. When a movement of genuine mutual recognition [transcending all social, religious, racial and other divisions] arises and alters the perceptional field [worldview]... and introduces into that field a new psycho-spiritual vitality and spreading radiance...

Through the movement, the 'real-we' is able to form itself and make itself manifest by breaking out of its prior...condition...And once the 'real-we' enters public space with sufficient confidence... for [people] to experience a parallel universe comprised of so many connections [between so many people working as one] in which every one of us has a place to stand that is a source of spontaneous relief and joy. But then quickly...the artificial universe [of the exploiters] tries to reassert itself and dissolve this [new collective psychology] initially through overt opposition [declaring that everything longed for in the new collective identity is against the law] and later through active propaganda and repression." While this emergence of a new collective psychology (through the evolution of a new psycho-spiritual realization in the collective mind) happens occasionally in history. It is clear that for enduring social progress a collective spiritual practice or yoga is required for the liberation of the collective mind of society from crude passions and false identities manipulated by the corporate media.

Thus, Gabel spends a great deal of time discussing the preconditions for a radical social change movement. He argues that such a movement must be intentionally created on three different levels: First, individuals need to learn how to comfort themselves, to heal their inner divide, and become more "present" through activities such as meditation or other humanist approaches to individual growth. Because these are individual strategies, they are inherently limited, but for Gabel, they offer important opportunities to begin to heal the split in the self. However, since he views this split as essentially a social phenomenon, he doesn't believe that individual attempts at healing can possibly be successful in creating a better world.

Thus, he argues that the second level at which change needs to be found is in the creation of supportive communities and groups that make safe the expression of wishes to give and receive mutual recognition. Progressives should create groups that support people's deepest needs and provide reassurance against their deepest fears. At this level, Gabel underlines the importance of supportive families, neighborhoods, workplaces, and political organizations. Since he says that people disrupt group functioning out of fear, not malevolence, our task should be to create the conditions of safety for people to be their best selves.

Finally, Gabel argues that a third level is necessary to cre-

ate social change; namely, that we need to bring an intentional focus to goals and ideals that can draw people towards a future in which their deepest longings can be realized. Examples abound: fighting for Social Security as a form of intergenerational protectiveness and love, not as simply an entitlement, or advocating for universal medical coverage as an expression of the ethic of caring rather than programs that simply address physical health. Only then, Gabel argues, can Martin Luther King Jr.'s arc of the moral universe truly bend toward justice.

Gabel's prescriptions for political change involving the intentional creation of supportive communities and standing for a vision of love and mutuality is aligned with the long tradition in the progressive movement that argues for the importance of individual change and the creation of alternative institutions that give people a real experience of a better way of life.)

So many of us have had repeated experiences in progressive movements watching change being undermined by the apparent psychopathology of individuals and the common tendencies toward intolerance, divisiveness, and paralysis so often found in groups. By explaining these phenomena using his theory about the continual conflict in both individuals and groups between the desire for mutual recognition and the fear of vulnerability,

Gabel helps us see how paying attention to the emotional substrate of our movement for social change is crucial to its success, not only crucial to its effective functioning, but also its capacity to spiritually nourish us. At the same time we must spiritually nourish the emotional foundation of our resistance group with collective spiritual practices. Gabel calls this a type of psycho-spiritual politics (his friend and collaborator, Rabbi Michael Lerner, refers to it as a "politics of meaning"). As Dr. Martin Luther King Jr said, "We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools".

### A RESOLVE SUPREME

## THE FIRST SELF-IMMOLATION

When Acarya Divyananda challenged the Indian government to sacrifice all for the Guru, it was reported in all the newspapers.



### Acarya Shantatmananda Avadhuta

The Indira Gandhi government had hoped that by arresting Baba, they could demolish Ananda Marga. But the lovers of humanity started dedicating their lives as monks and nuns for His Mission. Ananda Marga was becoming dynamic overseas

The government could not understand how this was happening while Baba was in Jail. They had place Him in a cell without any ventilation or fan, isolated from His disciples. Now as Ananda Marga was spreading at even greater speed, they decided to eliminate Him. They staged a heinous plan to have the jail doctor administer poison to Baba in the garb of medicine.

Baba knowing allowed the poison to be administered to Him and absorbed it by His spiritual force. Baba now demanded a judicial enquiry into His poisoning. When the government ignored His demand, He started fasting.

We were struggling as best we

could to secure His release. But all our efforts failed. In Patna we contacted all the ministers but the Chief Minister, Mr. Gafoor was a yes-man of Indira Gandhi.

In the court, Baba's lawyer Nageshvar Prasad exposed clearly the conspiracy of the government to kill Baba and crush Ananda Marga.

As this evil government continued their persecution of Baba, devotees began to think what could be done. At last in 1973, one of our most beloved Dadas - Acarya Divyanada Avadhuta answered the call. Born in Mayurbhanj District in Odisha, he was an ardent devotee of Baba. He made a personal decision to immolate himself on April 9th at the Patna Secretariat East Gate.

We had been close friends for many years, but especially I was with him all the time since November 1972 until the day of his self-immolation.

Acarya Divyananda and I went again and sat before the Governor's

quarters but he refused to see us. Then we abandoned all further idea of contacting officials to help in Baba's case

When Divyanandaji challenged the Indian government with His determination to sacrifice all for the Guru, the news was in all the newspapers. In the meantime, two other dadas sat on fast-to-death before the Secretariat to draw attention to the suffering of their Master, Shrii Shrii Anandamurtiji.

My duty was to be at the Patna Secretariat Gate with pamphlets and leaflets and explain to them what is Ananda Marga and about how the government was trying to kill Baba.

Dada Divyananda and I used to be in the tent to look after the two dadas who were on fast unto death.

After a few days, the government started searching for Acarya Divyanandaji. Divyananda went out to hide himself in Pataliputra Colony.

I was all the time living in the

On this day, the 8th of April, 1973, I am speaking to you from somewhere in Eastern part of India. I am sorry that I cannot disclose my whereabouts at this moment because the police is frantically searching for me and they are ready to prevent me from my self-immolation. It is ironical that the existing Government of India will nither allow me and my organisation to live and work peacefully, nor will they allow me to die peacefully. I have been continuously receiving letters and telegrams requesting me to desist from my decision on self-immolation. Here I would like to explain in some details whey I was forced to take this last and irrevocable decision on self-immolation.

From my boyhood days, I had a strong desire for moral and spiritual elevation and I was observing my spiritual pretices in my humble way. But I wanted to know and learn more of spiritualism. Then fortunately I happened to come in contact with a respectable and learned Acharya of Ananda Marga who explained in some details about theory and practice of Raja Yoga. Gradually, I developed more and more interst in it and finally, when I came to know in details about the various aspects of Ananda Marga and divine personality of Anandamurti, I decided to dedicate myself to the cause of my personal spiritual elevation and the service of suffering humanity some time in 1965.

At that time. Ananda Marga already had its numerous branches in all states of India. I saw with my own eyes how the sincere and dedicated workers of Ananda Marga were vigorously working for the implementation of the lofty ideal of Ananda Marga. By 1967, the organisation has developed into a conside-

Last statement of Divyananda

207

with Ananda Marga. The Govt. order was challenged in the Supreme Court and stay order has been passed.

In 1971, during annual Dharma Maha Chakra at Ranchi the Govt.-appointed agents created disturbances in our spiritual congregation. When Ananda Marga boldly faced the challenge, the Govt. interfered and arrested 18 Ananda Marga workers on various charges.

Since then, the Govt. of India, through its political police, the Central Bureau of Investigation, has been conspiring against Anandamurti and Ananda Marga. They concocted many a fantastic story—the recovery of bombs from an already vacated house, blood stained knives, the murder of His own disciples etc. The C.B.I. fully backed by Govt. money and meterial is influencing the Indian Press, Police, Law-courts against Ananda Marga, thereby debarring Ananda Marga from getting any justice from the courts of law.

In 1971, on 29th December, the C.B.I. arrested the Margaguru without warrent at Patna and lodged Him at Buxar Central Jail after 60 hours of harrassment, without giving Him any food, drink or rest.

In the sphere of Relief and other social service activities, Ananda Marga has rendered commendable services in Drought, Flood, Famine, Earthquake and Volcanic eruptions etc. But the Govt. of India opposed our relief activities, The Ananda Marga Relief Teme started relief work in Bangladesh, which was very much appreciated there. But the Home Ministry of India advised Bangladesh Govt. not to allow Ananda Marga to work there. Our cattlefeeding centres at Rajasthan have been orderd to be closed on 26th March, 1973 without giving us any reason.

The main strenght of Ananda Marga is its trained and honest workers who are now assigned different kinds of duties all over India. Since 1970 till today we hear constantly, that the C.B.I. Inspectors are frequently raiding our Ashrams. Schools, Orpha ages, Presses and other centres. By narrating all false and

rably big and popular organisation. Some workers had already gone abroad to popularise the moral and spiritual ideals of Ananda Marga.

But as ill luck would have it, just as large numbers of good and pious people began to join and support the popular movement, the corrupt dishonest elements in public life and government made an unholy allianance to malign and crush this organisation.

On 5th March, 1967, a group of hired ruffians and hooligans, brought from a distance of 30 miles raided our head quarters at Ananda Nagar, looted and destroyed our Ashram property indiscriminately and killed five innocent inmates. This all happened in the very presence of contingents of Armed Police and under the direct guidance of the Home Ministry of West Bengal and Central Governments.

Again sometime in May, 1968, a number of senior police officers, with a large number of Police raided our Degree College at Ananda Nagar and destroyed College laboratory. It was also done at the orders of the Government.

In August; 1969, when our beloved Baba reached Cooch Behar town for conducting Dharma Maha Chakra, a large number of anti-social elements attacked the places of stay of both Baba and Margis, looted the belongings of Ananda Marga devotees, and seriously assaulted at least 40 persons, and killed an innocent man. The Govt., instead of arresting the anti-social elements arrested Baba and other 28 Margis for no fault of theirs.

In 1969, again the Govt. arrested a number of Ananda Margis at Varanasi on a worng information given by their own agents that Ananda Margis will assassinate Indira Gandhi. After long interrogation for days together, the senior officials declared the arrested persons quite inncent.

Inspite of all opposition Ananda Marga flourished by leaps and bounds. In August, 1969, the Govt. of India cracked down on the organisation by banning the association of Govt. employees

208

206

The Flame that burns upward

concocted stories, through allurenments and intimidations they are trying to break the motale and integrity of the whole-time workers, thus forcing them to defect from Ananda Marga. They are searching the houses of sincere Ananda Margis, harrassing and threatening them. On many occassions on the basis of false charges, Ananda Marga workers are being detained and harrassed. In fact, the Govt. through its agencies, is making all efforts to vilify, malign and then to crush the organisation.

But the torture or harrassment of all persons may be tolerated and I tolerated it for the last so many years. Even when I heard some of the C.B.I. Inspectors freely saying that the Govt. was determined to hang Anandamurti, I tolerated it. But it became intolerable the day when I found that my beloved Guru was actually poisoned in jaill. When I knew that for no fault of His, He was reeling in pain and extreme weakness due to severe reactions of poisoning, deprived of necessary care and proper medical treatment essential for such a patient, then again I waited and hoped that the President of India or the Governor of Bihar would do something for Him in response to His two letters addressed to the Governor. I contacted the Governor and apprised him of the whole situation and the Governor avoided the whole matter. Hundreds and thousands of Ananda Margis sent urgent and anxious telegrams to the Prime Minister and the President of India and the Governor of Bihar demanding judicial probe into the poisoning case.

Ananda Marga organisation then started peaceful agitation all over the country to highlight their grievness and demands. Four workers of Ananda Marga are on fast for the last 16 days and the condition of some of them are stated to be critical.

My Guru's life in jail is in great danger. Physically He is too weak to walk. He badly needs some faithful attendant to look after Him. The only attendant, who was looking after him so long, has been transferred to some other place, thus leaving Baba alone and in danger. For the last eight days, he has been passing without food.

tent. The police intensified their search and staved near us the whole night long.

Divyanandaji's samkalpa to self-immolate had been widely publicised and hundreds of margis came to prevent him from self-sacrifice. We all tried to convince him to withdraw his word but he was ever-determined like the Himalayas.

3 days before his self-immolation I had met him for the last time. He was not taking any food. He was all the time in deep sadhana and samadhi. His face was like a blooming rose - radiating beauty and fragrance.

He smiled and told me, "Shantatmanandaji we have worked together for many months. I cannot forget your cooperation and work for Baba. Now I do not feel like taking anything of this earth - not even water and air. I wish to become one with Baba. My sacrifice will certainly do some good for the Lord."

I had tears in my eyes and I did not like to talk much, seeing him in such deep spiritual ecstasy.

On the 8th of April I was sent to address a public conference in Motihari in North Bihar. On the 8th night at 1:00 AM, I came back to Patna.

At every gate of the Secretariat were batches of police and that night they never slept. When I arrived at 1 AM, the police questioned me, "Where is Divvananda? Are you hiding him in the tent?"

I told them, "You are the police and it is your duty to search for him. If he is here, then please arrest him.

There was a heap of firewood kept in front of the

tent to show the government and the public that self-immolation was imminent.

I used to get up at 4:00 AM every day to attend nature's call in a field outside.

Divyanandaji knew my routine. And so at 4:00 AM, he came out in a new uniform on April 9th, 1973.

After 10 minutes I was returning I saw one taxi come near the gate. I was not sure if my Dada Divyananda was inside.

But after 5 minutes while approaching the tent, a big white flame rising to the sky surprised me. I ran and found Divyananda towards the Eastern Gate sitting in padmasana on his blanket with his uniform all wet with gasoline.

In the lap of the rising flame I saw him reciting "BABA HO! BABA HO!"

Just then he fell down. I saw the police spreading sand and using buckets of water on his body to save him. They were very much afraid themselves when they saw the burning wood and Divyananda inside. They ran in the compound back and forth not knowing what to do.

By this time, all the margis who had been sleeping were scattered everywhere. The public assembled to see the dead, charred body of a great soul and his dedication to his beloved Master.

I came back to the tent in grief. I remembered that in his final message, Acarya Divyananda had impeached the Indian government in the name of the ancient lineage of Indian yogis.

At 7-8 PM the police arrested the margis and myself in batches and kept us in Phulwarisharif Jail.

In Jail we fasted for 15 days to voice our grief for what had happened and what was happening to Baba. After some days we fasted again for 20 days to demand a judicial enquiry into Baba's poisoning for which our Dada Divyanandaji gave his life.

During our 9 months in jail, over 300 margis were arrested and lodged in jail with us. We had collective sadhana, classes, conferences with other prisoners and so much satsang every day.

This arrest was a preparation of the Emergency when thousands of margis were under arrest.

Ever self-sacrificing Baba felt this so much. After coming out of Jail on August 2nd, when He met the margis the next day, He did not say a word about what He went through.

Instead He said, "I would like to speak much to you...but when I see you My Heart becomes very full and I cannot speak much. Otherwise I would like to hear from you all, each of your stories, what you have gone through during the Emergency."

On a close review of all the fact as stated above, I have the least doubt about the motive of the Government in this case.

In view of all this the strategy of the Govr, is crystal clear They will be very happy to see that the younger section of Ananda Marga, being driven to desperation, become restless and violent, thus giving a chance to the Govt. to declare the organisation a violent one and finally crack down on the organisation.

But let me clearly state that Ananda Marga was never violent nor will it ever be violent. We have neither arms nor its training. So how can a spiritual organisation fight physically with

Under the circumstances, I find no other alternative but to raise my voice against the most ruthless, heartless, inhuman attitude of Indian Govt. in this case. I am determined to draw the attention of the whole world to this most undemocratic and inhuman act of the Govt. through self-immolation. Let me clearly say that I myself took this decision and not on anybody's persuation.

In the name of the most ancient order of Indian Yogis, I impeach this Govt. for all its sinful acts it has committed so far, in the name of the larger humanity of the free world. I impeach this Govt. of India in the bar of humanity, in the name of Truth and Dharma I impeach the Govt. of India in the highest bar of the Almighty Lord.

Men may come and men may go, but the ideas, ideals, dreams, hopes and aspirations remain for ever.

I am sure, no act of genuine sacrifice can go in vain. I am sure, my beloved Baba will be released soon and for ever. I am sure, He will soon resume His mission and establish Dharma and truth for which He has come to this Universe. So, the spiritual soldiers of beloved Baba! go on fighting against the immoral forces! Victory will be certainly ours.

Jai Anandamurtijii, Jai Annnda Marga, Jai Navin Vishva.

Sd/-Acharya Divyananda Avadhuta 8th April, 1973.

# 'LIVING ILLITERATE, DYING EARLY': UN REPORT HIGHLIGHTS PLIGHT OF INDIA'S POOR AND DALIT WOMEN

### Swagata Yadavar

At least 80 per cent of the women in the poorest 20 per cent in the country are illiterate, a report from the United Nations on gender equality has highlighted. The report also pointed out that data shows a Dalit woman on average dies 14.6 years younger than a higher caste woman.

The report from UN Women, titled 'Turning Promises into Action: Gender Equality in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,' takes stock of the global status of key aspects of the gender equality as a part of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) that was set by the UN two years ago. The 17 SDGs aim to end poverty and hunger, assure gender equality and build a life of dignity for all in the course of 15 years.

In a foreword to this latest report, current Secretary-General of UN António Guterres has stressed that gender equality is imperative to the success of 2030 Agenda. "Gender equality is a goal in its own right," he writes, adding that it is a "powerful force for upholding the main promise of the 2030 Agenda – to leave no one behind."

Citing USAID data, the report compared the status of citizens aged 15-49 in the households in the top and bottom 20% of wealth distribution and found out that the illiteracy rates in women in the bottom 20% of the population is more than 80% while that of the men in the top 20% is less than 10%.

A crucial part of the report illustrates the compounding effect of wealth and location in widening gender gap. Based on Demographic and Health Surveys data, in India, a 20 to 24-year-old woman from a poor rural household is over five times as likely to be married before 18 and 5.8 times as likely to become an adolescent mother as one from a rich urban household. As for education, she is over 20 times as likely to have never attended school as compared to her rich urban counterpart.

The report, which comments on multiple and intersecting inequalities worldwide, also highlights the compounding effect of caste on gender and noted that a woman's caste can increase her exposure to mortality.

"The average age of death of Dalit woman is 14.6 years younger than that of higher caste woman," it said, citing data from the Survey on Morbidity and Health Care in the NSS 60th round survey This, it said, could be a due to factors like poor access to sanitation facilities, inadequate water supply and

healthcare.

The influence of wealth on gender inequality is also evident in terms of work-time distribution, the report observed.

Citing a 2010 study 'Understanding Poverty: Insights Emerging from Time Use of the Poor', women who live in poor households spend about 24% of their work time collecting firewood, food, water and housing material, while their counterparts in non-poor households allocate about half of that time to such tasks.

As UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka notes, the progress for women and girls remain "unacceptably" low. "Even where progress has been made," she writes, "it has been highly uneven."

### **Manual Scavenging**

The media has finally started to report on manual scavengers suffocating to death in sewage holes, but a story that continues to slip is the state's blatant neglect of home and community-based manual scavenging, 95 per cent of which is done by Dalit women. Manual scavenging is a caste-based division of labour handed down over generations of women, who are bound by this oppressive system to clean dry toilets of people living in their own villages or urban neighbourhoods.

The average age of death of Dalit woman is 14.6 years younger than that of higher caste woman.

Women married into families of this caste suffer the torture, mental and physical pain of this inhuman practice. They lift and carry heavy loads of excrement in cane baskets to designated sites of disposal. In the heat of summer and during the rains, the excrement leaks on to their faces and bodies. The stench and working conditions are unbearable. Their menfolk are expected to carry out other "polluting" tasks, including disposing of dead animals, cleaning placentas after delivery, and various funeral-related activities. Despite hundreds of testimonies of subjugation, oppression, sexual harassment and marginalisation that these women have narrated to the State, many governments continue to prolong their state of denial.

After the long struggle of manual scavengers and people's movement, "The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Act, 2013" was passed by the central government. The Act prohibits employment of manual scavengers, construction of insanitary latrines, and rehabilitation of manual scavengers with one-time cash assistance, scholarship for their children, and a residential plot with financial assistance for constructing a house. One of the important components of the law is identification of manual scavengers across the country through surveys. Up until October 2017, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment has identified only 13,384 manual scavengers (4375 in urban and 9014 in rural) in 11 states of India. Of these, 12,640 received the one-time cash assistance (Rs 40,000) from the government and 4,643 received vocational training.

Now compare these dismal numbers with what the State reports on itself. According to the Census of India (2011), there are 7,94,390 dry latrines where humans clean excreta — 73 per cent of these are in rural areas whereas 27 per cent are in urban areas. Apart from these, there are 13,14,652 toilets where human excreta is flushed into open drains. A total of 26 lakhs [2.6 million] dry latrines exist in the country where the practice of manual scavenging still continues.

According to Socio-Economic and Caste Census (2011) of rural India, 1,80,657 rural households surveyed were engaged in manual scavenging. Highest numbers of manual scavengers were identified in the state of Maharashtra. Madhya Pradesh was second followed by Uttar Pradesh, Tripura, Karnataka, Punjab, Daman and Diu and Bihar. The same caste census reported that the states of Goa, Assam and Chandigarh had no manual scavengers. Manipur, Lakshwadeep and Himachal Pradesh had one. Delhi reported just six manual scavengers. Surveys and evidence collected by civil society organisations expose the rampant practise of manual scavenging in many of these states.

What can be said with conviction and evidence is that the Government of India, both at the state and Centre, continues to violate their constitutional responsibility of implementing the law, and only pay lip service to empowering Dalit women. The sole basis of the success-



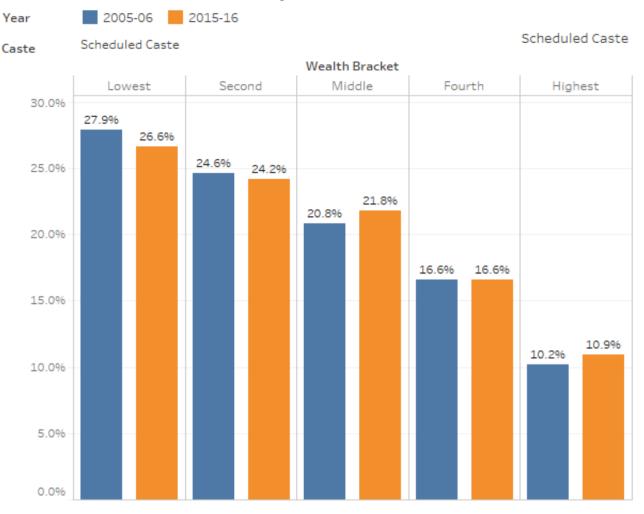
ful implementation of this law exists on the condition that the state accepts that the practise of manual scavenging exists and commits to the holistic rehabilitation of the community. The law depends on district collectors, municipal commissioners and taluk and panchayat chiefs to responsibly enumerate the number of manual scavengers still engaged in this inhuman practise.

This will mean, that these offices of authority will have to admit to their role in perpetuating the practise and invest in sanitation systems that are free from human interface, which by itself is a very tall order. In most cases, the mandated district vigilance committees whose job it is to oversee the economic and social rehabilitation of manual scavengers, as well as monitor registration of offences (under the Act), their investigation and prosecution, have either not been formed or are dysfunctional. When formed, they exclude experienced civil society organisations and women.

The central government recently announced its plan to conduct a fresh survey in 164 districts of India. While this is a welcome move, before embarking on this humongous exercise, it will be good to reflect and learn from the mistakes made in the last five years. First and foremost, there is a need to understand that **eradication of this inhuman practise requires a change in the mindset of state officials** who are responsible for its implementation. It requires a commitment to ensure that every woman and man engaged in this division of labour, not just receives a cheque of Rs 40,000, but are provided with rehabilitation that gives these families a real chance and the power to lead their lives with dignity.

This includes free decent housing, relevant vocational training, financial assistance for self-employment opportunities and free education and scholarship for the children of these families. If the government is able to identify all the women and men who till this date are victims of the caste-based oppression and provide them with alternate options, it will not only be empowering them, but also making amends for its own sinful history.

### Wealth Brackets By Caste Over The Decade



#### **Adivasis**

When the report mentions the "poor" along with the Dalit to whom does it refer? Scheduled tribes are in fact India's poorest people, with five of 10 falling in the lowest wealth bracket, according to latest national data.

The National Family Health Survey 2015-16 (NFHS-4) shows the following: 45.9% of scheduled tribe members were in the lowest wealth bracket compared to 26.6% of scheduled castes, 18.3% of other backward caste, 9.7% of other castes and 25.3% of those whose caste is unknown.

There has been a 4 percentage point drop in the percentage of scheduled tribes in the lowest bracket as compared to a decade ago, from 49.9% in 2005-06 to 45.9%

in 2015-16. But there has been a rise of 13.5 percentage points in the population of those who "don't know" their caste in the lowest bracket–from 12.1% in 2005-06 to 25.6% in 2015-16.

Further, 70.7% of scheduled tribe, 50.8% of scheduled caste and 47.3% of those who "don't know" fall in the lowest two wealth brackets compared to 37.6% of other backward castes and 24.8% of other castes. Wealth brackets in NFHS-4 are calculated on the basis of the numbers and kinds of consumer goods owned, ranging from a television to a bicycle or car, housing and markers such as the source of drinking water used, toilet facilities, and flooring material used in homes.

Scheduled tribes comprise 8%

of India's population–104 million as per the 2011 Census–yet, they account for one-fourth of its population living in the poorest wealth quintile, according to a World Bank brief, India's Adivasis. Despite a decline of one-third in their poverty rate between 1983 and 2011, poverty rates remain high because of their low starting point, the brief further noted.

Among scheduled caste/tribe boys under five years of age, 32-33% are underweight, compared to 21% in the general population.

Further, social exclusion prevents scheduled castes and scheduled tribes from accessing government health services and programmes and this worsens their health and nutritional status, according to an August 2015 study.

### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Purnima Banerji born in Barisal in 1911 was the sister of the martyr Aruna Asaf Ali and was also a freedom fighter who took part in the Salt March and the Quit India Movement. She was also very active in fighting for the rights of workers and was a member of the Congress Socialist Party. She was later in the Constituent Assembly.)

### Demand for Government Control of Key Industries First Raised in the Constituent Assembly

But, Sir, I still think that great as the change is, all these things provide only the minimum requirements of a society. We ourselves during our freedom movement said that it was not for the loaves and fishes of office that we were fighting but rather that we might have the political power in our hands with which we could fashion and remould and change the whole structure of society in such a manner that the grinding poverty of the masses may be removed, the living conditions of the people may improve and we could establish a society of equals in this great country of

To apply that test to this Constitution, Sir, I feel that it does provide

those minimum necessities with which we can change things, and for this I take my clue from the Directive Principles of State Policy. We could not merely rest content with negative democracy, i.e., the right to cast votes, the right to form a government and the right to change it. In passing I would pause and say that important as these rights are in themselves, I consider that Fundamental Rights that we have provided are absolutely necessary for the working of democracy. If we want to established a democracy which should answer the needs of the growing pattern of society, we should place the means at the disposal of the people by which Governments can be establish, which

in its turn can be done by the right of free association and free expression of opinion, with the exercise of which institutions can be changed. I feel, Sir, that the clauses restricting these Fundamental Rights should not have been in the Constitution and the impression should have been well founded so that one may change the Government of this country to the best interests of the people by peaceful means. (51)

Sir, in the Directive Principles of State Policy we have said that although they may not be enforceable in a court of law, they are nevertheless fundamental for the governance of this country and we have in articles 38 and 39 stated that the economic policy of the country will be worked in such a manner as would subserve the common good. To quote the exact words, we have said 'that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

These vital principles shall not be enforceable in a court of law but nevertheless they are fundamental in the governance of the country and all the future laws of this country shall have to take note of this. By the inclusion of these clauses I personally feel that this Constitution has provided us with the means for changing the structure of society. It

will all depend on us whether we are able to establish that sovereign democratic republic, not for the hollow benefit of registering one's vote and passing legislation, not a democracy which will simply maintain the status quo or which will take upon itself the policy of laissez faire, but a democracy which will combine with it the healthy principle that the government governs best which governs least, with the principle that it should encourage the active citizenship of the country. The two articles that I have read out are the cornerstone of this Constitution. If you want the people to meet peacefully and without resorting to violence, then we much give them

ф

the free exercise of their right to meet.... (52)

Then, Sir, in the Directive Principles of State Policy, under article 39 we have provided that while we may change the whole structure of society in such a way as will susbserve the general good of the country, there is no categorical statement that any industry might be taken over by the State should that be necessary for the general good. In the Karachi Resolution of the Congress where most of these Fundamental Rights were incorporated for the first time in a political document, there was a provision that key industries and all the mineral resources of the country shall

**be state-controlled**. That, I think, should have found a specific place in the Directive Principles of State Policy. (55)

If the powers of government for protecting the State against foreign aggression are considered necessary, then I hold that key industries and mineral resources of the country should have been taken over from the hands of private enterprise, and these should also be exempt from justifiability or property compensation which we have dealt with elsewhere. (56)

(Selections from the speech of Purnima Banerji to the Constituent Assembly on November 24, 1949)

"IF A PARTICULAR COUNTRY OR DISTRICT IS HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED, THAT WILL NOT HELP IN UPLIFTING OR CHANGING THE ECONOMIC STANDARD OF OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD OR COUNTRY. HENCE
INDUSTRY SHOULD BE DECENTRALIZED, BUT KEY INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE CENTRALIZED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SPINNING INDUSTRY SHOULD BE CENTRALIZED, AND AROUND IT THERE SHOULD BE A WEAVING INDUSTRY RUN ON ITHE BASIS OF DECENTRALIZATION PRINCIPLES. EVEN IN AREAS WHERE THE
CLIMATE IS EXTREME, INDUSTRIES SUCH AS SPINNING CAN BE ESTABLISHED THROUGH ARTIFICIAL
VAPORIZATION. THIS WILL HELP TO CREATE A SELF-SUPPORTING ECONOMIC UNIT, WHICH IS BADLY
NEEDED. THE AREA OF SELF-SUPPORTING ECONOMIC UNITS WILL INCREASE WITH THE INCREASE OF
TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES. ONE DAY THIS WORLD WILL BECOME ONE ECONOMIC UNIT. A DAY MAY
COME WHEN THE WHOLE OF THE PLANETARY WORLD WILL BECOME ONE ECONOMIC UNIT.

LARGE-SCALE AND SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES SHOULD REMAIN SIDE BY SIDE. KEY INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE MANAGED BY THE IMMEDIATE GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO RUN THEM EFFICIENTLY ON A COOPERATIVE BASIS DUE TO THEIR COMPLEXITIES AND HUGENESS. SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES SHOULD RUN ON A COOPERATIVE BASIS, AND THE SMALL INDUSTRIES WHICH CANNOT BE MANAGED BY COOPERATIVES SHOULD BE LEFT TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. THUS:

- (1) SMALL BUSINESSES SHOULD BE LEFT TO INDIVIDUALS;
- (2) BIG INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE OWNED BY THE IMMEDIATE GOVERNMENT; AND
- (3) THE INDUSTRIES IN BETWEEN THE BIG AND SMALL INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE RUN ON A COOPERATIVE BASIS."

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

### **Universal Fraternity**

### Shrii Shrii Ánandamúrti

The eternal question is: Wherefrom do you come? When you have come, certainly you have come from a certain place. Wherefrom have you come, where will you go and what to do? Wherefrom do the collective and individual worlds come? You know, nothing is destructible. Everything in this world is indestructible. Nothing is finally destroyed. What is known as destruction is nothing but metamorphosis, a change of form. When a small boy of five years becomes a young man of 25 years, you won't find that little boy of five years. But, is that boy dead and gone? No, he lives in that young man of 25 years in a changed form, in a metamorphosed form. So, nothing is destroyed. And nothing comes from nothing, everything comes from something,

This human society, this animal world, this plant world – all of them come from a particular source, and that source is Parama Puruśa, the Supreme Entity, the Supreme Father, whose progeny are all. He is the Supreme Progenitor, the great Father, who creates everything Human beings, both in individual and collective life have got the same source, the same progenitor. Parama Puruśa is the Supreme Creator.

Now, the second portion, the second phase of the question is — Where do the people stay? To contain something you need a container. Here you are standing in the city of Athens. It is the container. This city of Athens is contained by the country of Greece. It is the shelter of the city. This country of Greece is sheltered by this earth, this planet earth. And this planet is sheltered by the entire solar system — sun and moon and planets. And this solar system is contained by, is sheltered by, Parama Puruśa, the Supreme Entity. So, human beings and all other beings come from Parama Puruśa, stay in Parama Puruśa, and then finally leave this world. This applies to everybody — man or animal or plant. Whoever comes goes. "Ya ágacchati sah gacchati". Who has come will go. Nobody will be in this world forever, because movement is the very order of this universe.

Everything moves. This earth moves, the sun also moves, and along with this, the entire world. Nothing is stationary. Everything will have to move. So, those who are staying in this world, will also move with this moving world. And, where will they go? What is their goal? They have to go back to Parama Puruśa, from where they came. So, He is the starting point, He is the originating point, and He is the culminating point of all creatures. Thus there lies an inherent tie of fraternity among human beings, among the living creatures.

You are all spiritual aspirants. You are all devotees. You are all going to be one with the Creator. You should remember this inherent tie of humanity. Try to help others as much as you can, because it is the desire of Providence that all will march onward with maximum cooperation.

And, if you move along the path of righteousness with the spirit of Universal Fraternity, victory is yours. The blessing of Parama Puruśa is always with you.



### **ACTIVITIES**

### **PBI** in Odisha Election

In the Bijepur Bypoll in Odisha state, the PBI candidate, Jugal Kishor Sahu emerged with more than 200 votes. He only had time to campaign for 10 days. The Odisha unit of PBI was unwilling to allow the election to take place without a struggle for Proutists to come to power. Hence at the eleventh hour the candidate was chosen to run in this election.

.....

Seeing the response of only 10 days of campaigning, the Odisha workers of PBI have now become determined that in the coming Lok Sabha elections, PBI must win seats – it is not just a party to simply contest elections with a token struggle. The growing desertification, increasing exploitation of outside corporates, all demand that the people of Odisha must be introduced to PROUT and discover their own power through bringing PROUT in power.









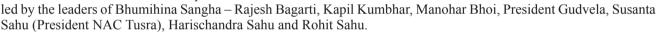
### 

### Koshal Samaj Holds Rally of the Bhumihiina Sangha in Balangir

Koshal Samaj Balangir had a Rally of Bhumihina Sangha [Association for the Landless] of Gudvela & Tusura of Balangir district at Tusura on 7th March 2018 demanding 4 decimal Homestad land for the homeless once and 2 acres of Agriculture land for food security. As per law this is their right but the land mafia in association with local government authorities has prevented this.

A procession of these people comprising mostly of women was taken out from Samaleswari Temple to the Tahasil Office, covering the important streets of the Tusra towns of raising slogans Khani Khadan, Pahad Ban, Sabu Amar Buar Dhan" Anna Chahun Ghar Chahun tenu Kari Amme Jamin Chahu" & Koshal Samaj Zindabad, Zindabad.

The procession started at 10.30 am and ended at the Tehsil Office at 12.30 pm. It was



The Rally of more than 50 persons was addressed by Sri Purna Chandra Biswal, Secretary, Koshal Samaj, Balangir Sri Jagannath Prasad Mahana, Secretary, Bhumihina Sangha, Balangir, Smt. Ranju raiman, women Activist, Proutist Kedarnath Sahoo, Smt. Ranju Raimna read out the demands made by the Bhumihina persons to the Tahasildar Sri Chandramani Nag before submitting application made by the landless ones.

The Tahasildar assured publicly that after due scrutiny the needful shall be done to the deserving ones as per law of the State. Prout advocates that land should be cooperativised so that there can be efficient use of technology. However since the land mafia is increasingly active and in alliance with the government officials, Proutists have taken up the task of securing land for the poor so that then they can unite for cooperative economic development.



### **Dadhici Divas Commemorated**

On March 5th, 1967 the communist Block Development Officer and other communist officials organised a massive attack on Ananda Marga service institutions in Ananda Nagar to drive it out of the area and to kill its preceptor Shrii Shrii Anandamurti. Five persons were killed at this time. Two monks, Acarya Abhedananda Avadhuta and Acarya Saccidananda Avadhuta were killed. Tragically 3 young trainees Bharat Kumar, Prabhas Kumar and Avadh were also killed.

Thereafter began a series of attacks on Ananda Margi workers and further attempts to kill their Beloved Guru. On August 29th 1969, Rabi Sarkar was killed in defense of Marga Gurudeva during a communist attack on the DMC (spiritual programme) in Cooch Behar. Thereafter Dadhici Divas became a day to commemorate all those who sacrificed their lives for their Gurudeva and His Mission to liberate suffering humanity.

This year a programme was observed in Ananda Nagar with 3 hours of continuous Kiirtana and a procession from Powerhouse to Dadhici Hill.



### **ACTIVITIES**

### PBI Committee formed in Northeast Delhi

On 7th Mrarch there was a meeting of Proutists in Northeast Delhi. It was presided over by the President of Delhi PBI, Jitendra Tiwari. The General Secretary of PBI Delhi spoke about taking the rapid degeneration of administration and political parties in Delhi and how Proutists must take action. Thereafter several other Proutists spoke including Umeshji, Ram Khilavanji (Vice President of PBI Delhi), L B Singh (Chairman Sonia Vihar Vikas Manch), Vaidyanath Chaudhary spoke about how PROUT alone has the answers to different problems confronting the people of the city and that PBI alone is determined to implement those solutions to end the socio-economic turmoil in the country. Jitendra Tiwari and Jitendra Kumar spoke on the need for bringing economic democracy into Delhi and India and gave calls to make it a reality in the near future.

Thereafter the District Committee was elected. Vaidyanath Choudhary was elected President, Dr K P Singh was elected Vice-President, Kashinath Saha was elected General Secretary, Kailash Chaudhary was elected Treasurer. Among the members of the Committee were L B Singh and Raj Kumar.

