

# PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis

## Is Privatization, A Solution to Global Water Crisis



The Bolivian disaster of privatizing water supply in Cochabamba shows the dangers : the American firm Bechtel doubled water tariffs so that some families paid a third of their whole income in water rates. mass protests led to army repression and even death before the scheme collapsed completely.

# PROUT

Progressive Utilization Theory

## A Vibrant Magazine which Informs & Inspires

## *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 news-magazine aims at conveying comprehensive and visionary goals of PROUT theory.

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 & 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.

For both civilization and science, intellectual knowledge is indispensable. Spiritual or intuitional development is possible through the happy blending between civilization and science.

- Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

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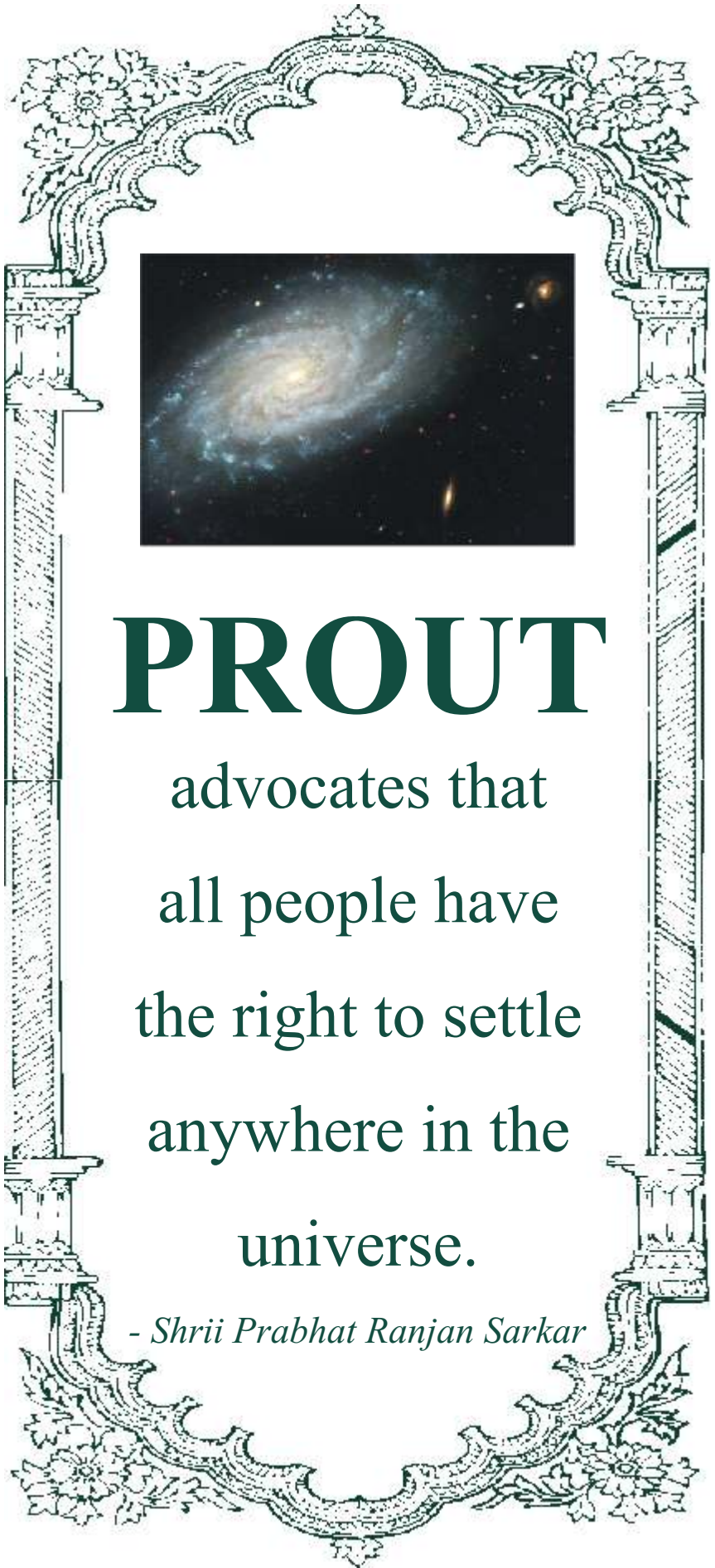
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## Fundamental Principles :

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



# Water in Crisis

According to 'Water in Crisis: A Guide to the World's Fresh Water Resources', Oxford University Press, New York, the total volume of fresh water on earth is about 35 million cubic km. This year Water Day was commemorated on March 22 to increase awareness and share ideas and solutions for providing clean, safe and sustainable water supplies. This brought to light certain stark global realities. Across the developed and developing world, 2.3 billion people live in water-stressed areas – and this number will increase to 3.5 billion by 2025, at a time when the world's population would swell from the present seven to nearly eight billion. Meanwhile, global warming is projected to aggravate shortages in already water-stressed regions, even as it accelerates the rapid melting of glaciers and snow cover upon which a billion people depend for their ultimate source of water. When looked at such a macro global level one thing becomes clear, this precious resource which is provided by Mother Nature is meant for all life forms on the planet and belongs to no humans in particular.



This backdrop was necessary to study and appreciate the situation in Delhi. Ever since the National Water Policy 2002 was formulated, there have been attempts in India to privatize water. Water cannot be produced in factories by private companies, still the Delhi Government is utilizing the widespread public discontent over the lack of adequate, good quality drinking water and of sanitation services to pave the way for full scale privatization of the Delhi Jal Board (DJB), which was set up in 1998 with a mandate to provide water, sewage and sanitation facilities to the entire population of Delhi which today stands at 1.65 crores. The state has invested public money in creating a vast network of canals and ground water extraction, privatizing water therefore is essentially privatizing its distribution, billing and operation and maintenance.

The recent steep increase in water rates by the DJB is the first step towards privatization and for attracting private business interests. People together must manage this precious resource as a collective social responsibility for the benefit of all. This can never be left to private corporations or enterprises whose primary aim is profit and not service. What is required is efficient management - privatization is not the answer. Prout strongly opposes this move and fully supports the ongoing movement against the privatization of the DJB by well meaning social activists having a national stature. The Proutist Bloc India also staged a one day sit-in along with day long hunger strike without water in front of the headquarters of the Delhi Jal Board, Varunalay at Jhandewalan, Delhi, on November 1.

**HUMAN OCCUPATIONS**

Like last time, the wonderful article on Human Occupations by Shrii PR Sarkar was very revealing, this time about business people. It is an eye opener for the common masses who are absolutely disgusted to see the quagmire of the nexus of corruption between politicians and business people unfolding today on a daily basis in the national media. That is just the point, in this age when money power rules, people with genuine problems of poverty, hunger, want and disease can expect no sympathy from the ruling class. Democracy is run by money power of the capitalist's class and nothing else. There has to be a viable alternative, Prout which can balance the two extremes is the only answer.

**Jyoti, Karnal**

**COOPERATIVES SUCCESS STORY**

A very wonderful life story and achievements of late Dr. Verghese Kurien, an extraordinary agent of social transformation. It was indeed a fitting tribute to someone who showed how cooperatives can be an alternative to privately owned family and big business house.

**Sanya Chahal, Visakhapatnam**

**MEDIA IN HANDS OF VESTED INTERESTS**

A shocking revelation, Gladson Dundung has given reasons though. Most media houses are owned by wealthy people with business interests, so in order to protect their business interests they will do anything however immoral it may be.

**Sardara Singh, Sonapat**

**STOCK EXCHANGES**

Dekker Dreyer's article makes interesting reading. No, we certainly do not need stock exchanges which are nothing but rich men's club with the sole aim of making money by trading among the members. But what the cardinal truth that seems to be ignored by these very members is that one man's

gain is another man's loss. In the bargain, unsuspecting middle class people hoping to make a fast buck fall prey to temptation and join the fray at times losing their lives' hard earned savings needlessly.

**Madhu Gaur, Sawai Madhopur**

**HUMAN BRAIN**

Dr. Susmit Kumar's piece on the human brain was quite illuminating. Such articles on science should be published regularly to give readers an insight into the physiology of Prout's world of the future.

**Jenny Campbell, by email**

**EUROPEAN CRISIS : SPAIN**

Spain for whom the bell tolls now is an interesting article by Joe Copeland. It shows how desperate is the condition of the ordinary people especially the middle class in Spain whose purchasing power has dwindle

dled and who are suffering due to the ills prevailing elsewhere in the Capitalistic European Union especially in the richer nations. This is also affecting other poorer European nations.

**Jerry Michael, London, by email**

**PRABHAT SAMGIITA**

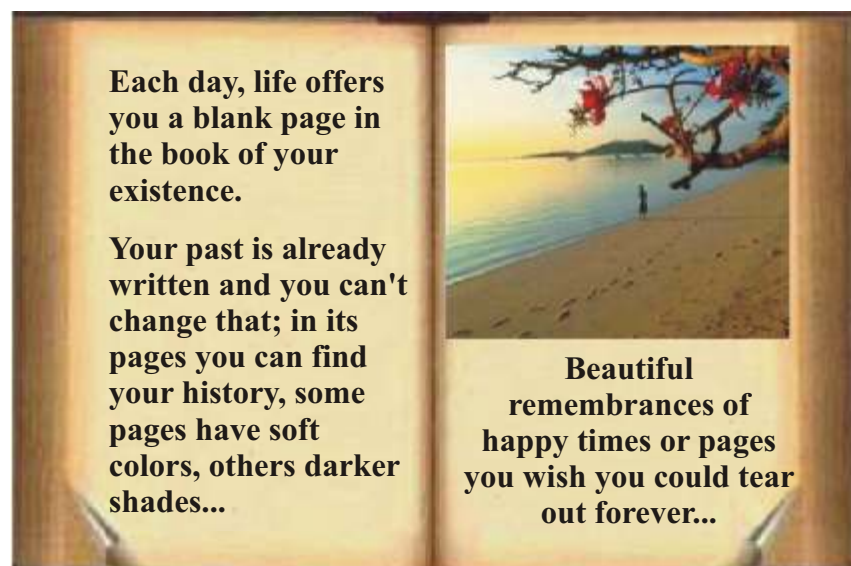
Acharya Bhaskarananda's sublime journey with the songs of the soul was like a breath of fresh air. When one realizes that these songs of awakening are by the founder of PROUT, they sound all the more fascinating.

**Ary Debnath, Cooch Behar**

**INDIA AGAINST CORRUPTION CHARGES ON MINISTERS**

Thank you Prout, for publishing such detailed exposes about corruption in high places.

**Arjun, Kochi**

**Articles / Suggestions Invited**

We invite your articles, comments, letters, wit & humour materials etc. on any aspect of human life including Spiritual, Socio-economic, Political, Cultural, Ideological, Educational and local self government. Clips, photographs and cartoons are also welcome.

Please send them at the following address :

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## Haste Makes Waste A Panchatantra tale

Long, long ago, a peasant lived in a village called Madhopur. The peasant, named Banarsi, was just a simpleton. His family comprised only three persons- he himself, his wife Sharmili and their three-month son. One day Banarsi was returning home after his day's work in his fields. Suddenly he saw a little mongoose lying on the wayside. Picking it up, he brought it home.

"What is it?" asked Sharmili

"A small mongoose; I found it on the way and so I have brought it for our dear son to play with," replied Banarsi.

Days went by followed by weeks and months. The peasant's son and the mongoose kept growing up side by side. His son was now eight months old. One day Sharmili said to her husband, "Darling! I am going to market along with other ladies in order to buy articles of daily use. Take care of the boy. He is sleeping soundly in the cradle."

"Don't worry, dear. Even if I have to be away, our mongoose is there," retorted Banarsi.

"No, not at all. A wild animal is after all an animal. Finding our son alone, it may attack him," said Sharmili thoughtfully.

"Animals are far more faithful than human being, dear. However, rest assured; I won't leave the house until you return," said Banarsi.

Sharmili left for the market. A few minutes later, a messenger of village sarpanch approached Banarsi and said: "Banarsi, the sarpanch has sent for you for some urgent work."

Banarsi said, "My wife has gone shopping. Let her come back; I shall come then."

"No, the sarpanch wants you immediately," said the messenger.

Banarsi was in a fix. He was mindful of the assurance that he had given to his wife. But he did not want to offend the village-head either. He chose to go to the sarpanch leaving his infant son alone to be looked after by the mongoose.

Shortly after Banarsi had left, a black cobra entered his house. It began to crawl towards the cradle slowly. The mongoose, a sworn enemy of snakes, saw the cobra in time and ran towards it. The snake put up fiery attacks, but the mongoose got the better of him and killed the cobra tearing its body. Puffed up at its triumph, the mongoose came out of the room and sat at the threshold of the doorway. Its mouth and paws were smudged with the snake's blood.

When Sharmili returned from the market, she saw the mongoose at the doorway. Seeing its bloodstained mouth and paws, she jumped to the conclusion that the mongoose had killed her son. She picked up the pitcher lying nearby and flung it on the head of the mongoose shouting, "You wretch! Why have you killed my son? Is that the way to repay what we did for you?" she cried. Then throwing her articles there on the ground, she began to bewail bitterly and ran towards the cradle: "Sonny, O my dear Sonny."

Great was Sharmili's surprise when she saw her son sleeping safely in the cradle and dead cobra lying by its side. She lost no time to follow what had actually happened. She now knew that mongoose had saved her son from the cobra. Sharmili ran back to the doorway but the mongoose had breathed its last. She repented of what she had done in haste. She wailed mournfully. "What a grave sin I have done! I have killed the saviour of my son. God will never pardon me. I must be punished severely for my misdeed."

Sharmili's wails attracted a crowd. When the people heard the story of the mongoose, they were all praise for it. Just then Banarsi returned home too. Seeing his pet lying dead, he burst into tears. He said to Sharmili. It is true that mother loves her son, but you were a mother to mongoose too. You had brought it up with your hands. Why did you kill it then?"

Sharmili folded her hands and said, "Forgive me, dear. I am a sinner. I suspected the pet for nothing and killed it in haste. I am a killer." Saying so, she began to weep bitterly.

"It is no use crying now Sharmili. Learn a lesson from what you have done. Anything, done in haste without properly thinking over it, always leads to bad results," said Banarsi.

The couple then buried the dead mongoose. Banarsi prayed to God, "May the soul of my dear pet rest in peace!" he also begged pardon for the sin committed by his wife.





# Various Human Occupations

SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

**Shrii P. R. Sarkar, the founder of PROUT among his many discourses, had way back in 1959 commented in fair detail about the various occupations within human society. Continued from the previous issue this is the third and concluding part of the serial.**

## DOCTORS

Shatamārii bhavet vaedyah sahasramārii cikitsakah “If one kills a hundred people, one may qualify as a quack, but if one kills a thousand people, one can qualify to be a doctor”. It is both amusing and infuriating, yet it is true. Like

an old barber, a young doctor cannot be trusted. But this is not the end of the matter. It is possible to earn the name shatamārii [one who has killed a hundred people] or sahasramārii [one who has killed a thousand people] by killing mice or guinea pigs in laboratory experiments, but is it not



*Susruta, surgeon of ancient India*



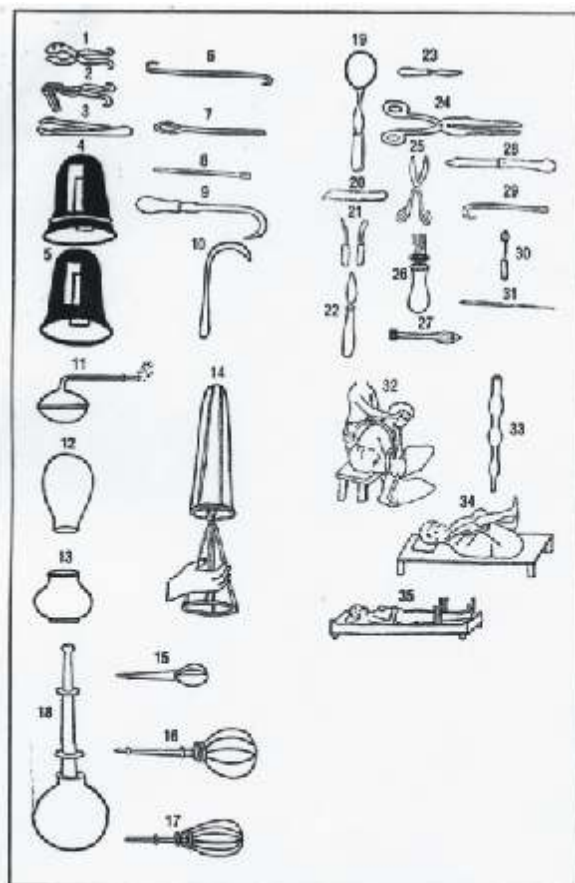
tragic if the killing continues after one has qualified as a doctor?

No matter what country you belong to, tell me honestly, how many doctors can you really trust and respect? Among the doctors you know, you may believe in one or two at the most, but those who have won your faith may or may not command your respect. In other words, the doctors whom you believe in, who can cure a patient, are not accessible because they cost too much. In such circumstances your confidence in the ability of doctors remains intact, but you cannot consider them as friends; nor do you have any real proof of their humanity, hence you cannot give them your respect either.

Moreover, the medical profession as such has more to do with social service than with professionalism. Social service is the main aim of the medical profession. But then social workers cannot live on air, so they have to accept some money for their livelihood from the government, autonomous bodies, public institutions or ordinary people: in short, from those they serve. To be a doctor may appear to be a way of earning a living to an unemployed person, but it cannot be categorized as a business under any circumstances. A helpless person, no matter how great his or her financial, social or intellectual capacity, considers a doctor to be a ray of light in the darkness or a lifeboat which can save him or her from drowning.

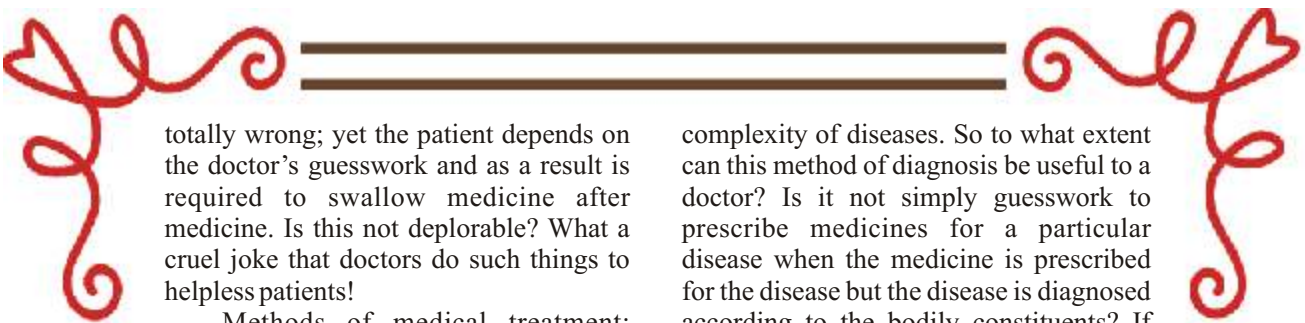
Of all the doctors you have come across, how many are idealistic and dutiful? If you visit a doctor, he or she will prescribe strong medicines for a light illness. This will inevitably be the case if he or she owns his

or her own dispensary. But the same will be the case if the doctor operates a “chamber practice” out of his or her home; he or she will force some patent medicine down the patient’s throat. The doctor’s special “mixture” will also be prescribed as a matter of course. Here, of course, I am referring particularly to allopaths. The most disconcerting thing is that they



*Ancient Indian surgical instruments: 1, simha-mukha svastika; 2, kanka mukha svastika; 3, divitala yantra; 4, arsa yantra; 5, bhagandara yantra; 6, vadisa sala; 7, darbha-krti khala mukha sala; 8, karna sodhana; 9, garbha sanku; 10, ardiha-chandra-mukha sala; 11, mallaka samputa; 12, alaba yantra; 13, ghati yantra; 14, yoni vraneksana; 15, vrana vasti; 16, vasti yantra; 17, suvastu yanta; 18, uttara vasti; 19, mandalapara sastra; 20, karapatra; 21, vrdhhipatra; 22, utpala patra; 23, kusapatra; 24, sarari-mukha sastra; 25, antar-mukha sastra; 26, kurcoa; 27, vrishi-mukha sastra; 28, vetaspatra sastra; 29, vadisa; 30, danta sanku; 31, esani; 32, yantra salaka for phlebotomy; 33, dhumani; 34, yantra salaka for lithotomy; and 35, fracture immobilization bed.*

frequently diagnose a case by guesswork. An examination of the blood, stool or urine often reveals that their diagnosis was



totally wrong; yet the patient depends on the doctor's guesswork and as a result is required to swallow medicine after medicine. Is this not deplorable? What a cruel joke that doctors do such things to helpless patients!

Methods of medical treatment: Current methods of medical treatment can be roughly divided into three groups.

The most common method is to fight disease with strong pills and injections. Allopathy, ayurveda and hekemi [hakims](1) can be included in this group because they use strong medicines and also poison as a medicine, although their methods of diagnosis and remedies differ. In this method of treatment the selection of medicines involves great risk, because more emphasis is placed on the indications of the disease than on those of the patient, and because of the possibility of causing death.

The great danger in diagnosing illnesses and prescribing medicines according to the germs and diseases present in the body is that it is nearly impossible to arrive at a firm conclusion about the precise nature of germs. Whether diseases are caused by germs or germs are created from diseases which are caused by other factors is a matter of controversy.

The symptoms of one disease may be identical to those of another, and the remedy for one may prove to be completely ineffective or even harmful in the case of the other. Moreover, as poisons are used, they may seriously affect the vitality of the patient. Just imagine, if the doctor is incompetent or is completely motivated by a business mentality, what will the plight of the public be?

There was a time when diagnosing illnesses and prescribing medicines were not very difficult because diagnoses were based on three constituents of the body – air, bile and phlegm – with blood as a fourth constituent. But increased physical and glandular complexity has led to a corresponding increase in the number and

complexity of diseases. So to what extent can this method of diagnosis be useful to a doctor? Is it not simply guesswork to prescribe medicines for a particular disease when the medicine is prescribed for the disease but the disease is diagnosed according to the bodily constituents? If you mentioned this to an allopath, ayurvedic doctor or hakim he or she would probably hand over his or her stethoscope or mortar and pestle and reply, "Here you are, sir. You had better treat the disease yourself." This, of course, is an angry remark. While I recognize that a lay person should not have the audacity to counsel a doctor, I must also point out that everyone has the right to consider the merits and demerits of a particular type of medical treatment.

The principles, application and philosophy of homoeopathy are completely different from the above medical treatments. Homoeopathy treats the symptoms of the patient, not the disease or its symptoms. So there is very little possibility of causing harm, even if the diagnosis is not quite correct. A doctor with good powers of observation and a subtle sense of discrimination can easily prescribe remedies according to the patient's symptoms. Another speciality of homoeopathy is that medicines are administered in subtle doses, not in the form of strong tablets, and such doses quickly become active in the molecules of the patient's body as well as in his or her mental sphere.

The greatest difficulty with homoeopathy is that it is based upon the subtle intellect of the doctor, and to achieve such a degree of subtlety regular, sustained effort is absolutely essential. Yet homoeopathic treatment is generally quite slack, and slackness is particularly evident in the proficiency of homoeopaths. Anybody can become a homoeopath by studying a few books. No one will object. In most countries there are no proper regulations either.

Surgery and injections are not



acceptable to homoeopathic philosophy, but in certain instances the need for surgery as well as injections cannot be denied. Nowadays of course surgery is gradually being incorporated into homoeopathy. This is definitely a positive development.

Naturopaths do not believe in using medicine. They think that it is possible to cure patients through the gifts of nature only – through earth, water, light, heat and air, together with a proper diet. I do not deny that this is possible, but it is also often difficult to gradually and completely attune the body to nature. People should recognize that medicine does not cure disease, rather nature cures disease with the help of the body's own healing power. Medicine only helps to accelerate the activity and speed of the healing process.

In cases where disease is caused by unnatural activity, I do not see the harm in using medicines to help nature. Just as earth, water and air are medicines, are not various types of medicines also prepared by selecting ingredients from nature? Of course precautions must be taken when using medicines to help the healing power of the body, to ensure that they do not cause physical side-effects or psychic disturbances. Where a person has not engaged in unnatural activity, he or she may still contract a disease due to pollution in the air, earth or water. In such cases is it possible to attune the body to nature? Furthermore, the diets and lotions prescribed by naturopaths are often very expensive and beyond the means of the poor.

Āpascavishvabhesājii ["Water is the universal remedy"]. I do not disagree with this assertion of the Rgveda. However, although I have a deep regard for various aspects of hydropathy and naturopathy, I do not see any reason to support the view that all types of medicine and surgery are harmful. Binā cikitsāy yata lok mare tar cāite beshii lok cikitsāy mare ["More people die with medical treatment than without it"] – nor am I prepared to accept

this view, because in the acute stage of an illness even very poor people get or try to get medical treatment. I do not think such views are worth commenting on.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the majority of those who die while under the care of doctors die due to incorrect diagnoses and wrong prescriptions. All medical systems can be equally faulted for wrong diagnoses; but as far as wrong prescriptions that lead to death, in my opinion more blame should fall on those who use heavy doses of medicine.

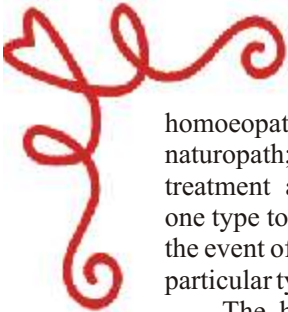
The welfare of the patient should be the main aim of the medical profession, regardless of the philosophical or logical ramifications of a particular system of medicine. Doctors may find it somewhat difficult to work with such a principle, because it is unreasonable to expect them to be experts in all the medical systems. In reality, it is highly unlikely. Nevertheless, what is not possible in a doctor's chambers may be possible in a hospital.

In the hospitals of some countries the welfare of the patient is given top priority and the patient is treated accordingly. Immediately after being admitted, he or she is thoroughly examined by an appropriate board of doctors who determine the most suitable system of medical treatment. In other words, if the patient's disease can be easily cured by allopathy, he or she will be treated by an allopath; if by homoeopathy, by a

*Anatomy of Dr. Tulp, Rembrandt  
(The Netherlands, 1632) courtesy  
National Library of Medicine, USA*







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homoeopath; if by naturopathy, by a naturopath; and so on. If various types of treatment are available, changing from one type to another will not be difficult in the event of the patient not responding to a particular type of treatment.

The healing power of nature: The healing power of nature cures disease; medicine only helps nature. The mind of the patient helps to activate the healing power of nature. If a doctor in whom the patient has complete faith prescribes water instead of medicine the patient will be quickly cured, but if the patient regards the doctor as a quack the disease will not be cured, even if the purest medicines known to medical science are prescribed and properly administered. It is obvious then that the disease is actually cured by the power of the mind, the medicine being secondary.

However, I do not support orthodox psychologists who believe that all diseases can be cured by psychological treatment, because psychological treatment does not work in all cases; it just cannot. Those who believe, as idealists do, that only the mind exists and not the five fundamental factors<sup>(2)</sup> (of such idealists Lenin said, "They believe that there is a mind but not a head"), argue that the mind is responsible for all diseases. But does mind alone determine human existence? Does not the mind, which becomes agitated when the physical body is pinched, depend on the physical body? Taking hashish, marijuana, opium or wine causes a peculiar change in the mind. This is but one proof of the mind's dependence on the body and its nerves.

A disease can be mental or can be physical. Similarly, medicine may be mental or may be physical; hence it is most desirable and productive if both kinds of medicine are administered simultaneously in all diseases, whether they are physical or mental. Those who only believe in psychological treatment for mental disease know from experience that such treatment will not permanently cure the

disease and the patient will soon relapse. Only where, along with psychological treatment, guidance concerning diet, bathing and behaviour is given, and to normalize the diseased glands of the body medicines prepared from the five fundamental factors are prescribed, can the disease be permanently cured.

In the same way, if patients suffering from a physical disease are given proper medicine, food, light and air but at the same time are subjected to constant criticism and humiliation, it will be difficult for them to fully recover. Even though some people have everything they physically need, they become mentally debilitated, like a worm-eaten, withered flower. So it is evident that patients suffering from a physical disease need proper psychological treatment and a congenial environment in order to maintain their mental health.

The conduct of doctors and nurses: The patients' faith is more important than medicine in curing a disease, but where does their faith come from? From the conduct of the doctors and nurses, who have to win their confidence and inspire them with faith. Labourers perform manual work in order to earn their livelihood; they therefore dig the ground without regard for the earth. The relationship between doctors and patients should not be like this. Doctors must use all the qualities of their minds to win over their patients. It will certainly not add to the glory of any country or government if doctors and nurses complain, "Because of the tremendous pressure of our work, we have lost all our sympathy, tenderness and sweetness."

But to become mechanical due to the pressure of work, on the one hand; or on the other hand to show a lack of humanity by selling hospital medicines on the black market in collusion with dishonest traders, or by illegally using food, such as fruit and milk, allocated for patients; are certainly not the same thing. Can doctors and nurses involved in such activities defend

themselves against the accusations of the public? Exasperated by such dishonest, exploitative bloodsuckers, the public often severely criticizes the government. However, in my opinion the government is in most cases not to blame. Of course it is quite a different matter if the government sanctions insufficient money to properly maintain hospitals, but in most cases this is not the problem.

In medical institutions where the public is made to suffer, you can be sure that improper dealings exist from top to bottom (that is, from the chief medical officer down to the orderlies and sweepers); there is an immoral association among these thieves, regardless of their rank. They are all experts in the art of exploitation – they all share the spoils. Needless to say, in such places neither the doctors nor the hospital can ever inspire faith or confidence in the minds of the patients. This is the reason that today, even after the lapse of half the twentieth century, I notice that in many countries people are still as afraid of hospitals as they are of prisons.

People try to keep out of the hands of doctors just as earnestly as they try to avoid the claws of a tiger. Doctors who operate “chamber practices” out of their homes we may be able to tolerate, but those who themselves dispense patent medicines never let a patient leave without selling him or her ten or twenty rupees worth of medicine, whether he or she needs it or not. These words may seem harsh, but anybody who has had such an experience will agree with what I have said.

Our complaints are endless. In every sphere of society there is a terrifying conspiracy. Patients are completely helpless. When we discover deficiencies in those who have made it their life’s work to cure patients of their diseases, we naturally become all the more offended and begin to complain bitterly. But while complaining we

fail to notice all the difficulties that doctors and nurses have to face in their daily lives. If we discuss such matters not as patients but as human beings, then perhaps we might see that those against whom we have a long list of complaints have been forced by society, consciously or unconsciously, to get involved in antisocial activities.

Those doctors who continue to treat patients as their friends and serve society as genuine social workers while living in an antisocial environment deserve our deepest respect. But what should be done with those who are incapable of doing this, who are full of sin and can be described as antisocial bloodsuckers? According to criminology we may find among such doctors criminals due both to instinct and to poverty. To rectify them corrective measures will have to be taken, such as providing them with a proper education, imparting a proper ideology and creating a proper environment. A dishonest doctor or nurse is more harmful to society than an ordinary criminal, because such doctors and nurses not only harm society directly, they also add to social problems by not performing social service according to their capacity. Their problems should be seriously and sympathetically considered and their difficulties should be immediately solved.

I once knew an extremely honest and capable doctor who suffered greatly due to lack of money during the last years of his life. While active he was a dedicated, exemplary social worker, but when he



became physically incapacitated society failed to recognize this. Is it any wonder that such circumstances force doctors to become mercenary?

I have encountered some doctors such as this who did not exploit their patients. Not only did they not take fees from poor patients, sometimes they provided medicine free of charge as well. But some patients think, "If a doctor distributes free medicine, he or she must have an ulterior motive," so they would rather not visit such doctors. Some of these doctors are forced to maintain their families by private tuition. Perhaps that is why we hear many people say, "The medical profession is a business like any other. Can such a business prosper without doing anything wrong? It is impossible to run a business if one is totally honest."

Let me recount an incident that occurred several years ago. In 1940 I went to a homoeopathic pharmacy. With me was a boy of twelve or thirteen, the younger brother of an acquaintance. I had gone there for some medicine for the boy. The doctor took pains to examine the boy properly, then prescribed some medicine. He said, "Please return with his medical report on Saturday afternoon." I replied, "Will Saturday morning not do? On Saturday afternoon I will be going out of town; I will be going home." Further discussion revealed that we came from the same district and our homes came under the jurisdiction of adjacent police stations on opposite sides of a river. The doctor then asked me to return the medicine and said, "I am giving you another medicine." When I asked why he said, "Both medicines are good, but I give the first

medicine to people I do not know because it takes a little longer to cure the patient, hence I sell more medicine. Sometimes I am requested to make house calls too. What can I do, sir? Character is the first casualty of want."

This incident is neither to the doctor's credit nor to that of society. The doctor is losing his character due to poverty, caused in turn by a defective social system – isn't this true?


Sociologists will agree that it is not desirable for those who are involved in saving lives to face financial difficulties. If in any country the people believe that they have more doctors than necessary, the study of medicine should be strictly supervised so that only competent and talented students have the opportunity to become doctors. That way, by reducing the number of unwanted doctors, those who enter the medical profession will be able to earn sufficient money with the cooperation of society and the state. In the absence of want, there is no risk of their losing their character.

But what is the situation in the world today? How many countries can claim to have more doctors than they need? In most countries there is a shortage of capable doctors. And in those countries where there is little or no shortage of doctors, ordinary people are often unable to get medical help because of financial difficulties. As a result capable doctors also experience financial difficulties which compel them to become involved in antisocial activities.

To eliminate the financial difficulties faced by doctors, temporary arrangements can be made. For example, young doctors







who have financial difficulties can be sent from countries with surplus doctors to countries with insufficient doctors so that they can get the opportunity to earn a living and serve society. Education will be necessary to overcome attachment to a particular country.

Criminals are of many types and so are criminally-inclined doctors. As with criminals due to poverty, there is also no dearth of criminals due to instinct in the medical profession. These monsters in the form of doctors (colloquially speaking, *cámar daktár* [vile, low-class doctors]) are the scourge of society. Sometimes they behave so atrociously with helpless people – manipulating dying patients for the sake of money – that I really do not like to consider them as human beings. Such hellish creatures can be found in nearly every large or small city. Very strong measures should be taken against them with the active cooperation of society, the state and socially-concerned doctors.

Once I heard about a doctor, standing by the bed of a poor, distressed patient, who said in an authoritarian way, “You must pay my fees at once. I won’t listen to any excuses.” A poor relative of the patient left the house in despair, borrowed money by giving an IOU, and paid the doctor’s bill. I doubt whether a country can be considered civilized if the strictest reform measures are not taken against such human demons.

I once saw with my own eyes a well-educated doctor snatch a bottle of medicine from the hand of a female patient who had offered twelve instead of fourteen annas for the medicine, saying, “Must I wait till you bring me the two annas from your house? When I was studying in medical college, would the college authorities have allowed me to continue studying had I paid my monthly fees in arrears?” As she was an uneducated rural woman, she could not fully understand what he was saying. But with that humiliating rejection, she had to return home weeping without the bottle of

medicine. Although this incident took place a long time ago, it remains indelibly etched on my mind.

Good and bad exist everywhere. But regrettably, among the multitudes of the “bad,” the “good” are in danger of being lost. The harshness of reality becomes glaringly apparent if we consider the medical profession as a reflection of society. On the one hand there are good doctors sincerely serving poor patients on their own initiative, and on the other hand we may observe immature young doctors proudly boasting to each other about their career prospects. Regrettable though these things may be, I do not feel that there is any reason to lose hope.

Countless complaints can be made against doctors and the medical profession. Although it would take a lot of space to list them all, let me briefly mention a few: patients have to settle for adulterated medicines unless they bribe the pharmacist; sweepers, orderlies and nurses do not take proper care of a patient’s needs unless they are tipped; a patient writhing in pain may be rebuked instead of being given medicine; if one does not call the doctor at least once for a personal consultation so that that doctor can earn some extra money, one may be unable to secure a bed on one’s next visit to the hospital; a medicine that is supposedly out of stock in the hospital can be illegally purchased in a nearby shop at an exorbitant price; without bribing the doctor a sick patient will not be admitted to the hospital; during the compulsory medical examination for a new job, all the medical staff put out their hand for a bribe; the doctor in collusion with the optician fails many people in their eye tests so that they will have to buy glasses; hospital patients are served food which is cheaper and of poorer quality than what they are entitled to; milk and fruits reserved for patients are consumed by the hospital staff; spurious drugs and injections are administered to patients. Such grievances are endless. Some are extremely serious, involving

accusations of such irresponsibility that it is difficult to believe that people actually have these experiences.

Usually the public blames the government for such lapses, but in my opinion, if anyone is to blame, it is the public itself. The government is not an individual who accepts bribes or encourages immorality. The government does not support the distribution of spurious drugs. If the distribution of spurious drugs ever does get sanctioned by the government, it is due to the mistakes of immoral officials. They surrender their humanity to the rich out of greed for money. Dishonest business people are aware of their own guilt and are constantly troubled by it, but they receive encouragement from greedy and mentally-weak police and anti-corruption officials. Why not earn a hundred thousand rupees by paying a bribe of a thousand rupees! Most business people wait for the right opportunity with this type of outlook. For these reasons I do not blame the government for such immorality. Now, let us return to our topic.

The key to solving the medical problem is in the hands of the public. This is the actual truth of the matter. One may ask, "Why does the public not do something to rectify the situation?" Some maintain that these problems only occur in underdeveloped countries and that the people there tolerate evil because they are unaware of their rights. But is this correct? In underdeveloped countries there are educated people who staunchly support the different political parties and who can



provide the people with leadership. Although they cannot inspire the whole society, they are certainly able to solve some of the problems. So why do they not do so? The reason is perfectly simple. A large section of the upper stratum of society is involved in corrupt practices. That is why uneducated people do not have the courage to raise their voices in protest, prevent immorality and take corrective measures against the corrupt elements active in every sphere of society.

A large number of clerks, teachers, engineers, government officials and business people who comprise the so-called educated section of society indulge in immorality and corruption in their respective professions. Their weak minds indirectly criticize injustice but cannot directly confront it. Thieves can criticize other thieves in a society of thieves, but they cannot offer suggestions in a society of honest people because their lips will quiver and their hearts will palpitate; the condition of corrupt educated people in the upper stratum of society in underdeveloped countries is similar. The Second World War has further complicated the situation.

The characters of such people have to be transformed and they will have to become honest, otherwise none of the evils in society will be eliminated, none of the problems will be solved. So it is madness to hope that the efforts of the government alone will eliminate the problems in the medical profession, as if by magic.

To turn people into real human beings is the burning issue today, the greatest challenge. There are very few people who can take the lead in this undertaking, this sacred endeavour. Today tormented souls look to the purodhás [spiritual vanguard] of society with great expectations.

Politicians cannot provide what is needed. During the last six thousand years of human history, they have failed at every step. Hence, it would be wise for them to resist the temptation to try and take the lead in any sphere of society.

*Concluded*





# We Walk for the Good Earth That is Ours

They have been waiting 5,000 years.  
They have marched thousands of miles. They are asking once more.

✶ Brijesh Pandey

LATE ON THE evening of 9 October, the Ministry of Rural Development reached a 10-point agreement with the Jan Satyagraha, the March of the Landless led by the NGO Ekta Parishad. There would be a new law, the government promised, guaranteeing 10 cents (a unit of area) of homestead land to every landless and shelterless poor family.

Agricultural land would be transferred to landless people in economically backward

**BIHARI SINGH, 65, MADAI KALA,  
UMARIA DISTRICT, MADHYA PRADESH**

*'We have been living inside the forests for ages. Now, the forest ranger wants to throw us out. They deliberately let stray cattle run amok in our fields and destroy our crops. They also beat and threaten us, saying that if we don't leave on our own, we will be forcibly kicked out'*





districts. Rigorous implementation of PESA — the Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act — was committed to, with the ministry agreeing to empower gram sabhas as per the authority given to them under the law. A task force on land reforms will soon be constituted — a partnership of government officials and civil society activists — headed by Minister of Rural Development, Jairam Ramesh.

Protection and assigning of land belonging to the landless poor and specific groups of deprived people — Dalits, tribals and nomads, for instance — is part of the agreement. So is the guarantee that vulnerable aboriginal groups, without proof of commencement of occupancy of a particular tract of land, will be exempted from furnishing such documentary evidence. The Forest Rights Act will be amended for this purpose.

That agreement brought to resolution the demands, pain and anguish of a year-long march that both crossed and shook the heart of India. It was one year; by another reckoning though, it had been 61 years. The roots of Jan Satyagraha go back to an early summer day in Andhra Pradesh on 18 April 1951. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, devotee of Mahatma Gandhi, was on a visit to the then (as now) strife-torn Telangana region. Visiting Pochampalli village, he asked local Dalits (or Harijans as they were then called) why they had taken to brutal violence. He interacted with 40 Dalit families, trying to understand their motivation. They told him of their pain. They had been promised land; if the government delivered on its promise, they would renounce violence.

Vinoba asked them how much land they required. The families asked for 80 acres: two acres per household, just enough for a home and a small farm. A rich landowner who was part of the crowd suddenly got up and agreed to donate 100 acres. This was the start of the Bhoodan (Gift of Land) Movement.

Vinoba travelled across India, seeking Gandhian-style renunciation and parcels of land that the traditional rich would donate and transfer to the historically deprived. It became the largest such effort in history.

What happened to that land? How did the story end? Sixty-one years later, on 2 October 2012, birthday of the Mahatma, Sargun Masomait, a 35-year-old tribal woman from Jharkhand, began marching towards New Delhi from Gwalior. She was part of a group of 40,000 people — tribals, Dalits, nomads, nowhere people with no land of their own, the wretched of the Indian earth, out to claim their dignity; or to reclaim it. Sargun's family received 95 decimals of land (just short of one acre) as part of the Bhoodan Movement — but she doesn't know where it is.

"I have 95 decimals of land in my family's name," says Sargun, "but I don't know where it is. I have the papers. I have approached the district collector, the SP and they assure help but do little. For the past five years, I am even paying revenue and getting a receipt for that. When I go to the collector, he says if the receipt is there then the land must also be there. He says he will help, but nothing has happened."

A mother of two, Sargun is

gritty and determined. This is her second march; she was part of a similar struggle in 2007 as well. For the organisers of the march, her story is telling. "Forget giving land to these people," says Mrityunjay, one of the coordinators of the padyatra, "imagine the powerful landlords even usurp the land given to them by Vinobaji and the State does nothing. How crude can it get?"

The case of Sargun Masomait is symptomatic of what hundreds of thousands of tribals, Dalits and other landless people face all over India. These people are a stark reminder of the limits to notions of development. For them, State oppression is not distant, textbook trauma. Rather, it is an everyday and close-to-the-bone verity. The police officer, the forest ranger, the sub-district official — these are the local tyrants who have helped a neighbourhood overlord grab their land.

And why is this land important? It is not necessarily because of its economic value — some of the holdings are too tiny for anything more than subsistence agriculture. Yet, the very ownership of this land, the ability to touch it, and play with the dust in her hands gives Sargun and many like her a sense of dignity and entitlement. These are people and families, remember, that have never owned

**LAGNI, 55, RAIMUDA, MAHASAMUND DISTRICT, CHHATTISGARH**

*'Forty years ago, the government gave us some land for cultivation. However, 10 years ago, the sarpanch and the village mukhiya forcibly evicted us. I have approached the police, tehsildar and collector but nobody listens. In 2007, I had protested in New Delhi but nothing happened'*



land, not for 5,000 years of Indian history. That is why it is emotionally empowering for them.

WHAT TRIGGERED the final leg of the Jan Satyagraha, a march of 40,000 people from Gwalior to New Delhi, resolving to cover the 340 km in 27 days? It was a sense of betrayal; the government had once again backed out from long-promised land reforms. The padyatra was led by PV Rajagopal of the Ekta Parishad, who has undertaken four such yatras to Delhi in the past eight years. The padyatra started from the Mela ground in Gwalior, reaching Morena on day three. The frontline was a group of dancing tribals, as dazzling in their presence as the sea of humanity behind them. One side of the highway was engulfed in the green and white flags of the Ekta Parishad.

It was at Baba Devpuri, the scheduled stop for the day after a 12 km walk, that the precision-planning of the yatra became evident. Planned a year in advance, participants of the march were divided into nine groups, named for the great rivers of India — Mahanadi, Chambal, Narmada, Cauvery, Brahmaputra, Betwa, Ganga, Godavari and Saraswati. Each group had a distinct flag, other than the overarching green-and-white banner. Every group of 1,000-2,000 persons had 10-15 cooks, who moved in advance and had food ready at the halt points.

The jan satyagrahis ate only once a day and the meal was around 5 pm. By 7 pm, one side of a 6-7 km stretch of the National Highway resembled a village fair, with tubelights (powered by generators), blaring loudspeakers and people from various tribes enjoying themselves by dancing, singing and just catching up. Ambulances were at hand to attend to the sick. From the other side of the highway, these 40,000 people seemed a happy bunch. Till one started talking to them.

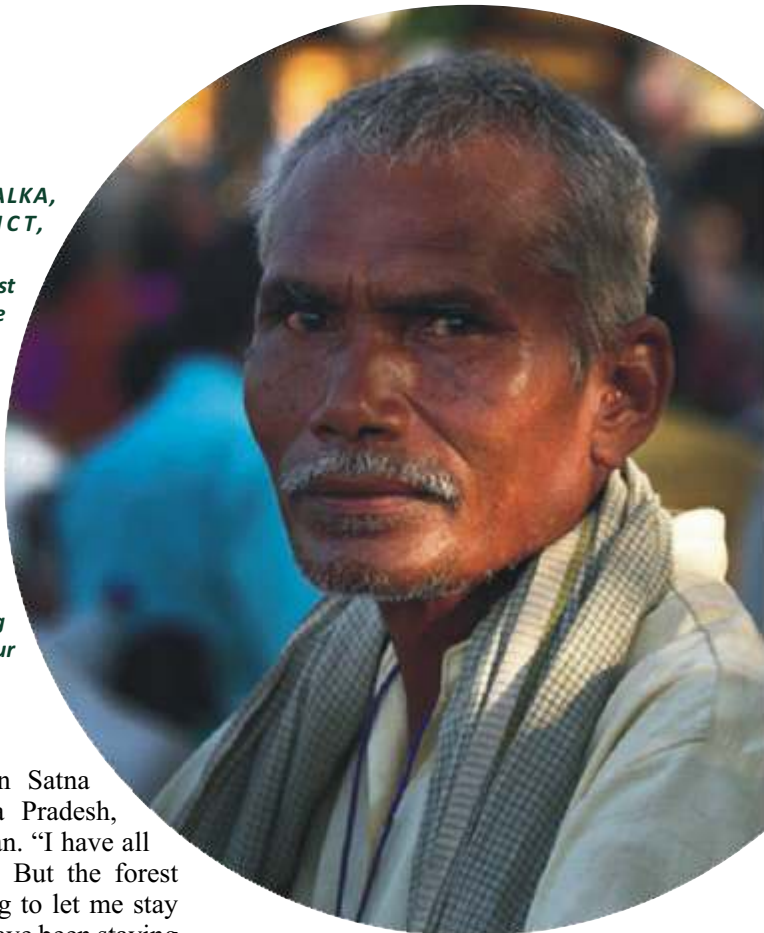
Ram Kishore Baheliya was one such person. Released from jail just two days before the start of the march, Baheliya, 55, lives in

**AMARNATH, 40 SALKA,  
SURGUJA DISTRICT,  
CHHATTISGARH**

*'One of Asia's biggest power plants is to come up in our village. Last year, district officials sent a proposal through the gram sabha for acquiring our land. We said no. Then they made people from other villages sit in our place at the gram sabha. They are trying to illegally usurp our land'*

Mahorba village in Satna district of Madhya Pradesh, and is a worried man. "I have all the documents, sir. But the forest ranger is not willing to let me stay there," he says. "I have been staying in that area for the past 40 years, but now they want to throw me out. They don't give me a patta (deed) and instead say that my community, the Baheliyas, are a criminal tribe. We are not criminals but no one is listening to us." Weird, Britisher's pseudo-ethnography not only frequently throws such people into jail, it has tribals, who have been living in a forest for centuries, cruelly evicted from their homes in the name of forest conservation.

Shatrughan Khairwar, 30, belongs to the Khairwar tribe. For centuries, their ancestors cut Khair wood, but under the forest rules now they can't cut trees, therefore they have shifted to cultivation. Shatrughan's family, along with 38 others, has been living in the forestland of Nawan Ganv of Mahasamund district, Chhattisgarh, for 40-50 years. "When we asked the forest ranger about the patta (deed) of our land," Shatrughan remembers, "he asked us to come with him to the forest. He said the patwari would be coming to give us the patta. That particular place had several trees cut. He told us if we told senior officers that we had cut these trees, it would be proof of the



fact that we had been living in the area for long. He also made us sign some document. Now for the past few years, we have been fighting court cases as they have booked us for cutting trees in the forest."

AT 6 AM in the morning, there was a buzz among the yatriis. It is a special day, as instead of the regular 12 km, they would have to walk 20 km, to make sure that they cross the Chambal bridge. People were getting ready, bathing, drinking tea and preparing themselves for the marathon. By 7 am, dal nayaks (people who are in charge of 100 people) started calling out names of those in their cohort. By 7.30 am, the yatra was on its feet, as it were, and ready to advance. One couldn't but admire the tenacity and spirit. There was a decent police bandobast on the other side of the highway to ensure traffic was not disturbed. Senior police officers of the area had already reached the spot and were interacting with the organisers. The police was full of praise for the way satyagrahis had behaved all along. A senior police officer sighed, "If only all political rallies went like this. We only have to take care of the traffic."

At around 9 am, the rally





**DHANALAKSHMI, 23  
SARAIKADDU, MADURAI  
DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU**  
*'We were living in the forests  
for a long time but we were  
kicked out. Now we are  
forced to live very close to  
where the municipal  
corporation dumps waste.  
That area is unsuitable for  
living. We are working as  
bonded labourers in a mango  
orchard. We want our  
land back.'*

started for its destination of Mania police station in a very smooth, orderly fashion. Forty thousand people had camped overnight, but when they left, not a trace of litter remained. As the mercury rose, the water tanks assigned to each group made their mandatory rounds and people rushed to fill their plastic bottles. As the marchers reached the Chambal bridge, the dal nayaks started talking about the historical significance of the location. Walking briskly, with several members of his family and village, was Bisahu Ram Gond, 55. He, along with 70-75 families, had been living in the forest region since the 1960s but is threatened with eviction as his house fell just outside Barnawapara tiger sanctuary in Chhattisgarh, he said. Now the government intended to relocate villagers inside the tiger sanctuary to the land hitherto occupied by Bisahu and the others.

It was illogical, and obviously has made Bisahu angry: "We have been tilling that land for the past 50 plus years. False cases were slapped on us; we were made to run from pillar to post before we could feel settled. And now all of a sudden, the government has decided that these Adivasis are less important than Adivasis inside the sanctuary. Who does these kinds of things?"

Somebody else had a similar question. Bhagwan Ram Sirdar belonged to Mahora- Sarastal village in Chhattisgarh. He had been named in an FIR on charges of attempting to destroy the register of

the sarpanch. His crime, he said, was that he raised his voice against "unfair tactics" on the part of a nearby IFFCO power plant. According to Bhagwan Ram, "These people, in connivance with the sarpanch and local administration, were forging signatures of most of the villagers. When I protested against this, an FIR was lodged against me, alleging that I tried to tear the register of the sarpanch, which had all the signatures. What is shocking is that in a meeting called by a senior administrative officer, they were openly asking villagers to take some money and settle the issue. Is this how you want to grab our lands?"

FOR MANY of the marchers, the struggle was an old and gruelling one. Memories of the march of 2007 were strong and even after the agreement with Jairam Ramesh, there is only cautious optimism. A majority of the Adivasis and Dalits were quite clear that they are pitched in for a long battle with the government. If New Delhi backtracks, as it did in 2007, they will again march to Delhi. Rajagopal, who has been at the forefront of several such agitations, is wary of the government's sincerity, and with reason.

Rajaji, as he is known among his followers, has undertaken four such marches since 2004. Each time, the UPA government promised to look into his demands, only to ditch him. It was in 2004 that he first met Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, along with Nirmala Deshpande and

the late Arjun Singh, and explained to him the urgency of land reforms. Nothing came out of that meeting. In 2006, they again marched to Delhi and told the government that they would return in 2007, but with 25,000 people. The pressure seemed to work. In 2007, the government announced the National Lands Reform Committee and the National Land Reform Council, with the prime minister as chairman and Rajagopal as a member. The Forest Act too was finalised.

"We came back celebrating," says Rajagopal. But little did he realise that well begun was only half done. The promised pace of work started slackening. He kept writing to the prime minister but without effective response. In 2010, Rajagopal led 12,500 members on a yatra from Gwalior to Ramlila Maidan in Delhi and then Parliament. "I wrote to the prime minister," he said, "that if bureaucrats had to look into everything, then what was the point of the Land Reform Council? You have promised us land reforms in front of 25,000 people, and I think you have lost your moral right to be in power."

Fed up with the delaying tactics of the government, Rajagopal and Ekta Parishad announced that they would start a one-year march from Kanyakumari on 2 October 2011, and march to Delhi with 1,00,000 people. They travelled thousands of kilometres to reach Gwalior on 28 September 2012. Meanwhile, with the appointment of Jairam Ramesh, as the Minister of Rural Development, things began to move. He met Rajagopal in January 2012 in Raipur and promised to energise the Land Reforms Council, which hadn't met once since its creation in 2007.

"On explicit assurance from Jairam Ramesh, I ended my yatra 10 days early and met the prime minister on 25 September," says Rajagopal, "for four days we met daily and discussed the whole agreement, drafted it, redrafted it, changed the commas and full stops,



improved the grammar. Till the 29th, everything was all right. Jairam attended almost all the meetings. On 29 September, the meeting ended, the document went to the press and we just had to sign. Then all of a sudden I got a call from Jairam saying, 'I am sorry but I can't sign the document. There is pressure from the top.'

THREE DAYS into the renewed march, the Ekta Parishad again heard from Jairam. Could they meet once more on 8 October? It was another false dawn. Two days later, however, an agreement was reached. The government was keen to avoid a gathering of the dispossessed in Delhi and a public relations disaster of the type that accompanied the Anna Hazare and Baba Ramdev protests. It was also conscious of wanting to present politically correct credentials.

However, some of Rajagopal's associates are already talking of a broader, more expansive agenda. According to Ulka Mahajan of the Sarvahara Jan Andolan, "We are working against a system that believes in grabbing land from the landless for SEZs, for the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor and

**We are working against a system that believes in grabbing land from the landless for SEZs, for the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor and petrochemical complexes. We fought for 20 years to get the Forest Rights Act. A change in system is required.**

petrochemical complexes. We fought for 20 years to get the Forest Rights Act. A change in system is required. With one rally, it is not going to happen. The need is to immediately stop alienation of land from the oppressed class, the Dalits and the Adivasis. To do that, all that the government needs to do is to implement the existing land reforms legislation: the Land Ceiling Act,

Tenancy Act, Tribal Land Restoration Act."

As retired bureaucrat and social activist EAS Sarma emphasised it, it was only the pressure of marching throngs that scared and moved the government. "The land records are in a mess," he said, "there are many tenants whose land rights are not recognised and therefore they cannot get bank loans. There are millions of farmers who are cultivating on government land but do not have land pattas. The government should survey that land and divide it up among the landless in the presence of villagers."

That is more than what even Jairam Ramesh and, in fact, the UPA government can perhaps promise. Nevertheless, the dispossessed have almost reached the gates of the capital — the deal concluded as they neared Agra. Depending on how one saw it, they had waited a few thousand years, 60 years or eight years (since the Ekta Parishad began the current round of agitations). They were and are not willing to wait any longer.

*The writer is a Veteran Journalist*

Photographs Courtesy : Vijay Pandey



# SPIRITUAL REVOLUTIONARIES

**Most people communicate more easily with others from the same cultural background. Yet in the struggle to change the world, activists will have to live and work with people from different races, cultures and nations.**

✱ by Dada Maheshvarananda  
**Goodness, Evil and How to Train Heroes**

We like to think that we are very different from those who commit terrible crimes of torture and violence. However Shrii P. R. Sarkar's discourses on bio-psychology and extensive scientific research support the opposite view: the potential for good and evil lies within all of us.

A series of famous psychological experiments were conducted in the early 1960s to examine the question of **whether ordinary people could be coerced into contributing to evil**, such as the Holocaust. Yale University psychologist Stanley Milgram tested whether normal volunteers would be willing to obey an authority figure who instructed them to perform acts that conflicted with



*Brigadier-General Janis Karpinski, was responsible for military jails in Iraq, after the abuse probe she was dismissed - with Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld in the picture at Abu Gharib.*

their personal conscience.

Participants were asked to play the role of a “teacher,” responsible for administering electric shocks to a “learner” who sat behind a wall in the next room when the learner failed to answer test questions correctly. The participants were not aware that the learner was secretly working with the experimenters and did not actually receive any shocks. As the learner failed more and more, the teacher was instructed to increase the voltage of the shocks—even when the learner started screaming, pleading to have the shocks stop, and eventually stopped responding altogether. Ordered by a serious-looking man in a lab coat who said he would assume responsibility for the consequences,

most participants continued to administer ever higher shocks until they reached 300 volts or above, described on the control panel as a potentially lethal shock. The majority delivered the maximum shock of 450 volts.

**Why would normal people do such a thing?** A high school friend of Milgram was Philip Zimbardo, who in 1971 designed an experiment at Stanford University to answer that question. A group of 24 normal male college students were randomly assigned to be prisoners or guards in a mock prison located in the basement of the psychology building. The two-week planned study into the psychology of prison life ended after only six days due to the emotional trauma being



experienced by the participants. The students quickly began acting out their roles, with guards becoming sadistic and prisoners becoming traumatized and depressed.

In 2004, when the terrible story became known about the torture, rape, humiliation and murder by United States soldiers and contractors at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, the military tried some of the perpetrators, calling them “a few



bad apples.” Whereas hundreds of guards knew at least some of what was going on, only one, Sergeant Joseph Darby, courageously reported it. Zimbardo testified for the defense, explaining that few individuals can resist the powerful social pressures of a prison, particularly without proper training and supervision. He said:

When you put that set of horrendous work conditions and external factors together, it creates an evil barrel. You could put virtually anybody in it and you’re going to get this kind of evil behavior. The Pentagon and the military say that the Abu Ghraib scandal is the result of a few bad apples in an otherwise good barrel. That’s the dispositional analysis. The social psychologist in me, and the consensus among many of my colleagues in experimental social psychology, says that’s the wrong

analysis. It’s not the bad apples, it’s the bad barrels that corrupt good people.

Psychology recognizes a trap that discourages people from acting, known as the “**bystander effect**.” When a lot of people witness an emergency, there is a common tendency to think, “Surely someone else will do something.” This is like “good guards” who keep silent when they observe misconduct: most of us keep silent when we should speak out. We have to resist the urge to excuse inaction and justify that evil deeds are acceptable means to supposedly righteous ends. Whistleblowers who report crimes or corruption in government or business often face ostracism, physical threats, and the loss of their jobs. A hero is one who speaks out, and even disobeys authority when it starts to act inhumanely.

In the same way that people commonly believe that they could not do evil, it is also common to think that heroes are somehow superhuman, practically beyond comparison to the rest of us. In fact, **heroic deeds are nearly always done by ordinary people in extraordinary situations.** Zimbardo believes that we are all potential heroes waiting for a moment in life when we are called on to perform a heroic deed. If we can make people aware of this, through education at all levels and ages, more of us may answer that call when it comes.

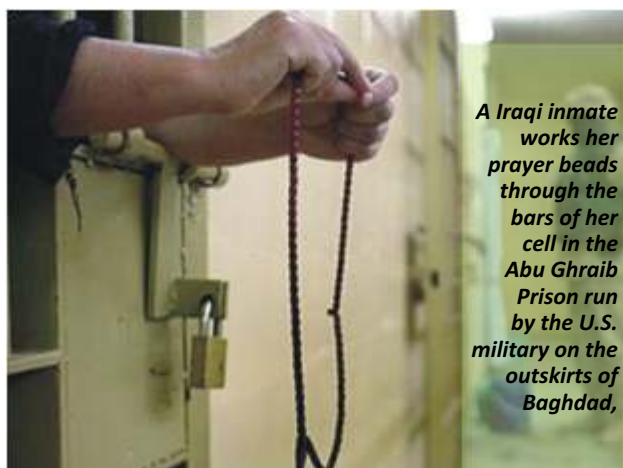
By studying heroic deeds from ancient times until today, Zimbardo observes that a **code of conduct** invariably served as the framework from which heroic action emerged. These principles serve as a litmus test for right and wrong and remind us, even when we would prefer to forget, that something is wrong and we must attempt to set it right.

## Emotionally Intelligent Leaders

Effective leaders must develop what Daniel Goleman calls “emotional intelligence.” This concept explains how some people may be brilliant intellectuals, with vast knowledge and skills, yet still be unable to understand or be sensitive to the impact of their actions on others. Those who lack emotional intelligence are unaware of how others feel. Ideal leaders are “visionary,” “coaching” and “democratic,” and rarely use the less effective “pace-setting” and “commanding” styles.

Most people communicate more easily with others from the same cultural background. Yet in the struggle to change the world, activists will have to **live and work with people from different races, cultures and nations.** Cultural clashes, translation difficulties, misunderstandings, disagreements about values, and different ways of seeing the world, are very real phenomena that leaders must confront every day. Neohumanism teaches that one must overcome false superiority and groupism based on geo-sentiments and socio-sentiments (explained in Chapter 2). Ideal leaders treat all people as their brothers and sisters, dealing fairly with everyone based on universal principles and individual merit.

Another important principle for all leaders is to set an example by individual conduct before asking others to do the same.



*A Iraqi inmate works her prayer beads through the bars of her cell in the Abu Ghraib Prison run by the U.S. military on the outskirts of Baghdad,*



Some leaders unfortunately become **arrogant**. They believe that because their cause is great, they are also great. This is not necessarily so. Arrogant leaders lack sensitivity and care little for the feelings and values of others.

True leaders, instead of developing ego, develop humility. A leader who is humble gives joy and inspiration to others.

Insecure leaders feel threatened by the success of others. Some men feel threatened by the achievements of women and may even create obstacles in their paths to diminish their success. Insecure leaders, both men and women, often become fiercely competitive, viewing the success of another's project as a humiliation of them. Although healthy internal competition can inspire people to work harder, the spirit of coordinated cooperation is also needed.

Insecure leaders are also afraid of losing control. They are afraid to hear complaints or criticism, of doing things a new way, of challenge and change. They are afraid of failure. They do not realize that they can learn from every failure, that every unsuccessful effort is an opportunity for personal and collective growth. They fear that admitting a mistake and apologizing for it will mean a loss of face. On the contrary, an honest apology for an error along with a willingness to make up for it, whether it was done knowingly or not, heals hurt feelings and often increases one's esteem in the eyes of one's peers and the public.

### How to Inspire Others and Yourself

Inspiration is vital for activists who receive no material compensation. The only fuel they get for serving others and sacrificing for a noble cause is inspiration. Without it, they may feel like giving up.

Common questions that activists have include "How can I inspire new people to join this struggle? How can I inspire my fellow activists to carry on? And, most important, how

can I inspire myself?"

### There are Several Ingredients for Inspiration:

**1. Spiritual practices:** Daily meditation strengthens the mind and opens one to the source of all inspiration and wisdom. The more time one devotes to it, the more one will experience peace and joy. The company of other spiritualists also helps immensely to keep the mind inspired and growing.

**2. Positive outlook:** From a spiritual perspective, all obstacles and difficulties help one to develop. Both individually and organizationally, one can learn much when things go wrong. Rather than become discouraged when a loss is suffered, by redoubling one's efforts one can often make it up. Hidden in every crisis lies an opportunity.

**3. Enthusiasm:** To inspire, one must be dynamic, cheerful and full of energy. By speaking to others in an exciting and dramatic way, one can transfer some of the thrill and exhilaration of the global movement to create another world. There is an old French saying, "Miracles happen to those who believe in them." We all need to open our eyes to the marvelous adventure that is taking place all around us every day.

**4. Actively collect and communicate good news from around the world:** From the dawn of our species, human beings have desired to belong to a large group. Being part of a popular movement gives a feeling of success and security. Yet one's humble efforts sometimes seem too insignificant to have much effect on the local community or the wider world.

It is only by expanding one's vision to see all the efforts and projects in every country of the world that one can realize how strong the global effort to make a better world is growing. Hearing and telling others of the successes of this movement inspires everyone.

**5. Invite Creative Expression:** The collective struggle needs everyone's help. Recognizing that people have diverse experiences and abilities, leaders should invite

them to express their talents in a constructive way. When people discuss freely and frankly, and ask sincere questions to their heart's content, they can learn and develop more in the spirit of Neohumanism.

New ideas and new ways of doing things, if carefully planned, breathe fresh life into tired activists and generate enthusiasm. And the resultant new experiences will challenge and empower people to take risks and overcome their fears.

**6. Laugh Together:** There is an old proverb, "If you take yourself too seriously, no one else will." A good sense of humor is one of the loveliest qualities that leaders can have. Those who spent time with Sarkar remember well how often he lightened their feelings with a funny story or joke. Sometimes he made everyone laugh so hard that their sides hurt and tears came to their eyes. His jokes were always an invitation for everyone to relax and laugh together as a family.

To be a positive example and a continual source of inspiration for those around should be the goal of every activist.

*Excerpted from  
After Capitalism: Economic  
Democracy in Action  
by Dada Maheshvarananda*

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# Is Judiciary Biased Against Adivasis



✱ Gladson Dugndung

**The Adivasis  
of Nagri,  
have been  
knocking  
each and  
every door  
of the  
democracy,  
but they  
are not being  
heard anywhere.**

**O**n 15 July, 2012, in the afternoon, the weather was cool, the sky was cloudy and it was drizzling. The hundreds of Adivasis of Nagri village entered into the central hall of the Birsa Agriculture University, Ranchi with the single point agenda to get back their agriculture lands, which has been captured by the State with the power of Gun. In fact the Birsa Agriculture University was also built on their land after snatching it from their ancestors. They have been resisting against the forceful and illegal land acquisition because the present government has been attempting to grab rest of their land in the name of growth and development. They are well aware that if they surrender their land in front of the Gun, they'll become

landless, homeless and helpless. Their survival, identity and existence will be vanished. Therefore, they were there to attend a meeting called off by the "High Power Committee" constituted by the Chief Minister of Jharkhand, Arjun Munda on the basis of an order of the Jharkhand High Court, which states that the Government should resolve the land row of Nagri within a week otherwise; the court will directly deal with the land owners.

When the meeting began, the villagers told to the High Power Committee that they'll not surrender their land at any cost even if they have to face bullets while resisting for it. Therefore, the government should return their agriculture lands, which have been captured by the State with the terror of Gun so that they would go for the cultivation as the Monsoon is in its pick. The Social and Rights Activists also echoed their voices in support of the villagers. After hearing the concerns of villagers, Social and Rights Activists, the Chairperson of the committee and Revenue Minister, Mathura Mahto assured them that the committee will take a decision in favour of the villagers. However, the villagers were not satisfied with the assurance and started raising slogans because they were expecting for some concrete result as their case was dismissed by the Jharkhand High Court and while they approached to the Supreme Court, the Court

simply didn't admit it.

First of all, let's understand the land issue of Nagri. An Adivasis dominated village "Nagri" is situated at a distance of 15km from Ranchi, the capital city of Jharkhand. On 23 November, 2011, the Jharkhand Government began to capture 227.71 acres of fertile land of the villagers and handed over the entitlement of the major part of the land to the IIM, the IIIT and the Law University. Thus these institutions started constructing the boundary wall. The government claims that the land was acquired in 1957-58 for the extension of the 'Birsia Agriculture University and Seed Bank' under the 'public purpose' provided in the section 17 (4) of the Land Acquisition Act 1984. However, Rs. 155,147.88 was allocated for the compensation but out of 153 Raiyats (tenants), 128 had declined the compensation offered and merely 25 Raiyats of a particular community had received it. When 128 Raiyats declined the compensation, the Government deposited their money Rs. 133732 in the treasury but they were not informed.

In 2008, the Jharkhand Government started acquisition of 12.6 acres of land for the proposed 'Ring Road' but the Raiyats resisted against it and when it was taken forcefully, they approached to the Jharkhand High Court for relief. However, the Court did not accept the claim of the Raiyats on the land and merely ordered the Government to pay compensation with the addition of 15 percent interests and closed the case. Interestingly, when the land was supposed to be acquired, it costs Rs. 7 per decimal and today the same land is worth of Rs. 1.5 lakh. The Government is willing to pay merely 1.55 lakh for 227.71 acres of land, which is worth of Rs. 341.5 crore today. The final call of the Raiyats is that they simple want their land back and don't want to bid for it at any cost precisely because the land is only source of their survival, identity and existence, and the compensation

money will not serve their purposes. They say that once the compensation amount is fished, they'll be nowhere.

The Adivasis of Nagri, have been knocking each and every door of the democracy but they are not being heard anywhere. In January 2012, the government deployed 3 companies of Rapid Action Force (RAF) and bulldozed just when the winter crops mostly potatoes and pulse were to be harvested. The RAF also destroyed wheat, gram and other crops. And when the villagers strongly protested against it, the Government imposed section 144 of the Indian Penal Code within the distance of 1 km of the project area and the villagers were not even allowed to move on their own land. When they strongly resisted against it, an FIR was filed against 12 villagers including 85 year-old Dhuchu Toppo in allegation of breaching of peace. Ironically, Dhuchu Toppo could not even walk properly but he was threat to peace in the region. However, when the construction work of boundary wall was started, the villagers again went to the Jharkhand High Court and pleaded to stop the construction work on their land, the Court rejected their petition on 26 April, 2012. After decline of the Court to hear their plea, the villagers sit in indefinite protest on the spot and also gathered support from nearby villagers and outsiders and halted the construction work. They sit in protest, which went on for record 125 days in the history of displacement movement.

On the other hand, on 30 April, 2012, while hearing a public interest litigation filed by the Bar Association of the Jharkhand High Court, pleading for the completion of construction work of the Law University Campus, the Jharkhand High Court ordered the state government to start the construction work within 48 hours. Finally, the villagers went to the Supreme Court through a Special Leave Petition (SLP) with the last hope to get justice. However, they were not only

denied justice but also humiliated in the Supreme Court. On 28 June, 2012, a legislator Bandhu Tirkey and a few villagers were present in the Supreme Court and they were shocked to see the Judges' behaviour. The vacation bench was hearing the petition and while hearing it, Justice H.S. Gokhle and Justice Ranjna Prakash Desai didn't even open the file and threw it on the ground. They said, "Acquisition of the concerned land has taken place in 1957-58, we do not see any reason to interfere with the impugned judgement." They dismissed the petition.

Since, Nagri village comes under the Fifth Schedule Area in the state of Jharkhand as per provisions made in the Indian Constitution, where the Governor is the constitutional head, who has been empowered by the President of India with special power to issue Public Notification and Regulation to protect and promote the interest of Adivasis in Scheduled Area and thus maintain 'Peace & Good Government'. Therefore, the Villagers also went to meet the Governor several times and pleaded to intervene in the case. However, the governor did nothing for the Raiyats. The villagers could see and believe that the Supreme Court, High Court, Governor, State Government and the Police are against of them; therefore they'll not get justice if they don't fight on the street. They became angry against the 'state' and determined not the surrender their land at any cost even if they have to render their lives. A billion dollar question for them was how will they survive if they lose only source of their livelihood i.e. land? Finally, they decided to save their land at the cost of their lives and the behaviour of the Supreme Court fuelled their anger.

On 4 July, 2012, they gathered near the site of the IIM and started breaking the boundary wall. They destroyed the boundary wall of one side of the IIM in presence of the Rapid Action Force. Meanwhile, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Sadar



(Ranchi), Shekhar Jamuar reached to the spot and ordered for lathi charge. The clash started between villagers and the police forces. The Police forces not only bet the villagers with lathis but also pelted stone on them. Consequently, Dubhan Toppo, Dukhni Toppo, Jammi Toppo and Bandhni Toppo got severe injuries and admitted to the Rajendra Institute of Medical Science, Ranchi. However, the police filed an FIR against 100 villages alleging them for attacking on police and also destroying the government property. The police also arrested Jammi Toppo, Bandhni Toppo, Rama Tirkey and Chhoto Toppo. Since, Jammi Toppo and Bandhni Toppo were injured severely therefore, they were sent to RIMS for treatment under the police custody but Rama Tirkey and Chhoto Toppo were sent to Jail under the charge of attempt to murder of the police personals.

On the next day, the villagers sat on the road and declared for indefinite road block of Ranchi-Patratu Highway in demand of the persons arrested to be released and case is withdrawn immediately. The People's organizations, Rights Groups, Political parties, student unions and intellectuals also joined the protest against the terror of the State. There were series of protest across the state in support of the Nagri People's Movement. Meanwhile, the villagers also got the support of Sibu Soren the chairperson of staring committee (Govt of Jharkhand) and two Cabinet Ministers of the Jharkhand

Mukti Morch also openly supported the villagers. The Minister of Revenue and Land Reform, Mathura Mahto said that injustice has been done to the Raiyats of Nagri by the government. Hence, the Government was unable to deal the situation.

After seeing the people's resistance, the Jharkhand High Court also changed its behaviour. On 10 July 2012, the Court ordered the state government to find out the ways with the villagers within a week. On the basis of the order, the Chief Minister constituted a five members 'High Power Committee' under the chairmanship of Mathura Mahto, the Minister of Revenue and Land Reform along with four bureaucrats as members including N.N. Pandey, Secretary (Revenue and Land Reform), Sukhdev Singh, Secretary (Finance Dept), Surendra Singh, Commissioner (South Chhotanagpur) and Vinay Chaubey, Deputy Commissioner (Ranchi). The committee called off its first meeting on 14 July but the Raiyats declined to participate in it. They said that if the government wants to talk to them, then the representatives must come to the spot and secondly the delegation should have the Adivasis officers in majority. Meanwhile, the villagers organized a Jan Panchayat at Nagri on July 15, where more than 10 thousand people participated. They had also invited Sibu soren in the Jan Panchayat, where he said that the agriculture land will not be given to the government and the villagers should start ploughing their land. Since,

Sibu Soren is head of the coalition government therefore; it had a ripple impact in the state. The support of Sibu Soren fuelled the Nagri movement. Finally, the High Power Committee decided to meet the villagers near their village therefore, the meeting was organized at Birsa Agriculture University, Kanke on July 16.

On 16 July, 2012, the Jharkhand High Court also asked numbers of questions to the state government while hearing the petition of the Bar Association in the matter of Law University. The Court asked to the State Government whether it is a government policy that law will prevail or the issues will be decided on road in all matters in future? Whether the land in dispute is the only or last land, which is cultivable land, acquired after coming into force of the Act of 1894 in the state of Bihar and now in the state of Jharkhand till the year 2012? Whether non acceptance of the compensation by cultivators will nullify the land acquisition proceedings undertaken under the Act of 1894? Whether the state government has taken a decision that all lands which have been acquired after the year 1894 or at least since 1957-58, and it was cultivable at that time, shall be declared deacquisitioned and will be returned back to the cultivators? Why this inequitable decision will be for those persons only,

**W**e're moving towards a technological world order where all our food, water and resources are shipped in from a centralised source. If a landslide occurs and villages are blocked off, there's absolute havoc. These were once entirely self-sufficient communities. We need to go back to that stage.

- The Hindu

whose land have not been violently protested when possession of the land was taken over and whether the Government will be guided by law of violence and will not hear the law abiding persons, who obeyed the law? And if the state government takes a decision that no cultivable land should be acquired, then whether that decision will be prospective in nature or retrospective in operation?

The seven pages order seems to be clearly anti-Adivasis and willing to facilitate the land grab of Adivasis of Nagri village. Needless to say that the people of Jharkhand have been raising their endless voices against the Legislative and the Executive but in the case of Nagri the people have also questioned the functioning of the Judiciary, which is of course not a good sign for the democracy. But do people have any other choice too? The pertaining questions are why people are questioning the Judiciary? Has the Judiciary become anti-Adivasis? Does the Judiciary favour the bigwigs? One needs to find out the answer. If one would closely see the behaviour, intention and orders of the Jharkhand High Court, one would definitely say that the Judiciary is not only anti-Adivasis but it is also anti-poor, anti-Raiyats and anti-Jharkhandis. Dr. Ram Dayal Munda had shared his experiences with the Indian Judiciary in 2007. According to him the Judiciary has become anti people, hence, where from these people will get justice? He had said, "When we approach to the Judiciary, we are scolded. The Judges say, "We cannot hear the Adivasis. These people don't talk sense".

Let's go into the deeper in this case. When the Raiyats halted the construction work, the Bar Association filed a PIL in the Jharkhand High Court on 3 May, 2012. One would question that why did the Bar Association file a case in the High Court instead of the Law University? Is the Bar Association really worried about the development of the state or its intention was something else behind

the case? Was the Law University incapable in filing case or it had some other legal obstacles? The fact is that according to the 'National University for Research and Studies on Law, Ranchi Act 2010' enacted by the Jharkhand Legislative Assembly in 2010, the Chief Justice of the Jharkhand High Court will be the Chancellor of the University. The National University for Research and Studies on Law (NURSL), Ranchi was inaugurated in 2010 by its first Chancellor and the Chief Justice of Jharkhand High Court, Justice Gyan Sudha Mishra. When Justice Gyan Sudha Mishra was elevated as the Judge of the Supreme Court in August, 2010, Justice Bhagwati Prasad was elevated as the Chief Justice of the Jharkhand High Court and he became the Chancellor of the NURSL too.

Presently, Justice Prakash Tatia is in the capacity of the Chief Justice of Jharkhand High Court and also working as the Chancellor of the NURSL, Ranchi. Interestingly, Justice Prakash Tatia has been hearing the PIL filed by the Bar Association regarding the land dispute between the Law University and the Raiyats of Nagri village. This is why the Law University didn't file the case in the court and it went through the Bar Association. It would not have been possible for Justice Prakash Tatia to hear the case if the NURSL, Ranchi would have filed the case in the High Court. However, the most important question may be asked is whether the Chief Justice of Jharkhand High Court has legal or moral rights to hear this case? Is it not a clear case of the conflict of interest? Can a lion be allowed to pronounce judgement in a case between a lamb and a lion? Even if the responsibility is given what would be the judgement? Will lion say that since, the lamb's ancestors used to live in the territory therefore; the lamb should be allowed to graze the green grass? How can a person heading a constitutional body misuse his power and authority like this? Is it

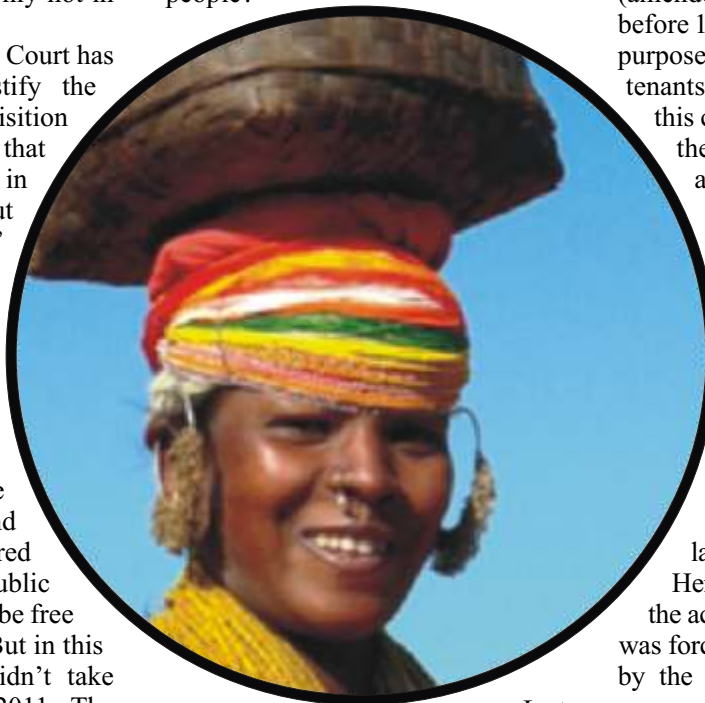
not a mockery of the judiciary? The Jharkhand High Court has given five orders in this case till the date, and each and every order seems to be full of biasness. Let's examine some of the significant points in the orders. On 16 July, 2012, the Jharkhand High Court has raised the question whether it is a government policy that law will prevail or the issues will be decided on road in all matters in future? The fact is the Raiyats of Nagri village had opposed the forceful and illegal land acquisition in 1957-58 therefore; the government was unable to acquire their land. However, the government played a trick and deceived the cultivators. The compensation amount was deposited in the treasury and land was presumed to be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act 1894. But in the reality, the villagers were neither informed about it nor their entitlements dismissed in the revenue record. Hence, the Raiyats have possession on the land. They have also paid revenue of the land to the government till 2011. The most important thing is that some of the Raiyats have sold their land to others and it was also registered in buyers' name by the Circle Officer of Kanke, which means the land was not legally acquired by the Government. Therefore, how can the government declare a land acquired when Raiyats are not ready to bid for their land? Is it only because a colonial Act (Land Acquisition Act 1894) says so?

The government claims that the land was acquired for the Birsa Agriculture University but the fact is the University has declined it. In 2008, the BAU said that it does not own the land when it was asked for a no-objection certificate from the state road construction department, which wanted to construct the 'Ring Road' over the land. It means that the government has been illegally and forcefully acquiring the land on the power of gun. The High Court is also not ready to hear the Raiyats' plea though they have right over the land and produced the entitlement

papers in front of the Court. When the court is not ready to accept the official land papers of 60 years, deny the Fifth Schedule provision and CNT Act, then what will they do? Of course, if the democratic institutions are determined to deny the rights and claim of the Raiyats, they will come on to the road and take a decision because this is a democratic country, where the democracy is of the people, for the people and by the people. How can someone decide about the destiny of the villagers in a closed AC room illegally? How can Judges of the Jharkhand High Court forget that the India's freedom movement and autonomy movement of Jharkhand both were also fought on the road only not in the A.C. Rooms?

The Jharkhand High Court has been attempting to justify the forceful and illegal acquisition of the land. Let's presume that the land was acquired in 1957-58 and also find out whether the Raiyats' claim is illegal as the Court has stated in its orders. The land of Nagri village was acquired under the section 17 (4) of the Land Acquisition Act 1984 for the 'public purpose' in urgency. In the case of urgency, the land was supposed to be acquired within 15 days of the public notification and it should be free from all encumbrances. But in this case, the government didn't take position till December 2011. The urgency is also clearly mentioned in section 17 (2) that the necessary to acquire the immediate possession of any land for the purpose of maintaining any structure or system pertaining to irrigation, water supply, drainage, road communication or electricity. Hence, the extension of the University cannot be urgency under the Act. However, if it was urgency then why didn't the Government take possession on the land for last 60 years? The High Court says in its order that since, the cultivators

didn't challenge the acquisition in 1958 therefore, the section 17 (4) cannot be challenged after 60 years. The court has neglected the fact that the villages had challenged the land acquisition in 1957-58 and declined the compensation. Is it possible for the cultivators to challenge everything in the court? Can the Court expect from the Raiyats to do so when the Court itself has stated in the order that the majority of the villagers are illiterate and poor? Can court think of patiently for the protection of the rights of these people instead of facilitating the forceful and illegal and grab? The High Court doesn't have duty to protect the rights of the marginalized people?



Let's also accept the fact that it was acquired for the extension of the Birsa Agriculture University and Seed Bank. If that is true then why land has been transferred to the IIM, the IIIT and the Law University in free of cost? Is it not the breach of law? And how can the government deceive the Raiyats like this, since, the land was supposed to be acquired for the BAU? According to the Land Acquisition (Amendment and Validation) Ordinance 1967, the acquired land cannot be used for

other purposes than said during the acquisition. In the case of the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi wrote to the Land Reform Commissioner in 1991 that the HEC has sub-leased 300 acres of land to other private institutions, which is against of the said purpose in the lease agreement. The letter further states that the sublease is illegal therefore, action should be taken against the HEC. But nothing has happened against the HEC till the date but why the High Court is not taking any action against the HEC? Is the High Court not aware about it?

Similarly, according to the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 (amended in 1972), land acquired before 1972 and not used for the said purpose had to be returned to the tenants back. This Act is applied in this case precisely because when the land said to be acquired, the area was under the state of Bihar. The Land Acquisition Act 1894 also has a provision in section-48, which states that the Government shall be at liberty to withdraw from the acquisition of any land of which possession has not been taken. The government had not taken possession on the land of Nagri for 60 years. Hence, it was totally free from the acquisition. However, the land was forcefully and illegally captured by the state Government with the power of Gun only in January 2012 therefore, it should be returned to the villagers. But why is the High Court mum on the above fact? Is the Court deliberately covering up the laws, which are in favour of the Raiyats? Why is the Court not questioning the government for bypassing these laws, which are favour of the Raiyats?

*(To be concluded)*

*Gladson Dungdung is a Human Rights Activist and associated with the Nagri People's Movement.*





# Beyond a Politics of Surprise Rethinking the Present

✶ Dr. Marcus Bussey

One of the chief drivers of the security environment might be termed the 'Politics of Surprise'. Recently we have been 'surprised' to witness the toppling of long stable Arab regimes, the opening up of Myanmar to democracy and the global spread of the 'Occupy' citizen-driven economic protests that began in Wall Street. Such surprises generate endless commentary and feed the media machine that perpetuates the image of ongoing socio-economic and political upheaval and the drama of crisis that this entails. Keeping one step ahead of such drama is core business for security analysts.

However, the level of currency this necessitates can overlook or sideline longer term developments and, to use Francis Fukuyama's term, blindsides us to the deeper processes at work both locally and globally. When context is dominated by a politics of surprise social resilience is reduced because shock is actually perceived as being an inherent element of socio-political process. Thus Fukuyama opens his book with a litany of surprises:

'The collapse of communism, the rapid emergence of China and India as major economic powers, the September 11 attacks, the appearance of relatively new diseases like HIV/AIDS and H5N1

**Timing positive futures needs to become a core element of national security thinking and analysis. Such timing depends on an expanded sense of what foresight offers the security environment.**

bird flu, Hurricane Katrina—the past decade and a half has demonstrated that nothing is as certain as uncertainty in global politics.’ To work beyond the litany of surprise is the purported job of strategic forecasters. In an environment of uncertainty they draw on history, a range of theoretical models, statistical trend analyses and social-psychology to develop the necessary depth of perception to anticipate not specific surprises but general surprises and the conditions that foreshadow these. Increasingly such work is seen as necessary but not the totality of strategic foresight. A quality of perception is being called forth by the convergence of global political, economic, social and ecological processes. To think and act effectively in such an expanded and expanding environment requires an expanded sense of presence for analysts and those engaged in strategic policy development. I see presence as a quality of self awareness in context. Presence thus is a measure of strategic readiness which buffers the context from reactive responses to a shock or surprise. Presence helps us see the present and the immediate future with new eyes. It is a necessary condition for social innovation. For example, F. W. de Klerk and others in the South Africa of the early 1990s saw a new way forward for their country. This shift came as something of a surprise for those in power who awoke to a present in which the unsustainability of a political trajectory was suddenly apparent. Following this ‘opening’ de Klerk, and others with him, recognised alternatives in the present previously edited out of the script for action by ideology, habit and fear of the unknown. Anticipation, combined with political will and courage, opened the present to presence: The awareness that there is no one present but that the present is plural, multiple and experienced

differentially according to where one sits within it. With this recognition the wicked problem before the apartheid leadership suddenly evaporated and it became clear what needed to be done. It is easy of course to project such a reading onto the past. We can ask about the mix of self interest in such transitions as those in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the years leading up to South Africa’s own coming out. Similarly, we can wonder about the changes afoot in Myanmar, Libya, Tunisia and Egypt today. Yet, in itself, self interest is not a bad thing. All foresight and futures work has self interest at its heart. Strategic foresight is partisan by nature and seeks to optimize advantage for those who apply it to their context. The counterbalance to this partisanship is an ethical commitment to inclusivity, openness and (in the best of best worlds) social and environmental justice.

This sensitivity to presence suggests another necessary shift in the security environment: a balancing of risk assessment with opportunity enhancement. This reorientation is inherent to forecasting which is anticipatory in nature. Anticipation implies a sense of openness to the future that risk assessment denies. To challenge the framing of risk and warning fostered by a politics of surprise will take determination on the part of security analysts. Stanford University’s Thomasingar identified this imbalance when asked to lead the development of a National Intelligence Priorities Framework in 2008. He describes how his team had to ‘winnow’ a set of 2300 ‘issues’ so that the number was both credible and useful to the Intelligence Community. Thusingar observed drily: “Doubtless reflecting a widespread conviction that it is more important to identify and prevent bad things from happening than to find opportunities to effect positive change, the process

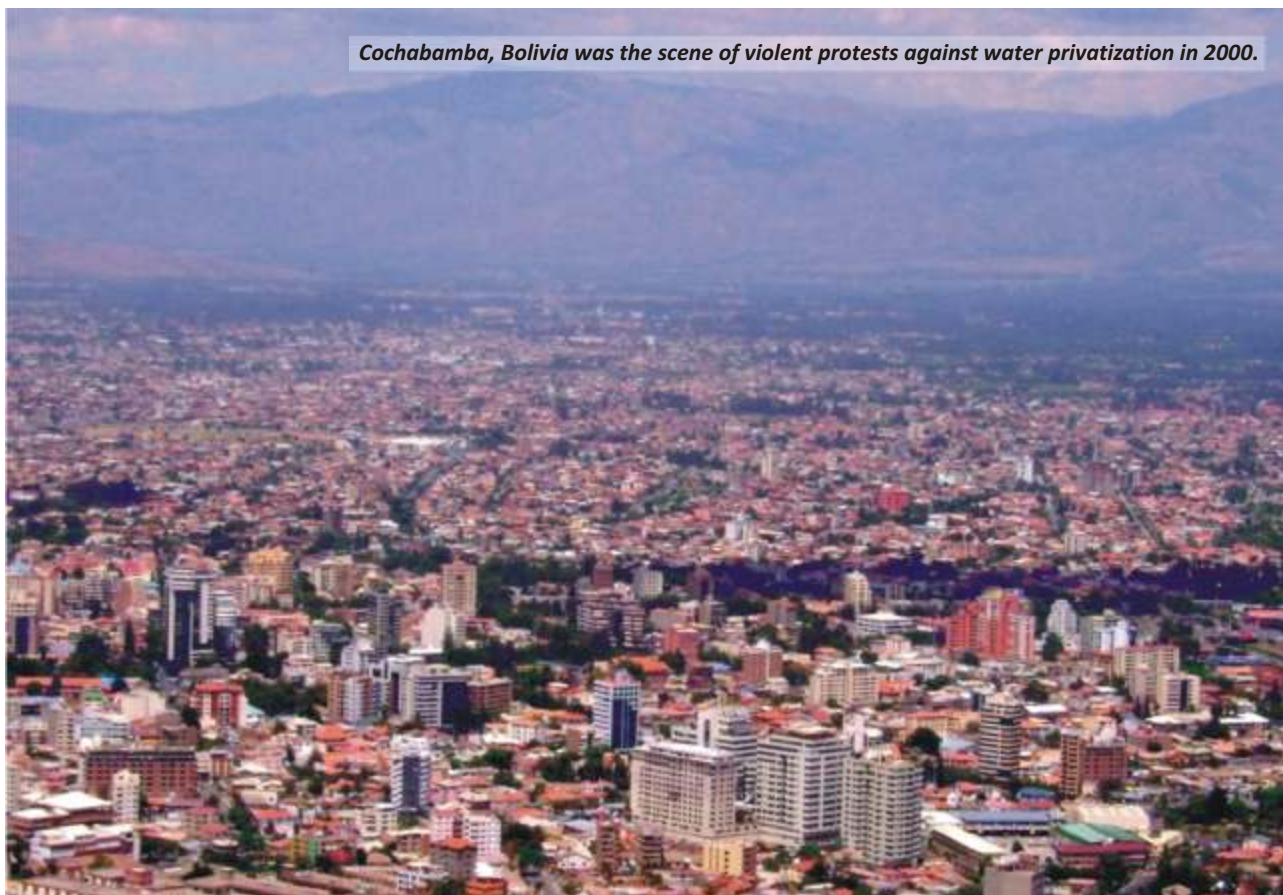
used to winnow requests to a manageable number focuses more attention on threats than on opportunities. The resultant guidance to collectors and analysts has real world consequences for what is targeted, what is collected, what is processed, what is analyzed, and what analysts look for. The net effect is that opportunities receive less attention than do threats.”

It is this insight that needs to be unpacked. The inability to recognise opportunities when they present themselves has real world impacts on the adaptive capacity of states and their institutions. I argue that awakening to presence leads to adaptation in response to the environmental conditions that constantly reinforce the logic of present centredness, structure and risk. Adaptation seeks to maximize advantage for the natural or social systems that take it up. It is, in the foresight context, a form of social learning and in the context of National security it is a necessary condition in a complex and uncertain environment. Timing positive futures needs to become a core element of national security thinking and analysis. Such timing depends on an expanded sense of what foresight offers the security environment. It also demands an expanded sense of security to include possibility in the positive sense. To return to the South African example – it was necessary for the apartheid government to reframe the risk of cultural annihilation and imagine an alternative future which was inclusive of their fears but also of the possibilities that lay beyond these. In this the importance of both de Klerk and Nelson Mandela cannot be underestimated. Yet, behind them stand many who invested in this possibility and did the hard yards to enable the aspirations that these leaders stood for.

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*Cochabamba, Bolivia was the scene of violent protests against water privatization in 2000.*



## Is Privatization, A Solution to, Global Water Crisis

**The Bolivian disaster of privatizing water supply in Cochabamba shows the dangers: the American firm Bechtel doubled water tariffs so that some families paid a third of their whole income in water rates, mass protests led to army repression and even death before the scheme collapsed completely.**

✶ Arun Prakash

Shrii P. R. Sarkar the founder of PROUT said, “Water was an essential factor in the evolution of the planet, and now it is most essential for the survival of human beings, animals, plants and the planet as a whole. If it does not rain anywhere on earth for only one year, all life on the planet will be destroyed. This is because all creatures – from the smallest organisms to the largest animals – need water. If there is no water, first the small creatures will die, then the ecological balance of the planet will be lost. Next, human beings will also die, and soon the earth will become a barren wasteland”. This grim scenario foretold at a discourse in Calcutta on March 25, 1989 in which he went on to add: “In the near future there will be a severe crisis in many parts of the world. Many large rivers like the Ganga, the Jamuna and the Thames are already very polluted. People cannot drink this water, and if they even wash their hands in it they can become infected”.

### **Water : Mother Nature's Gift**

Water is the most common substance on earth and constantly renews itself through evaporation and rainfall. But 97% of the world's water is in the oceans and most of what is left is locked up in ice caps and glaciers, etc., leaving just 1% of the world's water available for human consumption to not only satisfy domestic use, but also



industry and agriculture. The total volume of fresh water on earth is about 35 million cubic km and is not going to increase. The global water crisis has become very severe indeed. Let's begin with pollution.

According to a United Nations' report of 2003 everyday 2 million tons of sewage and industrial and agricultural waste are discharged into the world's water, the equivalent of the weight of the entire human population of 6.8 billion people. The worldwide population of seven billion this year will be eight billion by 2025. Today there are 2.3 billion people nearly a third of the world's population live in water stressed areas, this will increase to 3.5 billion.

While UN studies suggest that each person needs 20-50 litres of water a day to ensure their basic needs for drinking, cooking and cleaning, a UNDP report of 2006 estimates that an American taking a five-minute shower uses more water than the average person in a developing country slum uses for an entire day. Further the water and sanitation crisis claims more lives through disease than any war claims through guns. And as per a UN Population Fund report of 2011, more people have a mobile phone than a toilet.

### Private Management Experience

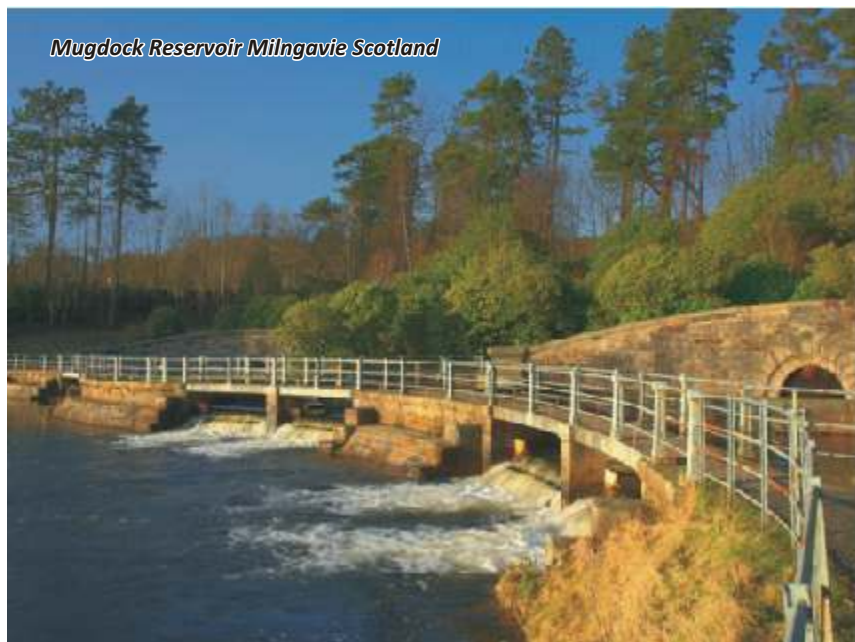
In this background let us examine the prospect of water management in private hands. Privately owned water utilities were common in Europe, the United States and Latin America in the mid- and late 19th century. Their importance gradually faded away until the early 20th century as they proved unable to expand access and publicly owned utilities became stronger. In the early 1990s this was revived in the aftermath of the privatizations in England, the fall of communism and the ensuing global emphasis on free market policies. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund played an important role in this process through the conditionality of their lending. One could expect nothing else, as these global banks run on capitalistic lines have profit as the primary motive.

However, some water privatizations failed, most notably in Bolivia, paving the way for a new pragmatism and a reduced emphasis on privatization. Following two popular uprisings against water privatization, the first in Cochabamba in April 2000 and the second in La Paz/El Alto in January

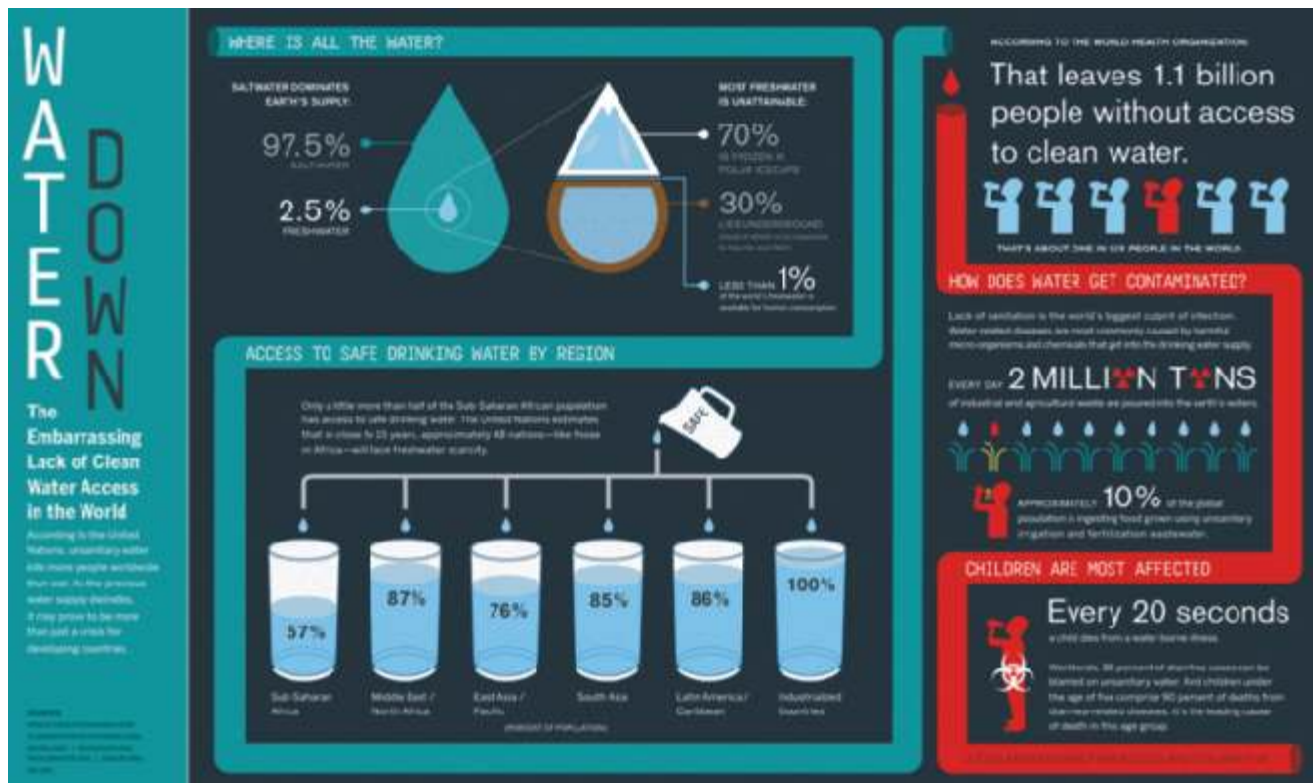
2005, the two concessions were terminated. The Bolivian disaster of privatizing water supply in Cochabamba shows the dangers: the American firm Bechtel doubled water tariffs so that some families paid a third of their whole income in water rates, mass protests led to army repression and even death before the scheme collapsed completely.

The public water utility came under severe criticism in 2008 due to water shortages, accounting errors, tariff increases and poor disaster preparedness. Consequently, representatives of the La Paz neighborhood association announced to create their own service provider. In 1989 the conservative government of Margaret Thatcher privatized all public water and sewer companies in England and Wales. In Scotland, however, local governments dominated by the Labour party kept water systems in public hands.

Broadly speaking, there are two forms of private sector participation in water supply and sanitation. In a full privatization, assets are permanently sold to a private investor. In a public-private partnership, ownership of assets remains public and only certain functions are delegated to a private company for a specific period. Full privatization of water supply and sanitation is an exception today, being limited to England, Chile and some cities in the United States. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are the most common form of private sector participation in water supply and sanitation today. The motives for water privatization vary from one case to the other, and they often determine the choice of the mode of privatization; management and lease contracts are used to increase efficiency and improve service quality, while asset sales and concessions primarily aim to reduce the fiscal burden or to expand access. Ideological motives and external influences also play a role. Often several of the above motives are combined.



*Mugdock Reservoir Milngavie Scotland*



## Capitalistic Influences on Privatization

External influences, such as from the WB and the IMF, often play a role, as it was the case in Bolivia and in several African countries. Other aid agencies have also supported water privatization. These include the Inter-American Development Bank (e.g., in Ecuador, Colombia and Honduras), the Asian Development Bank (e.g., in China), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Eastern Europe, German development cooperation through KfW (e.g., in Albania, Armenia, Jordan and Peru), French development cooperation (e.g., in Senegal) and British development cooperation (e.g., in Tanzania and Guyana). In the UK, the World Development Movement campaigned against the support of water privatization through aid from the UK. In all today there are 32 countries worldwide that have formal private sector participation in urban water supply. Communist China is included in this with privatization in 27 cities with Shenzhen, Fuzhou, Lanzhou, Wuhu City among others. Significantly India is not.

In almost all cases, water tariffs increased in the long run under

privatization. In some cases, such as in Buenos Aires and in Manila, tariffs first declined, but then increased above their initial level. In other cases, such as in Cochabamba or in Guyana, tariffs were increased at the time of privatization. In some cases in Sub-Saharan Africa, where much of the investments are funded through development aid, tariffs did not increase over a long period. The magnitude of tariff increases is influenced by the profit margin of private operators, but also to a large extent by the efficiency of utilities in terms of water losses and labor productivity.

## Water: a Human Right

Water is a human right and not a commodity because the right to life is the most fundamental of all human rights, and that water is fundamental to health and life, making it necessary to preserve water as a right in order to protect the right to life.

By extension, it can also be argued that water is essential to all of the rights that depend on health and life, such as the right to free speech, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion. This all makes water an exceptional, fundamental part of protecting our rights as individuals and companies are not fundamentally able to secure this

right, without exception. This is why governments must act to secure it through public ownership and distribution of water resources.

The World Bank in 1996 declared that water can be treated an economic good. This is far from ground realities and cannot be further from the truth because like air and light it belongs to Mother Nature and can never be the property of any individual. These proponents of market theories still argue that like any other goods, water has a value to users, who are willing to pay for it and that consumers will use water so long as the benefits from use of an additional cubic meter exceed the costs so incurred.

They further argue that privatization is the best way to provide quality water, reliably and efficiently to all that need it and private companies, which are generally capable of harnessing market forces more efficiently so that they can reliably provide quality water to those that need it. Free market forces should be harnessed in the supply of water globally, and companies can reliably (possibly even more reliably than governments) provide it to those in need. This has not proven to be the case. Companies inherently have an interest in profits over the interests



of individuals. This does not mean that companies are evil, but simply that they are profit-maximizing entities that do not have a fundamental interest in ensuring a citizen's right and access to water. Companies have an interest in charging as much as consumers are willing to pay for water. It is common that private companies increase rates dramatically (sometimes as much as two to three times over) in their profit interests. Many can't afford the fees that this entails, and are forced to move, a violation of the right to water. The fundamental problem is that the profit interests of private water utilities lead directly away from the consistent, equitable, affordable protection of the right to water. This is a problem, primarily because anything that is considered a "right" should not be directly subject to fundamentally counter-veiling profit-interests. The argument that water is most efficiently supplied by private companies is not necessarily true. There are numerous instances in which privatization lead to serious disasters and public chaos as happened in Bolivia.

### Water for Profit

For profit, water companies sell water at a price per kilo-litre. There is a direct incentive for them to sell as many kilo-litres of water as is possible. Therefore, there is no inherent incentive for them to conserve water resources. This has implications not only on the

environment, but also the economy. Large sums are needed to meet water targets across the world, but the private sector will only provide these in return for a large commercial return, meaning that the true cost of the investment will eventually be much higher than if it were publicly funded. Investment from governments and donors is preferable to privatization as they can target investment at the most needy, rather than focusing upon the most profitable opportunities. Water supply is also a natural monopoly, so private companies have no competitive pressures to drive up quality and drive down prices. Even in the developed world, the experience of water privatization is not encouraging: in England shareholders cashed in and much of the industry ended up in foreign hands while prices went up, yet droughts in the 1990s still led to widespread rationing. Recent electricity supply crises in California have also shown how badly regulation of private utilities can fail. Meanwhile Australia has successfully reformed its water supply system while retaining it in public hands.

### Over Consumption and Wastage

Rich consumers in the developed world also waste water through extravagant use of luxuries such as garden sprinklers, swimming pools, lush golf courses, etc. - a problem which will get worse

as income inequality increases, both between and within countries. Even in the developed world, much water (up to 50% in Canada) is wasted through leaks in pipes and ageing infrastructure.

Demand management is needed to prevent

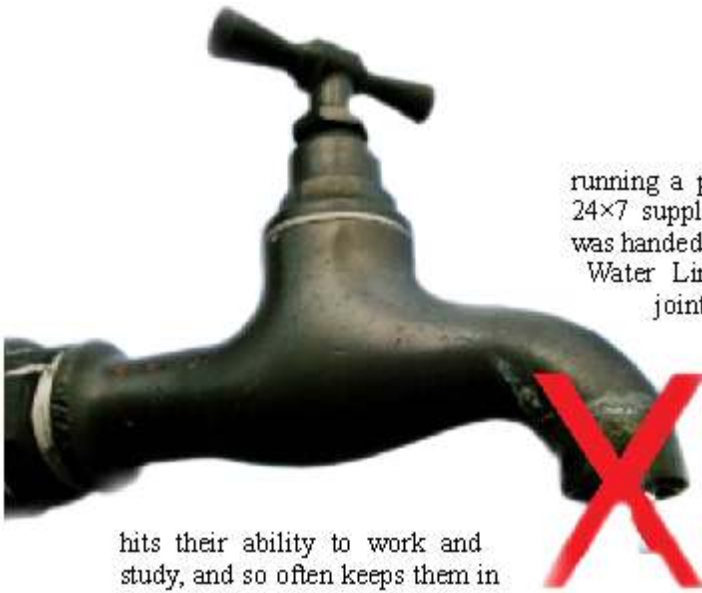
waste and to ensure access for all, including the poor, something which pricing water in a purely economic way will not achieve. This is a job for governments, accountable to their people, not for private companies. One cannot trust profit-interests to manage scarce water resources appropriately; government management is necessary that has the public interest more directly at heart. Water is unlike other goods in its weight by volume and the amount of it that is consumed. This makes it more infrastructure-intensive than any other good in the world. Infrastructure is commonly seen as within the jurisdiction of government control and as something of an equal right to citizens. The reason for this is that infrastructure is extraordinarily complex, resource-intensive, and important to the survival and success of citizens. Because water is so infrastructure intensive and vital to the success and livelihood of citizens, it must be under the control and ensured by governments. The private sector is obviously much more vulnerable to market fluctuations and the potential for layoffs. This is particularly important in times of national difficulty or recession.

South African experience shows that when their village water supply was charged at even a low price, many women chose to fetch dirty river water from a long distance rather than pay the low cost. While the rich may take advantage of badly targeted subsidies in some developing countries it does not mean that these subsidies are not essential to the poor. The poor are already paying for their water, either directly to entrepreneurs who carry it in tankers and cans up to the slums, or with their time as they spend a large proportion of the family's labour fetching poor quality water from miles away. The poor also pay through ill health caused by poor quality water and bad sanitation; this



Garden sprinklers in a lush golf course





hits their ability to work and study, and so often keeps them in poverty.

### Water Privatization Moves in India

The Government of India has begun consultations on a new National Water Policy that calls for privatization of water-delivery services and suggests that water be priced so as to “fully recover” the costs of operation and administration of water-resources projects. A 15-page draft National Water Policy suggests that the government withdraw from its role as a service provider in the water sector. Instead, it says, communities and the private sector should be encouraged to play this role. The proposals could mean sharp rises in the cost of water for both rural and urban users — an outcome the policy suggests will help curtail misuse of a precious but scarce resource. The draft policy calls for the abolition of all forms of water subsidies to the agricultural and domestic sectors, but says “subsidies and incentives” should be provided to private industry for recycling and reusing treated effluents. It also proposes that subsidy to agricultural electricity users be curtailed, saying it leads to a “wasteful use of both electricity and water.” How would farmers in much of India cope without state-funded irrigation water? In several Indian cities there are attempts to privatize the supply of water, a task that has usually been in the hands of the municipality.

For example in Nagpur the French company Veolia has been

running a pilot project to provide 24×7 supply of water which later was handed over to the Orange City Water Limited, an Indo-French joint venture, for a period of 25 years from November 2011. This includes the entire water supply cycle from treatment plants to billing.

But together with the efforts towards privatization severe criticism is coming from consumer organizations and other civil society groups which claim that privatization leads to higher tariffs what especially affects the poor, the exclusion from services of people living in unauthorized and informal colonies and the suspension of staff due to rationalization.

In Delhi the Water Board’s project to implement a 24×7 water supply with the help of a World Bank loan in 2005 was defeated by a strong middle-class opposition under the pretext that this eventually would lead to privatization. Most people agree that it is a basic right that every human being should have access to and that it is the State’s duty to ensure this access. Because of its irreplaceability it cannot be treated as an industrial or any other consumption good. Water can be seen as a vital necessity that has to be used productively and efficiently to ensure that it is not wasted. Yet it should be ensured that nobody is excluded from these services and that there should be special arrangements for the large number of poor people. Else inequity and inequality, already a severe problem, will only increase.

### Water Privatization in Delhi

Delhi suffers from a serious water deficit. Delhi receives its water mainly from river Yamuna, rains, Bhakra storage and Upper Ganga Canal. Total demand is estimated at about 3375 MLD (million litres daily) against which DJB supplies only around 2700

MLD after accounting for all losses during treatment and distribution, leaving a shortfall of about 675 MLD. This can only worsen with Delhi’s population expected to reach 20 million by 2020. Augmenting water availability is highly problematic, given that new Himalayan dams, besides the already controversy-shrouded Kushau and Renuka dams, are highly unlikely and given claims on river waters by upstream states. Groundwater extraction is well beyond limits, currently twice the recharge rate from rainfall, and potential is further dropping due to rampant construction including by State authorities over recharge areas such as the ridge and riverbed in gross violation of the Master Plan and various Supreme Court orders. It seems the Sheila Dixit government of Delhi, backed by powerful elements in the UPA-II central government, will let nothing stand in the way of water privatization in the capital.

A pilot project for privatized distribution of water in Malaviya Nagar, Vasant Vihar and Mehrauli areas of South Delhi has been approved by the Delhi Jal Board (DJB) and the Planning Commission is soon to be launched. The Malaviya Nagar area is being handed over to a consortium of SPML Infra and French MNC Suez Degremont, one of the world’s largest water corporations which is already running the Sonia Vihar water treatment plant in Delhi and other water projects in India. A combine of SPML Infra, Tahal Consulting Engineers and, shockingly, Israel’s largest water company Hagihon Jerusalem Water and Wastewater Works, have been awarded the Mehrauli and Vasant Vihar areas. The pilot projects in Delhi are said to involve management contracts for water distribution, related repair and maintenance for 10-12 year periods. Fees and other costs are said to be around Rs.730 crores. If water is actually supplied 24x7 to some pilot

areas, the truth is that it can only be done by taking away water from some other area. And there is simply insufficient water to enable supply of water 24x7 to all of Delhi. 24x7 water supply in Delhi is a total myth.

Where the problem lies is the inequitable distribution of water in Delhi, which is acknowledged even by published figures of DJB and Delhi Government. Two-thirds of the city's population gets only 5 percent of the water supplied. People in parts of Delhi, especially south, outer and north Delhi, get less than 40-50 LPD per person against the norm of 120 LPD while the rich and privileged in NDMC and Cantonment areas get a staggering 400-500 LPD per head. Around 1,600 unauthorized colonies and 1,100 JJ clusters and resettlement colonies do not get piped water. In the background of shortages, the argument by some well-meaning citizens' groups that Delhi's water problems can be solved by tackling the unequal distribution, and that Delhi's water deficit is unreal and only results from leakages, distribution issues and poor management, needs to be seriously looked into.

Residents of Delhi have been protesting against privatization of water since 2005. A large number of intellectuals, workers, lawyers and activists came together in November 2011 under the banner of the 'Water Privatization-Commercialization Resistance Committee' to build up a campaign for an immediate withdrawal of tariffs imposed by the

Delhi Jal Board (DJB) since 2010 and to ensure that the State Government retains the responsibility to provide good quality, adequate and assured drinking water and sanitation to its citizens.

It is obvious that no lessons have been learnt from the privatization of the Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking (DESU). Not merely will consumers' monthly bills for water increase, the government will eventually have to subsidize the private operators (as with North Delhi Power Limited - NDPL, now renamed as Tata Power Delhi Distribution Limited and Bombay Suburban Electric Supply - BSES). Those who cannot pay for life-giving water will lose their water connections. Water will become a profitable business for a few and unaffordable to many. This situation is not desirable at all and every right thinking citizen must protest.

Privatized municipal water supply systems in Europe and the US are often cited as success stories by champions of privatization. The most sweeping privatization was done in England under Margaret Thatcher, but Scotland resisted this ideological drive with no ill-effects. In contrast, in England prices went up by 50 percent and profits of the private concessionaires rose by a staggering 147 percent in the first few years! In fact there is a strong trend of re-municipalization of water utilities in Europe and even in

the US precisely because of the negative experiences with privatized utilities. Today water utilities in the US are predominantly municipal. The water utility in Paris was privatized in 1984 but was re-municipalized in 2010 by the new Socialist mayor in fulfillment of a major election plank. In



Germany, most water utilities remain municipal, although the Berlin utility was partially privatized in the late 1990s. Regulation in Europe also tends to be done mostly by municipal or other public bodies. In Italy in July 2012, the Constitutional Court has pronounced privatization of water utilities and other public services to be unconstitutional.

### Capitalist Mindset

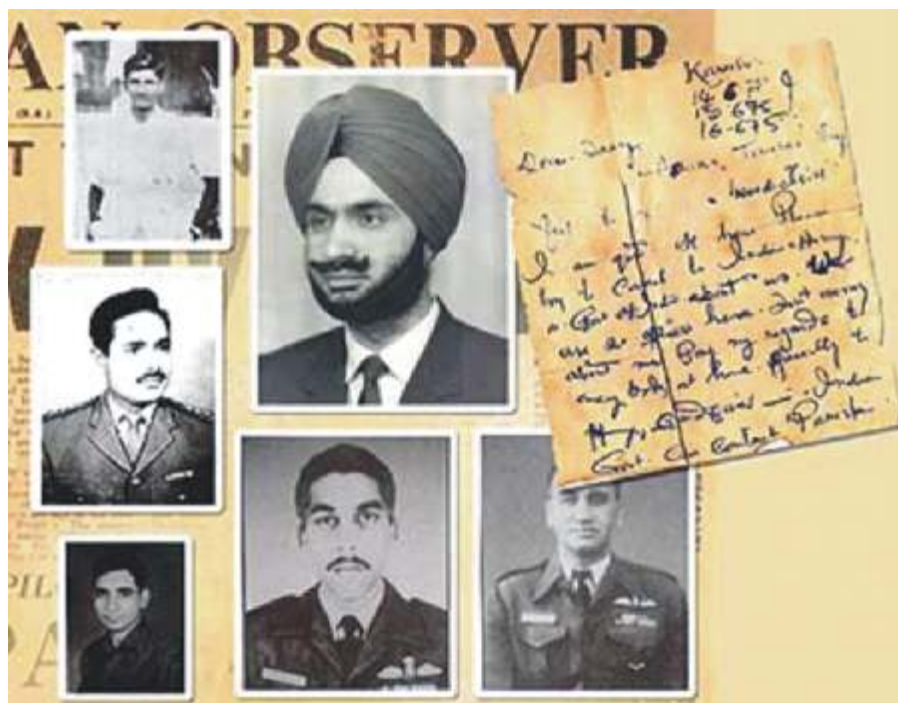
We may conclude by Shrii P. R. Sarkar's definition of the capitalist's mindset on any enterprise. "They supply the oil, water and fuel to the machine, but they take far more from the machine than they spend on it. They think, 'As I supply oil, water and fuel to the machine to keep it running, all of the output is mine. My money built the machine, and with my money I can destroy it. If necessary I will get more work out of it by supplying it with more oil, water and fuel, and if I no longer need it I will send it to the junkyard'. "So placing scarce water resources in private hands is not the answer. Shrii Sarkar also gave a pointer to combat the emergent global water shortage and crisis, "The only solution is to rely on rainwater. We must collect the rainwater, develop the science of making artificial rain through helium or any other process, and bring the clouds which rain over the ocean onto the land. Constructing more deep tube wells is not the answer. Rather, we must catch the rainwater where it falls. Many ponds, canals, dams, lakes and reservoirs should be immediately constructed to catch the rainwater and store it for drinking water. This is the only way out of the water crisis that will confront humanity in the very near future."





A SAGA OF NEGLECT

# 40 Years On, Why are We Unable to Account for 72 Prisoners of War



Espionage is a dirty game but serving officers of legitimate armies do have some entitlements. Why then are we unable to account for 72 prisoners of war for more than 40 years?

✱ Sonya Fatah

A little over a decade ago, the Indian media fussed over the release of one Roop Lal Shaharia (who has since been forgotten). Like Surjit Singh, released this year after 30 years, Shaharia returned home 26 years from the day he was picked up in Pakistan. Quietly arrested, such men disappear into the bowels of the prison system. Espionage is a dirty game but serving officers of legitimate armies do have some entitlements. Why then are we unable to account for 72 prisoners of war for more than 40 years?

India and Pakistan have both signed and ratified the Geneva conventions, which deal with the laws of war, including the repatriation of POWs. Yet those who have tried hard to lobby for the release of their kin have had little luck. Apart from family collectives, human rights groups and retired officer associations, no one else really gives a damn,



A Time magazine photo of Maj Ghosh in 1971



although we are each, culpable.

Forty years ago when India and Pakistan went to war, tanks rolled and cracked the earth, fighter jets lit up the skies, men's limbs were amputated, and others blown away entirely. A large number of Pakistani soldiers — there are conflicting numbers — found themselves in chains, and the humiliated Pakistani army bowed down in surrender. In India, amidst this debris of war, people yelled Jai Hind in the streets, and distributed mithai to one another, slapping backs in victory and embracing the acrid smell of war victory. The history books noted it down, here, as the War of Liberation, and a new nation — Bangladesh — was born.

But ask yourselves what that victory means if one of your kin happened to find himself in 'enemy' territory. Ask yourself whether you would care about victory if you'd have to have been the son of the highest-ranking officer in the country to achieve release from captivity.

There are 72 names — 54 Indians and 18 Pakistanis — that have been thrown around, lists that have been compiled out of love and frustration and anger. Lists that indicate that if not all, surely a small number must be in a jail in Pakistan or in India.

A retired Indian Colonel Narinder Bhatia has been building a case for government involvement. One of his friends, colonel (retired) Ashok Suri has a personal reason for being interested. Suri, of the Kumaon Regiment, met his namesake, Ashok Kumar Suri days before the 1971 war broke out while they were positioned at the border. The first Suri was felled by a bullet and taken to base hospital where he received news that Ashok Kumar Suri had died in combat.

The army bungled it up and sent the wrong Suri family the wrong news. It was only later that Kumar Suri's family received a letter penned by their son from a Pakistani jail. Ever since they have fought in vain for his release. "I only read about it years later in the Times of

India and I thought, all these years he has been alive. ...I felt so bad — because we shared the same name, and I had met this guy just a day before."

Flight lieutenant Vijay Vasant Tambay, whose aircraft was shot down on December 5, 1971, two days after the war broke out. The Indian air force recorded him as killed in action but Pakistani press reported him as captured alive.

The list of the 18 Pakistani includes a major Asif Jan and a captain Jurjees Nagi. All names, ranks and basic information is available but nothing else about these men willing to sacrifice their lives — foolishly, it seems — for their countries.

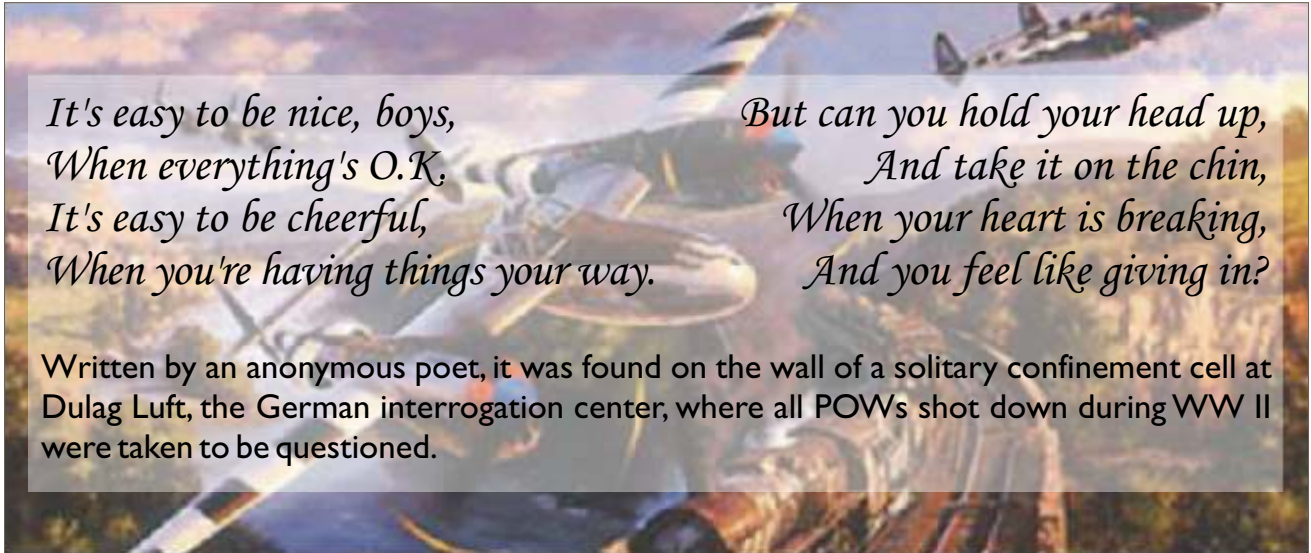
I was a teenager when my uncle, then retired brigadier Rao Abid Hameed started investigating the condition of Pakistani jails with the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. I can never forget the evening he spent with us in Karachi.

Uncle Abid, ever strong and controlled, was shaken. The conditions he had witnessed were appalling, and below any acceptable human standard. Later, when Roop Lal made it across the border, he would have to thank uncle Abid for helping to secure his release. As it happened, the then Pakistani army chief, General Jahangir Karamat, had earlier served under uncle Abid.

Today, even if 10 of the 72 men are still suffering somewhere in the deep, dark depths of a Pakistani or Indian prison, it's fair to assume that the governments would look quite unkind handing over men in such battered mental health. Even the most hard-heated amongst us would be drawn to tears and discomfiture about our own culpability in this 40-year affair. No one wants to wear the scarlet letter. In the cruel lingo of warfare, these men are merely collateral damage.

**I hope that someone can prove me wrong.**

*The writer is a  
Pakistani journalist based in Delhi*



*It's easy to be nice, boys,  
When everything's O.K.  
It's easy to be cheerful,  
When you're having things your way.*

*But can you hold your head up,  
And take it on the chin,  
When your heart is breaking,  
And you feel like giving in?*

Written by an anonymous poet, it was found on the wall of a solitary confinement cell at Dulag Luft, the German interrogation center, where all POWs shot down during WW II were taken to be questioned.



\* Gary Null



**W**orld grain reserves are so dangerously low that severe weather in the US or other food-exporting countries could trigger a major hunger crisis next year, said a report by John Vidal in *The Observer* [1] on October 13, 2012. John cited a UN warning. The food crisis is growing in the Middle East and Africa.

The report said:

Failing harvests in the US, Ukraine and other countries this year have eroded reserves to their lowest level since 1974. The US now holds in reserve a historically low 6.5% of the maize that it expects to consume in the next year.

"We've not been producing as much as we are consuming. That is why stocks are being run down. Supplies are now very tight across the world and reserves are at a very low level, leaving no room for unexpected events next year," said Abdolreza Abbassian, a senior economist with the FAO. With food consumption exceeding the amount grown for six of the past 11 years, countries have run down reserves from an average of 107 days of consumption 10 years ago to under 74 days recently.

Prices of main food crops such as wheat and maize are now close to those that sparked riots in 25 countries in 2008. FAO figures released suggest that 870 million people are malnourished and the food crisis is growing in the Middle East and Africa. Wheat production this year is expected to be 5.2% below 2011, with yields of most other crops, except rice, also falling. The figures come as one of the world's leading environmentalists issued a warning that the global food supply system could collapse at any point, leaving hundreds of millions more people hungry, sparking widespread riots and bringing down governments. In a shocking new assessment of the prospects of meeting food needs, Lester Brown, president of the Earth policy research centre in Washington, says that the climate is no longer reliable and the demands for food are growing so fast that a breakdown is inevitable, unless urgent action is taken.

"Food shortages undermined earlier civilizations. We are on the same path. Each country is now fending for itself. The world is living one year to the next," he writes in a new book. According to Brown, we are seeing the start of a food supply breakdown with a dash by speculators to "grab" millions of square miles of cheap farmland, the doubling of international food prices in a decade, and the dramatic rundown of countries' food reserves. This year, for the sixth time in 11 years, the world will consume more food than it produces, largely because of extreme weather in the US and other major food-exporting countries. Oxfam recently said that the price of key staples, including wheat and rice, may double in the next 20 years, threatening disastrous consequences for poor people who spend a large proportion of

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# System Could Collapse



their income on food. In 2012, according to the FAO, food prices are already at close to record levels, having risen 1.4% in September following an increase of 6% in July.

"We are entering a new era of rising food prices and spreading hunger. Food supplies are tightening everywhere and land is becoming the most sought-after commodity as the world shifts from an age of food abundance to one of scarcity," says Brown. "The geopolitics of food is fast overshadowing the geopolitics of oil." His warnings come as the UN and world governments reported that extreme heat and drought in the US and other major food-exporting countries had hit harvests badly and sent prices spiralling.

"The situation we are in is not temporary. These things will happen all the time. Climate is in a state of flux and there is no normal any more.

"We are beginning a new chapter. We will see food unrest in many more places.

"Armed aggression is no longer the principal threat to our future. The overriding threats to this century are climate change, population growth, spreading water shortages and rising food prices," Brown says.

Another report [2] on global wheat and corn stocks said:

World wheat stocks will drop by 13% next year and corn stocks will also be lower than expected until well into 2013, the US government predicted on October 11, 2012, prior to farm ministers from across the globe meeting to discuss high food prices. It was the second time in two weeks that the US agriculture department (USDA) delivered low estimates of crop stocks to the markets. This time, the USDA said unrelenting demand would drag down US corn and soybean stocks to the lowest levels in years – 17 years for corn and eight for soybeans. Agriculture ministers are due to meet next week in Rome amid renewed fears of a crisis in

food supplies exacerbated by the worst US drought in more than 50 years, and drought in Australia, the world's leading wheat exporter.

On the US markets, corn futures soared 5% on the USDA's forecasts, hitting a three-week high. Wheat futures were up 2% near the close of the trading day in Chicago and soybeans were up 1.6%. While at high levels, corn is about 10% lower and soybeans 15% lower than the records set during the summer. The USDA's estimates of the US corn and soybean crops were slightly larger than traders had expected, although the smallest in recent years. Corn and soybeans are raw ingredients in processed foods, fed to livestock and converted to motor fuel. Livestock feeders say they are being ruined by high corn prices and so the US government should relax a requirement to mix corn ethanol into gasoline.

With US corn production down for the third year in a row, usage will be tightened tremendously. Exports are forecast at 1.15bn bushels in 2012-13, the smallest in 37 years. Five years ago, the figure stood at 2.4bn bushels. Meanwhile, corn imports are forecasted to be 75m bushels, three times larger than average. The USDA also cut its estimate of the EU corn crop by 2.6%. Drought will reduce Australia's wheat crop to 23m tonnes, down 12% from a month ago, the USDA said. Harsh weather, including summer droughts and early frosts, cut an additional 3% from Russia's wheat crop, it said.

The USDA added that while global wheat stocks would be down 13% next year, world soybean inventories would be up, boosted by huge crops in Brazil and Argentina, which would offset the crash in US. Rebecca Smithers and Fiona Harvey reported [3] the UK food price scenario that shows hardship of common persons in a developed country: According to a survey by charity IGD ShopperVista which showed that price is crucial in determining product choice, with

41% of shoppers naming it as the most important factor and 90% listing it within their top five influences.

Affordability is now the key factor in determining what food and drink we buy. Food prices have risen 12% in real terms over the last five years, taking us back to 1997 in terms of the cost of food relative to other goods. This week cash-strapped consumers – already stung by extra financial pressures such as rising petrol costs, inflation-busting rail fares and further hikes in their energy bills – were warned to expect further food price rises as a result of the drought in the US and the washed out UK summer that have affected the supply and quality of crops.

All of this has led to a sharp increase in wheat prices in the UK – from £150 a tonne to more than £205 a tonne. This will almost inevitably mean higher bread prices. It is also bad news for meat prices, as farmers struggle to pay for feed for their livestock. The combination of a severe drought early in the year, followed by the wettest early summer on record, has produced some of the worst possible conditions for Britain's farmers, decimating yields and leaving crops prone to disease. Wheat was the crop worst hit by the heavy rainfall, with a 14% fall in yields, according to the National Farmers' Union.

Other crops have also suffered severe damage. The British Growers Association (BGA), representing vegetable farmers, said the pea harvest was down about 45% – a reduction that will mean huge imports to make up the shortfall of one of the UK's most popular vegetables. The much-anticipated Christmas dinner is likely to be dearer too. Poultry producers have seen their overheads increase dramatically, owing to the poor grain harvest, which has pushed up the price of chicken and turkey feed. Early projections show there will be one-fifth fewer Brussels sprouts this year thanks to the weather. Parsnips have had a poor season and the





**Scramble for daily bread in Cairo, Egypt, where government subsidized bakeries when rising inflation and increase in global wheat prices snatched daily bread out of reach of many.**

effects of discolouration on potatoes are still to be fully felt.

Retailers are also helping by agreeing to relax some of their high standards on the size and shape of vegetables and fruit. Mis-shapen or small fruit has traditionally been rejected by supermarkets, for aesthetic reasons, but the poor weather has meant an increase in the proportion of slightly odd-looking produce. Throwing that away at a time of high prices would be deeply unpopular, so the shops have promised to take more of them.

All this has put national food policy under the spotlight. The Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) reported last week in a barely noticed 50-page statistical document - the Food Statistics Pocketbook 2012 - that UK food prices have increased by 32% between 2007 and 2012. As a result, lower income families have cut their consumption of fruit and vegetables by nearly one-third to just over half of the five-a-day portions recommended for a healthy diet. No surprise, then, that internet companies selling food past its "best before" date (but still safe to eat) at knock-down prices - known in the industry as "the grey market" - are

enjoying a boom.

The consumer group- Which?- has been interviewing consumers in video "booths" across the UK for its Future of Food project - due to report next month - which is an in-depth investigation into shopping and spending patterns. Early findings show that the average cost of shopping bill is £76.83 per week, an increase of £5.66 compared to a year ago. Most people (86%) said the reason for an increase in their weekly shopping bill was due to an increase in food prices, with only 2% saying it was because they had more money to spend. And 92% said they'd noticed an increase in the price of food in the past year.

In addition, more people (91% compared to 81% a year ago) are shopping around to get the best price; more (91% compared to 74% a year ago) are buying cheaper groceries and more (77% compared to 59% a year ago) are shopping at discount supermarkets.

Mary Creagh MP, Labour's shadow environment secretary, described the current situation as "a national scandal". She said: "Even though we are the seventh richest nation in the world, we face an epidemic of hidden hunger, particularly in children ... Being able to feed yourself properly is fundamental to people, yet

government figures show that people on lower incomes are buying and consuming less than five years ago as fruit, milk, cheese and egg prices are up by 30%."

Food statistics digested from Food Statistics Pocketbook 2012, published by Defra October:

- Food prices rose by 32% in the UK between 2007 and 2012 compared to 13% in France and Germany.

- Fruit and vegetable consumption is falling. The lowest 10% of households by income reduced purchases of fruit and vegetables by 20% between 2007 and 2010.

- There are 63 million consumers in the UK, who last year (2011) spent a total of £179bn on food, drink and catering services, including £101bn on household expenditure on food and drink.

- Consumer expenditure on food, drink and catering has continued to rise despite the economic downturn: a rise of 3.5% in 2011 to £179 billion.

- Fruit prices are the second highest: by 34% since June 2007, rising steadily each year.

#### Source:

[1] "UN warns of looming worldwide food crisis in 2013", <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2012/oct/14/un-global-food-crisis-warning?newsfeed=true>

[2] Reuters/ guardian.co.uk, "Global wheat and corn stocks to fall in 2013, says US government", Oct. 12, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2012/oct/12/wheat-corn-stocks-fall-2013-drought>

[3] guardian.co.uk, "Food prices: 'Bread, coffee and fresh fruit have become a bit of a luxury'", Oct. 12, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2012/oct/12/food-prices-affordability-ethical?intcmp=239>

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The EU-India free trade agreement will wipe generic, cheap, unpatented drugs out of the market.

# Corporate Profits or the Right to Life

✱ Akash Mehrotra

After four years of negotiations, finally the EU-India free trade agreement seems to be on the table. The pact is going to be a big ticket for business. Giving the Indian perspective, Rajgopal Sharma from the Indian embassy in

Brussels said: this Free Trade Agreement (FTA) “is the most ambitious agreement that India is hoping to enter into as compared to the earlier FTAs with other countries”. The pact will help create the largest free trade zones by population -- covering 1.8 billion, or

more than a quarter of the world's people. Trade between the two has grown over the past decade -- the total value of EU-India goods and services exchanged was 86 billion Euros in 2010. Though trade with India represented just 2.4% of the EU's total, the percentage has been



gradually increasing. The deal is being officially looked at as a broad-based trade and investment deal.

Everything seems to look good on the business table, but this proposed agreement which seeks to liberalise trade in goods and services has caused grave fears about the way markets, especially of cheap generic drugs, will be affected. Right through the negotiations, the EU has stressed the principle of 'reciprocity' to avoid asymmetries in the level of commitment from the two parties involved. The logic of 'reciprocity' has been widely criticised, given the imbalance between the two parties involved. The problems begin from here.

Third World Network seeks a forceful articulation of the needs and rights to define the pact. The pact flirts dangerously with protectionism. Madi Sharma, a member of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), describes the negotiations with India as "non-transparent" and a dangerous gamble with local markets. The deal has, however, been stalemated following apprehensions over availability of cheap drugs for the developing world. Over the years, India has incarnated as the 'local pharmacy of the world'. Stiff competition from the Indian pharmaceutical sector has helped drive drug prices down by more than 100 times.

Dr Unni Karunakara, President of Medecins Sans Frontières International Council, says that 80% of the AIDS drugs used in poor African countries come from India and keep 160,000 people alive today. MSF's global '[I]Hands off our medicine' [/I]campaign champions the cause of these generic, cheap Indian drugs. Patent issues in the trade agreement could easily block the supply of these cheap drugs. Rajiv Kafle of the Asia Pacific Network of Positive People puts it in a more economic algorithm: "The price of the same drug escalates from 2,000 to 15,000 if it gets patented." The easiest

example that can be quoted here is of the simple folic acid. While the generic form of folic acid costs Rs 2.8, the branded form costs around Rs 15. Just imagine the cost variations of generic life-saving drugs and the branded ones. And the economics involved.

The Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) agreement could wipe generic, cheap, unpatented drugs out of the market. The pact is a trade-off between huge economic benefits and the 'Right to live' for millions of vulnerable people across the world. Resultantly, the [I]hulla[/I] is in the streets – 'Life is not cosmetics that can be traded' a protest flag reads. Medecins Sans Frontieres leads a protest – 'Don't trade our lives' -- to highlight the dependency of millions on generic medicines. Thousands of HIV-affected people are coming out on the streets to protest against the pact. "If there are 5,000 HIV-infected people today, the blockage on supplies can make the numbers escalate to 500,000," Kafle adds. Campaigns like 'Ten years of Antiretrovirals' in Malawi will simply collapse.

The pact describes a situation in which logic and proportion seem to have fallen before profits.

The pact will force India to adopt a policy of 'reciprocity'; this would mean reduction in import duties (by as much as 95%. In fact economists are suggesting that imports from EU could escalate by 56% while exports to the EU could rise by a mere 24%, thus creating a huge trade deficit). In a way the deal will not just affect the generic medicine market but also the SME and auto sector. For instance, in the auto sector only import duties will have to be reduced from the present 60% to around 6.5% as practised in Europe. Partly good, partly bad, but the deal will have serious implications on local industries with the flooding in of European goods.

But to return to the impact on the pharma industry. In 2008, of 100 countries requiring anti-retroviral drugs, 96 purchased the drugs from

India. If the prices of the drugs rise, the lives of millions will hang in the balance. The priority of global public health should not be in conflict with balance sheets – it should upstage it. Back home it is also a question of a sector with escalating growth rates. The pharma sector has grown from a meagre US\$ 0.3 billion in 1980 to US\$ 21 billion in 2010, and this growth is mainly due to generic drugs and ever-increasing exports. Pharmaceutical exports from India grew by 15% to \$10.3 billion for 2010-2011. Composition-wise, generics accounted for 58% of the exports.

The EU-India pact is to be based on two basic issues. First a change in 'data exclusivity', the result of which will be a delay in registration of generic medicine. The market for generic drugs had been under control, India being a member of the WTO. The Indian Patent Act under Section 84 contains a 'law on Compulsory Licensing' which can be enforced under certain conditions, such as when a patented drug is available in insufficient quantity or when the price is out of the reach of common people. But if the data exclusivity law protects such data, then the grant of Compulsory Licensing will be of no use to generic companies. The data exclusivity law will act as a barrier to marketing approval of generic versions of patented drugs. This will defeat the whole philosophy of Compulsory Licensing. The second issue is stricter enforcement and expansion of IPR to let the innovator reap the benefit of its energy and resources spent on R&D. The data exclusivity regime will prohibit any Indian company from using the formulae for making any patented medicine for a period of five to nine years. This will push up the market prices of that medicine.

The reasonably priced generic drugs which India has been exporting to many developing and poor countries may face production and trade difficulties following the





Anti-Counterfeit Trade Agreement (ACTA), the World Customs Organisation's Standards to be Employed by Customs for Uniform Rights Enforcement (SECURE), and the World Health Organisation's (WHO) International Medical Products Anti-Counterfeiting Task Force (IMPACT) that are an inseparable part of the bilateral free trade pact. All these international treaties have drawn consistent criticism from developing countries for being formulated in secrecy and without their involvement. India had long ago called the definition of counterfeit drugs as defined by ACTA dubious. But this didn't cut any ice within the country. Officials were tight-lipped when questioned.

Even Union Minister of Industry and Commerce Anand Sharma when questioned by MP Maneka Gandhi replied, "Final positions have not emerged and therefore no agreement has been reached in any sector including IPRs."

In 2010, the Berkeley Declaration also called on developing countries to approach the issues of IPR and anti-counterfeiting with caution.

In the past shipments of Indian generic medicines have been seized by the European authorities on

charges of counterfeiting and patent infringement. Owing to the resistance by Doctors Without Borders/Medecins Sans Frontieres, the issue was catapulted to world attention. India also filed a case against the EU in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) dispute settlement court regarding these repeated seizures, on patent infringement grounds, of generic drugs transiting through the Netherlands. Such seizures are illegal under TRIPs.

IPR issues have always been a bone of contention between developing and developed countries; but the biggest irony is that TRIPs allows patented drugs classified as 'essential' or crucial to health to be manufactured in developing countries.

If India accepts the IPR changes, it would mean stricter trade and production rules, thus delaying the registration and marketing of generic medicines, and extending the duration of a patent, reducing competition and sending the prices of medicines soaring.

There are sections within India that favour the changes. The Satwant Reddy Committee, an inter-ministerial committee headed by the secretary of the ministry of chemicals and fertilisers, proposed

that multinational pharmaceutical companies be allowed the sole use of their expensive data for a period that extends anything from three to five years. But should we genuflect before global concerns and corporate profits, jettisoning human rights?

The pact comes at a time when global grants for fighting the AIDS pandemic are drying up and the world is looking more at generic drugs as a remedy. India's exemption from IP regulations has helped it drive the prices of the drugs down from \$10,000 per patient to \$80.

The IPR issues get messier as one gets deeper into them. And the government is yet to articulate its medium- to long-term strategies on it, let alone sharing the concrete plans and contents. The history of FTAs has been very hazy. The contents of the ASEAN FTA were not even fully shared with the chief ministers leave aside the citizens when it was signed. Transparency is the hallmark of good governance, and accountability has to be made a basic tenet of democracy, trade and international negotiations.

*The writer is Research Manager at Sambodhi Research and Communications*

# PBI Not to Allow Privatization of Water

**N**ew Delhi : A day long dharna (sit-in) was organized by Proutist Bloc India in front of Varunalay, the head quarters of Delhi Jal Board on Nov. 1, 2012 protesting against Delhi government's intentions to give water management in private hands, that too to foreign companies like Degremont.



About a dozen activists of the party also observed a day long hunger strike without water in support of their demands to refrain from privatizing water which is creation of the Supreme Entity and is a natural resource - the fundamental need of everybody.

Delhites have suffered and are still suffering the evil consequences of the privatization of electricity, and are not prepared to face same agonies in case of water.

National chairman of the party, Subhas Chand Tyagi, while addressing the agitationists said that in 2000, Delhi government had promised to provide water to the residents of South Delhi for twenty four hours on all seven days after the completion of Sonia Vihar plant with the investment of 800 crore rupees. A foreign company Degremont was given contract for the purpose. The project which was to be completed by 2003 became functional in 2006. But in 2012, the condition of water supply is as bad as it was in 2006 before commissioning of the Sonia Vihar Water Treatment Plant.

Now the Delhi government says that because of leakage of water from faulty pipes, water could not be supplied as assured, and therefore a new contract amounting to 750 crore rupees has been given to the same Degremont Company, along with one more company, for laying fresh pipe lines for uninterrupted flawless water supply. The million dollar question is what happened to 800 crores which were invested by the government for the same purpose? In addition, why the contract given to Degremont was not cancelled which manipulated this big amount without delivering the intended results? The most important question in this regard is also that why the same company Degremont has been given contract again for the same purpose which has failed to attain the objective of the previous project ? Is it not an evidence of the unholy alliance between the company and the corrupt government? We want the account of the 800 crores which was washed away in the sinister corrupt deals.

Those who spoke included the chairman of Delhi State Committee, Ram Prakash Baisla, Jitendra Tiwari Advocate, U.P.L.F. Secretary General Y.B. Singh, Amit, S.P. Dube, Kashinath besides National Committee Vice-Chairman Baljit Aditya and Acarya Santosananda Avdhuta. The programme was compered by Rajiv Sharma.





# PBI Submits Memorandum To the Chief Minister of Delhi

In a memorandum submitted to the Chief Minister of Delhi, PBI has said :

"We the residents of Delhi want to express our deep anguish on a hidden agenda of your government to slowly and steadily move towards the goal of privatization of water in our state. Water is a natural resource, and thus the common property of us all. Humans have not created it, what right therefore they have to privatize the job of water management? It is just unholy, and we Delhites expect you ---being at the helm of affairs of our state ----to resist temptation to move towards the goal of complete privatization.



"It is pertinent to mention that you have continuously received mandate of the people to provide efficient, honest and pro-people governance. However intentions of your government in case of water management, to say the least, are thoroughly scandalous. Despite investment of 800 crore rupees in Sonia Vihar Water Treatment Plant, its goal remains conspicuously unachieved. Your promise in 2000 to make water available to South Delhi for twenty four hours on all seven days is still a dream, and there is continuous anomalous state of water supply to date despite commissioning of Sonia Vihar Plant in 2006.

"Now, a fresh contract of 750 crore rupees has been signed with a foreign company Degremont and one more company for flawless water distribution system. What then happened to the project of 800 crore rupees which was invested for the same purpose? Please give us the complete account since we have to bear the burden of providing funds for all these projects?

"Your government justifies its actions by saying that water supply could not be properly maintained due to leakage. It is said that 50% water has gone underground due to leakage in pipes. Firstly, if it is true then why contract with the company Degremont responsible for this catastrophe was not forthwith cancelled? Instead it has been awarded a fresh contract; when it failed in earlier project how can it succeed in this new venture? Does it not demonstrate an unholy nexus between your government and these foreign companies? We demand that the loot of public exchequer be stopped forthwith in the larger interests of the common people.

"We also want to ask your government if the statement about leakage is true, then the water table should rise wherein we find that water table is gradually going down. Also, the quality of underground water would be excellent to make it potable and nutritious. But we regularly receive a word of caution from your government not to use underground water which is polluted. Does it not explain the desire of your government to protect the financial interests of a dishonest company at the expense of people's hard earned money?

"We therefore submit this small memorandum to you for scrapping contract with the companies whose only object is to swindle away public money, and put common people in greater stress and strain.

"Hopefully good sense will prevail upon your government and you will desist from taking measures to

privatize the Delhi Jal Board, unlike Delhi Vidyut Board. People's woes have increased many folds after the privatization of the electricity, and there seems no end to it. Please remember water is a natural resource and attempt to privatize it besides being anti-people is also an interference in the benevolent design of the Supreme Entity, Supreme Father of all of us."





# PBI Haryana State Committee Meets



**D**houj ( Faridabad, Haryana ) : The Haryana State Committee of Proutist Bloc India ( PBI ) met here on 20th October and chalked out plans for organising and accelerating grassroots activities of PBI. The meeting was chaired by national chairman of the party, Subhas Chand Tyagi.

Following office bearers were present in the meeting : Manoj Kumar, Giriraj Tyagi, Punit Tyagi, Dharmaviir Saini, Vikesh Beiwal, and Balram.

Meeting was also attended by following national committee members : Subhas Chand Tyagi, Pranav, Anandam, Rajiv Singh and Acarya Santosananda Avadhuta.

## Following Resolutions were Passed in the Meeting :

1. PBI cadres will move from village to village on a sanitation drive. They will create awareness in the minds of people to maintain cleanliness in the village streets and environment. They should not necessarily always depend upon the government for these purposes.

2. The cadres will approach every villager of the village to contribute one rupee towards the social cause. They will not accept more than one rupee from a person. This way they will involve common man in being architect of financial source and support of PBI's mass movement against exploitation, immorality and injustice.

3. They will also frequently organise cadre training camps for ideological and philosophical education of the cadres.

4. There will be a meeting of the State committee every month to review the activities of the previous month and to fix targets for the next month. The State committee will now meet on 25th November.



# PBI's People Awakening Programme



**R**ajiv Nagar ( Faridabad ) : A meeting was organised by the residents of Rajiv Nagar (Faridabad) under the leadership of Dr. Uday Kumar and Suman Jha to apprise people of the current socio-economic-political situation in the country.

Hundreds of local population gathered to hear speakers who enlightened them on the issues of price rise of essential commodities, growing menace of unemployment, widening gap between poverty and richness, and an all pervading corruption.



Leaders highlighted the fact that due to absence of moralist leadership, country is facing such an unmanageable catastrophe. Therefore PBI wants politics with morality; no immoral person should be allowed to participate in politics. PBI will cleanse politics of immoral politicians.

Other leaders highlighted the problem of poverty and unemployment in details and also explained how Prout will resolve all these crises.

There was enthusiastic response from the people of the area and they expressed their keen desire to organise a strong functional unit of PBI in Rajiv Nagar. They said, they visualise a new era of political movement under the banner of PBI.

## Presenting Prout At the Economic Democracy Conference

✱ By Dada Maheshvarananda



One year ago, a group of 15 Proutists scattered across the United States (and me in Venezuela) began organizing a conference on Economic Democracy. Believing that the demand for economic democracy that economically empowers people and communities has the potential to unite people around a common cause that replaces the tyranny of corporate power, our goal was to “unite the moralists”. We chose Madison, Wisconsin as our site and created a web site [www.economicdemocracyconference.org](http://www.economicdemocracyconference.org) with all the 12 talking points written by Proutists to convey our ideas.

After an inspiring weekend face-to-face meeting of the organizers in Madison in January, Rashad Barber agreed





to move there from New York and work full time for six months to do outreach to local progressive organizations and cooperatives.

Over 200 people attended, about half from the Madison Area and half from other parts of the country, including 35 Proutists (about 15 percent). Well-known keynote speakers included The Nation correspondent John Nichols, Gar

Alperovitz on cooperatives, Ellen Brown on public banking, David Cobb of Move to Amend, and David Schweikart, author of another book called *After Capitalism*.

In her welcome, Beth Wortzel, the hard-working conference chair, said, "I truly believe the time is at hand where, by joining our intentions, our talents and ideas, our practical strategies and resources we can create a powerful force for liberating ourselves from the grip of corporate capitalism's dying empire. Thank you for being here and for being part of that force for change." Read her full speech here on the website.

In her inspiring opening talk, Nada Khader said: "Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, the founder of the Progressive Utilization Theory (Prout), said that we must elevate the status of agriculture, that agriculture and agricultural work should have the same status as industry. Think about the automotive industry and how, over time, auto workers accrued decent compensation packages, worker protections and benefits. Imagine how our food system would be transformed if we applied the same standards to agricultural work. We need federal and state policies to promote the welfare of family farms and agricultural cooperatives which will enhance food security for all." Read her full speech here on the website.

A total of 38 workshops took place on subjects ranging from cooperatives to grassroots organizing, from indigenous rights to community gardens. Seven Prout workshops were offered: "Prout: A Holistic Approach for Social and Economic Empowerment" by Nada Khader, Mirra Price, Ame Johnson and Tapan Mallik, "Changing what we Measure from Wealth to Well-being" by Tom Barefoot, "SEED: Solidarity Economy and Ecological Design" by Jason Schreiner, "The Ethical Need for Revolutionary Change" by Bill Ayers and myself, "A Comprehensive Framework for Universal Economic Empowerment" by Ron Logan, "Close Your Eyes and Open Your Mind" by Dada Nabhaniilananda and "Health Care for All" by Dr. Steven Landau, who wrote and circulated an excellent "Prout Medical Manifesto" available on the website.

In my workshop, I said, "There are three main ways that you can respond to injustice and exploitation. The first one is silence—I'm not going to speak out when I see racism, sexism, injustice or exploitation, either because I'm afraid, or because I'm afraid of losing my personal benefits. The second possible response is reform—I want to change things gradually. The problem with this one is that everyone on the planet who you want to help will probably be dead by the time we finally get the reforms. People also adopt this strategy out of fear of losing their privilege. A third possible way of seeing the world is as a revolutionary, to courageously end exploitation and save lives as fast as possible. That's my position, as well as Sarkar's, and I think that fits a lot of people in this room. 'The most powerful weapon on earth is the human soul on fire.'" Read the full transcript with revolutionary Bill Ayers here.

The Saturday night cultural program was superb, with seven acts that each lasted 15 minutes, with perfect timing. Dada Vedaprajananda, the excellent Master of Ceremonies, opened with jokes and his own songs about social justice and "Trickle Down Economics".

After a beautiful video of the indigenous circle dance, Art Shegonee in full native dance costume, came down the aisle—talking on his cellphone! He was trying to reassure Big Bird of Sesame Street, a symbol of Public Broadcasting System (PBS), two days after US presidential candidate Mitt Romney pledged to cut all funding for the only national non-commercial media information source in the United States. Then he went into a spectacular tribal dance set to modern rock song about the dance of the four directions.

Fourteen grandmothers in The Raging Grannies sang funny, radical political songs. The hilarious Forward! Marching Band got everyone on their feet and dancing. Karen Libman was an incredible story-teller who told about "Naked Truth". The Master of Ceremonies and the first act was Dada Vedaprajananda who sang about "Trickle Down Economics", and the finale was Dada Nabhaniilananda who gave the world premier of his new composition, "A Revolution of Love".

Sunday was the Action Summit with 70 enthusiastic participants trying to create and implement a cohesive master plan for Economic Democracy.

Five professional filmmakers came from around the country, including Ed Glassman from Denver, to film all the keynote addresses as well as some of the workshops. They recorded 2 terrabytes of film and did several interviews that they are now editing and will later post on the web.

The conference organizing committee has transformed itself and opened its arms to interested individuals and organizations, becoming the Alliance for Economic Democracy that is now planning conferences in other cities.





# All Hopes Blossom

NÚTANER ÁLOK OGO-,  
 CHILE- TUMI- KON SÚDURE---  
 JAGATER CHANDA EKHANA--,  
 NÁCCHÉ TOMÁY GHIRE- GHIRE-  
 CHILE- TUMI- KON SÚDURE---  
 ÁMÁR OI ÁNDHÁR RÁTE---,  
 DHÁKÁCHILE KON NIBHRITE---  
 NÚTANER DÁNÁ- MELE-,  
 ELE- URE- TIMIR CIIRE---  
 CHILE- TUMI- KON SÚDURE---  
 KÉTÉ GECHÉ SAB HATÁSHÁ---,  
 PHÚTÉCHÉ ÁJ SAKALÁSHÁ---  
 SARVA VYÁPI BHÁLO-BÁSÁ---,  
 BHÁSCHE EKHAN VISHVAJURE-  
 CHILE- TUMI- KON SÚDURE---

O Effulgence so new  
 In which distant realm were You?  
 The universe throbs now  
 Dancing round, around You.

O, in my darkest night  
 From where, hidden from sight  
 Spreading new wings  
 You came, soaring,  
 Cleaving the darkness.

All despair disappears  
 All hopes blossom  
 All-pervading love  
 Overflows now,  
 Embracing the universe.

**Purport:** O Parama Purus 'a, You are the new light. Piercing through the veil of Cimmerian darkness, soaring on Your ever-new wings, You have appeared before me and the world as an apostle of newness and an apostle of life, and all the rhythms of the universe are dancing around You. With Your arrival, all frustrations have disappeared, and today hope prevails everywhere. The entire universe has been flooded with a wave of love, and all living beings have started to love each other.

(Translated from Bengali original)



# ETERNAL SONG OF The Proutists

- Shrii P.R. Sarkar

*Morality is the demand of the day.  
'Prout' - the cry of the suffering humanity.  
Wise you be, may not or may,  
Of sincere, success a certainty.  
Fee fy fo fum.  
Expel the demons from physical stratum.  
Fee fy fo fum.  
Expel the exploiters from economic stratum.  
Fee fy fo fum.  
Expel the brutes from psychic stratum.  
Fee fy fo fum.  
Expel the parasites from spiritual stratum.  
Human body is to serve one and all,  
Human mind to attend Cosmic Call,  
Human spirit at the altar Supreme,  
Surrender and be Supreme.*



## Join PBI for a Poverty-Free and Crime-Free India



**Subhas Chand Tyagi**  
Chairman, Proutist Bloc India

Our dear country India - rich in its cultural and spiritual heritage - is passing through all round crises today. There is horrible poverty everywhere, purchasing power of common man is on continual decline, corruption always raises its ugly head. No political party, nor a political leader, has proved equal to the challenging task before the nation. Consequently crisis is deepening, and the soul of humanity here is profusely bleeding.

In this deep crisis of national disaster on all fronts, Proutist Bloc India has appeared on the political scene to rid country of the dragon of immorality, poverty and exploitation.

I appeal everybody to enrol themselves as a member of this party and strengthen the power of moralist forces. Your inspired cooperation is a must for the success of this moralist political movement.

**Come One**

**Come All**

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