

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis



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STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION,
HYPOCRISY AND ANIMALITY.

21

WHILE FARMERS ARE BLAMED FOR THEIR
RESPONSIBILITY IN CLIMATE CHANGE, ACTORS FROM
INDUSTRIAL AGRICULTURE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF
THESE CONFLATIONS TO GREENWASH THEIR IMAGE.

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## PROUT

**Progressive Utilisation Theory** 

Propounded by - Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

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

### What is PROUT:

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

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

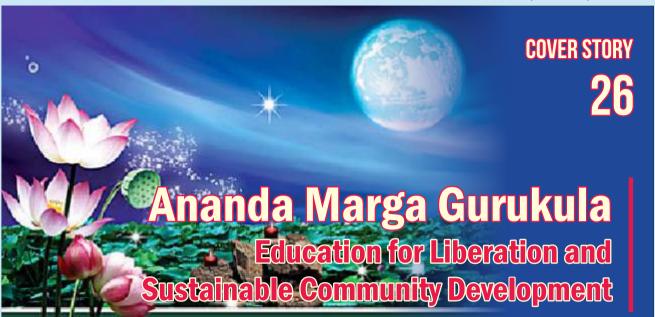
PROUT magazine invites scientists, economists, politicians, artists, intellectuals and others to join us in the creation of a new, spiritually bonded society by propagating and popularising unambiguous elevating thoughts. Through Proutistic views and Neo Humanistic analysis, it strives to serve as beacon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

### Main principles of PROUT and Neo-Humanism

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

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"Those of you who ardently believe in PROUT should be vigilant in this regard [about group psychology]. You should remember it is not the barrel of a gun but the spiritual force of human beings that is the real source of power. Human beings want selfless service. PROUT is dedicated to the service and welfare of one and all. You should immediately build a one and indivisible human society without further delay by popularizing PROUT."

– Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar



## Fundamental Principles of PROUT



No individual should be allowed to accumulate any physical wealth without the clear permission or approval of the collective body



There should be maximum utilization and rational distribution of all mundane, supra mundane and spiritual potentialities of the universe



There should be maximum utilization of the physical, metaphysical and spiritual potentialities of unit and collective body of the human society.



There should be a proper adjustment amongst these physical, metaphysical, mundane, supra mundane and spiritual utilizations.



The method of utilization should vary in accordance with the changes in time, space and person and the utilization should be of progressive nature.



## The Pride and Shame of India

erala has once again showed itself to be the pride of India. Despite suffering devastating floods that impacted nearly every district the people united to help each other in countless ways. Old citizens donated their pensions to the relief fund. Not only did fishermen across the state volunteer to go out and save thousands of stranded people, some of them even lay down in the water so that old people could step on their bodies and then easily climb into the boats. Their later refusal of any monetary award only further revealed their generosity of spirit. In the shelters there was only one known case where Dalits were turned away. Otherwise people of all communities lived together and served each other. Temples and mosques not only allowed people of other religions to stay but even allowed them to hold religious services.

As with other such tragedies such as in Uttarakhand it was the irrational development projects that led to so many landslides. Madhav Gadgil once again warned of the need of creating an ecologically sound Kerala after his earlier report was rejected by southern states. The fact is that rebuilding Kerala is a grave crisis. This has been compounded by the unprecedented hostility from the Centre.

Not content with promoting hate against various religions, a new low was seen when various Hindistani swamis propagated hatred against the entire state of Kerala in its hour of need. BJP ruled states alone donated next to nothing for relief work. An online campaign was created urging people not to donate to Kerala. While foreign countries were quick to offer aid, the Centre offered a mere fraction of required aid. The Centre obstinately refused any foreign aid claiming this was past policy but in fact as former Congress officials stated, money for rehabilitation had been accepted in the past on a case by case basis. Hence the Centre is treating Kerala's crisis much like Churchill during the Bengal famine.

The fact is that Kerala is not a rich state as the media has been saying. Kerala is the most dependent of all states in India for essential commodities such as rice and vegetables, medicines and other items, besides cloths, household articles, electronic and computer items, automobiles etc which sustain its social living standards. The Central government's Socio-Economic and Caste Census data of 2011 has revealed that for almost 71% of rural households in the state, the main breadwinner of the family earned less than Rs 5,000 per month. Across districts, the percentage was highest in Wayanad (79.67%), followed by Malappuram (75.55%) and Palakkad (74.38%), which were all badly hit by the floods. In 66% of the households in Chengannur, the highest earning member of the household earns Rs 5,000 or less per month. In Ranni, the figure is 67.12%. In Meenachil Taluq (Pala), it is 64.82% and in Alleppey district (under which Kuttanad falls), it is 69.41%.

More than 6 lakh people are already shifted to emergency camps. Nearly a million people are directly affected. Another three to four million people will have to bear the consequences at the secondary level. In areas like Kuttanad, more than 97% of the population has been relocated.

But all this is of little interest to the Centre. Facing pressure due to the unfolding Rafale scam, on the day of a negative report on demonetization, the government carried out a new series of arrests across the country of what it called "urban Maoists". The majority of people were lawyers and human rights activists working for the rights of adivasis and Dalits in Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and elsewhere. Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, R.M. Lodha described the arrests as "an attack on the freedom of speech...and an act to undermine the fundamentals of Constitutional democracy". In tandem with these arrests was a media campaign to spread hatred against these individuals who are judged guilty before trial without any evidence of wrongdoing.

The contrast with the spirit of true India seen in Kerala could not be more antithetical. A new India is being born amidst the howls of rabid jackals. As Dickens said coming now is the worst of times and the best of times.



### **Minimum Requirements and Maximum Amenities**

This article seems so naturally right when we read it but actually is a brand new idea. Leftists have wanted to establish economic equality which leads to severe decline in productivity. Capitalists reward talent excessively resulting in the majority of workers being denied the ability to survive on their meager salaries. This idea of keeping a fixed but dynamic ratio between the maximum and minimum wage has been rarely conceived of before. What was truly remarkable is that it was proposed that the minimum requirements of the animals also should be provided the minimum necessities.

Hiran Bendre, Udupi

### **Jharkhand Hunger Deaths**

Such barbarism we see today. You know in the Mahabharata age, it was the rule that the country was held responsible if a person died of starvation. Not merely this, if there was an early death, if a child of five or so died, people regarded it as a flaw in the structure of the king's administration. Today we see the parent (of a child killed by starvation) blamed for shaming the chief minister's reputation. Furthermore the ruling administration does not even bother to ensure the provision of food to every citizen. It does not even bother to provide timely payments for NREGA wages to the poorest workers. After this case, parents whose children die of hunger will feel compelled to allow the government officials to write Fraud death certificates so as to save the reputation of the heartless rulers.

Jadho Soren, Hazaribagh

### **Water Management**

Such a crisis revealed in this article. 70% of the country's water is contaminated and 2 lakh people die every year for lack of water. But where is the emergency planning by any state or by the Centre. This is a crime against the Indian people. Who will force them to take action? And what about you and me? What are we going to do? Are we going to sit while another 2 lakh people die this year?

Dharamdas Holkar, Indore

### **Legal Status of Animals**

Animals have been the number one victims of capitalism. The rise of western capitalism was marked by a rise in the exploitation of animals. Hence animals are part of the exploited working class. Already people have noted the parallels between animal slavery and human slavery. When one is outlawed as a crime against civilization, then should not animal slavery be outlawed once and for all? Our prehistoric ancestors used to trick a big herd of animals to run and fall over a cliff. Only a few of those animals were eaten and the rest were killed for no reason at all. Today we are killing off entire species of animals. When will we stop this death march of human himsa?

Shibi Singh, Rajkot

### **Majority Vote on Caste and Communal Lines**

This short article said so much. The reality of the Indian mind dominated by vicious prejudices of caste and religion has been clearly exposed. The so-called higher castes with more education and wealth are the most prejudiced. It was interesting that only in South India and the adivasi states of Jharkhand and Rajasthan were people more willing to vote for people from other castes or religions. What is really needed is the enlightenment of the electorate about these social diseases and about the urgent need for developing a universal outlook.

Sadharan Shukla, Mumbai

### **Non-Payment of NREGA Wages**

Only 43% of NREGA workers were paid on time last year. These are the poorest workers with no bank balance. How do they survive month after month with no money at all? Have you ever thought about it? Have you ever asked your local MLA about it? These workers do the hard work of repairing roads for the rich to drive comfortably on. When the rains create potholes in the roads, the elite city folk curse the local politicians.

But none of these elite people bother to ponder over the fate of those whose sweat and blood goes into repairing these roads. When the government directly refuses to budget money to pay NREGA workers then in reality it is treating the workers as slaves just like in the Ache Din of Manurajya.

Sikandar Sheikh, Lucknow

### **MSP Games**

We all know that the government cheats the farmers but for the first time this article explains how it is done. The majority of the farmer's produce has to be sold at low market prices. It was a shock to read that the electronic marketing system will help the hoarders exploit the farmers more ruthlessly. The article clearly reveals that all the progressive proposals of the Swaminathan Commission and all the new agricultural techniques of PROUT will remain on paper unless there is a massive farmers movement. The current farmers movements are more reactionary rather than revolutionary. The reality is that unless the farmers take control over their own local economies they will continue to be robbed and worked to death by the corporates who run the country. Soon huge factory farms will come to India and the days of individual farmers are numbered. To fight against this death signal of the farmer, the UPFF (Universal Proutist Farmers' Federation) was created. When will we see it in action?

Chand Prasad, Buxar

### Govt. Refuses to Ban **Unlawful GM Products**

If corporates illegally bring GM products into the country, the government will not punish them. If an ordinary citizen tries to bring in legal foreign products they are charged high tariffs and if caught bringing illegal products are sent to jail. But the government does not want to take action when corporates do the same crime on a much larger scale. The government also refuses to investigate to stop the importation of theses illegal products in the country. GM crops are banned in Europe due to the harm they cause but are dumped in India with the government's connivance. It simply shows how heartless these politicians and bureaucrats are when it comes to protecting the health of the Indian people.

Binu Munde, Seoni

## If We Must Die

Claude Mckay

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, O let us nobly die,

So that our precious blood may not be shed In vain; then even the monsters we defy Shall be constrained to honor us though dead! O kinsmen! we must meet the common foe!

Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!



### **UNIVERSAL DUTY**



## Your Mission

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

Struggle is the essence of life. Yours should be a pauseless struggle against corruption, hypocrisy and animality.

propagate a great ideology by their knowledge, intellect or social status alone. They can only do it through their conduct. Human conduct gets purified by intuitional practices. It is not necessary that one should come from a so-called high family, or that one should have completed university studies. Rather, these factors may create false vanity in one's mind which may ultimately stand in the way of reforming one's conduct.

In this universe of ours, two forces are working side by side the sentient and the static. Sometimes the sentient force and at other times the static force dominates. There is no scope for a pact between these forces. Human beings will have to march ahead amidst the ceaseless struggle of these opposing forces. In the society, on the one hand we see the hoards of antisocial elements, and on the other hand we feel a sense of frustration among the moralists. These moralists have therefore developed a tendency to go out of the society. With more wealth and strength, the antisocial elements are in an advantageous position, and the moralists appear to be the culprits. This state of affairs is neither desirable nor behooving, and



it should not be allowed to continue.

Your duty will be to unite the moralists. Let there be two camps. Let there be an open fight. The moralists have been scattered for so long that they could not fight. The united strength of five moralists is much more than the united strength of a hundred immoralists because there is an unholy alliance amongst the latter. Meditation behind closed doors will not do. Gather strength by intuitional practices and unite vourselves against the immoralists.

So your duty is three-fold. Your first duty is to observe morality and to do intuitional practices. Without this you cannot have mental determination. Your next duty is to unite the moralists of the world. otherwise Dharma will not endure. The exploited mass who do not observe Yama and Nivama cardinal moral principles cannot fight against their own sense of frustration. It is therefore necessary to unite the moralists. This will be your real Dharma. You will become great by doing this, because ideation of the Great makes a person great. At the third stage, you will have to mercilessly fight against sin wherever it has taken root in this world.

You will have to propagate this mission from door to door. No political party or so-called religious institution can bring salvation. Praising God in concerts with drums



and cymbals will not bring salvation either, because this will not bring the sinner to submission. To curb the onslaughts of the immoralists today, arms are more necessary than drums and cymbals.

It is not possible to fight against sin as long as there is some weakness in your mind. In this fight, your goal is not the sin or the sinner, your goal is the Supreme Consciousness. Anything that comes in the way of this has to be removed mercilessly. When clouds collect around the pole-star and cover it, your duty will be to remove the clouds and follow the pole-star without caring to see where the clouds have gone. If vou always think of your enemy, your mind will adopt the bad qualities of your object of ideation, but if the Supreme Being is your goal, your mind will be metamorphosed into the Supreme Being itself.

Remember you have to serve humanity. You have to dedicate yourself to the cause of humanity as a whole. Your life is valuable; your time is all the more valuable. You should not waste a single moment. The task is glorious. The task is novel. Lead the life of a warrior and constantly fight against evils. You will be victorious. So march ahead!



### **WOMEN EMPOWERMENT**

n July 24, the minister of agriculture and farmers' welfare responded to this Lok Sabha question, "Whether there is a proposal to provide identity cards to women farmers, so that they can be recognised as cultivators in their own right; if so, the details thereof; and if not, the reasons therefor?"

In response, the minister stated that since 3.60 crore women have already been recognised as 'cultivators' under the 2011 Census, the government has no proposal to provide identity cards to women farmers.

The question posed to the minister alluded to the problems associated with lack of recognition, owing to lack of identification, for women farmers. The answer, however, scarcely dealt with the



## **The Centre Is Barely Serious About Recognising** Women as Farmers

Bani Bedi

The government sees ownership of land as necessary for one to be considered a 'farmer', but patriarchal norms oppose inheritance to woman, leaving them unable to access benefits and rights.

question and the contents of the response conveyed that the government has no plans to deal with the problem either.

The stereotypical image of an Indian farmer is a mustachioed man, clad in a white dhoti with farming tools in hand. The reality is the Indian agricultural landscape is fast being feminised. Already, women constitute close to 65 per cent of all agricultural workers. An even greater share, 74 per cent of the rural workforce, is female. Despite their hard labour in the field, women are not officially counted as farmers, and are either labelled "agricultural labourers" or "cultivators". This is because the government does not recognise as farmers those who do not have a claim to land under their

name in official records.

As many as 87 per cent of women do not own their land; only 12.7 per cent of them do. There are two primary reasons for the alarmingly low number: One, land being a state subject is not governed by the constitution under a uniform law that applies equally to all citizens but rather is governed by personal religious laws, which tend to discriminate against women when it comes to land inheritance. Second, the cultural aspect of the deep-rooted biases that hinder women's ownership of land in patriarchal societies cannot be discounted.

In fact, in March 2016, the NITI Aayog released the Model Agricultural Land Leasing Act,



which seeks to legalise and liberalise land leasing with the interests of both the landlord and the tenant in mind. The Model Act could enable the real cultivators of land to be recognised as farmers and thus be entitled to obtain important inputs provided to farmers by the state. This has the potential to improve the productivity of farmer harvests, replacing unwilling cultivators with willing cultivators. Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh have expressed interest in the Model Act, while some others like Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana are at an advanced stage of enacting their own land leasing laws based on the Model Act.

The macro-level results of securing women farmers' land tenure are clear, but consider for a moment the impact it would have at the micro-level the wiping away of the debilitating feelings of insecurity and vulnerability for rural women. The chance of propertied women being physically abused is reduced from 49 per cent to 7 per cent due to an increase in the wife's bargaining power. If female farmers are provided security of land tenure, they will be officially recognised as

farmers and hence, will see their

household bargaining power increase. Women farmers' self-confidence and agency will slowly grow and expand outside just their household.

Women already constitute about 65% of the total agricultural workforce in the country. Their contribution to the sector is undeniably crucial. The minister cited the recognition of 3.6 crore women as 'cultivators' in the response, indicating that recognition by the census ought to be enough to deal with the problem of lack of identity for women farmers. However, in truth, the census recognition barely matters. It is merely a count of women cultivators and does not provide them with the necessary identification which would enable them to access the rights that accrue to farmers.

### 'Cultivators' and 'Farmers'

The census calls anyone who operates a piece of agricultural land a 'cultivator'. Operational land is land used by anyone for agricultural production irrespective of whether the person using it owns it or not. Land is a state subject and state governments, on the other hand, consider only people with a land title as 'farmers'. So, even though 3.6 crore women have been labelled

'cultivators', this does not mean they are considered farmers by the government.

Since over 87% women don't own land, they are labelled 'cultivators', who operate agricultural land. They are not officially 'farmers' for the government. As a result, most women in agriculture cannot avail of government schemes meant for farmers. They cannot access institutional credit for farming or get subsidies. A 2017 report by Oxfam India showed that women's agricultural productivity is greatly hindered by these restrictions.

The consequences of this exclusion are far-reaching.

In 2012, a year after the 2011 census, an NDTV report highlighted the neglect of women farmers who committed suicide. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy's government in Andhra Pradesh had attempted to define who could be called a 'farmer' in the state and what could be labelled a 'genuine' farmer suicide. A government order issued in 2004. called 'GO 421', recognised only those who owned agricultural land as 'farmers'. Only families whose members committed suicide within this exclusive definition of 'farmer' would receive compensation. Women cultivators and labourers



without land were not included. In 2011, the state recognised 90 farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh. Surveys by media and other field organisations claimed the actual number was at least three or four times that number.

In October 2011, six districts in the state were surveyed and 95 farmer suicides were recorded in that month alone. The figure of 90 had excluded landless labourers and women they committed suicide because of farm-related distress, but did not own land.

Sangishetty Yadaiah, a farmer based near Hyderabad, was told by his local revenue official that his wife's suicide would not be eligible for compensation. "He accused us of claiming she was a farmer only to get compensation money. He even said 'If you had died instead of her, then your family would have got the money'," he told NDTV. He was told that compensation is only given when a male farmer commits suicide.

### **Woman Farmer Certificate**

The concept of issuing cards to try and recognise women farmers is not new. The Women Farmers' Entitlements Bill 2011 was introduced in the Rajya Sabha by agricultural scientist M.S. Swaminathan, known for his leading role in India's green revolution. The second chapter of the Bill proposes the creation of a 'Woman Farmer Certificate'. This certificate would be accepted as evidence for the status of a woman as a 'farmer'. It would allow women to receive financial support for agricultural activities. It would entitle them to Kisan Credit Cards, which ensure quick access to institutional credit. These are mostly available to men because they require the cardholder to own land.

Swaminathan continues to believe that identity cards for women farmers are important. He said, "An identity card for women is useful for access to entitlements. The Kisan Credit Card for example requires land ownership title."

Social worker Reema Nanavaty



"Even today women are slaves to the male-dominated social order. This is not only bad but deplorable. We should decry such domination of women and their psycho-economic exploitation through the evil design of dogmas."

### Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

also believes that an identity card would help women access aid from the government for farming. She is the executive director of Self-Employed Women's Association of India (SEWA), the largest organisation of informal workers in the world. When asked about the question posed in the Lok Sabha, she said, "With the feminisation of agriculture, as men migrate for work, the brunt of agricultural work is borne by women. While the 2011 Census report may identify women cultivators, it does not give them the label of 'farmer'."

The 2011 Census does not take up the matter of who owns agricultural land. It only discusses operated land, which is land being used for farming. It divides cultivators into two categories: main workers, who cultivate for at least half the year and marginal workers, who are agricultural labourers or non-farm workers most of the time. It does not specify land ownership or mention the label of 'farmer' at all.

### 'Land Rights for Women Should be Recognised'

The issue of recognition of women farmers goes above and beyond the census. Ritu Dewan, Mumbai-based economist and president of the Indian Association of Women Studies, says the answer lies in equal access to land for women. "Land rights for women must be recognised in village land records, like the Saath Baara Utara (form 7/12) in Maharashtra. This form does not even have a column for gender." These records are digitised. Editing them to acknowledge a woman's equal share would automatically qualify her as a 'farmer' in the eyes of the government.

She disagrees with Swaminathan's proposal and thinks issuing cards for recognition is



futile. "We don't need the Aadhaar or different kinds of cards. India has a national register to recognise these land rights," she said.

Development economist Bina Agarwal, in her 1994 book A Field of One's Own, says landlessness is the most significant factor upholding female subjugation in India. She discusses the importance of land ownership a woman's bargaining and decision-making power in the household increases when she owns land. This study spurred a female land rights' movement, which has led to gender-sensitive legislation on land ownership.

The Indian government has made notable laws and policies for women to acquire land in their own name. Under the ninth five-year plan (1997-2002), land redistribution was prescribed to take land from the traditional landowner and allot it to the actual tiller of the soil. About 40% of a gricultural land would be redistributed in the name of women and the rest would be held as joint ownership between husband and wife.

The tenth five-year plan (2002-07) recommended concessions to female property buyers when they registered. The aim of this was to incentivise women to purchase land in their name. To ensure women are not deprived of inherited land, the Hindu Succession Act was amended in 2005 to give daughters an equal right to inherited property. With the aim of promoting self-reliance, the Andhra Pradesh government launched a program to lease land to women's self-help groups in 2009.

There is a large gap, however, between the legal and social recognition of a woman's claim to land. Landesa's research shows that progressive legislation has not helped women in rural areas get their equal share. Updating land records to include their access to land would

"The position of the women is most wretched and pitiable in the society. The duty of the Tattvikas is to preach the philosophy of the Marga among the women folk, to wipe off superstitions, to remove illiteracy, to arrange dharmacakra and to raise their standard of living."

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

contribute towards bridging this gap.

### **Cultural and Traditional Biases**

Cultural and traditional biases in patriarchal communities oppose women's inheritance of land. In most parts of the country, the woman becomes a part of her husband's family and her possessions pass on to them. Her brothers inherit her parents' property. She is denied control of agricultural land and thereby denied government support for farming. Enabling women to claim and control land is key to their recognition as 'farmers'.

The 2011 Census Report recognised a large number of women as 'cultivators' but not 'farmers'. It does not guarantee them the rights which being recognised as farmers would, such as loans for cultivation, loan waivers, crop insurance, subsidies or even compensation to their families in cases where they commit suicide.

One must own land to be considered a farmer in the eyes of the government. Public policy which recognises women and their land rights in agriculture qualifying them to access aid is crucial.

### **CULT POLITICS**

arly in July, senior BJP leader Arun Jaitley darkly ✓ insinuated the existence of a 'half Maoist' threat to undermine Indian democracy. Jaitley wouldn't define these half-Maoists but made sure the framing was sweeping enough to cast in its net any political opponents, intellectuals, journalists or activists whose views might be deemed suspect.

This insidious effort to delegitimise government critics by the use of an expansive label was, paradoxically, classically Maoist. The Great Helmsman, after all, spent his entire career vanquishing his critics by branding them 'bourgeois rightists'. Ascribing illegitimate motivations to your opponents, Mao Tse Tung understood, was a prudent method not only to deflect criticism and shut down any debate but to escape the very possibility of accountability.

A voracious appetite for labelling anti-national, anti-Hindu, presstitutes etc isn't the only thing, however, that the ruling party and its fellow travellers have borrowed from the Maoist toolkit. From the use of culture as a battlefield to the unleashing of militant foot-soldiers, from harnessing the narrative of historical victim hood to the cultivation of the cult of personality, rampant anti-intellectualism to mythmaking and the subordination of truth to ideology, the tactics and methods of the ruling party bear a remarkable similarity to those of the Maoist regime. It is, then, a invidious irony, of course, for defenders of the government to portray some of their opponents as 'urban Maoists'.

### **Top-down Social Transformation**

What many critics often miss is that Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh view his election as a historical opportunity to remake society and culture - ways of thought and being in the image of their ideology. In one of his first speeches to parliament, Modi spoke of '1200 years of slave mentality' that was holding back



Asim Ali and Priya Chacko

### The similarities between Maoism and Modism are striking from puffing up a personality, to distaste for democracy and disregard for plurality.

India. The belief undergirding the ruling party is that the country has been enfeebled and conditioned from centuries of 'Muslim' and colonial role. The historical purpose of the party, then, is to inject vigour and self-confidence in the nation by restoring it to its native roots from an earlier 'golden period'.

"Down with the slave mentality" was also the slogan used by Mao while resisting certain proponents of military modernisation. The Maoists viewed their nation as emerging from a 'century of humiliation' at the hands of imperialists and 2000 years of feudalism of the Chinese empire. It was not enough for the state to be communist, to usher in the communist utopia, culture too had to

be remade in the Maoist image, which necessitated weeding out the "bourgeois intellectuals" who "dominated culture". On the eve of embarking on the Cultural Revolution, Madame Mao, wife of the chairman and a key leader in the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group, charged that "the literary field and most professors have stood as a black force trying to dominate our politics".

The primary targets of the Cultural Revolution, therefore, were university campuses, along with writers and other intellectuals. These were the sections that could possibly resist the ideological and cultural hegemony of the Communist Party and hence had to be disciplined. The attacks on university campuses



across the country over the past four years-from Jawaharlal Nehru University to Jadavpur to Ramjas to Hyderabad Central University and others-while lacking the sheer brutality of the Cultural Revolution era, stem from the same strain of anti intellectualism. Instead of 'bourgeois intellectuals', the targets here are leftists and secularists who dare to challenge the ideology and actions of the ruling party. In an echo of the Cultural Revolution era. teachers were assaulted, along with students, inside Ramjas College by RSS-affiliated Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) activists driven by the same fervour embodied by Red Guards half a century ago. Only these new Red Guards probably thought they were attacking 'urban Maoists'.

Radical students of the ABVP though are just one component of the varied *senas*, militias and groups who have been emboldened, even tacitly encouraged, to unleash violence on the 'enemies of the nation'. The targets for the attacks

are defined at the political level, through coded messages, while the attacks are outsourced to society. Lynchings of Muslims over the issue of cows have become so commonplace as to hardly even constitute news.

This perpetual state of violence

would be familiar to scholars of Maoist China, where peasants were encouraged to get their retribution against 'class enemies' in campaigns that took tens of thousands of lives. Conflict, for Mao, was a necessary and creative process. Without destruction of the old, the new wasn't possible. Perpetual conflict, against rolling targets of landlords, 'bourgeois rightists', 'imperialist lackeys', 'KMT remnants' etc was, therefore, an essential part in realising the communist utopia.

Similarly, the creation of the Hindu Rashtra isn't possible without conflict, and an array of targets 'cow smugglers', 'anti nationals', would have to be 'separatists' constantly generated to provide for this outlet of creative violence. Lest we forget, the defining moment of Hindu nationalism was the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, which culminated in the spectacular destruction of the 'old' (the Babri Masjid), along with the destruction of hundreds of lives. The current phase of violence is, of course, deeply linked to that original spasm of violence by both ideology and personnel including our current prime minister, an enthusiastic participant in the temple movement.

The response of the prime minister to the simmering tension



and violence engulfing the country has been a studied silence. The British journalist Jonathan Fenby argues that one of the great political virtues of Mao was his cultivated ambiguity. Mao oscillated between different positions and used silences and ambiguous statements to prevent anyone from gauging his actual position. The benefit of this, according to Fen by, was to provide Mao with the space to distance himself from the excesses of his numerous campaigns. Mao could, at different times, call for a "hundred flowers to bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and shortly afterwards revert to a campaign of prosecution against writers before again reverting to proclaiming the need for creative criticism.

This ambivalence allowed Mao to reap the political benefits of his campaigns while being shielded from their political fallout, which would be blamed on overzealous cadres or heavy-handed officials. Likewise, Modi seeks to benefit politically from the zealotry and violence of the mob, encouraged by the government, while simultaneously leaving enough space to distance himself from the consequences of their actions.

Lastly, the developing cult of personality around Modi is to some extent reminiscent of the Maoist personality cult. When a cabinet minister deems him 'God's gift to India' or an MLA declared him to the 'incarnation of Lord Ram', they are effectively putting him on a pedestal that makes him above any questioning, let alone challenging. That is a recipe for disaster, as demonetisation starkly demonstrated. Far from having the temerity to challenge Modi's harebrained scheme, every minister felt obliged to laud this ill-judged adventure as a visionary masterstroke.

The unparalleled disasters of the reckless 'Great Leap Forward' and the madness of the Cultural Revolution were possible precisely because of the Maoist personality cult, since the Great Helmsman could do no wrong, in spite of all the

evidence to the contrary. In an emblematic statement at the start of the horrific Cultural Revolution, the chief of the PLA, Lin Biao, hailed Mao as a 'genius' whose words "will override the meaning of tens of thousands of ours". The way to survive and prosper in the Chinese Communist Party was not through competence but through personal loyalty to the leader, a condition not untrue for the current BJP.

This personality cult of the prime minister is also advanced by sympathetic sections of the media. One instance is the constant harping over his 'remarkable' energy and vigour even in old age, which some 'independent' journalists have even deemed proper as an interview question to the PM. The PM, meanwhile, helpfully uploads his

record breaking performance) and was hysterically lauded by the Chinese media for his superhuman vigour and held as an example for the younger generation. It was 1966, and the vigour the younger generation was being primed for the convulsions of the Cultural Revolution.

Personality cults are both a function of the megalomania and messianic beliefs of the leader as well as a reinforcer of it. Both Modi and Mao share a highly puffed up view of their abilities and historical purpose of leading their nations to a glowing destiny. It led Mao to put his country's resources in the service of highly unrealistic visions (like the Great Leap Forward's target of overtaking Britain in 15 years) while failing dramatically in their realisation.

Modi too has made all sorts of



yoga regimen to his millions of followers. This is, of course, full of political symbolism, and reminds one of the 'historic swim' by Mao at the Yangtze river, in which the chairman, aged 73, allegedly swam 15 miles in 65 minutes (a world

wildly ambitious promises, from the more extravagant visions of bullet trains and broadband internet in every village to exacting targets on jobs, farmer incomes, housing and poverty alleviation, while little has changed on the ground. It is not comforting to note that the Maoist response to failures of signature programmes was always to find scapegoats and saboteurs and embark on the next campaign against internal enemies.

Admittedly, the scale and intensity of the tactics and methods of the Maoist regime cannot be compared to the present government, if only because India's democratic traditions and constitutional system of government substantially restrict the scope of radical actions. Yet, in its attitude towards opponents, its disposition towards conflict, its visions of its own historical purpose and grand plans of remaking society, the current government ultimately displays the same distaste for democracy and distrust of populist authoritarianism with Indira Gandhi. Now we are seeing right wing populist authoritarianism. In tandem with this transformation, economically we have seen India move from crony socialism to crony capitalism.

### **Understanding Authoritarianism**

Blair Gelbond has highlighted the primary characteristics of authoritarian personalities and societies based on the work of Theodor Adorno as follows:

"1) Intolerance of Ambiguity: The typical authoritarian experiences a strong need to have things spelled out specifically. Unless there is a yes or no answer to every question, no matter how complex, they show signs of anxiety. As a result the authoritarian has little



plurality that characterised the Maoist regime. It seems that there is indeed, after all, a 'half-Maoist' attempt afoot to undermine democracy. Jaitley is only pointing his finger in the wrong direction.

India has already seen a left wing

tolerance for people who are working in intrinsically ambiguous areas - philosophers, artists, social or political leaders. It might be said that authoritarians feel compelled to insist that every piece of language they hear or read "mean just one thing" "which is clear and readily identifiable.

- 2) Dichotomous Thinking: Authoritarians exhibit a compulsion to divide everything and everyone into mutually exclusive groups good/bad, right/wrong, friend/enemy - without taking into account the subtleties, qualifications or even downright mistakes that may be involved. "Dichotomous thinking" can be considered an outgrowth of intolerance of ambiguity; it is a sort of "rush to judgment" which serves to provide an immediate (but illusory, and generally false) sense of certainty.
- 3) Rigidity of Thought: The rigidity in the way an authoritarian perceives the world and himself is often exhibited as a generalized unwillingness to consider perspectives that conflict with his (or her) own preconceived ideas. Dr. Wayne Dyer notes, that faced with such a situation, "the last thing [such a person] will do "is to listen, evaluate, and be prepared to change his position if it seems warranted. It is virtually impossible for him ever to [sincerely] admit having been wrong or having learned anything from anyone [with views different from himself]"You will never hear [him or her] say [and mean]: 'Well, you have a point there.' Dyer goes on to say that - with true, "dyed-in the wool" authoritarians - rational discussion [regarding emotionally laden issues]""is never a cooperative effort to reach agreement, beginning with mutual respect on each side "The most frustrating thing about authoritarians is their inaccessibility: most of the time, there is literally no way to reach them."
- 4) Anti-Intellectualism: Authoritarians often display a mistrust of "intellectuals," particularly people who make their living as thinkers, but he adds this caveat: "Today of course, there is no lack of authoritarians in academic fields; however "these people tend to be devoted followers of some 'school of thought,' and more often than not" are notable only for blindly following what some 'great man' has taught."
  - 5) Anti-Introspection:

Authoritarians tend to resist looking into their own motivations. Dver observes that one of the things such a person seems most afraid of - is admitting (to others or to themselves) that they have not always been "right." Authoritarians reject looking inward because they have come to rely so strongly on external support systems to convince themselves of their own value.

- 6) Paranoia: Dyer believes that authoritarians' basic distrust of themselves tends to make them suspicious about every human encounter. Because they find it so difficult to admit that they, themselves, are responsible (at least in part) for creating many of the problems they complain about, they feel compelled to **blame someone else.** As Dyer notes - "even to [be able to] support the relatively mild paranoia of the majority of authoritarians"it is necessary for them to imagine a multitude of enemies out there. (Yet these same individuals seldom allow themselves to be moved to greater sympathy or support for others who really are being persecuted). Their paranoid picture of the world [usually] simply leads such people to withdraw into ever-tightening spirals of paranoia."
- 7) Anti-Weakness: Authoritarians tend not to support help for the "weak" because they equate weakness with evil; so, the outcasts of society are responsible for their own situations. It is their own fault if they did not "make it to the centre of the herd." Another implication of this view is that "winning" is all that really matters: if you are weak, or part of a "weak team" you should be feel ashamed.
- 8) Power Worship: The other side of the anti-weakness coin is the authoritarian's typical worship of power, no matter how the power is being used. This trait also speaks to authoritarians' habit of compulsively looking outside of themselves for measures and validation of their worth.
- 9) Ethnocentrism: This trait has been considered both one of the

most common and most dangerous of all the typical authoritarian qualities, because it is most capable of leading to violence. Ethnocentrism in general, and racism in particular are, in turn, connected with the phenomenon of anti-minority thinking and behaviour. Such a set of attitudes promotes alienation between all kinds of "minorities" and "majorities." He goes on to argue that, more recently, focus on being part of a "great majority" has replaced allegiance to a specific ethnic group; this trait, he notes, fits with the "authoritarian knack for covering up the fact that they are not flawless."

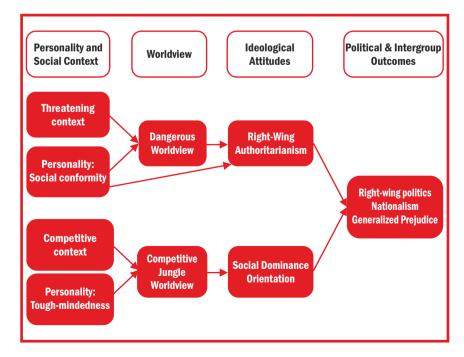
10) Conformity and Submissiveness: Authoritarian people tend to be governed by opinions and social forces outside of themselves; generally, they are quite weak when it comes to relying on their own judgments, instincts, independent sets of values, etc. They find it much easier and more comforting to adjust to imposed standards than to look inward for the keys to guiding their own lives. As Adorno has said, "Conformity is one of the major expressions of lack of an internal focus." So, it seems natural for such people to be submissive to established authority and conventional modes of behaviour.

And we can see here, the way in which a person with a strong authoritarian inclination will inevitably be quite suggestible and gullible, particularly to propaganda and hype. This vulnerability can be contrasted with the relative resiliency of more autonomous individuals who are willing to challenge authority, and "who see no reason to accept things as they are-simply because an authority-figure or institution decrees it should be so."

### **Historical Roots of Indian Right Wing Authoritarianism**

The roots of authoritarian populism to the centrist Congress government's pro-business and antiinflationary economic turn in the late 1970s and 1980s that emphasized policies such as wage restraint. Economic liberalisation, market reform and cuts to public spending were introduced to these existing reform agendas in the 1990s, which moved India in a neoliberal direction.

The economic growth that resulted from these reforms has been highly unequal and uneven, with a lack of broad-based consumption-led growth and job creation. Importantly, the neoliberal turn served to decisively fracture the modes of political incorporation, such as universal welfare schemes,



protectionist policies and patronage networks that were established under previous governments. Successive governments have struggled to create new forms of political incorporation, creating an ongoing crisis of legitimacy. This was exemplified in the surprise election defeat of the BJP-led government in 2004 shortly after it had launched a mass marketing campaign around the theme of 'India Shining', which was intended to celebrate economic reforms. Polling analysis showed that a broad crosssection of voters actually perceived a decline in their economic conditions and largely disapproved of core reform policies such as disinvestment and the liberalisation of foreign direct investment.

This legitimacy crisis has given rise to successive political projects to "crisis manage" the political effects of economic reform in favour of transnationally-oriented capitalist fractions. The inclusive growth strategy of the former Congress Party-led, United Progressive Alliance government was a form of what Nancy Fraser has termed, "progressive neoliberalism". Through the establishment of an innovative policy institution, the National Advisory Council, made up of government and civil society representatives, the UPA sought to mitigate the negative consequences of pro-market policies through rights-based legislation such as the National Food Security Act, the Right to Information Act, the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, and the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act.

Rather than democratising policy making, however, the UPA's tendency was towards what Nicos Poulantzas called "authoritarian statism". Poulantzas coined this term in the 1970s to refer to the "intensified state control over every sphere of socio-economic life combined with radical decline of institutions of political democracy and draconian and

multiform curtailment of socalled formal liberties" that he observed among capitalist countries in Europe and in the United States as they were increasingly beset with crisis. In India, authoritarian statism was evident in the UPA's rightsbased legislation which promoted depoliticised and technocratic forms of governance. The implementation of the associated welfare schemes also fell short of their potential due to insufficient commitment and pervasive corruption from Congress Party leaders and cadres. This reflected the unmooring of the Congress from its social base which is both a key driver and outcome of authoritarian statism.

As Poulantzas noted, authoritarian statism leads to a 'strengthening-weakening of the state' since it gives rise to new forms of popular struggle and becomes a site of struggle itself. In the Indian case, the UPA government's relationship with civil society groups deteriorated after it introduced legislation to restrict their access to foreign funding. This was the start of what was called the "silent emergency". This was an attempt to stem organised civil society resistance to projects seen by the UPA as central to furthering accumulation, such as mining, nuclear energy and genetically modified food.

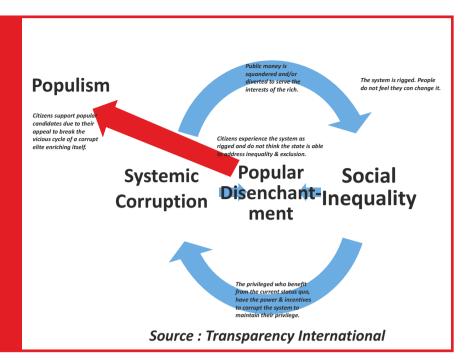
Moreover, while the UPA initially presided over rapid economic growth, this growth generated a variety of contradictions that it found difficult to manage. For instance, the increasingly tight nexus between corporate capital and the state resulted in large scale corruption scandals and overindebtedness in the corporate and banking sectors. Consequently, there emerged a mediatised crisis narrative that characterised the last two years of the UPA's tenure as "policy paralysis", and a populist anti-corruption movement that drew its core support from the upper and middle classes. The India Against Corruption movement was co-opted by the BJP, which made corruption a key theme in its 2014 election campaign, as a part of its appeal to what Stuart Hall termed 'authoritarian populism'.

While authoritarian statism was a top-down response to state crisis, Hall's authoritarian populism considers "the ways in which popular consent can be so constructed... as to harness to its support some popular discontents, neutralise the opposing forces, disaggregate the opposition and really incorporate some strategic elements of popular opinion into its own hegemonic project." Though Hall's notion of authoritarian populism was initially developed to explain the rise of Thatcherism in the 1970s and 1980s, as with Poulantzas's analysis, it has proven prescient.

The Modi regime's appeal to authoritarian populism combines Hindu nationalist themes with populist discourses by linking the entrenched social and economic problems experienced by "the people" defined as the (Hindu) poor, middle-class and newly urbanised 'neo-middle' class to the actions of an interventionist state controlled by a liberal-left "elite" that panders to minorities and creates social disharmony through its "anti-nationalism". This serves to shift blame for economic distress from the nature of class relations to a corrupt state and its liberal elites. In addition, authoritarian populism in India involves a moral appeal to virtuous individual sacrifice. This seeks to build an organic connection between the individual and society, mediated through the figure of Modi, while reaffirming faith in capitalism and markets to bring about a better future.

Amit Varma has noted how all the textbook characteristics (listed by Jan Werner Muller) of populism are found in India today. They include:

- 1) The claim that only a certain group of people in the country are the "real people" and that the rest of the country are second class citizens (poor and social/religious minorities)
- 2) Contrasting the hardworking middle class (real people) with



the liberal elites

- 3) Portraying themselves as victims even when in power and using this as a justification for threats and violence
- 4) The entire party is subordinated to 1 leader.
- 5) The leaders pride themselves that they are from the common people from a humble background.
- 6) Simplistic analysis and simplistic solutions (often just slogans) designed not to solve problems but rather to use problems to inflame the emotions of their supporters.
- 7) They believe in conspiracy theories about history and about how they are being victimized.

Varma also notes 3 common actions taken by populist parties mentioned by Muller:

- a) Colonise the state. Fill all state institutions with their people. Co-opt or bully independent institutions and in this way re-shape the entire political system to suit their will.
- b) Engage in mass clientelism and offer all kinds of financial favours and bribes in exchange for political support. This is the norm in some countries but populists take it to extremes, even outside of election

seasons.

c) They shut down dissent in society, starting with NGOs and then extending to the media. This is done through bribes, pressure and occasional threats and violence.

These authoritarian populist strategies have been invoked to justify the repression of civil liberties in universities, the repression of the activities of nongovernmental organisations and to market the Modi government's most significant economic policies as forms of political incorporation.

The policy of demonetisation which invalidated more than 80% of the currency in circulation, for instance, was justified as serving the interests of the poor, neo-middle class and middle class by attacking "black money" and the "antinational elements" that uphold the shadow economy. The suffering caused by demonetization was depicted by the PM as a "historic rite of purification" and as an "ongoing 'Yagna' [Hindu ritual animal sacrifice] against corruption, terrorism & black money". In reality as always it was the poorest Indians who were the victims of this and other Purusha-medha Yagnas.

Yet, though Modi has stamped his dominance on Indian politics by winning a broad base of support, his

authoritarian populist project has done little to resolve India's structural economic problems, like the lack of job creation, and the multi-class coalition that has underpinned the BJP's election victories remains fragile. The increasing corruption scandals have dented the moral authority despite the increasing bribing and censorship of the Indian media. This means that the authoritarian populist project remains vulnerable to the "strengthening-weakening" of the state that ultimately brought down its predecessor.

### **Conclusion**

Throughout this transformation, Maoism has remained as the bogeyman despite the fact that in Chattisgarh, the Maoists are allied with various governments in trafficking of mineral and forest products, as well as the fact that, like in the rest of India, lower castes are not allowed to become Maoist leaders and that elite Maoist leaders send their convent school educated children to university in capitalist countries. Hence it is impossible not to wonder at the parallels between the left wing authoritarianism of the Indira era and the right wing authoritarianism of today. Unsurprisingly both the Indira and Modi regimes condemned Maoist culture while practicing it. Unsurprisingly the handful of crony Indian capitalists who control the country are largely the same with a few new additions.

What is new is that at present, foreign capitalists have full control over the Indian economy and also over the Indian polity (due to allowing them to buy up Indian political parties) aside from control of the media. What is also new is that this betrayal of the nation (desh droha) is being done in the name of so-called Hindu nationalism with fascist media killings to divert the people while they are robbed more and more. This foreign controlled Indian political-economy (artha) is perhaps a greater security threat to India than the Chinese-backed Maoists.

# Green Capitalism : How Multinationals Use Climate Change to Impose an ndustrial Agricultural Model

While farmers are blamed for their responsibility in climate change, actors from industrial agriculture take advantage of these conflations to greenwash their image.

Sophie Chapelle



overnments are keeping an eye on the agricultural sector's greenhouse gas emissions. A new concept is emerging: "climate-smart agriculture," with the objective of producing more, better. In the arena of climate negotiations, multinational corporations are getting set to promote "smart fertilizers" and plants genetically modified for heat tolerance. While industrial agriculture is about to win the battle with organic agriculture,

researchers and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are trying to overturn the deal.

Close to a quarter of the world's greenhouse gas emissions are attributable to agriculture. A worrying figure, and a disturbing one since it includes all agricultural systems of production, from "conventional" agriculture to organic agriculture, from battery farming to pasturing, from industrial monocultures to small, mixed farms. While farmers are blamed for their

responsibility in climate change, actors from industrial agriculture take advantage of these conflations to greenwash their image.

That's the case of Yara International, a Norwegian company and leader in synthetic fertilizers that in 2014 sold more than 26 tons of fertilizer in 150 countries. The group is throwing itself into "sustainable intensification." Its idea? Increased use of chemical fertilizers will increase productivity and thus allow less area

to be under cultivation and avoid those emissions linked to the expansion of cultivation to nowforested areas.

This argument has not convinced the agricultural NGO Grain, which, in a new report, emphasizes that fertilizer manufacturers figure "among the primary enemies of the climate at a global level." The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reckons that for every 100 kilos of nitrogen fertilizer applied to the ground, one kilo turns up in the atmosphere in the form of nitrous oxide, a greenhouse gas 300 times more powerful than carbon dioxide. "Their products could be responsible for close to 10 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions without even mentioning the damage brought about to waterways, soils and the ozone layer," adds the NGO, a discrepancy between its walk and its talk that earns Yara a nomination for the *Prix* Pinocchio du climat (climate Pinocchio prize) 2015.

### Climate-Smart Agriculture: A Dangerous Concept

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) does not share that opinion: It considers sustainable intensification a "smart" solution in confronting climate change. In spite of the criticisms formulated by NGOs, Yara is one of the multinationals that have recently joined the Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture (GACSA), which assembles countries, environmental conservation NGOs, universities and research centers. The concept of climate-smart agriculture is based on three pillars. First of all, the FAO explains, it's a matter of increasing agricultural productivity to confront the increase in global population, then of "adapting agricultural systems" to cope with extreme climate events likely to increase, such as floods and droughts. The third pillar is the implementation of agricultural practices that "reduce" greenhouse gas emissions.

Basta! has plunged into the guide to "climate-smart" initiatives.



On the menu of miracle cures: herbicide-tolerant rapeseed that allows the use of "fewer and ever less toxic chemical products," and drought-tolerant corn, which would increase yields by "20 to 30 percent" - assertions that the Inf'OGM organization disputes. In September 2015, a hundred organizations signed an appeal that rebukes GACSA for its failure to specify the criteria that would allow a definition of what may, or may not, qualify as a "smart response" to climate change.

"There's been no work on defining the criteria for climatesmart agriculture because defining would result in excluding existing agricultural practices," said Jeanne-Maureen Jorand of CCFD-Terre Solidaire. "Meanwhile, without norms or criteria of exclusion, this concept is quite simply dangerous."

## Developing Industrial Agriculture in the Name of the Climate Struggle

"Defining climate-smart agriculture was a red line for the French government," Jorand said. During the launch of GACSA, Annick Girardin, [French] secretary of state for the development of Francophonie, warned against the risks of certain practices such as GMOs or recourse to fuel crops. "We must be vigilant not to support everything in the name of the struggle against climate disorder and to assure that the solutions we put in place do not create more problems than they resolve," she declared in September 2014. The

French government finally decided to join GACSA along with 21 other countries, explaining to AFP that it wanted "to be inside rather than outside, to have an influence."

That's also the position of certain research organizations, such as the Center for International Cooperation in Agronomic Research for Development (CIRAD). "The definition is not sufficiently rigorous, which leaves the door open for different ways of intensifying and for a vision of a more industrial agriculture," said Emmanuel Torquebiau, climate change task force director at CIRAD. "We're fighting within GACSA to assert our perspective."

## Danone and Walmart, New Defenders of Smart Agriculture

"We're proposing scientific studies that would allow us to verify what falls within ecological climate-smart agriculture and what is greenwashing," Torquebiau added. "It's a matter of staying within these networks to put some science in there, because there's a lot of smoke screens."

CIRAD, which works mainly with countries in the global South, encourages ecological agricultural practices, such as permanent ground cover in order to increase organic matter, trap carbon dioxide and limit recourse to fertilizers. INRA, the National Institute for Agricultural Research, also a GACSA member, encourages agroforestry, for example, by planting "cereal grains under trees to better resist dryness."

However, the battle between agroecology and industrial agriculture is strongly tilted within the alliance, which contains a strong private sector representation. In addition to active members such as Danone, the alliance contains the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, which includes many multinationals. According to the NGOs, about 60 percent of GACSA members are from the fertilizer private sector. meeting for climate-smart agriculture in Montpellier, French Minister of Agriculture Stéphane Le Foll emphasized that soils can act as "carbon sinks."

"The more you increase organic matter in your soils, the more you store greenhouse gas," he said. "Moreover, you increase vields!"

The government has launched an international research program entitled "4 for 1,000." By increasing compensating for private companies' greenhouse gas emissions, along the lines of Air France's project in the forests of Madagascar. "Carbon finance and financial investors are entrusted with a central role," the association Attac and the Confédération Paysanne [Peasant Confederation] deplore in a common memorandum on climate-smart agriculture. "Yet these measures have demonstrated their ineffectiveness and inability to generate a post-carbon transition. There's no reason why it should be any different in agriculture."

### **Climate-Smart Agriculture: A New Avatar of Greenwashing?**

A few days before the opening of COP21, civil society organizations asked governments not to recognize "climate-smart agriculture" as a possible solution to climate change, a position shared by the [French] secretary of state for the development of Francophonie who insisted in September 2014 that GACSA "not come interfere and interject itself into the climate negotiations." Contacted by Basta!, the [French] Agriculture Ministry emphasized that climatesmart agriculture could appear on the "solutions agenda," a text assembling the commitments of non-state actors, which could appear alongside the agreement negotiated in Paris.

"The 4 for 1,000 initiative already appears in that agenda," Jeanne-Maureen Jorand said. A roundtable on low-carbon technologies (LCPTI), sponsored by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development and supported by the French government, also appears on the agenda. Among those invited to this figures none roundtable other than - Monsanto!

"It's a catastrophe," Jor and said. "The government is in the process of institutionalizing this agenda of solutions and of validating climate-smart agriculture without any criteria and without any discussion." Questioned on this topic, the Agriculture Ministry declined to comment.



Emblematic of their strategy, Walmart, the world leader in retail distribution, wants to reduce emissions by associating its suppliers with the "fertilizer optimization" programs developed by Yara.

Concretely, the orange plantations of PepsiCo, a Walmart supplier, must now use Yara's nitrogen fertilizers labeled "lowcarbon footprint." Supposed to lead to less runoff, these fertilizers aim to "avoid a situation where only organically produced food would gain the climate brand of approval," explains Yara.

### "Carbon Finance" Attacks Agriculture

Invited last March to the third

the soil's carbon-stocking capacity by 0.4 percent per year through the implementation of certain not-yetdefined agricultural practices, this project strives to absorb and store 75 percent of greenhouse gas emissions, and, in addition, to restore depleted croplands, notably in the arid and near-arid zones of the African continent.

"Given the figures I've made public," Le Foll said, "the stakes more than justify the risk - and would also warrant that we finance tomorrow's techniques, developments and production models through the carbon market." If it succeeds, the 4 for 1,000 project could also become a tool for

### **EXPLOITATION**

# Bare Foot of Human

### Harsh Mander

ehru, a hali or traditional debt-bonded labourer in Ratlam, Madhya Pradesh, worked hard as an attached agricultural labourer, day in and day out, in the cattle shed, household, and farm of his master. 'He tended to the cattle, fed them, milked the cows and also attended to many odd jobs like ploughing the field, sowing, harvesting, carting, threshing, stacking the crops in the barn, and transporting them to the Ratlam market. He worked for 16 hours daily, had no overtime and spread over, no holiday and was heavily fined for each day of his absence, which was debited to his wage account. Even when he fell sick, he was dragged out of his hovel to attend to the master. If ever the master gave him some medicine, the cost was debited to his account. This is how his indebtedness increased. The master did not give Behru any food but allowed Behru to arrange to bring the food from his home. The food comprised two makki rotis without any vegetable or dal but only some salt. The earthly possessions of Behru were of an earthen hut with a mud floor, one set of dhoti and turban, a cotton sari for his wife and one set of garments for the children, a tin mug and bucket, a torn mattress, a mat, an earthen pot to store corn and two earthen cooking pots'.

### **Still Thriving**

The illumination of freedom and democracy, the robust safeguards of the Constitution, strict prohibitions of the law, an activist judiciary and committed human rights movement, international covenants, and the transformations of capitalist economic growth, all have been powerless to end bonded work, the hidden slavery of millions of such indigent workers in the Indian republic.

Lakshmidhar Mishra, a retired civil servant currently working with the National Human Rights Commission, has compiled many stories like Behru's in a monumental treatise *Human Bondage: Tracing its Roots in India* (Sage, 2011). Combining humanist sensitivity with the diligence of a committed public servant, and a



careful reading of the law, his book is an encyclopaedic record of labour unfreedoms, past and present. In his learned manuscript, lit with rare compassion, and grounded in sound practical knowledge of the working of government, Mishra takes us on a harrowing journey of helpless and hopeless pauperisation, and profound failures of the State to protect its most vulnerable people.

Mishra traces ancient roots to contemporary forms of bonded labour in India. Slavery in ancient India was an integral and an essential feature of the inequitable social structure. Kautilya in Arthasastra recognises debt bondage of dasas, or slaves reduced to slavery for food; and other forms of slavery as well: dasas as gift, property, mortgage and by judicial decree. A dasa cannot be released from his dasa status except at the master's will, in cases where servitude is inter-generational. Manu added a new category of dasas, under which parents take a loan, or advance, and barter away the services of their children to the creditor for bonded work. Manu links this to caste, maintaining slavery is the eternal destiny of the shudras who have been created by God with the sole purpose to serve the Brahmins. Members of the dwijas (twice-born castes such as Brahmins) could not be reduced to the status of slaves. A shudra should not be released from servitude as this is preordained for him.

The master had absolute control over a person. A dasa does not have the option or discretion of selling his labour in return for some remuneration (as he enters into servitude in return for the certainty of food for his biological survival). The status of women slaves, in ancient India in general and in the Vedic society in particular, was far more deplorable than that of their male counterparts. They also outnumbered male slaves. Women slaves were acquired by gift, abduction, and guru dakshina.

In this way, the author records that slavery in ancient India was an integral and an essential feature of the inequitable social structure. He finds that medieval India, from the 13th century onwards, did not mark any



major departure from the inequitable economic and social relationship which was obtained in ancient India. As a matter of fact, the period saw the emergence of domestic slavery and its growth to unimaginable heights. The gamut of economic changes during the colonial era was characterised by new land settlements, deindustrialisation, de-skilling of rural artisans and commercialisation. The three phenomena together led to the development of a very large section of agricultural proletariat, who often worked in conditions of bondage.

In independent India, Mishra records many moving case histories of bonded workers. He also reports the paradox of 500,000 labourers are trapped in various forms of bonded labour in Punjab; the onset of the Green Revolution since the 1960s, mechanisation of farming and influx of migrant labour (mostly from eastern India) has created much **surplus labour**. **Many of them are prepared to work at less than half the minimum wage rate.** Many labourers fall ill due to contact with pesticides and insecticides. This results in higher medical expenses and consequently debt. I too have observed such bondage widely in Punjab, but the administration refuses to acknowledge the existence of bonded labour system.

Mishra unravels the riddle of the perpetuation of unfree labour in free India, with a detailed and learned review of the cycles of unemployment, under-employment, income security, poverty, hunger, malnutrition, denial of minimum wages, distress migration, caste discrimination, illiteracy, the land tenure system, credit failures and indebtedness, aggravated by globalisation.

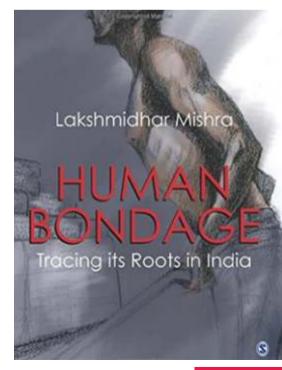
### **Hardest Hit**

He finds the harshest forms of bonded labour among children, who are mortgaged by impoverished parents against a loan, sometimes separated from their parents for life. He passionately opposes arguments that child labour will never be eliminated until poverty of parents has been fully eradicated. 'The people who argue thus do not realise that child labour itself is a major contributory factor to poverty. The vitality of children at work is sapped and they remain unlettered, unskilled, and unaware of their right to education and other rights as children. With bodies and minds so grievously bruised, these children cannot become productive, responsible, and responsive adults'.

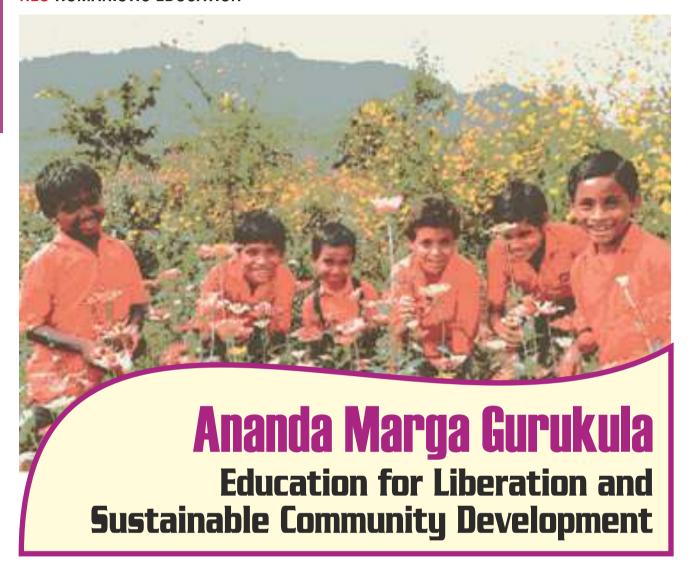
With the insider detail of a conscientious practitioner, Mishra painstakingly analyses why a host of progressive legislation, prohibiting forced, bonded and child labour, upholding minimum wages and protecting inter-state migration, have failed. This is despite supportive rulings by judges like P.N. Bhagawati who gave a broad, liberal, expansive meaning to the provisions of law protecting the freedom and dignity of workers.

It is only his suggested solutions at the close of the book which I found a little less convincing, in an otherwise magisterial treatise. Mishra believes with Justice Bhagawati in the primacy of law to enforce social justice for these 'exiles from civilisation. He calls for amelioration, bringing about a qualitative improvement and change in the lives of the bonded labourers after they have been released from the shackles and fetters of bondage. The bonded labourers are the poorest of the poor and weakest of the weak. They should be the first beneficiaries in any poverty alleviation or employment promotion scheme. He seeks prevention, by massive programmes for education, micro-credit, land reforms, and training of executive magistrates charged with implementing the law. These suggestions are unexceptionable, but insufficient for a scourge which has survived for centuries in one of the most unequal societies in the world.

I desperately hope, like the author, that this practice of monumental injustice so deeply embedded in our troubled civilisational legacies, will end in our lifetimes. But I still cannot see how.



### **NEO HUMANISTIC EDUCATION**



Acarya Dhanjoo N. Ghista

Education is the primary vehicle for advancement of backward communities. The philosophy of Neo-Humanism is the backbone of the Ananda Marga Gurukula Education system.

oday, Ananda Nagar is a timeless land whose mystic beauty stands as a witness for the human drama prevalent within it. Ananda Marga Gurukula is committed to transforming Ananda Nagar into a vibrant and sustainable Neo Humanist community by providing living security to the people.

### **VISION**

Education for Knowledge and Discovery, Liberation and Evolution, Human Wellbeing and Society Building, Enlightenment and Service.

### Mission

- 1. To promote knowledge and discovery, humanitarian thinking and cosmic outlook.
- 2. To serve as a model for the role of university in community development, in Ananda Nagar.
- 3. To educate the 'whole student', by inspiring them to (i) be community builders and world citizens, (ii) advance human development in all realms, to build bridges and bring people together, (iii) solve problems of poverty and healthcare, (iii) take care of the well being of all living beings including all animals, and through it all

to build a new era of advanced human civilization.

- 4. To sow the seeds for cultivating a happy living world, without suffering due to poverty and disease, religious and social discrimination, old age neglect and isolation.
- 5. To develop the structure of smart political governance, sans political parties.
- 6. To develop the basis and implementation of economic democracy, PROUT, for the economic liberation of human beings and the universal well-being of all—including plants and animals.
- 7. To bring sunshine in the lives of the people of Rarh and Ananda Nagar.
- 8. To develop the University campus as a ideal garden-city, inspiring everyone to come together based on the concept of Sam'gacchadhvam' Sam'vadadhvam, to develop a cosmic and spiritual civilization.

### **Ananda Nagar:**

### The Dreamland

Ananda Nagar is situated in the north-eastern part of India, in the heart of "Rarh". It is one of the most underdeveloped regions of India, covering Purulia and the neighboring districts of Bengal, Singhbhum and the adjoining areas of Bihar and Orissa. However, Rarh was the starting point of civilization and was once covered by dense forests. Its villages, named Baglat (meaning abode of tigers in creepers and shrubs), Singhagra (the roaring of lions), and Dimidiha (a place covered with eggs and where

Siberian birds used to lay eggs), bear testimony to that glorious past.

A hill stands southwest of Ananda Nagar named Asthi Pahad (Fossil Hill), which contains ancient fossils, including those of dinosaurs. The great Maharshi Kapila was born in Pat Jhalda (23 kilometers southwest of Ananda Nagar) 3,500 years ago. Maharshi Kapila was not only the first philosopher of the world but also the inventor of algebra and geometry.

Today Ananda Nagar is a dreamland – the dreamland for seekers for peace and tranquillity, the dreamland of educators – of teachers and education-conscious students and guardians. Alighting at the quaint Pundag Railway Station, one proceeds towards central Ananda Nagar, which is being developed between the rivers Daksina and Uttara, gently flowing down the rugged terrain.

### The Changing Landscape

With the setting up of Ananda Marga Gurukula, this prehistoric landscape will reverberate with the neohumanistic endeavours of Gurukula educators and students, to bring about all-round renaissance in the civilization of its forgotten people, through agriculture and farming, engineering and minning, healthcare and education, literature and itihasa, linguistics and fine arts, all based on the foundations of supra-aesthetic and Tantra science.

Ananda Nagar is composed of a total of some fifty-five villages. The emergence of Gurukula township will take these villages into the modern but Neohumanistic age, through the influence of the various Gurukula institutions in the areas of medical treatment, agroresearch, veterinary care, cultural activities and training in the Tantra yoga of their ancestors.

### **Ananda Nagar Project Founding**

The Ananda Nagar project took birth in 1962, as the vision of **Sadguru Shrii Prabhat R. Sarkar.** Our goal is to make Ananda Nagar the economic, cultural, educational and spiritual capital for those desiring a happy blending of the synthetic outlook of the East and the analytical rigour of the West.

The Ananda Nagar project is in fact an attempt to build an oasis in the midst of this desert caused by human neglect and exploitative mentality. In order to take Ananda Nagar and its neighbouring poorest districts of the West Bengal (especially Purulia and Bankura) and Jharkhand out of the vicious cycle of poverty, attention has first to be given to guarantee the minimum requirements of life to the people, and to provide to them sociocultural, healthcare, employment and economic security. Towards this end, Sadguru Prabhat R. Sarkar outlined the detailed planning for economic sustainability of every single part of Ananda Nagar aside from giving general information about the development of its surrounding districts and region.

Education is the primary vehicle for advancement of backward communities. The philosophy of **Neo-Humanism** is the backbone of the Ananda Marga Gurukula Education system. If humanism accepts humanity as one and indivisible, Neo-Humanism





goes beyond it and declares that the future of all co-existing human beings, as well as of animals and plants is woven together. The ecologists of the day accept this fact, and the world is becoming increasingly aware of oncoming ecological disasters, due to the recklessness and selfishness of human culture.

Under the slogan Education for All, Gurukula can bring education to Ananda Nagar and other economically neglected areas. "Education for all" emphasizes a clear understanding of the deep relationship between humans, other living entities and the environment and, at the same time, promotes the development of the subtle expression of the inner-self.

### **Gurukula Founding**

Ananda Marga Gurukula (AMGU) was founded by Sadguru Shrii Prabhat Rainjan Sarkar on September 7, 1990, just prior to His Holy departure on October 21, 1990. The Gurukula is an initiative to remold the contemporary educational systems in light of Neo-Humanism, a philosophy that extends the love of the human heart to all people, plant life, animal life, and the inanimate world. Ananda Marga Gurukula was defined by Rev. Baba in great detail. Herein, we are summarizing it.

Aim of Ananda Marga Gurukula: "To serve humanity with Neo-Humanism spirit and to acquire knowledge for that purpose".

### Central Organisational Structure of Ananda Marga Gurukula

President and Purodha Pramukha is the Highest Authority of AMGK

Cakradhuri (AMGK steering body and Mahasamiti—Faculty Senate)

Kulapati Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Upa Kulapati

Mahasachiv Registrar Office Secretary, Karyalaya Varga Pratinidhis - Academic Controllers,

### **Faculties**

Tantra Studies, Bengali, English, Hindi, Samskrta; Philosophy, Psychology,

History, Archeology, Ecology; Teachers Training, Moral Teaching, Journalism, NHE, Socio-Economic Liberation of Women, Economics, Political Science, Law, Music, Fine Arts, Health & Sports, Anthropology, Geology & Mining; Commerce, Home Science, Chemistry, Bio-Science, Zoology, Botany, Math, Physics, Statistics, Integrated Medicine (Allopathy, Homeopathy, Electro Homeopathy; Ayurveda, Naturopathy, Acupuncture, Chandsi), Scientific Research, Farming, Veterinary Medicine; Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Industry were the initial departments mandated by Shrii Sarkar.

### 1. Ananda Marga Gurukula for Ananda Nagar Renaissance

Ananda Marga Gurukula constitutes an integral component of the Ananda Nagar Holistic Development project. Its educational, social, infrastructural farming, industrial, and community development programs are meant to impact all aspects of Ananda Nagar transformation: socio-culturally, agriculturally and industrially, economically, healthcare, and education (from primary to tertiary), from enhancing literacy to spiritual rejuvenation.

The educational system at Ananda Nagar is based on Neohumanism. This innovative philosophy of Ananda Nagar's and Gurukula's founder Sadguru Shrii Prabhat R. Sarkar is based on spiritual values. It accepts that the destinies of all existences; including human beings, animals, plants and inanimate objects, are tightly woven together. All must be properly cared for, if we are to avoid or at least reduce a rapidly approaching global ecological catastrophe.

Gurukula is the traditional name for residential universities and educational centers in ancient India. involving holistic education combining knowledge imparting and enlightenment development. Ananda Marga Gurukula University is being created in the Tantric and bhakti tradition, which will apply

Neohumanist values in all areas of academic and professional life. This monumental project constitutes a model of how to transform an impoverished community into a vibrant sustainable community, having:

- Education and healthcare;
- ❖ Farms and agro-industry;
- **.** Community infrastructure: electricity, telephone system, water supply, roads;
- IT, pharmacy, banking, computer and hand-phone manufacturing industries;
  - Employment guarantee;
- ❖ Socio-cultural and economic security.

Already, several hundred students are attending various primary and secondary level educational institutions at Ananda Nagar. The present College of Arts and Sciences will be developed into a comprehensive Gurukula Faculty of Arts, Science and Education.

Now, we are planning to set up the following six Colleges:

- 1. Ananda Marga Gurukula Faculty of Arts, Science and Education (FASED)
- 2. Ananda Marga (Gurukula) Institute of Technology (AMIT)
- 3. Ananda Marga Gurukula Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences (FMHS)
- 4. Ananda Marga Gurukula Faculty of Farming, Veterinary Science and Agro-Industrial Development (FFVSAID)
- 5. Ananda Marga Gurukula Faculty of Industrial Development and Business Management (FIDBM)
- 6. Ananda Marga Gurukula Faculty of Law and Governance (FLAWGOV)
- 2. Gurukula's Role for making Ananda Nagar's multifaceted development to be sustainable:

The modern concept of colleges and universities is that they should also be agents of social transformation. So in keeping with this enhanced theme and purpose of academic institutions, we are setting up our Gurukula Faculties to be intrinsically involved in community

development and its social transformation from its present impoverished state to a sustainable community, providing socioeconomic security to its people.

### **Gurukula Faculties Mission** for Multi-faceted Development of Ananda Nagar:

These Colleges will be contributing to the transformation of Ananda Nagar into a sustainable community and bringing sunshine into the lives of its poor forgotten people. All the Faculties will offer bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees in their respective fields.

The Faculty of Arts, Science and Education (FASED) will **Comprise of:** School of Humanities and Social Sciences (including Neohumanism and PROUT); School of Physical, Biological and Life Sciences (including Microvita): School of Education; School of Women's Rights and Empowerment; School of Sports Science; School of Spiritual Science (including Tantra, Bhakti and Prabhat Samgiita). The Faculty will contribute to (i) the cultural renaissance of Ananda Nagar's community, (ii) teach students to integrate the disciplines of Literature & Arts, History & Sociology, and Philosophy & Psychology into a Humanities bloc, to enable them to develop the outlook and means for individual and collective welfare, and (iii) enable students to understand and appreciate the mechanisms of natural phenomena and processes that they encounter in day-to-day living. The School of Education will offer M.Ed degree in Education for school teachers; it will also set up new schools for girls, with a comprehensive curriculum to prepare them for college education in all the disciplines; we can even consider having a separate College of Education.

The Ananda Marga Institute of Technology (AMIT) will Comprise of: Departments of Civil & Environmental Engineering, Biomedical & Clinical Engineering, Mechanical & Production Engineering, Electrical & Electronic Engineering, Waste Management Engineering, Chemical & Materials Engineering, Renewable Solar & Wind Power Engineering, Agricultural & Food Production Engineering. The prime remit of AMIT is to undertake the responsibility for infra structural development of Ananda Nagar, ranging from water supply and irrigation systems to electrical power supply using renewable energy resources. This Faculty will also be involved in making the campuses of all the Facilities into eco-villages.

The Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences (FMHS) will address the hitherto unfulfilled need for healthcare for the entire Ananda Nagar community and Purulia District, through its Central Hospital and Primary-care Clinics, by means of which medical and healthcare will be reached to all the corners of the community. The Faculty will comprise of (i) School of Medicine, providing integrated medical education (in Allopathy, Homeopathy, Ayurveda) for MBBS and MD degrees, MD-PhD (Medical Sciences) and MD-PhD (Biomedical Engineering, Biophysics, Biochemistry) degrees; (ii) School of Nursing, offering BS, MS and PhD degrees; (iii) School of Health Sciences, offering MSc and PhD degrees and MD-PhD studies (Mind-Body Medicine) (iv) School of Healthcare Management, offering MS and MD-MBA (Hospital & Healthcare Management) degrees.

The Faculty of Farming, Veterinary Science and Agro-Industrial Development (FFV **SAID)** will provide food and occupational security to the region, by (i) providing to the local farmers, advanced methods on farming science and technology, for agricultural and horticultural produces, medicinal and bio fuel plants, and (ii) promoting the development of agro-industries, for a variety of products ranging from food and clothing to medicines. The Faculty will comprise of School of Farming, School of Veterinary Science, and School of Agro-Industrial Development. The College's academic programs will be oriented to promote self-



reliance to the region, by its orientation to food production

The Faculty of Industrial Development and Business Management (FIDBM) will comprise of Schools of Business Management, Industrial Development, Public Administration, Hospital Management and City management. Its prime remit is to (i) foster and manage the cooperative industrial development of Ananda Nagar township for its economic growth, and (ii) attract companies to Ananda Nagar to facilitate this development. This will be done as per the extensive development plans for Ananda Nagar given by Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

The Faculty of Law and Governance (FLAWGOV) will provide the legal framework for industrial development of Ananda Nagar, respecting indigenous land and natural-resources rights. The Faculty will offer LLB, LLM and LLD degrees in all fields of Law: Civil Rights, Criminal Law, Cooperatives Law, Employment and Labour Law, Environmental and Natural Resources Law, Family and Juvenile Law, Intellectual Property Law, International Law, Real Estate Law, Tax Law, Rural Property Law and Human, Animal and Earth Rights Law. The College has hence a very important role in (i) not only providing education in all these fields, but also in (ii) providing legal implementation of constitutional rights and protection of the rural communities' land rights. It will also work with the State Government in eliciting funding for infrastructure development and farming irrigation system.

### 3 Gurukula and Ananda Nagar

Through this integral project of "Ananda Marga Gurukula University and Ananda Nagar Township Development", we will implement an enlightened concept of human society, as embodied in the almost 8 millennium old shloka of "Samgacchadhavam", meaning "Let us move together".

We want to develop this project, as a model of how to transform poor communities into progressive communities, in which everyone will work together to collectively develop human potentialities and land resources. We can then employ this project as a model for sustainable development of Developing countries.

### V. Our Vision for Gurukula University is to:

- 1. Develop cosmic knowledge and outlook.
- 2. Provide the basis for a new human society and civilization on this planet—above materialism and capitalism, eliminating poverty and suffering, ending discrimination and

persecution.

3. Develop a heightened spiritual civilization on this planet, in which people can live happily and divinely.

The lotus flower grows in muddy waters and rises above the surface to bloom with remarkable beauty, fixedly gazing at the moon—its inspirational ideal. Untouched by the impurity, the lotus flower symbolizes the sustained purity of heart and mind under the most adverse circumstances. Likewise let us live untouched by the muddy landscape ground us by fixedly gazing at Baba and invoking his divine Grace.

With this culture at heart, the mission given by Shrii Sarkar for Ananda Marga Gurukula will move forward with greater acceleration from now onwards. Shrii Sarkar gave the essence of this movement saying,

"From this very auspicious moment, you should take a vow to progress individually and collectively and build a new society on the planet Earth. We have come to build a new society, to construct and to remain engaged in constructive works throughout our life. This would be the greatest mission of our life." (Gurukul: History and Planning)

# PRINDEX TRIAL DATA SHEDS Light on Tenure Insecurity in India

Dr. Soumya Chattopadhyay

The
writer takes a
look at Prindex's 2017
trial data from India, and
raises questions to drive
future research.

In October, Prindex will publish our first full tranche of data from 15 countries worldwide, and a total of 33 by the year's end. While preparing our final survey, we conducted two trial runs, including one in India, Colombia and Tanzania in 2017. That data provides an insight into some of the questions that our full survey data – eventually to cover around 140 countries – may help answer.

Prindex's 2017 field-test in India gathered results from 17,000 individuals in 20 states and three Union Territories (out of a total 29 states and seven Union Territories) in a nationally representative sample.

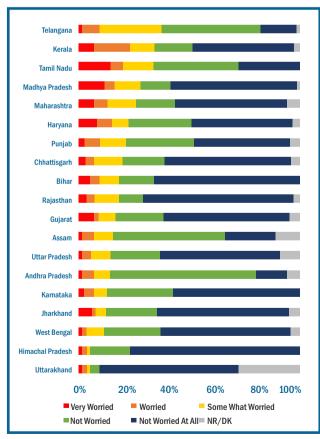
Our central survey question was: "How worried are you that you could lose the right to use this [dwelling] property or part of this property against your will in the next five years?" Respondents could rank their degree of worry across five possibilities, ranging from "very worried" to "not worried at all".

Our initial analysis identified patterns and differences in perceived tenure security of the dwelling they lived in, across the 20 states and between rural and urban areas within states, and raised questions about what might be driving these.

### **Interstate Variations in Perception of Insecurity**

There is remarkable variation across Indian states in the proportion of respondents who feel some degree of worry of losing rights their home: it ranges from over 37 percent in Telangana to less than 5 percent in Uttarakhand. However, the overall level of worry is not necessarily related to the intensity of worry in each state: Jharkhand, where around 12 percent of respondents were somewhat-to-very worried about losing their property, had a higher proportion of people who were very worried than Telangana. Nearly 47 percent of the total worried) in Jharkhand were "very worried, versus only 5 percent of all respondents in Telangana feeling insecure.

Figure 1: The remarkable variation in perception of insecurity between states



Note: For comparability between states, this chart excludes the state of Goa and the Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi NCR and Puducherry that have little or no rural land.

Proportion of respondents in the state indicating different degrees of worry of eviction from current dwelling in the next 5 years; states are sorted on the vertical axis in decreasing order of perceived "insecurity".

### Some Obvious Causes of Interstate Variations

An initial glance at the differences between states highlights two potential drivers: variations in legal and policy frameworks; and different levels and concentrations of economic activity and population. A deeper analysis of the range of potential factors affecting tenure security across states requires additional data and research.

Legal and policy frameworks: in India, individual states are vested with the power to legislate and administer land-related property rights – particularly those pertaining to ownership and taxation. This has resulted in significant interstate differences in the legal and policy framework on land rights. Combined with variations in how they are administered and enforced, this can create different levels of how secure people feel about being able to hold onto their land and property.

Demographics and

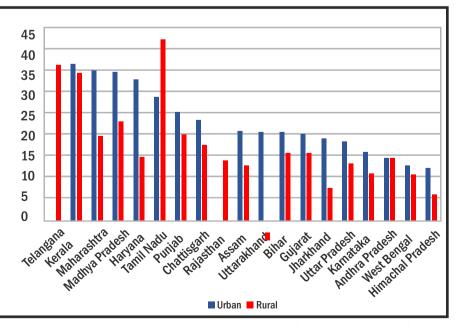
economics: another hypothesis is that in states with higher concentrations of economic activities and population, the greater pressure on land in turn drives up levels of insecurity and worry.

### The Rural-urban Divide in Perceived Tenure Security

PRIndex's data revealed that rates of perceived insecurity about an individual's dwelling are higher in urban areas compared to rural areas across 18 of the 19 states presented below. With the exception of Tamil Nadu, where rates of worry of eviction in rural areas exceeded that in urban areas by 14 percentage points, urban respondents felt more in secure than their rural counterparts, albeit with wide variations of difference:

- ❖ Rates of urban insecurity range from 39 percent in Telangana to 12 percent in Himachal Pradesh; and
- ❖ Differences between rates of perceived tenure insecurity in urban and rural vary from being less than 1 percentage point in Andhra Pradesh, to being 13 times more likely in urban than in rural areas in Uttarakhand.

Figure 2: Dwelling insecurity is more prevalent in urban locations



Note: For comparability between states, this chart excludes the state of Goa and the Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi NCR and Puducherry that have little rural land. Proportion of respondents in the state indicating different degrees of worry of eviction from current dwelling in the next 5 years; states are sorted in decreasing order of perceived urban "insecurity".

### Possible Causes of Ruralurban Differences in Perceived Tenure Security

Beyond the disparities in statelevel land tenure policy design and implementation, a probable explanation for greater urban insecurity is higher pressure of urban population density – both in terms of people per unit area, as well as urban population as a proportion of the total state population. Figure 3 plots rates of tenure insecurity in urban areas against urban population as proportion of state population, and demonstrates a positive relationship between the two: states with a higher proportion of urban population report higher urban dwelling insecurity, a correlation of 0.53.

## Figure 3: Higher urban density might drive dwelling insecurity

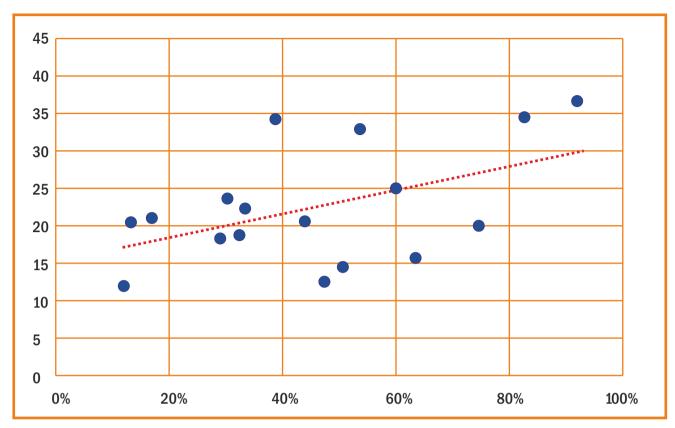
Proportion of urban respondents feeling some sort of worry of eviction from current dwelling in the next 5 years on the vertical axis; urban population as proportion of state population on the horizontal axis.

Other data sources: India Census 2011 in Office of Registrar General of India, Ministry of Home Affairs and Central Statistics Office, Government of India.

Other future analysis could explore complementary hypotheses to explain these interstate differences, such as differences in population density as well as the state-level economic growth rates.

## Using New Prindex Data to Inform Future Research Agendas

An initial look at the Prindex data in India has enabled us to flag potential links between tenure insecurity and different variables, such as legal and policy frameworks, different levels of



Note: For comparability between states, this chart excludes the state of Goa and the Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi NCR and Puducherry that have little rural land.

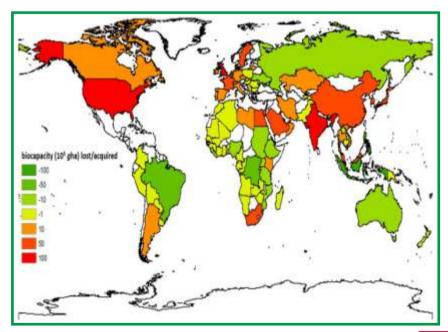
economic development and demographics. Some of the results identify areas of concern, particularly the higher rates of tenure insecurity in urban areas compared to rural areas, when many states are experiencing rapid urbanisation.

There remains a rich seam of analysis to be explored in the Prindex data on India, and the data on 33 countries that will be published in early 2019.

For example, our analysis here is not a reflection of insecurity about non-dwelling agricultural land that is expected to be of greater importance in rural communities. Land tenure security among farmers is a significant and important area of research — feeding into existing literature on its significance as a pathway out of poverty for poorer segments of the population that are often engaged in agriculture.

By complementing data on perception of security of dwelling with that of other land holdings (agricultural farm or other economic land) as well as more detailed socioeconomic indicators of the households, we expect the Prindex database to offer a rich and deep understanding of the levels and drivers of perception of land security that has not been feasible so far. Assessments based on Prindex can form an important part of the toolkit for policy designers and administrators as they take on the complex challenge of reducing and eventually eradicating poverty from their countries.

Soumya Chattopadhyay is a Prindex researcher at the Overseas Development Institute in London



### **MONEY MATTERS**

The monetary system we have inherited is more than 2,000 years old. The German word for money, which is "Geld," links it rather precisely to its origin which was gold.

# Four Basic Misconceptions about MONEY

### Margrit Kennedy

very day almost everyone on this planet uses money. Yet few people understand how money works and affects their lives directly and indirectly. Let us, therefore, take a closer look at what money is and what would happen without it.

First, the good news: Money is one of the most ingenious inventions of humankind, as it helps the exchange of goods and services and overcomes the limits of barter, that is, the direct exchange of goods and services. For example, if you live in a village which relies entirely on barter, and you produce works of art but there is nobody to exchange your artwork with except the undertaker, you will soon have to change your occupation or leave. Thus, money creates the possibility for specialization, which is the basis of civilization. Then why do we have a "money problem"?

Here comes the bad news: Money does not only help the exchange of goods and services but can also hinder the exchange of goods and services by being kept in the hands of those who have more than they need. Thus it creates a private toll gate where those who have less than they need pay a fee to those who have more money than they need. This is by no means a "fair deal." In fact, our

present monetary systems could be termed "unconstitutional" in most democratic nations, as I will show later.

### **Some Lessons from History**

The monetary system we have inherited is more than 2,000 years old. The German word for money, which is "Geld," links it rather precisely to its origin which was gold. Gold, a fairly useless metal except for jewelry and ornaments, became the preferred exchange medium around 700 B.C. in the Roman Empire. Money always meant coinage. This was the concept which was incorporated in the U.S. Constitution. Gold and silver coins (or their depository receipts) were the only fully legal tender in the U.S.A. until 1934. To this day, many people--mainly those who see the disadvantages of the practically unlimited possibilities for creating paper money- favor a return to the gold standard for money.

There is no money system in the world now which is based on the gold standard. John Maynard Keynes, who was well acquainted with Silvio Gesell's work, helped to eliminate this barrier to a wellfunctioning economy in the 1930s. What he forgot to advocate, however, was the other essential ingredient: the replacement of interest by a circulation fee. This is largely why we are in trouble now and will be at regular intervals until we have learned the lesson.

In order to show how difficult a deep understanding of monetary issues really is, I would like to sketch out a few historic examples to illuminate this point.

### Brakteaten Money in Medieval Europe

Between the 12th and the 15th century in Europe a money system was used called "Brakteaten." Issued by the respective towns, bishops and sovereigns, it not only helped the exchange of goods and services but also provided the means of collecting taxes. Every year the thin coins made from gold and silver were "recalled," one to three times re-minted and devalued on an average about 25 % in the process.

Since nobody wanted to keep this money, people instead invested in furniture, solidly built houses, artwork and anything else that promised to keep or increase its value. During that time, some of the most beautiful sacred and profane works of art and architecture came into existence. "For while monied wealth could not accumulate, real wealth was created."

We still think of this time as one of the cultural culmination points in European history. Craftsmen worked a five-day week, the "blue" Monday was introduced and the standard of living was high. In addition, there were hardly any feuds and wars between the various realms of power.

However, people obviously disliked the money which lost so much at regular intervals. Finally, towards the end of the 15th century, the "eternal" penny was introduced and with it came interest and accumulation of wealth in the hands of increasingly fewer **people,** as well as the accompanying social and economic problems. The lesson here is that taxes should be levied separately and not connected with the circulation fee on money.

### The Weimar Republic and the **Gold Standard**

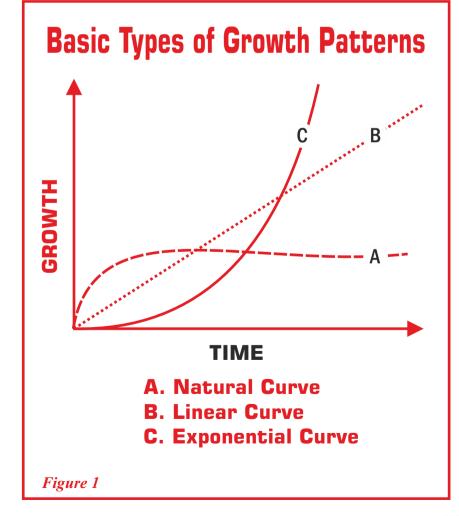
During the Weimar Republic (1924-33), the central bank's president, Hjalmat Schacht, had the desire to create an "honest" currency in Germany which - in his understanding meant a return to the gold standard. Since he could not buy enough gold on the world market adequate to the amount of money in circulation, he began to reduce the latter. The shorter supply of money resulted in rising interest rates, thereby reducing the incentives and possibilities for investment, forcing firms into bankruptcy, and increasing unemployment, which led to the growth of radicalism and finally helped Hitler to gain more and more power.

This development had been foreseen by Silvio Gesell - although for different reasons. Already in 1918, shortly after World War I, when everybody talked about peace and many international organizations were created to secure that peace, Gesell published the following warning in a letter to the editor of the newspaper "Zeitung am Mittag" in Berlin:

"In spite of the holy promise of all people to banish war, once and for all, in spite of the cry of millions 'Never a war again,' in spite of all the hopes for a better future, I have this to say: If the present monetary system, based on interest and compound interest, remains in operation, I dare to predict today, that it will take less than 25 years for us to have a new and even worse war. I can foresee the coming development clearly. The present degree of technological advancement will quickly result in a record performance of industry. The buildup of capital will be rapid in spite of the enormous losses during the war, and through its over-supply will lower the interest rate. Money will then be hoarded. Economic activities will diminish and increasing numbers of unemployed persons will roam the streets ... within the discontented masses, wild, revolutionary ideas will arise and also the poisonous plant called "Super-Nationalism" will proliferate. No country will understand the other, and the end can only be war again.

Seen historically after the facts, money was made to be in short supply by the central bank and hoarded by private people. The effects were disastrous. Yet up to this day, central bankers seem to be ignorant of the fundamental cure for problems they face every day.

Before going into more detail let me say that there are probably more than just four misconceptions about money. Our beliefs about money represent a fairly exact mirror of our beliefs about the world in which we live, and those are as varied as the number of people who live on this planet. However, the four misconceptions which will be discussed in the following pages are the most common hindrances to understanding why we must change the present money system and what mechanisms we need inorder to replace it.



### First Misconception

### There is Only One Type of Growth

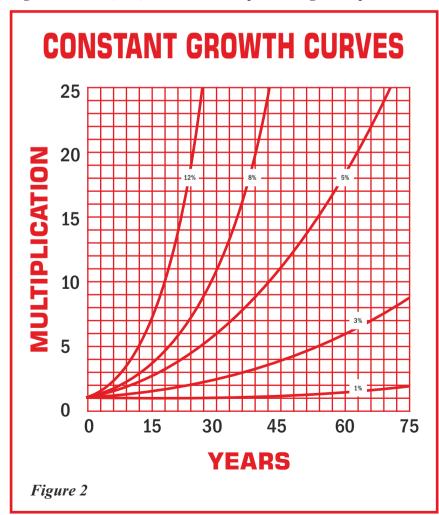
The first misconception relates to growth. We tend to believe that there is only one type of growth, that is, the growth pattern of nature which we have experienced ourselves. Figure 1, however, shows three generically different patterns:

Curve A represents an idealized form of the normal physical growth pattern in nature which our bodies follow, as well as those of plants and animals. We grow fairly quickly during the early stages of our lives, then begin to slow down in our teens, and usually stop growing physically when we are about twenty-one. This, however, does not preclude us from growing further -"qualitatively" instead of "quantitatively."

Curve B represents a mechanical or linear growth pattern, e.g., more machines produce more goods, more coal produces more energy. It comes to an end when the machines are stopped, or no more coal is added.

Curve C represents an exponential growth pattern which may be described as the exact opposite to curve A in that it grows very slowly in the beginning, then continually faster, and finally in an almost vertical fashion. In the physical realm, this growth pattern usually occurs where there is sickness or death. Cancer, for instance, follows an exponential growth pattern. It grows slowly first, although always accelerating, and often by the time it has been dis- covered it has entered a growth phase where it cannot be stopped. Exponential growth in the physical realm usually ends with the death of the host and the organism on which it depends.

Based on interest and compound interest, our money doubles at regular intervals, i.e., it follows an exponential growth pattern. This



### **EXAMPLES OF THE** WITHIN NORMAL

1. **Garbage Collection Fees** 

Examples of the city of Aachen, 1983

- Depreciation, fixed, personnel and miscellaneous costs
- Cost of interest on capital Fees for a 110 sere garbage can:
- 2. **Drinking Water Costs**

**Examples of a northern German water** 

- A. **Energy costs**
- B. Plant maintenance
- C. Water treatment
- D. Personnel and fixed costs
- E. Depreciation
- F. Cost of interest on capital Price per cubic metre: DM 135
- 3. Use of Drains/Sewage Costs

Example of the city of Aachen, 1983

- **Fixed costs**
- Personnel costs
- C. Depreciation
- Cost of interest on capital Price per cubic metre: DM 1.87
- 4. Cost of Rent in Public Housing

Calculations of the Federal Office of

- A. **Risk and Profit**
- B. Administration and running costs
- C. **Building maintenance costs**
- D. Depreciation
- Cost of interest on capital Rent per square metre: DM 13.40

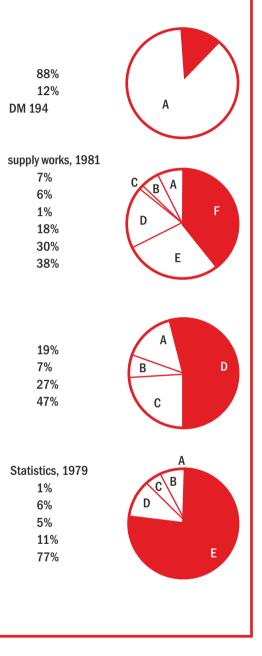
Figure 3

explains why we are in trouble with our monetary system today. Interest, in fact, acts like cancer in our social structure

Figure 2: shows the time periods needed for our money to double at compound interest rates:

> at 3%, 24 years; at 6%, 12 years;

## AMOUNT OF INTEREST PRICES & FEES



at 12%, 6 years.

Even at 1% compound interest, we have an exponential growth curve, with a doubling time of 72 years.

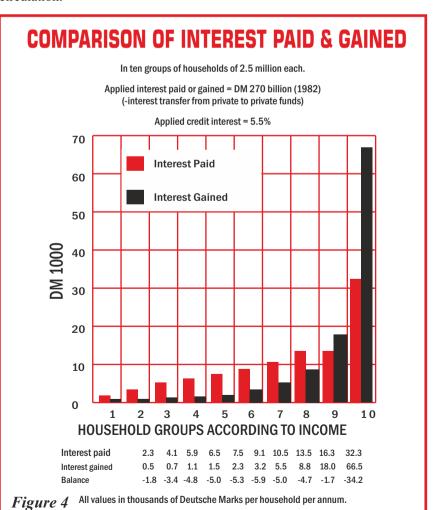
Through our bodies we have only experienced the physical growth pattern of nature which stops at an optimal size (Curve A). Therefore, it is difficult for human beings to understand the full impact of the exponential growth pattern in the physical realm.

This phenomenon can best be demonstrated by the famous story of the Persian emperor who was so enchanted with a new chess game that he wanted to fulfill any wish the inventor of the game had. This clever mathematician decided to ask for one seed of grain on the first square m of the chess board doubling the amounts on each of the following squares. The emperor, at first happy about such modesty, was soon to discover that the total yield of his entire empire would not be sufficient to fulfil the "modest" wish. The amount needed on the 64th square of the chessboard equals 440 times the yield of grain of the entire planet.

A similar analogy, directly related to our topic, is that one penny invested at the birth of Jesus Christ at 4% interest would have bought in 1750 one ball of gold equal to the weight of the earth. In 1990, however, it would buy 8,190 balls of gold. At 5% interest it would have bought one ball of gold by the year 1466. By 1990, it would buy 2,200 billion balls of gold equal to the weight of the earth. The example shows the enormous difference 1% makes.

It also proves that the continual payment of interest and compound interest is arithmetically, as well as practically, impossible. The economic necessity and the mathematical impossibility create a contradiction which - in order to be resolved - has led to innumerable feuds, wars and revolutions in the past.

The solution to the problems caused by present exponential growth is to create a money system which follows the natural growth curve. That requires the replacement of interest by another mechanism to keep money in circulation.



Second Misconception

#### We Pay Interest only if We **Borrow Money**

A further reason why it is difficult for us to understand the full impact of the interest mechanism on our monetary system is that it works in a concealed way. Thus the second common misconception is that we pay interest only when we borrow money, and, if we want to avoid paying interest, all we need to do is avoid borrowing money.

Figure 3 shows that this is not true because interest is included in every price we pay. The exact amount varies according to the labor versus capital costs of the goods and services we buy. Some examples indicate the difference clearly. The capital share in garbage collection amounts to 12 % because here the share of capital costs is relatively low and the share of physical labor is particularly high. This changes in the provision of drinking water, where capital costs amount to 38 %, and even more so in social housing, where they add up to 77 %. On an average we pay about 50% capital costs in the prices of our goods and services.

Therefore, if we could abolish interest and replace it with another mechanism to keep money in circulation, most of us could either be twice as rich or work half of the time to keep the same standard of living we have now.

Third Misconception

#### In the Present Monetary System We Are All Equally **Affected by Interest**

A third misconception concerning our monetary system may be formulated as follows: Since everybody has to pay interest when borrowing money or buying goods and services, we are all equally well (or badly) off within our present monetary system.

Not true again. There are indeed huge differences as to who profits and who pays in this system. Figure 4 shows a comparison of the interest payments and income from interest in ten numerically equal sections of the German population. It indicates that the first eight sections of the population pay more than they receive, the ninth section receives slightly more than it pays, and the tenth receives about twice as much interest as it pays, i.e., the tenth receives the interest which the first eight sections have lost.

This explains graphically, in a very simple and straight-forward way, why "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

If we take a more precise look at the last 10% of the population in terms of income from interest. another exponential growth pattern emerges. For the last 1 % of the population the income column would have to be enlarged about 15 times. For the last 0.01 % it would have to be enlarged more than 2.000 times.

In other words, within our monetary system we allow the operation of a hidden redistribution mechanism which constantly shuffles money from those who have less money than they need to those who have more money than they need. This is a different and far more subtle and effective form of exploitation than the one Marx tried to overcome. There is no question that he was right in pointing to the source of the "added value" in the production sphere. The distribution of the "added value," however, happens to a large extent in the circulation sphere. This can be seen more clearly today than in his time. Ever larger amounts of money are concentrated in the hands of ever fewer individuals and corporations. For instance, the cash flow surplus, which refers to money floating around the world to wherever gains may be expected from changes in national currency or stock exchange rates, has more than doubled since 1980. The daily exchange of currencies in New York alone grew from \$18 billion to \$50 billion between 1980 and 1986. The World Bank has estimated that money transactions on a world wide scale

#### **DEVELOPMENT OF VARIOUS**

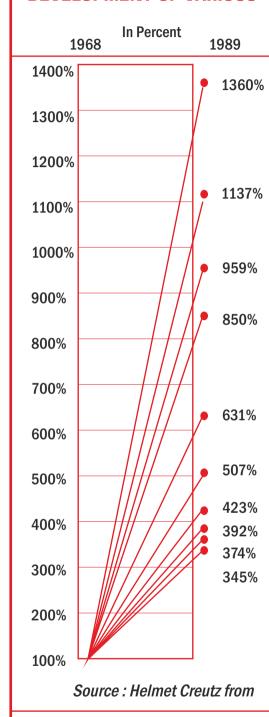


Figure 5

are from 15 to 20 times greater than necessary for financing world trade.

The interest and compound interest mechanism not only creates an impetus for pathological

#### **ECONOMIC INDICATORS**

	In Mrd. DM 1968 1989	
Federal burden of Interest	2.5	34
Interest expenditure of the Banks	18.9	207
Interest gained by the banks	29.2	280
Federal Debts	116	987
Credit Volume of the banks	388	2.449
Business Debts	553	2.806
GNP	534	2.261
Federal Income	71	278
Business Income	133	498
Wages & Salaries (net)	192	662

Reports of the Federal Bank etc.

economic growth but, as Dieter Suhr has pointed out, it works against the constitutional rights of the individual in most countries. If a constitution guarantees equal access by every individual to government services - and the money system may be defined as such - then it is illegal to have a system in which 10% of the people continually receive more than they pay for that service at the expense of 80% of the people who receive less than they pay.

It may seem as if a change in our monetary system would serve "only" 80% of the population, i.e., those who at present pay more than their fair share. However, everybody profits from a cure, even those who profit from the cancerous system we have now.

Fourth Misconception

#### Inflation is an Integral Part of Free Market Economics

A fourth misconception relates to the role of inflation in our economic system. Most people see inflation as an integral part of any money system, almost "natural," since there is no capitalist country in the world with a free market economy without inflation. Figure 5, Development of Various Economic Indicators, shows some of the factors that may cause inflation. While the governmental income, the Gross National Product, and the salaries and wages of the average income earner "only" rose by about 400% between 1968 and 1989, the interest payments of the government rose by 1,360%.

The tendency is clear - government debts will sooner or later outgrow government income, even in the industrialized nations. If a child grew three times its size, say, between the ages of one and nine, but its feet grew to eleven times their size, we would call it sick. The problem here is that very few people care to see the signs of sickness in the monetary system, even fewer people know a remedy, and nobody has been able to set up a "healthy" working model which has lasted.

Few realize that inflation is just another form of taxation through which governments can somewhat overcome the worst problems of increasing debt. Obviously, the larger = the gap between income and debt, the higher the inflation needed. Allowing the central banks to print money enables governments to reduce debts. Figure 6 shows the reduction of the value of the DM between 1950 and 1989.

This devaluation hit that 80% of the people hardest who pay more most of time. They usually cannot withdraw their assets into "inflation-resistant" stocks, real estate or other investments like those who are in the highest 10% income bracket.

Economic historian, John L. King, links inflation to the interest paid for the "credit balloon." In a private letter to me, dated January 8, 1988, he states:

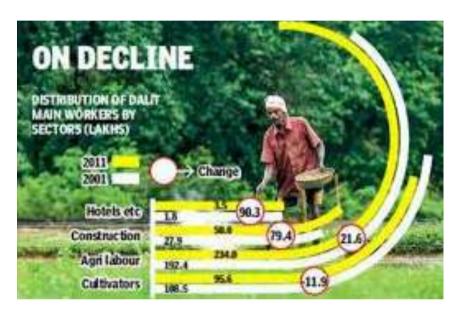
"I have written extensively about interest being the major cause of rising prices now since it is buried in the price of all that we buy, but this idea, though true, is not well accepted. \$9 trillion in domestic U.S. debt, at 10% interest, is \$900 billion paid in rising prices and this equates to the current 4% rise in prices experts perceive to be inflation. I have always believed the compounding of interest to be an invisible wrecking machine, and it is hard at work right now. So we must get rid of this mindless financial obsession."

A 1,000% expansion of private and public debt occurred in the U.S.A. during the last 33 years, the largest share coming from the private sector. But every resource of the Federal Government was utilized to spur this growth: loan guarantees, subsidized mortgage rates, low down-payments, easy terms, tax credits, secondary markets, deposit insurances, etc. The reason for this policy is that the only way to make the consequences of the interest system bearable for the large majority of the population is to create an economic growth which follows the exponential growth rate of money--a vicious circle with an accelerating, spiraling effect.

Whether we look at inflation, social equity, or environmental consequences, it would seem sensible from many points of view to replace the "mindless financial obsession" with a more adequate mechanism to keep money in circulation.

## Fewer Dalits Own Land in Last 10 years

B Sivakumar



The number of dalit farmers has declined between the 2001 and 2011 censuses, while there are many more from the community now who are working mainly as agricultural labourers, census data recently released shows. The data also shows that there's been a dramatic rise in the number of dalits working in the construction industry and in hotels and restaurants over the decade-long period.

ata on "main workers" — those who find work for more than six months in the year — among dalits shows that nearly half of them were employed either as agriculture labourers or construction workers in 2011.

Interestingly, while the number of dalit agricultural workers rose by 22% over 2001, the number of "cultivators" fell by 12%. This suggests many from the community have been dispossessed of their land and have to work on others' fields. In the construction industry, the number of dalit workers has increased by 79% between 2001 and 2011. Similarly, the "accommodation and food services" sector has seen a 90% rise in the number of regular dalit workers, thought the numbers remain relatively small.

"Many cultivators must have sold

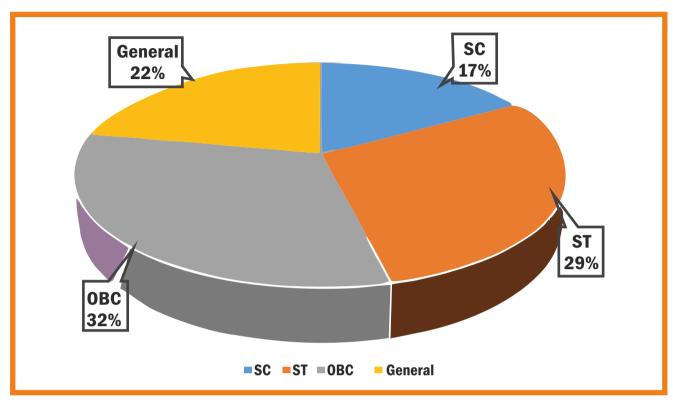
their land as the return on investment must have been less. Many dalits own only marginal land and after selling their land they must have migrated to urban areas. Landless dalits are mostly employed as agriculture labourers and it has not changed over several censuses," said Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry chairman Milind Kamble.

On the number of dalit construction workers increasing, Kamble said many dalits have promoted themselves as subcontractors and contractors over the years. "After finishing BE, I started as a sub-contractor and later became a contractor. There are several such dalits who are contractors and subcontractors apart from construction workers. Dalits who migrate from villages are employed as construction workers," said Kamble.

D Ravikumar, a former MLA from the Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK), a Tamil Nadu party with its base primarily among dalits, offered other reasons for the number of agriculture labourers increasing. "The data clearly shows that dalits have sold their land either under pressure from local persons or due to industrialisation," he said.

He said dalits in rural areas are employed mostly as agriculture labourers and if the same person migrates to urban areas, he or she will be employed only as construction worker. "Dalits from villages are not skilled and have been working in the fields. If they migrate to urban areas, there is no sector other than construction in which they will get employment," said Ravikumar.

The pattern of dalits being employed primarily in agriculture or construction, however, does not hold true in all states. Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh are all states with large dalit populations. But there is a wide variation in the pattern among them. Nearly 70% of main workers among dalits in Andhra Pradesh are employed as agriculture workers or construction workers. At the other extreme, just 11% of dalit main workers in Tamil Nadu are in these sectors.

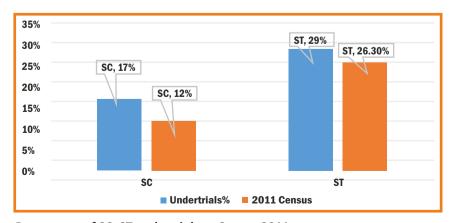


Under-trial Prisoners in Jharkhand (social-group wise)

# If Convicted, Lynchers Can Get Bail, Why Not Undertrials?

#### Sania Mariam

ne of the famous political philosophers, Montesquieu, in his 18th century book "The Spirit of the Laws" wrote, "There is no greater tyranny than that which is perpetrated under the shield of the law and in the name of justice." The quote holds true especially in the context of 21st



century India.

Recently, Jharkhand was in news for all the wrong reasons when a serving Union minister, who also happens to be a Harvard graduate, felicitated and garlanded eight convicted murderers in a public ceremony. One can only wonder that if eight "convicted" murderers can get bail, what about the majority of Dalit and Adivasi undertrials who have been languishing for years in the prisons of Jharkhand?

The government's penchant for arrest and bail is peculiar. It has been a month since the brutal attack on noted social activist Swami Agnivesh in Jharkhand, yet no

Percentage of SC, ST undertrials vs Census 2011

arrests have made so far, while anyone who so much as whispers that 'the emperor wear no clothes' is slapped with sedition.

This includes a list of 20 activists who have been after the Jharkhand government on its various excesses, labour organisations protesting against land laws amendments and the huge number of adivasis, dalits and other backward classes who have been trapped in false cases whenever they have dared to assert their constitutional rights. It is an opportune time to throw light on the condition of under trials in Jharkhand, away from the light and glare of national media and civil rights organizations.

One of the major findings of a study of undertrials in Jharkhand titled "Deprived of rights over natural resources, impoverished Adivasis get prison" highlights that tribals and dalits branded as Naxals, have been booked under the draconian UAPA act and the major anti-state sections of the IPC. The study conducted by Bagaicha, a social action centre, examined 102 case studies of people put behind bars for their alleged Maoist links.

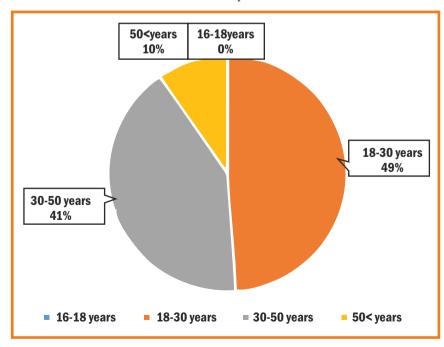
The report found that 98% of those arrested as Naxalites had no

involvement whatsoever with the movement. Only two of them accepted (to the interviewing research team) they had any relation with any of the Left-wing extremist groups. The rest arrested asserted that they had been wrongly framed and arrested. Another study by BIRSA on extremist activities in Jharkhand and their impact on civil society concluded that, the number of undertrials in Jharkhand prison is on a steady increase. In most cases, the police has been unable to complete framing of charges against them.

The problem of under trials is not of Jharkhand alone. Nearly 67% of people in Indian jails are undertrials - people not convicted of any crime and currently on trial in a court of law. However, according to the latest NCRB Prison Statistics 2015, Jharkhand has the fourth highest number of under trials staying in one of the worst conditions. An alarming 77.1 % of Jharkhand prison population consists of undertrials, most of which are dalits, tribals and minorities. For every 4 inmates, 3 of them are undertrials in Jharkhand.

#### What the data says

The percentage of under-trial prisoners stands as 29% Scheduled



Percentage of Undertrials under specific age groups

Tribes (Sts), 32% Other Backward Castes (OBCs), 22% general and 17% Scheduled Castes (SCs). The proportion of ST and SC undertrials are disproportionately higher while considering their respective share in the total population of the state. ST's constitute the highest number of prisoners (undertrials plus convicts) incarcerated in various jails of Jharkhand. The total number of SC and ST behind bars (46%) is more than their total percentage population (38%) in Jharkhand.

Demonstrated by both data and real situation in prisons, it is evident that the poor, disadvantaged and the neglected segments of the society who are unable to either secure the bail amount for release or are not aware of the legal provisions to avail the judicial remedy of seeking a bail. What they lack is political and social capital.

Such long detention not only violates their right to liberty constitutionally guaranteed to every citizen, but also amounts to outright denial of human right of freedom of movement to the marginalised sections of the society. In West Singhbhum's Chaibasa jail, 72 prisoners who faced a total of 108 cases were identified. The disposal of as many as 101 of the 108 cases were found held up due to some inordinate delay. One can notice a double whammy of marginalisation and discrimination existing within the criminal justice system.

About 49% of undertrial prisoners, according to the latest available Prison Statistics, belong to the age-group of 18-30 years, the most productive years of one's life. About 41% of them belong to 30-50 years, the most creative years of one's life. By denying young offenders bail, the state is further victimising them as the best of their years are wasted, instead of being deployed in learning a skill which would help them survive the real world.

However, it's not only Adivasis and Dalits, Muslims and Christians undertrials are also overrepresented

<b>Total Prison Capacity</b>	15408
Total Occupancy	17613
Occupancy Rate	114%

#### Occupancy rate in Jharkhand Prisons

in prisons across Jharkhand, when data from NCRB prison statistics is compared against their population in Jharkhand. Collectively, these two groups form a population of 19% with a share of 14.53% and 4.30% respectively according to 2011 census, but their share in prisoners, both convicted and undertrials is larger than their share in country's population.

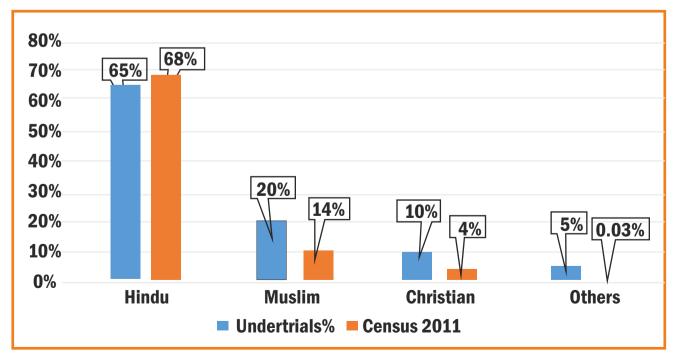
Moreover, what make the entire situation worse are deplorable conditions of these prisons. Jharkhand has 29 jails across 24 districts. The number of inmates accommodated in jail against the authorized capacity of 100 inmates is 114. This means that jails are overcrowded and already meagre resources are shared amongst

greater number of people. One of the primary reasons for overcrowding of prisons is the pendency of court cases. Additionally, Jharkhand has the least number of prison staff. According to Prison Statistics 2015, the highest number of inmates per prison staff was reported from Jharkhand. Understaffing and overcrowding goes hand in hand in Jharkhand prisons.

In a related development, a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) filed by the Persecuted Prisoners Solidarity Committee [PPSC] on under-trial prisoners in the jails of Jharkhand brought a ray of hope to an otherwise grim situation. The petition has alleged that Adivasis, Muslims, Christians and Dalits, thousands in number have been languishing in

prison because their trials have been deliberately prolonged and seeks to expedite criminal proceedings long pending before criminal courts in Jharkhand.

The court had asked the prisons to place before the court the details of all under-trial prisoners in all the jails of the state. The latest hearing was on August 8, 2018 in which, despite the Supreme Court's order on conducting speedy trials, Jharkhand seems in no hurry to act. States have the primary role, responsibility and authority to change current prison laws, rules and regulations. The state must bring back its focus on the cardinal principle of criminal law in India where bail is the rule and jail the exception!



# Who Are the Friends of Human Society

Shrii Shrii Anandamúrti

This fight against the centrifugal force, functioning in the world, is actually the Sadhana [Spiritual Practice]. You know, in each and every structure there are two forces, centripetal and centrifugal forces. In the case of cosmological order, in the case of Brahma Cakra [Cosmic Cycle], the Centripetal force, is called Vidya [Enlightenment] and the Centrifugal force is called Avidya [nescience]. So spiritual practice or the instuitional practice is the fight between Vidya and Avidya. Sadhana is to strengthen vidya, the centripetal force, in one's movement towards the nave of the cosmological order.

This cosmological nucleus is the nucleus of all other nuclei of the universe. This is the abode of Supreme Beatitude. Each and every nucleus of the universe gets shelter in Supreme Consciousness; that is why He is called Narayan. "Ayan" means shelter, nar means operative principle. If one wants peace of permanent nature, if one has developed a longing for the Supreme Destiny, one has to lead all one's propensities towards this Supreme Nucleus and this movement is called Sadhana. While moving towards this Supreme Nucleus one will have to fight against the centrifugal force, Avidya shakti. In this fight against Avidya shakti, one must have sufficient weapons. You know the Sadhaka (spiritual aspirant) is a soldier, a soldier requires weapons. Sadhana is a fight in your internal sphere, in your mind. There you should have 10 weapons, five Yama and five Niyama [moral principles]. Similarly in the fight against evil forces, in this crude physicality, you should have physical weapons.

Those who want disarmament and those who want to ban the atom bomb are not friends of human society. The friends of human society want to accelerate the speed of human society. Those advocating disarmament want to retard the progress. Weapons, you must have. As you should have control over your body and mind. There must be control, not abuse of your weapons. Now in this process i.e. in the realm of instuitionalism you should have 10 internal weapons, Yama and Niyama. Your progress in Sadhana depends on Jinana (wisdom), Karma (dynamic service) and Bhakti (devotional love). Your actual progress is being affected by Jinana and Karma. But the final union with the Supreme, with the Mahadeva [Supreme stance of Divinity], will be possible you when develop Bhakti within you. In Sadhana you should remember that you have to develop Bhakti in your mind and this Bhakti and you can get by regular Sadhana, and by rendering selfless service.

## PBI Launches a Campaign for Alcohol-free India

Kanpur (Uttar Pradesh): On 150th Birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, Satyagraha will be held in front of Mahatma Gandhi's statue at GPO, Lucknow, demanding a ban on the manufacture of alcohol. The satyagraha march will start on 28th September from Fulbagh in Kanpur. A large number of activists will march on foot to Lucknow. Sharabbandi Sanyukt Morcha (Anti-alcoholism United Front) consisting of the members from Arya Samaj, Proutist Bloc, India (PBI), JDU, Yoga Jyoti India, civil society members and some other social organizations have jointly organized this padyatra (foot march)

PBI is playing a leading role in this campaign. Addressing a press conference in Kanpur , Acharya Santoshanand Avadhuta said that if the demand for a blanket ban on alcohol is not met, an extensive and aggressive people's movement will be launched. He told the media persons that on 17th September a memorandum of the following demands was given to the district magistrate:

- 1. A blanket ban on the manufacture of alcohol in the state.
- 2. Legal or illegal production of alcohol in the state must be stopped with immediate effect.
- 3. Cases filed against the women involved in the picketing of wine shops on 7th April 2017 must be withdrawn.
- 4. Wine shops near the places of worship, schools and colleges, hospitals and residential localities must be shut down at once.
  - 5. Wine shops or bars must not be allowed to run without the prior permission from gram sabhas or mohalla sabhas.
- 6. The incidents of alcohol poisoning in Unnav, Aliganj (Eta), Hardoi, Sitapur, Kanpur and Saharanpur in the recent years must be investigated expeditiously and the culprits, punished.
- 7. Supreme court's order that wine shops should be located at least 500 mts away from the highways must be implemented strictly.
  - 8. There should be extensive and intensive plantation along the rivers, canals, roads and on unused government land.
  - 9. Kotpa law must be implemented strictly.

Alongwith A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta, national convener of Sharab bandi Sanyukt Morcha Sultan Singh and Yog guru Jyoti Baba were also present at the time of giving the memorandum. They requested the DM to ensure the safety of the activists.

Deputy Magistrate Umesh Shrivastav who was present there received the memorandum on behalf of DM and assured of his full cooperation.



Held at Press Club, Kanpur, the conference was attended by reporters and journalists from different newspapers and news channels. Deep Kumar Mishra, Kuldeep Saxena, Madan Lal Bhatia, Mohammed Najir, Ashok Kumar Awasthi, Manoj Sachan, Mahant Ram Avataraji,



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Dilip Anand, Ravi Shukla, Geeta Pal, Ajit Khote, Dr. Iqbal Bahadur Shrivastav etc. were also present to represent their organizations.

To make UP alcohol-free, a large number of people are coming forward to participate in the foot march, which will cover the distance of about 100,000 meters. Starting from Kanpur, it will pass through Shuklaganj, Magarvara, Unnav, Nawabganj, Sahera, Mau, Banthra and Amuasi and culminate in Lucknow, where a memorandum will be given to the chief minister. During the march, about 40 public meetings will be held and at least 1 lakh signatures will be collected.

## PBI gets Relief for Old Aged, Widow and Disabled Pensioners

Due to the relentless efforts of activists of Proutist Bloc India, Boudh, Odisha under the able leardership of Kedar Nath Sahu, Rs.1,59,03200.00 (Rupees One Crore, Fifty Ninety Lakhs and Three Thousand, Two Hundred only) was disbursed from Department of Social Security and Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities, Government of Odisha for old aged, widows and disabled, benefiting 48,691 people. This is great success for PBI Boudh in the service of suffering humanity.







15.9.18

**Correspondence of PBI with Government Department** 

## PBI Launches Khadda Bharo Andolan

Ghatanji (Maharashtra): From 14th September, PBI alongwith some other political parties launched Khadda Bharo Andolan i.e. a movement for filling potholes on



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the main roads of the city to draw the attention of the general public and concerned authorities towards the negligence of the municipality.

PBI Vidarbha convener Madhukar Nistane alongwith local proutists and party workers participated in the movement.



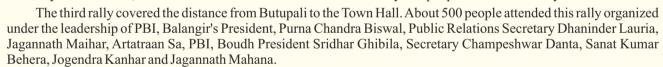
## PBI Mega Rally for Justice held on 11th September 2018

Under the banner of PBI, three big rallies were organized in the Boudh district of Odisha, demanding to increase the amount of aid offered under social security. PBI contends that Rs. 300 i.e.10 rupees per day is a cruel joke on the poor as it can hardly fulfill any need of the beneficiaries. The protesters demanded that the amount should be increased to at least Rs. 1500 per month.

Led by Swadhin Kumar Parida, Bidyadhar Behera, Bharat Kumar and National Movement Secretary Kedarnath Sahu, the first rally took place from Court Chowk to Town Hall . The rally started at 11 o'clock in the morning and saw the participation of about 300 people.

The second rally in Malsahi took place from Ramlila Maidan to the Town Hall. it was led by Odisha's movement secretary Aditya Pradhan, Debgarh's movement secretary Dolaakar Bhoi,

secretary Vibhuti Patra, Trilochan Meher and Premashankar Das. Nearly 400 people attended the rally.



Around 1:50 pm, Executive officer of the Notified Area Council Manoranjan Panda appeared before nearly 1200 agitators and assured them that their memorandum will be sent to the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister as soon as possible. He expressed regret for the delay in this matter. PBI will be vigilant in ensuring this promise is kept





## PBI Felicitates Honest Government Officer

There are several persons in administration and police who serve with honour but are never given the respect they deserve. One dutiful and honest chief officer of Ghatanji town, Vishakha Motghare was felicitated on 4th September in an event organized under the chairmanship of PBI (Vidarbha) convener Madhukar Nistane. Motghare has made the municipality's



functioning transparent, due to which some corrupt people are demanding her transfer. PBI decided to honour her so that people can be made aware of her commendable performance and development work may continue under the leadership of such honest officials. This is one way in which PBI is uniting the moralists

## Heavy Rains Ruined Houses in Odisha, Urgent Relief Required

Due to heavy rain in the month of August so many families suffered, but the concerned RI Khuntbandh of Boudh district neglected to deliver relief, in particular polythene to protect the houses from rain. For the negligence and autocracy of the RI in refusing to listen, several social activist protested before the RI Office on 18.09.2018 from 11AM onwards. After the call to DM by Kedarnath Sahoo, the SDO and Tahsildar came and delivered polythene to the victims.

This late arrival of the Tahsildar after five hours of protest agitation was painful for the helpless and poor people who had been suffering without any relief. So, under the leadership of Kedarnath Sahoo, more than 30 people sat before the this RI Office. Among those who helped were Arun Ku. Pradhan, Dharanidhar Lauria, Birendra Behera, Deepak Behera, Prafulla Behera and others. PBI has taken the mission that it will force the authorities to deliver relief supplies to all those who are neglected by them.





## PBI (Delhi) Spreading Across NCR

#### Formation of District Committees in Delhi

To expand and strengthen PBI in Delhi, the party's state committee is forming committees in all the districts, and it is expected that by the end of October, actively working committees will be formed in all the districts of the state. In September, a number of meetings were held in different districts and the committees, formed. The East District Committee had been formed this month by the time of writing this report.

#### **East Delhi Committee Formed**

PBI (Delhi) executive council met in Trilok Puri, located in East Delhi District on 11 September in the presence of National Convener A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta, Delhi state president Jitendra Tiwari, general secretary Baidhnath Sah and other dignitaries of the area. The participants unanimously formed the East Delhi Committee of PBI with the

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following officials:

1. President Narendra Singh 2. Vice-President Sanju Devi 3. Secretary S. N. Pandev Junali Vishwas 4. Secretary

5. Movement Secretary Rekha

#### **Meetings in Six Districts**

In September, Delhi State Committee held meetings in more than six district. North-west District, South district, South-east district and South-west district on 11th September, 15th September, 17th September, 22nd September, 23rd September and 30th September respectively.

#### Monthly Meeting of Delhi State Committee

Earlier on September 9, the regular monthly meeting of Delhi state took place at Prout Bhavan in Malviya Nagar, Delhi. It was resolved in the meeting that by October 2018, the districts committees of PBI will be constituted in all the districts of Delhi. The meeting was attended by national convener A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta, national publication secretary Pranav Koul, national PRS Ravindra Singh and YB Singh besides other office-bearers of PBI (Delhi).

## **Amurt Flood Relief in Kerala**

Due to recent devastating flood lakhs of people affected in Kerala.In response to urgent needs, Ananda Marga Universal Relief team (AMURT) has been rendering services to the flood victims. AMURT monks, nuns and volunteers rushed to the worst flood affected area at Thrissur and Ernakulam District of Kerala. Initially AMURT has taken up a cleaning program so that flood affected people would not suffer from any flood related diseases. The District Panchayat Development officer supplied all cleaning materials to AMURT representative. Mr. Babu, Jayrajan and other volunteers took initiative to take help from government officers. AMURT has been also disposing of carcasses. So far AMURT has disposed of more than 50 carcasses in Ernakulam and Trissur District. Govt has also provided JCB to AMURT for cleaning the flood affected areas. In second phase AMURT will also provide daily essential commodities to the flood victims.



Acharya Pranavatmakananda Avadhuta, Babu and Jyothis Dada met with District Collector of Thrissur (TV Anupama) and discussed about rehabilitation projects of flood victims on 3rd September. Due to unparalleled relief





work done by AMURT/ AMURTEL, DM expressed happiness and issued a certificate of appreciation letter to AMURT. AMURT volunteers also disposed of carcasses on 4th September 2018. Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team (AMURT), Kerala flood relief news was also published in The New Indian Express front page and Mathrabhoomi from Thrissur, Kerala on 5th September 2018.

## News on Anniversary of Ananda Marga Gurukula

On Sept 7, 2018, marked 28 years since the founding of Ananda Marga Gurukula, an institution founded by Shrii Prabhat Rainjan Sarkar on Sept 7, 1990. Devotees, well wishers and workers from all affiliations and backgrounds are supporting and collaborating to actualize the mission of Ananda Marga Gurukula. This educational platform is inclusive, universal and inspired by Neohumanism in both letter and spirit. Our mission is global and motivated by the founder's wish: "to serve humanity with a Neohumanist spirit and to acquire knowledge for that purpose".

First, Anandanagar (Dist Purulia, West Bengal, India) is the headquarters of AMGK. There, the focus is on improving the Neohumanist standard of our institutions and attempting to make them a show case for alternative education. Dada Svarupananda is upgrading the Ananda Marga Gurukula Teachers Training College while Dada Devatmananda is upgrading the Ananda Marga Degree College. Dada Vivekananda and his dedicated staff are still active in the High School and 44 primary schools are being run under the guardianship of Rector Master with the assistance of overseas sectors. The Farm department is active to preserve rare species of plants. The Acupuncture Clinic and Hospital are still running well despite all limitations. A Naturopathy Center is being run under the guidance of Dada Dharmavedananda. Didi Anandarama with the help of Didi Ananda Vratiisha has undertaken the building of a model Ananda Marga Primary School and Women's College at Uma Nivas. Didi Ananda Gayatri and Didi Ananda Sushiila are busy with the Music College. Planning has begun for establishing Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar Institute of Microvita Research under the leadership of Dr. Uttampati, former Dean of Bio-Technology of JN University (New Delhi) tentatively at Ajiitananda Dihi. Dr Uttampati is a margii since 1972 and passionate about Microvita research.

Second, the consolidation of the NHE Movement in India has begun in collaboration with scores of well-qualified neohumanist teachers. A meeting was held in Kolkata and one in Bangalore to begin the process of curriculum review, publication of improved books, development of an upgraded standard of NHE in India and to compile a book of SOP



(Standard Operating Procedures) for all NH Schools. Shambhushivananda, Kulapati of AMGK, with cooperation from people all over the country, is supporting this initiative from the newly constructed NERI Center in Chandigarh, India.

Third, a Neohumanist College is being built on a 33 acre campus donated by Ac. Vishvamitra (Sid Jordan, President of AMGK Inc.) with active participation of Ellen

Landau (Shiyapriya). This has been linked with the Singapore AM International Academy, already recognized by the Ministry of Higher Education in Singapore and coordinated currently by Dada Premamayananda.

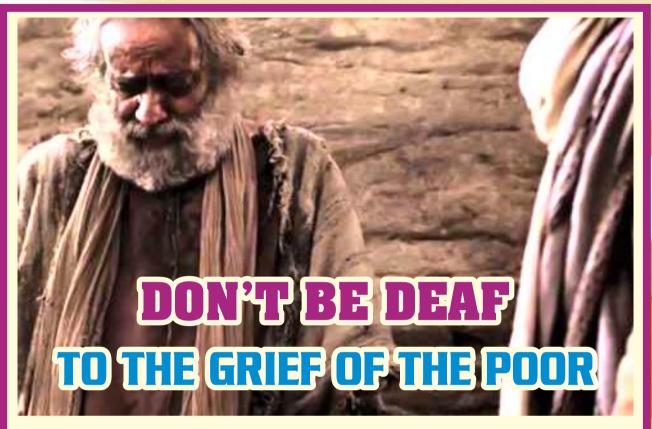
Fourth, an impressive five-story "Gurukul Education Center" building is under construction in Taichung, Taiwan with the active support of Mohamukta (Shih Chi Lin), Vikasinii and Rudramohan (Rutger Tamminga). It will be called Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar Institute and serve as the hub for the Asia-Pacific region and spearhead the NHE movement in collaboration with the Asia- Pacific Futures Network and other interested partners. An exhibition space is also being prepared to highlight the messages of Neohumanism and contributions of Shrii Prabhat R Sarkar. Ananda Jyoti, north of Taipei is also being further developed as an NH/GK MU-retreat site on ten acres of mountain land.

Fifth, the Centennial Celebration Committee is working on preparing a documentary film, exhibits and a special book, on Shrii Prabhat Rainjan Sarkar, for the centennial year besides organizing other events.

Sixth, the 47th issue of Gurukula Network, edited by Arete Brim (A'rati) is now under preparation. Electronic versions of all past issues can be viewed and downloaded at https://gurukul.edu courtesy of Michele Montenegro (Ma'ya'dhiisha) of the Netherlands. The color edition of the newsletter/magazine reaches over 70 countries and links up the entire Neohumanist Education Global Network and serves as a source of inspiration to thousands of neohumanist volunteers around the world. This is made possible with the help of Ko Yun Chin (Snehalata') and her team and support of our donors around the world.

Eighth, Didi Ananda Devapriya coauthored a book "Permaculture for Children" and received a positive response from many quarters. She, Dr Marcus Bussey and Yolande Koning also partnered with the Neohumanist Kindergarten and Lotus Center in Netherlands to establish teachers training workshops on a regular basis under the auspices of NERI, Netherlands.

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar



SHRNVANTA VISHVE AMRTASYA PUTRA'H A'YE DHAMA'NII DIVYA'NI TASTHU, SHONO SHONO DHARA' VA'SII VA'N'II ESECHE, ALAKHA PURUS'A MARME A'SI DHARA' DIYECHE VA'N'II ESECHE,

THA'KABE NA' BHAYA PA'PIIR PRATA'P, A'A'
THA'KABE NA' BHAYA PA'PIIR PRATA'P,
SARA'TE HOBE SAMASTA PA'PA
BHULABE GLA'NI JATA SANTA'PA,
JIIVAN JEGECHE,
VA'N'II ESECHE.

ATIITA BHEVE HOYO NA´ ADHIIR, A´A´
ATIITA BHEVE HOYO NA´ ADHIIR,
DIINER DUHKHE THEKO NA´ BADHIR
DHARITRI BUKE D´HELO NA´ RUDHIR,
VIVEK SA´DHICHE
VA´N´II ESECHE,
SHONO SHONO DHARA´
VA´SII VA´N´II ESECHE

Madhukorak, Calcutta 23.7.1990

O listen, children of immortality Of this universe, A message has come. Listen, listen intently -The unseen Being Comes to the heart's core And has been grasped And embraced at last.

There shall be no more fear
Of oppression of the regime of the vicious,
All vice will be removed.
Forget all degradation and agony,
Life is awakening.

Do not fret thinking about the past Do not remain deaf to The grief of the poor. Do not pour blood upon The bosom of the earth, Act with your conscience (viveka).