The profit motivation of private companies running prisons, works at cross purposes with the goals of criminal justice. Criminal justice and public safety are without a doubt the responsibility of the citizens of our country, not private corporations. They should be carried out by those who answer to voters, not those who answer to investors. We have 2.2 million people in jail, that is more people incarcerated than in any country in the world including China, which is a autocratic state.

In times of deficit, We are spending about 8 billion dollar a year to incarcerate people. Our criminal justice system is broken, and we need to fix it. For high school graduates unemployment rates is white 33%, hispanic 37%, afro-american 53%.And when they are unemployed bad things starts to happen. And if anybody thinks there is no correlation between unemployment and youth ending up in jail, they are wrong. So maybe instead of investing in jail and incarceration we should invest in jobs and education- Instead of spending billion dollars on people to lock out, why can’t we spend on education? It costs less to put him in college.

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Bernie Sander
A senator running for President in 2016 in USA

Bernie Sander
( in a rally for the USA president race)

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Meena Kandasamy
Author of the book The Gypsy Goddess

No One Killed Dalits
A talk by Meena Kandasamy on 7th Anuradha Ghandy Memorial Lecture

“...Our memories of the Gujarat genocide in 2002 is still fresh. We cannot forget the bodies of small children which is lined up and arranged next to each other and I think there is a long history of the killing of children. If you look at the massacre in Kilvenmani that happened on christmas day 1968, 23 small children were killed. All of them were burnt to death. In fact, it is not just children who were locked in a hut were burnt to death but there is one episode which anybody in Kilvenmani tells you again and again and it is the episode of how one of the mothers of the child in a last desperate attempt to save the child throws the child outside hoping that somebody will save, somebody in the mob will have the humanity to save this child, but they basically chopped the child into pieces and put the baby back in the hut and set the hut on fire. So this is the caste Hindu humanity that we have in this country.

So, when we trace the history of massacres whether it is Villupuram whether it is Bathani Tola, whether it is Laxamnprat bath, let us realise that the killing of children is the bottom mark that runs through each of these caste atrocities. The Congress Party in Kilvenmani in Nagapatnam district is represented by the man who actually lynched the dalits. So, Gopal Krishna Naidu is the president of the Tanjore Congress, the chief minister of the state. At the time Ammadurai, he comes and says people should forget this as they forget a feverish nightmare or a flash of lightning, this is India’s first Dravidian Chief Minister. And then Periyar a month later speaks about the event and he says wage is not something that you can demand it is something that is fixed by the market condition and he blames the communists for the act of Kilvenmani.

(continued in page 2 )
Meena Kandasamy: No one killed Dalits

I personally, when I read about this case, when I read about this hatred, I was angry. I thought men and women and chil- dren were lynchéd to death, I was not betrayed by what the caste hindus did but what the judgement did and I believe this judgement was as merciless as the mas- sacre itself.

If we reivew the undivided east Tanjore district in the immediate aftermath of what happened in Kilvenmani you will find something very interesting emerging. You will have all these landlords who go out and say things like 'Dalits are criminals'. Gopal Krishna Naidu is he (the man who basically led this lynch mob who is a landlord), hundred more Kilvenmani's will continue to burn, and one of the other things they said, hundred landlords are willing to enter the gallow, hundreds of us ready to embrace the noose. And this is where the twist comes, this is the state of mind of the perpetrators of the massacre, the willingness of them to face the legal consequences about their actions but then the judiciary steps in, and not one landlord is sent to the gallows, not one is convicted for life, no one served a life term and on the contrary every single one of them is acquitted.

This is when Kilvenmani massacre takes an important turn at the judgement in this case marks an import- ant moment in our nation's history, because the courts set an example. We have a massacre, a massacre on a large scale happens, I think the caste hindus would go and we say no, we are not going to spend anytime in jail we are going to set free and having to talk about not only the caste hindus being not punished by the judiciary in this case, but also not just Kilvenmani, Kilvenmani continues to happen all over India, it happens in Kilvenmani in 1968, but it happens in Villupuram in '78, it happens in Chundur, it happens in Karamchedu, it happens in Bathni tolla, in Lasman- pur Bathe.

This mass killing of Dalits is something that happens again and again, and the way in which the judiciary functions is also replicated in the same manner. So when I started looking at it, you could find the whole common thread that runs through all these massacres and the first thing is there is a large element of victim blaming, there is dismissing the evidence of the wit- nesses in one pretext or the other, the judiciary being completely embodied by the fate of the case, the judi- cery not stepping in, and all the witnesses turn hostile because of the threat they face, the judiciary not taking any steps to protect them.

So, from time to time this judiciary might make the right noises, it can pretend that it is pulling up the government, it can express the occasional outrage, but if you look at it closer you will understand the true face of the judiciary. And I think in this context it is important for you to know recall a bit of Foucault, who says the real political task in a society is to criticise the working of the institutions, that appears to be both neutral and independent, to criticise and attack them in such a manner that the political violence that has been exercised obscures through the mask, gets uns- veiled. So that one can fight against them.

Caste System in Courts

Eighty years later when national commission for SC, ST found the ground reality it observe that only 24 judges belonging to SC, ST against the total of 850 judges in all high courts. Out of the 21 high courts 14 high courts do not have the single judge from SC, ST. As in the 2017 when commission published its report there were only 17 judges in the supreme court with the strength of 31 judges.

Making strong and committed stands against the ex- clusion, the commission made its clear ‘ a firm policy of dissolution judiciary is only remedy’. Governments need to change policy running with their haunting and want of reservation up to all. The judiciary should reflect and meet aspects and aspirations of the people, it can not live in isolation and put itself outside the ambit of construction of provisions through judicial pronounce- ments.

One of the highlights of this report is the manner in which it called out the judiciary for its discriminatory practice to judge belonging to SC and ST communi- ties. It took issue with the way the Madras High Court is been treated. Starring the story from Chitthaaigarh the commission noted that all belonging to SC, ST com- munities were removed when they had 10 to 5 years of service left. The commission finds out this is nearly because they are maturing for elevation of high court judges, so system was trying to prevent this.

The commission report also observes that the Bom- bay high court, the Delhi high court and Madras high court doesn’t follow any policy of reservation for SC, ST for gazetted and promotion based posts. Six decades of the appointment shows that it revolves around the few families only even among the privileged sections of the society. It could not constitute even 1% of the countries population.

In the north India advocates belonging to this privi- leged sections are appointed to the superior courts in early 40s keeping the ultimate eye on the chief jus- ticeship or justiceship of the Supreme Court. Judges from the weaker section on the other hand are invari- ably appointed in their 50s. So this kept out them in consideration of principles of seniority. So it’s naked employment of seniority will not justify the Indian judiciary but it has, will have no doubt changed composition. It leaves us with one last question ‘Can a Dalit judge do justice on the extinct Dravidas? Can a Dalit or an Adivasis do justice on a Dalit police offi- cer work and put a culprit to pulp?’. In the Gokulraj murder case, the young Dalit man be- headed by caste hindus, to love a girl from the OBC. The investigating officer was brilliant Dalit officer, Vishnupriya. She made it 9 years of age, she had been under pressure from higher officials to implicate inno- cent people in the case, and let go the criminal master mind of the case. Unable to bear the pressure she takes her own life. There is no doubt the Dalit judges also come in the similar pressures, similar threats. We can revisit or offiast the atrocities spots in Chundur to see what happens when dalit is also sitting in a judge- ment in dalit massacre.

A quote from the book published by the human rights commission DrK. Shirshad appointed the appointed the court of Judge, the defence council, meaning all the Reddys threaten them in open court that ‘if the Rao continues to be the judge he stop defending their clients. So judge can free to continue their proceedings in their absence’.

This is the nature of the judiciary. Merely a caste hin- dus can deliver a caste justice on the basis of other caste hindus. Where do we begin to show our anger? When we do bring this judgement and burn them in public bonfire to show this kind of caste justice will not be carried out in our name, carried out in this con- stitution. How do we average the deaths? Will it not be the last wishes of each of these victims of these massacre who died in the state of unfinished terror. The cold blooded caste fanatic and judges be- traying them. Who would not accept the commission of questions of the caste hindus. The judges massacre mob do not allow male survi- vors, the mob of landlords set a fire locked with 44 people but they did not have intention to kill.

To the judiciary

The systematic denial of justice to the Dalit people is a genocidal hate. I used the word knowing which not hold in any court of the law but nevertheless that is no smaller word to describe the degree of hate you received against Dalits. Of course I give you the con- tempt that you worked so hard to earn. I speak to you because you repeatedly and systematically, purposeful- ly failed to deliver justice. I curse you because you allowed most fanatic caste Hindu killers to walk away without any punishment, I wish you dead because you do not treat the life of Dalits with any value or respect.

I wish you nothing. Grow on your tomb because the reverence of corrupt caste standing institution like Indian judiciary cannot keep words but the poison of worst kind. I dare you. I dare all courts in this land because you can send writers and cartoonist in the office. These police states, caste society can’t hon-oured. You killed the constitution in heatly basis , you trampeled upon the rights that had people’s struggles while you forgive corporates for the loot, for the non-payment of taxes of taxes of taxes. The Dalit societies who carry the crue of rupees and turn a blind eye on Dalit people.

When the young and innocent Dalit, Adwais and Mus- lim man’s fill up your horribile Prisons you lack a grand vision of justice.

And you seat on judgements about the reservations policy you call it for a scrap, you even said that it is a privileged used against national interest. When your own ranks like India media houses are dalits free zones. Just like Nazis used the words Jew free zones for areas claims to the Jews, you want to make higher education to judiciary in this country a Dalit free zones. Let us not forget that 14 of 21 high court’s have not a single dalit chair. Let us not forget that in the long history of Indian supreme Court only 4 dalit judges have been there in the top bench. When you see your pronouncements merely reflect your patriarchal misogynist, casteist, feudal, Hindu fundamentalist, corporate apologist, state terrorist mindsets. Your judgements over the course of decades have make caste mania so they can kill a entire village of dalits without having to spend a day in jail.

To the girl from Suryanelli raped by 42 man in 40 days periods, the question that you unfaithfully, unflinch- ingly asked ‘why did she not escape when she have the oppurtunity?’ The young Dalit man who survived in Chundur massacre you wonder why he got admitted himself in the hospital without informing the police. The dalit man from Bathni tolla who witnessed the murders of his family, you asked why he took time to make a complaint? This casteism, this completes your trustlessness in your true face. While you teach us your grand truths: upper caste man would not have raped a Dalit women, a land owning Mirasdar who also owns the sand not walk in Dalit’s villages. The murderers caste mob do not have allow male survi- vors, the mob of landlords set fire a locked hut with 44 people but they did not have intention to kill.

Please keep your injustice to yourself. I do believe on revolution like comrade Anuradha Ghandy did, unlike her I do not know what your face. While you teach us your grand truths: upper caste man would not have raped a Dalit women, a land owning Mirasdar who also owns the sand not walk in Dalit’s villages. The murderers caste mob do not have allow male survi- vors, the mob of landlords set fire a locked hut with 44 people but they did not have intention to kill.

November 2015
The Sahba Intern

#PinjraTod

"Jugni Udi...Naye Naye par liye/ o Pinjra Khol, o Pinjra Khol" That was the song from Queen where a girl did finally break the cage. In the lyrics, the girl's statement is a metaphor for the movement called "Pinjra Tod" (literally break the cage) where an initiative was taken by the girls in Delhi to gather for a move towards 'newly found' freedom and redefine the meaning of freedom. The same way, the girls in Delhi gathered for a movement called "Pinjra Tod" (literally break the cage) where an initiative was taken by the girls in Delhi to gather for a move towards 'newly found' freedom and redefine the meaning of freedom.

The campaign, which began in early August, comprises of women from DLF Jamia Millia Islamia, Ambedkar University, National Law University and Jawaharlal Nehru University. It grew out through social media and word-of-mouth, where women hosted and PG residents shared their bitter experiences with guards, warden, principals and landlords.

"We know Safety is a big word for Women in India, but come to Delhi and many of India's colleges, universities and workplaces (across the country) to get the real picture of it. In the name of moral policing some sexist practices are going on where the female students have been deprived of the basic facilities till late night."

"Big walls, huge metal gates, locking of gates at night, numerous security guards, constant checking of id-cards, a plethora of arbitrary and restrictive restrictions. The idea is to raise our voices against it," said Devangana Kalita, one of the founding members of Pinjra Tod.

The Sahba Intern

"Don't go outside at night" or "stay till midnight" or "don't wear shorts" or "do take your male friend along with you while going out" are all the Delhi girls can relate with and even after the repetitive unfortunate incidents, what everyone's concern is all about prohibition rather than protection or prevention, and that saddened this whole section of society. While going "are all the Delhi girls can relate with and even after the repetitive unfortunate incidents, what everyone's concern is all about prohibition rather than protection or prevention, and that saddened this whole section of society."

Other students vividly remember one bitter incident in the campus of INLA, which has been a year back an earthquake , while we (the girls staying on the ground floor) were out, the girls who stayed in the upper floor were trapped inside as the gate was locked, so they ran towards the balcony and all we could do is to share our helplessness glances towards each other (apart from screaming for help )."

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Mumbai: Murder of a Worker
Yakub Shaikh died at Toyota Service Centre in Cotton Green

The day was 29th September, 2015, when a family in Shiv Nagar Chawl Wadala, Mumbai was getting ready to celebrate their family’s youngest one’s birthday. It was meant to be one of the memorable birthday celebrations for that girl, who did turn out otherwise. Yakub Sheikh, 54, the father of Shafia was killed on 29th afternoon in a gruesome way. The family told the team that Yakub was on leave from 25th to 27th September for his daughter’s marriage. They took him to the Toyota showroom in November 2011 and was working with Hyundai for two years. At Toyota Mumbai he was given a job as a cleaner for a low income of Rs. 7000 per month. The company promised to make him permanent after six months but this did not happen and he continued to work as a monthly contract worker till his murder. Initially he worked in the Worli office of Toyota and had been shifted to the Mithibhai College office just a few months before. According to all the locals of Shiv Nagar Chawl, Yakub Shaikh was a calm and quiet person who kept to himself and would only confide to his elder brother A. Samad Shaikh for work as usual. However, the team knew that the death occurred due to “mazak masti”. This shows that from the time of the murder, the company employees were saying that they would do anything to cook up one story after another. Yakub Shaikh had started working with the Toyota showroom in November 2011 and had been posted at the Shinrai workshop at Cotton Green just a few months back. According to his elder brother, Yakub Shaikh had been working as a “denter” in the Gulf for about three decades. He returned permanent in 2011 and was working with Hyundai for two years. At Toyota Mumbai he was given a job as a cleaner for a low income of Rs. 7000 per month. The company promised to make him permanent after six months but this did not happen and he continued to work as a monthly contract worker till his murder. Initially he worked in the Worli office of Toyota and had been shifted to the Mithibhai College office just a few months before. According to all the locals of Shiv Nagar Chawl, Yakub Shaikh was a calm and quiet person who kept to himself and would only confide to his elder brother A. Samad Shaikh for work as usual. However, the team knew that the death occurred due to “mazak masti”. This shows that from the time of the murder, the company employees were saying that they would do anything to cook up one story after another.

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Human has a love hate relationship with the nature but underestimate the power of it. Recent calamities across various place in India is a warning bell to the whole world. We must act now to prevent the famine of tomorrow. It seems we are continuously becoming naive and dont want to learn any lessons from our past experiences like Delhi flood,Mumbai mithi river flood, Koshi river flood in Bihar, Uttarakhand floods and Jhelum flood.

According to the 1997 census data, in Indian capital Delhi, there were 357 ponds and 55 lakes were present. Gradually Builders started building houses near the lake to fulfill thier greed. When more demands arise they started filling the ponds to meet their need. Right now half of the water bodies across Delhi, before 2 years back heavy rain occurred in Delhi and half of the airport area is submerged in the knee deep water. Because there were no water reservoir to store these rain water and the whole airport is constructed on ten such ponds. The same thing got repeated in Chennai Airport this time which we can see in our news channels. The whole chennai airport is made on the flood basin of the Adyar river. Flood basin is the flat, wide area lying between a low, sloping plain and the natural level of a water bodies or adjacent to it to protect against the flooding.

According to the census data the city’s population increased by 31 millions between 2001 to 2014, because of rapid urbanisation and development and the city’s population is growing at 4 % per year. The city is desperately wanting to become the information and technology hub so a large number of people are coming to the city for various opportunities and the city is expanding to become a concrete jungle. Because of this greedy builders are filling the wetlands for their requirement.

It also encourages fisher man and migrated villagers to enter in to the south and west side of the city for their livelihood because the north side is andhr pradesh border and the east side is the sea. They stay in small slums near by the rivers and cannal in the south and west part of the city. So there is a drastically decreased of open area in the city and when the heavy rain occurred the water didnot get place to store. Adyar and Koothalayar are flowing through the city to reach the bay of bengal. Apart from that there is a man made cannel called the bunkhongkana cannel flows through the city whose main purpose is to navigate the salt water from the city. Later people started using it as a transportation medium but right now they use it as a garbage dump. Apart from that from the city has 4 reservoir tank and 16 minor water way remains till date which is also decreased in number compared to the past census. The groundwater in the marshland is highly polluted due to the continuous garbage dump by the people.

The Sabha Intern

Bihar election, Agriculture and 7th Pay commission

Devinder Sharma

Some years back, the founder editor of the LIN Human Development Report and a distinguished Pakistani economist, the late Mahbub-ul-Haq, was talking to me about growth economics. I vividly recall what he had told me about the situation in India (and as well in Pakistan). Knowing the social, caste and religious dimensions that play to the hit during elections, it is the economics that plays the triumph card. Whatever be the social and political reasons, people tend to vote for the party in whose tenure their economics has improved.

Even when he was the Finance Minister of Pakistan (and that was quite some time ago) the country’s GDP was growing at 7 per cent. He was therefore very sure that his party would spring back into power. But he said he got a rude shock when his party was routed in the elections. “I then learned that GDP growth was a mere propaganda.”

Launch a direct assault on poverty/hunger and GDP grows.” It is in that light I think the Bihar results are also a referendum on the economic policies. If in a State where 90 per cent population lives in villages, the state of economic reforms – first in the 10 year rule of UPAs between 2004-2014 and followed aggressively by the ruling NDA in the past 17 months – have failed to get an electoral backing then there is something drastically missing. What is quite clearly evident is that the kind of economic policies being perpetuated have somehow failed to touch the lives of the poor.

Perhaps sensing this glaring lack of inclusiveness in economic growth projections, the Prime Minister Narendra Modi reiterated rather belatedly at the recent Commonwealth Economic Conclave that the focus of the NDA government would remain on poor. He talked of taking economic reforms to villages without which growth will be meaningless – something that has been widely accepted but surprisingly ignored in policy planning. If only the Prime Minister had overcome his government’s obsession with growth figures and got himself a very basic lesson on salinity that sabka vikas the electoral verdict today in Bihar would have probably been different. In Bihar, a majority of the population – nearly 82 per cent as per the State Economic Survey 2015 – remains engaged in agriculture. That the farmers – comprising 52 per cent of the entire population – are becoming a victim of growth economics was loudly questioned by leaders of 60 major farmer organisations/unions who met at the 2nd National Convention of Farmers Organisations at Banglore from Nov 2-4. Outraged at the continuous neglect of the farming sector, these farmer leaders have demanded the implementation of the 7th Pay Commission’s recommendations laid out by the international credit rating agencies.

The tragedy on the farm is actually compounded by falling incomes over the past few decades. The continuing neglection is aggravated by the massive disparity that prevails when farming is compared with other sections of the society. In 2015 alone, employees have got 13 per cent DA, in addition to the annual increments. Compare this with agriculture where farmers have received a hike of only 3.25 per cent in the MSP for rice and now a 5.2 per cent raise in the wheat price. While industry got 16,000-crores, India Spends estimates that the pulses import bill itself has touched Rs 16,000-crores.India spends estimates that the import bill exceeds the total output under agricultural policy. What miracle can be expected from agriculture when hardly any significant investments are being made? In the 12th Plan period, a total of Rs 1.5-lakh-crore was made available for agriculture. This is even less than the subsidy of Rs 1.62 lakh crore that the New Delhi airport project had received and rightly questioned by the CAG. Add to this the massive cut in social sector spending in agriculture, health, education and panchayati raj in the 2015 Budget, the neglect of rural India is complete.

Let’s be clear. The trickle-down theory of development has failed all over the globe. Propping up the rich, including corporate, and then thinking the benefits will trickle down to the poor has failed. The answer lies in a simple formula that Narendra Modi rightly said the other day: to make an effort to benefit directly the bottom of the pyramid. This will require a substantial change in economic thinking to turn it pro people, pro environment and pro women. Bihar election results are a wake up call to make the corrective steps in economic reforms. The sooner it is done the better it would be.

(Devinder Sharma is well known agricultural economist)
Birsan Munda Lecture: Silence of the Governors
A paradox of tribals migrating to cities: Workers from Central India and as Students from North-East

India

The fifth Birsan Munda Lecture was held in TISS on the theme: Past, Present, Future of the Tribal situation. Birsan Munda (1875-1900) was an Indian tribal free- dom fighter and a folk hero, who belonged to the Munda tribe, and was behind the Millennium Movement that rose in the tribal belt of modern day Bihar, and Jharkhand during the British Raj, in the late 19th century, thereby making him an important figure in the history of the Indian independence movement.

The speaker on the occasion was Prof. Vinayak Shete, Deputy Director of TISS, Guwahati Campus. He spoke about the structural feature and efforts about inter- vention under the frame of colonial history, which according to him was the determining factor of the present situation. He says, tribals were not citizens, and only after the adoption of the constitution they became one. And this started the whole process of institutionalization was under the premise that tribals were barbaric and primitive.

He spoke from the history which has been ignored, disrupted from colonial rule, which is a mono- graph from the British history and which is nothing more than one or two paragraphs. Historians did not try to record tribes but peasants because they were part of the State. Tribals are constituted as people without his- toric, and whatever exists today is primarily to do with oral history as they do not have a tradi- tion of reading and writing. Most of his talk was about tribals of peninsular India and North East India.

Before colonial rule, development was different and vil- lage was the unit with a village head or chief, or some- times two. Where the unit of some of the tribal heads was democratic and some autocratic, especially in the Nort-East. These tribes gradually moved from hunting and food gathering to agriculture and shifting agriculture. They had more than one way of liveli- hood in their economic structure and social structure. They had a territoriality of their own and autonomy in their rule.

During the colonial rule, tribes became to be incorpo- rated in war in different phases and time. Tribals from Chota Nagpur region under Mughal Rule and then to the British East India Trading company. The region fell into larger political structure, through the Land Settlement Act and just by the stroke of a pen by Revenue officers, tribal territories of tribes were replaced by better cultivators who were from the plains. The discontent was brewing in Singbhum area, Oriisa and Jharkhand. Moraji Desai, ex-Prime Minister. Moraji Desai, ex-Prime Minister.

The idea of development as possession in British rule and dispossession with idea of indigenous people, can only be understood under the frame of colonialism. Why government schemes has not been able to move tribes out of poverty, which is highest in state of Odisha, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh? Surprisingly they have the highest number of public undertakings. North East social policy are much more than na- tional average and tribal average. This difference in tribal development is because of constitutional mecha- nism, protection in Central India with acts as For- est, Mining and Wildlife. With large number of dams, mines and public undertaking, how many tribal villages are electrified , with excep- tion of Andaman and Nicobar.

Affirmative action is a myth. Inspite of heavy military presence in six decades, tribals are still not better than the better off tribes. There is a paradox of today. Large number of people are going for higher education but moving out, migrat- ing, and eventually are not going back to shifting agriculture/Jhum. Where do we go after higher education? Region’s economy cannot absorb the population. The exodus of tribals from central India as domestic and other workers, and stu- dents of Jharkhand out for higher education to Mumbai, Delhi are happening at same time. People are always on the move.

Development is not neutral. If you take minerals, you will provide 100 job but displace two thousands. It is in the hands of few. India has to take different path than HongKong or US. Ain its own way by social construction, focusing on livelihood creation and not livelihood displacement. We may not have luxurious life or that standard of living as an European but a qualitative life. Today market is replacing state. I am not against that, but it is doing it for what?

Local labours did not show interest in the plantation, and thus people moved from Odisah. Jharkhand to As- sam. Bengal and later to Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Colonial rulers learned from their experience in central India and introduced various kind of protection but not the market. What is known as V and VI schedule areas today were called partial excluded areas. There is a strict depar- ture from what was in colonial period and what is in the constitution. British chancellor was directly involved in the decision making, but now laws will not be applica- ble until the Governor thinks. It is very important, as post-indipendence also no Governor has spoken. Indian constitution has more provisions for tribes than dalits. There are broadly two ways through which it sees them. One is to protect them and second is to incorporate them in the administration through reserva- tion. But it is inconsequential without development. Personally, I feel reservation in politics has not made any difference because of reservation.

State of Home Guards in India

Home guards are used during the emergency and for other purposes. At the time of their duty they are empow- ered with the power of police personnel. Irre- spective of the vital service they provide, home guards are treated as volunteers who are neither employees nor that standard of living as an European but a qualitative life. Today market is replacing state. I am not against that, but it is doing it for what? or that provision of living as an European but a qualitative life. Today market is replacing state. I am not against that, but it is doing it for what?

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One of the problem I find among tribal is that they are too microscial. We need to think big at macro to mobil- ise people from village, to state to country and so on. A village of 100 families can’t fight Ambani. There are some people who got benefited and are in state, as IAS officers. But what happened in these seven decades? Assimilation or isolation? What is In- tegration in the context of India? The idea of development as possession in British rule and dispossession with idea of indigenous people, can only be understood under the frame of colonialism. Why government schemes has not been able to move tribes out of poverty, which is highest in state of Odisha, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh? Surprisingly they have the highest number of public undertakings.

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Neapol passed a new constitution on 20 September 2015, which was followed by protests and violence. The protests are led by Madhes, an ethnic group in the plains of Nepal. The core of these protests lie in the interjection of solutions pertaining to centuries of exclusion and centralization of power.

The debate of balancing these core problems, has overpowered the celebration of birth. The birth to strengthen democracy in the country and has caused death of more than 40 citizens in the process.

The protests have also resulted in blockade near Indo-Nepal border, causing outcry for the essential services and rationing as Indian oil corporation has monopoly for fuel in the land-locked state. Nepal's government has blamed it as a retaliation to the new constitution. Nepal has also signed an agreement with China to open borders, and hundreds of trucks have arrived carrying Chinese goods.

The government has also reiterated its commitment to the new constitution, which is largely supported. The country has enraged the internet with the face of masculine aggression embedded in the concept of sovereignty nation-state.

The government is holding a series of discussion with protesting groups and promising to move amendment to include the voices of certain groups and at the same it is also blaming Indian government again and again for the blockade. The Indian government has shrugged off the responsibility of the blockade and has blamed Nepalese citizen for violence to the Indian trans-border protests. Nepal has also realized that it is not feasible to import from China as it is costly, and Nepal's government has moved closer with the face of masculine aggression embedded in the concept of sovereignty nation-state.

Background

In 1949 the Nepali Congress (NC), in its attempt to redefine the Rana system and initiating democratisation of Nepal in 1951. After the fall of the two centuries-old monarchy in 2008, with this constitution the federal debate has continued, and intensified when the Madhesi Janadhar Forum, a party from the oppressed Madhes region, burned the document in protest in 2007. The social fabric of the society comprising of dalits, ethnic groups, women, and other underprivileged groups have always been fragile with state centralisation coupled with the exclusion. This has also triggered Maoist insurgency in the 1990s and early 2000s.

The NC and UML combination came to power in the second Constituent Assembly in 2013. In a house of 600, the NC emerged as the largest party with 196 seats, the UML secured 175 positions, leaving the Maoists a poor third with only 80 seats. The discussion of federalism had kept the assembly out of order until April’s devastating earthquake. The absence of state machinery and the poor response to the disaster somehow acted as a driving force to re-initiate the competition of upper hill groups. The Madhes and the Madhesi Janadhar Forum were included in the discussion after the long status quo by the NC and the Communist Party of Nepal-United Marxist Linstant (CPN-UML).

The identity based federalism demarcation was feared by the leadership which can challenge the dominance of tradi-
cional rulers of the Madhes. The darker complexion makes them inferior to the relatively fairer and traditionally powerful Brahmins and Chhetris. In Ne-
pali language, the word Madhesi is also realisation that it is not feasible to import from China as it is costly, and Nepal's government has moved closer to the face of masculine aggression embedded in the concept of sovereignty nation-state.

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Ramnath Goenka award for best journalism in hindi went to Sudhir Chaudhry, editor of Zee news. He is the one who was accused in Jindal extortion case for 100 crores, caught on camera related to coal block scam. Will this remove the tainted tag from the underbelly of corporate war?

No doubt, it went to him under the BJP government. Subhas Chandra, the major stakeholder in Zee news has been closely associated with BJP for long time and has even campaigned for the party during elections.

Zee news keeps a keen eye on ‘anti-national’ people, and especially Sudhir. It did question the intentions of Rajdeep Sardesai, a renowned journalist, when he was asking questions in New York which became uncomfortable for PM Modi. And questioning an Indian PM by an Indian reporter became a question of media ethics and eventually anti-national.

From the controversy of killing of Yakub Memon to Aamir Khan’s statement on intolerance during the award ceremony, for anyone who is questioning the state, Sudhir Chaudhary drew parallel a story of army men, who died near the border, and why the people in the debate were not grieving for them.

These are typical characteristics of traits of media person like him. Retweeting all the appreciation by his followers. Reminding viewers every other minute, that all other media is anti-national and Zee news is the only channel which cares about media and have concern for common people. The obsession with self and selfie run across the DNA of his double strands (which is also the name of his nationalism).

Nationalism assumes that human beings can be classified like insects and that whole blocks of millions or tens of millions of people can be confidently labelled ‘good’ or ‘bad’. It recognises no other duty than that of advancing one’s interest by identifying oneself with a single nation or other unit. Patriotism has opposing ideas. It is devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people. Nationalism, on the other hand, is inseparable from the desire for power. The abiding purpose of every nationalist is to secure more power and more prestige, not necessarily from the desire for power. The type of subordination of power by a common person in any given political domain today is totally based on some transcendent or invisible force. The political representation based on any other concept like health, education, and livelihood are neglected and further remain to just simple rhetoric in election campaigns.

Another important determinant of this decay is the indifference of the middle class towards such issues. On one side we have enormous disparity in terms of resource distribution both tangible and intangible and on the other we have a rise of militant religious nationalism constantly diverging the middle class from asking issues for their well-being.

The story starts from when evolution of human species jumped a far more complex leap than any other species around them. This ‘leap’ was having a “memory”. As soon as humans started memorising things they began to act and interact with people based on the experiences of the past. Human nature at the same time is constituted; it is not good or bad. It is about the past histories, of past struggles, of past defeats and victories, of hierarchy. This exchange of some abstract entity formed the concept of legitimacy which can be traced back to the parting of human species from their primates.

India holds the world’s largest electorate. The electoral process also influences people to participate in electing their representatives in large numbers. However, there is a question about what influences a voter to cast her vote. The question is simply about the issues, the precise issues on which people vote and elect.

Democracy upholds the values which give people a chance to choose their representative at the very local level and issues that are of local concern. In the wake of this in actuality, democracy is becoming totalitarian and elections are becoming a ‘one man show’, where issues which are inherent to the philosophy of based on what I call as a social contract of exchange, where a person who can represent a group is the person who is able to influence others to gravitate towards favouring him. This fag is guided by how the leader establishes the contract of social exchange within the group that he needs favours from.

What is decay and how political decay today is leading towards a catastrophe that is unimaginable for the present and coming generations. India holds the world’s largest electorate. The electoral process also influences people to participate in electing their representatives in large numbers. However, there is a question about what influences a voter to cast her vote. The question is simply about the issues, the precise issues on which people vote and elect.

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The rise of religious fundamentalism is one phenomenon which can illustrate my point. That whenever people are excluded they have a tendency to hallucination by imparting such polarising thoughts. The actual issues of doing politics is thus diverted towards more abstract issues of eating halal etc., religion and corporate war? It is not about national agreements or even for that matter state policies are a proof of this relationship of politics with these institutions.

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Utopian in the sense that it diverts us from sustainable questioning on structural issues, thus making us part to the same process of being productive with more or less the same harmful effect on environment and to ourselves. The precise nature of ideology in a post ideological world makes us unable to understand the contemporary discourses; nevertheless one must look it analytically to arrive at a more rational argument. At the same time one must keep in mind that the 20th century communism is not an answer as an alternate to the present capitalist system. A microscopic minority within this microscopic minority are able to understand the contemporary need of anti-thesis within this capitalist system. The current system combined with the only motive to sustain the capitalist system around the globe and especially in the so called developing nations like India.

I want to assert on acknowledging that change is not about a transformation of democracy, change should be about transformation of human nature, so that people are capable of democracy and till then one must blindfolded, “watch the decay.”

(Syed Mazahir Husain is a student of M.A in social work in TISS, Mumbai)
The miracle of a seed is that this tiny little thing holds within itself the potential to recreate a whole individual plant or tree. And we humans, like many other beings, can communicate with them, care for them, watch as the fruit, smell the flower, sleep in the shade of the tree. It is the seed that holds promise of the things to come. In that way, it truly gives hope.

As absurd as it sounds, there are many forces pushing towards exactly that kind of situation. Large MNCs are on their way to control the world, the world over, as well as in India, there are people that are trying their hardest for us not to have in life such a world.

Who are these people?

I am talking about the seed-savers. They might do it in old glass bottles, in clay pots, in plastic bags or old gummy sacks. The approaches may vary. While some focus on creating seed banks, others feel that the field is the place for the seeds and the only means to save seeds is by planting them and think about this very significant topic. They are saving seeds. And being part of both a continuation of a millennia old tradition, and a silent revolution.

Farmer savers, save their own seeds or by forming net-works. In Jardhar gaon in Tehri Garhwal, Uttarakhand, Vijay Jardhari of Beej Bachao Andolan has collected 300 varieties of paddy, eight varieties of wheat, four of barley, 220 varieties of kidney beans (rajma), eight of cowpea and 12 varieties of navrangi dhal. In a 2 acre farm called Basudha in Odisha, Deb Deb plants over 1000 rice varieties in an effort started in 1996 to conserve rice diversity. Gangwar Anjamma, a 55 years old (especially women) who remain largely unnamed and unnoticed when talking about seed savers but have been a vital part of this movement by keeping the culture of seed-saving and growing local varieties alive. From whom else do you think all these individuals and groups of seed savers have been able to collect their seeds? There are some farmers in all parts of our country who continue to save these seeds. This becomes especially true for small and marginal farmers whose seeds continue and where market-connections remain low. These areas also need to be considered as conservation reservoirs (or de-centralized seed banks). Why is this market changing but even now there are corners where these practices and varieties prevail, especially amongst the older farmers?

Why bother?

The centuries (and in some cases millennia) old inter-action between farmer and crop has led to evolution of seed varieties with different traits like local ecological suitability (drought tolerance, salt tolerance, flood-tolerance) or special characters like particular taste, medicinal property, bigger grain-size or more grass, pest-tolerance or even aesthetic appeal. Such diversi-ty becomes particularly important for food security in the current new age. Higher change and climate changes have led to unpredictability in rainfall patterns and seasons. It is important not just to keep this diversity alive, but accessible to the small farmer.

This free flow of seeds is threatened. There has been a sharp decline in the diversity of traditional variet-ies, which were best suited to local contexts. Now for a long time, policies and processes have pushed and changed agriculture in a direction where a few hybrid varieties have replaced the existing verse and numerous varieties and forms of growing. What is not directly used is gradually lost. So has been the case with our varieties especially since the advent of the green revolution. There are no records of how much we have lost but it seems like it is quite a lot. Take rice for example. At present, we may have a max-imum of 5000 varieties (with only a dozen or so vari-eties being known to most of us in cities). At one point of time India had over 1 lakh rice varieties. To make matters worse, the practice of saving seed by farmers for re-planting, which has been the way in which farming has happened for the past 12000 years, is now under threat. The threat is twofold. The first attack is by policies and programmes of green re-volution that pushed and popularised hybrid seed vari-eties. The second attack has been the push to decentralised governed and producer-consumer movements, from re-thinking urban and rural spaces towards sustainability to struggles for social and economic equity.

It provides a space and platform for dialogue among these initiatives, and has been holding confluences all over India, from Tamil Nadu to Timbaktu to Ladakh. The fourth confluence was held in Wardha, Maharashtra in October, to not only discuss the problems but provide alternatives with grassroots examples.

Who are these people?

We have been farming for twenty years, has 20 varieties and wheat. This along with documenting folk lit-erature, along with Desi Makka, Sama, Kakun, Kutki, Kodo oil seeds. In Satna district of Madhya Pradesh, Babulal from the Timbaktu Collective, spread over 156 villages, in 1 month every year to celebrate ecological agriculture. It is now under direct and indirect attack. The indirect one has control over the means of production, the commercialisation of seeds, the localisation of agriculture is a key principle, and large trade and exchange is built on it.

Vikalpa Sangam.org

As the world hurtles towards greater ecological dev-astation, in which social and economic aspects, the biggest question facing us are: there are alternative ways of meeting human needs and aspirations, without trash-ing the earth and without leaving half of humanity be-hind? Across India (as in the rest of the world), this question is being answered by a multitude of grass-roots and policy initiatives: from meeting basic needs in ecological ways to decentralised governed and producer-consumer movements, from re-thinking urban and rural spaces towards sustainability to struggles for social and economic equity.

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Saving Seeds

Vikalpa Sangam is a confluence of alternatives, based on following principles:

1. Ecological sustainability, including the conservation of nature (ecosystems, species, functions, cycles) and its social and spiritual aspects.

2. Social well-being and justice, including lives that are fulfilling and satisfying physically, socially, culturally, and spiritually, and where there is equity in socio-eco-nomic, political entitlements, benefits, rights and responsibilities.

3. Direct democracy, where decision-making starts at the smallest unit at grassroots level, the human being has the right, capacity and opportunity to take part, and builds up from this unit to larger levels of governance that are downwardly accountable.

4. Economic determinism in which local communities (including producers and consumers, often combined in one) have control over the means of production, the innovation is localised and the seed is a key principle, and large trade and exchange is built on it.
In my view now is the time for developing a serious and effective strategy to destroy ISIS. Now is not the time for cheap political talk or trying to take advantage of this difficult moment. Now is the time to unite the world in an organised campaign by bringing together all the countries - even with countries with which we have disagreement with. Along with Russia and the muslim countries who are today face to face with ISIS. What we need is international coalition include Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Turkey.

What terrorism is about? Trying to instigate fear and terror in the people, into the hearts of the people. We will not let this happen. As Americans we will not be terrorised and we will not live in fear. I am disturbed with what I have been hearing from Republican colleagues.

During this difficult times, we will not succumb to racism, we will not allow ourselves to be divided and succumb to islamophobia. And when hundreds of people have lost everything but left with only shirts on the back, we will not turn our back to the refugees from Syria and Afghanistan. We will do what we will do best. Fighting racism, xenophobia, fighting fear.

We will learn the lessons from history. Back in 2002, we had a president, called President Bush. You remember President Bush. He was very very tough, but not very smart. And they said we should invade Iraq. And we should do it alone. That has resulted in huge instability in the region and we are paying today the price for that instability and chaos. I have to tell my republican colleagues, we have got to be tough but not stupid. Yes we need to create a world wide coalition to defeat ISIS.

Yes we will lead the world in defeating ISIS, but yes at the same time we will rebuild the disappearing middle class of this country. We are a great nation and we can accomplish both the goals.

About 6 month ago we began this campaign with no money, no organisation. We have come a long way in six and half months. We have brought about 300,000 to rallies like this all over America. We have hundreds of volunteers in the state all over the country. And when the pundits said you can’t run it without the money from billionaires, without a super pac. We are doing it without a super pac. I am very proud to say that. We have 800 thousand individual contribution. This is first campaign in the history of America to raise much amount of money through individual campaign. Our campaign is people’s campaign. We don’t want Wall Street money. We don’t want corporate money. We will win this on our own.

This country is facing some enormous problems and American people are catching on that establishment politics and establishment economics is not going to solve the problem. What American people also understand is that at the time when Wall street or corporate America have enormous power, we are left. This campaign is not about election, is about creating political revolution. What that means is not complicated.

In last election 63% of people did not vote. Most of the lower income group did not vote. What our job is and it is not an easy job. Our job is to reach out to bring out people together. Asian American, Hispanic, Asian, Gay and Straight, Men and Women, people who were born in this country, people who immigrated to this country because we allow them to divide us, we lose. We are the vast majority of the people in this country and when we come together, we can defeat people with all of the money and all of the power.

One of the best compliment I have received is came from the guy, from somewhere in the west coast. He said Bernie, you are treating us like we are intelligent people.

This campaign is not about me telling all kind of jokes. I simply lay on the table most serious issues facing in our country. Some of you may agree, some of you may not but that is what democracy is about.

Democracy is about, is pretty simple, it is about talking about issues, respectfully with each other. Remember every problem we face is caused by human decisions, every problem that we face can be overcome by better decisions.

I am happy, more and more people discussing, that is the issue about the grotesque level of income and wealth inequality that exist in America today. Plain and simple, in the United States today we have more income and wealth inequality than almost in any other country, since 1928. Today in America, the top 1/10 of 1%, not 1%, 1/10 of 1% owns as much as the bottom 90%. One family, Walden family of Walmart, owns more wealth than bottom 40% of the American people.

You have got people working in two or three jobs, husband is working, wife is working. And yet today in America 58% of all new income, is going to top 1%. This campaign is about making economy that works for all of us and not just millionaries and billionaries.

You have got people working in two or three jobs, husband is working, wife is working. And yet today in America 58% of all new income, is going to top 1%. This campaign is about making economy that works for all of us and not just millionaries and billionaries.

This campaign is sending a simple and straight message to the billionaire class. In America, when people have power, the billionaire class will not have it all. The billionaires class will not get huge tax breaks, when children in America go hungry. They will not continue to send us job in china, when millions are jobless here. They will not continue giving huge compensation packages to CEO, when they cut the wages, the pensions and healthcare.

For high school graduates unemployment rates over 15% is ridiculous. One in five young adults is unemployed. We have been a generation of lost potential. This is a generation of lost opportunity.

For high school graduates unemployment rates over 15% is ridiculous. One in five young adults is unemployed. We have been a generation of lost potential. This is a generation of lost opportunity.

Productive economy, which can provide affordable loans, small and medium enterprise loans to provide jobs. Six largest financial banks have assets equivalent to 58% GDP. 2/3rd of the credit card, 1/3rd of the mortgages. When we have such financial powerful institution having political and economical power, the state hardly exists.

When we tried to regulate it, Wall street spent 5 billion dollar campaign lobby against the regulation. Signing super pact with democrats and republicans. We need to end this. Establish glass steagall and break this huge banks. If a financial institution is too big to fail it is too big to exist. I find it interesting not one CEO has a criminal record but hundreds of America in jail because of marijuana. We should not be in China and Vietnam.

They have to start creating jobs here in America and not in China and Vietnam.

When we use these words like greed, fraud and dishonesty and arrogance these are few of the adjectives to describe WALL STREET. The greed and recklessness of the Wall Street led to loss of million of jobs. We need a banking system which is part of the productive economy, which can provide affordable loans, small and medium enterprise loans to provide jobs. Six largest financial banks have assets equivalent to 58% GDP. 2/3rd of the credit card, 1/3rd of the mortgages. When we have such financial powerful institution having political and economical power, the state hardly exists.

When we tried to regulate it, Wall street spent 5 billion dollar campaign lobby against the regulation. Signing super pact with democrats and republicans. We need to end this. Establish glass steagall and break this huge banks. If a financial institution is too big to fail it is too big to exist. I find it interesting not one CEO has a criminal record but hundreds of America in jail because of marijuana. We should not be in China where there should be bank to big to fail and bankers too big to jail.

We are going to make public university education free. Any kid irrespective of family background can make it too. We are not begging to us, the congress, when their greed and recklessness made them bankrupt. We bailed them out. Now it is their turn to bail middle class out, students out. “

(A part of his speech in Cleveland, Ohio )
The #ParisAttacks and France’s long history of colonialism

Frank Gerits

In the wake of the #ParisAttacks earlier this month, lots of think pieces emerged that tried to make sense of the vile acts that took the lives of 130 people on terraces and in the Bataclan concert hall. Two competing narratives emerged: one emphasizes how the French way of life with its universal republican values was attacked; another – less publicized – explanation focuses on the tormented legacy of French colonialism in Algeria. However, it is only by unpacking the complexities that tie both narratives together that we can truly understand the position of the Paris attacks within the international history of the 20th and 21st century.

First of all, on the day of the attacks, French President François Hollande declared a state of emergency. While touted as an ‘exceptional’ measure, Hollande’s decision should be more accurately viewed as an historical reflex. After all, the French state of emergency is intimately connected with colonialism and its effects: it was declared during the Algerian War of Independence in 1955, 1958 and 1961, in the course of a secession movement in New Caledonia in 1984 and during the riots of young Parisians in North African and African descent in 2005. The state of emergency was instated once again because a vicious civil war in a former semi-French territory – Syria became a mandate territory after World War I – has provided a fertile ground for terrorist attacks.

Similarly, the French anger about the Belgian inability to control the movement of terrorists on its soil is also not new. As documents from the French foreign archives in La Courneuve show, Belgium was already the place where Algerians had a hide-out in the 1960s and a country where members of the Mouvement national Algérien (M.N.A) shot F.L.N. in 1971. The colour-blindness of French Republicanism was written out of French history. The so-called “failure” of French modernisation in Algeria was blamed on the racial “otherness” of Muslims.

Moreover, the European integration process had offered a tool to manage the fledgling French empire – Algeria was already a mandate territory after World War I – and has provided a fertile ground for terrorist attacks.

At the same time, however, we should not dismiss the feelings of Frenchmen and Europeans who see the values of democracy and the open society violently attacked by men who feel excluded from those societies. Most observer points out with great subtlety that Daesh perverts the values of Islam as it is being practiced today. At the same time there is little attention for the recent history of French Republicanism and the values that have sustained the European integration process.

Instead, Belgian Prime Minister Charles Michel and President Hollande have announced tighter security measures, but they fail to spur a debate about what the values are Europeans are supposed to fight for. This is problematic since a key justification for tighter security and more surveillance rests on a major contradiction: the democratic project should be universal, beneficial for people no matter where they live. At the same time it is also believed that “Western” countries combat terrorist acts because they disapprove of “Western” values despite of their universality.

The key to understanding this paradox lies in the complicated legacy of colonialism, which – particularly in the French context – tainted the democratic values that were so fervently embraced today. As historians, such as Tod Shepard and Frederick Cooper, have painstakingly documented, Algerians and – to an extent – Africans in French West Africa were legally viewed as French citizens, within the longstanding tradition of France’s universal Republicanism. After the Second World War the colonial project was transformed into the modernization project. Colonialism was no longer an economic enterprise, but a technocratic one aimed at increasing the standards of living while strengthening societies through Western expertise. However, once Algeria successfully claimed its independence in March 1962, the colour-blindness of French Republicanism was written out of French history. The so-called “failure” of French modernisation in Algeria was blamed on the racial “otherness” of Muslims.

As European amnesia about colonialism began to set in, black intellectuals such as Martiniquan writer Aimé Césaire stressed the hypocrisy of the imperial enterprise. French imperialism had carried the promise of economic development and Republican citizenship but instead brought destruction and oppression. In 1955, Césaire attacked the European claims of moral superiority. Europe bragged about its so-called achievements, the diseases it had cured, and the improved standards of living it had delivered, while in fact the Europeans had only taught men to have an “inferiority complex, to tremble, to kneel, despair and behave like flunkeys.”

Finding an appropriate response to the threat of terrorism therefore does not only require a forceful response, exemplified by Manuel Valls’ call to “annihilate” the enemies of the French Republic. It also requires European leaders to acknowledge how millions were excluded from access to what were supposedly universal values. As the decolonization process dragged on and Europe’s paternalist ambitions lessened, Europeans became more explicit about the fact that non-whites were not entitled to the same rights they themselves enjoyed on the old continent.

A good way to come to terms with the fact that both the European project and the political ideologies of Islam have perverse outgrowths might be the universalization of empathy. Devastating terrorist attacks like the one in Paris happen at regular intervals in Nigeria and Kenya, and should therefore – in equal measure – be presented as an attack on “all of humanity.”

@FrankGerits

International historian (Belgium), Postdoctoral Fellow, University of the Free State

GlassSteagall

The Sabha

It was a banking act of 1933, just after Great Depression. It is named after its Congressional sponsors, Senator Carter Glass (D) of Virginia, and Representative Henry B. Steagall (D) of Alabama.

It divided the banks into two groups: the commercial banks, that take your deposits, ordinary people, supposed to give money to small businesses to help grow the economy; and then the investment banks, taking money from rich people, investing in it in more speculative activities.

During the Clinton administration the division was eliminated. Citibank wanted to bring together these various financial institutions, and the result of that was : Glass-Steagall repealed.

It resulted into bigger banks that became too big to fail The culture of risk taking, that’s associated with the investment bank, spread to the whole banking system, and so all the banks became speculators, actually lending to small businesses lower than it was before the crisis.

And the kinds of conflicts of interest that were rampant in the years before the Great Depression started to appear all over the place in the financial sector.

To which Bernie said if you are too big to fail, you are too big to exist, and he wants to break the banks into smaller ones, which can redistribute the risk and capital.

TPP

The Sabha

The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is a trade agreement under negotiation among 12 nations: Australia, Brunei, Chile, Canada, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the US and Vietnam, which comprise 40% of the world’s gross domestic product (GDP).

The basic point is that this is a trade agreement that has all kinds of provisions intended to restrict regulations and transfer power from state to market.

Imagine a corporation suing a government, saying that they have right to kill and you cannot regulate my product. And if you do then you have to pay me not to kill you.

On a provision very similar to this related to tobacco, Uruguay is being sued by Philip Morris, the successor to Philip Morris, because Uruguay passed a regulation, as did Australia, that on the package you have to say that this is bad for your health.

Similarly, in the case of restriction of emissions of carbon, corporations can sue the government for loss of profits due to regulation and same is the case for medicine.

Just like the TPP, TTP the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, a planned trade pact between the United States and European Union undermines safety and environmental regulations to serve corporate interests.
This move by the UGC needs to be understood in the context of India’s larger submission to WTO diktats. It is yet another move towards marketization and privatization of higher education in the country. Bending under the World Bank’s insistence to reduce fiscal deficit, Indian government has already been cutting funding and subsidy to many important sectors in the economy.

Higher education is yet another field which the government is now intent to open up to market forces. With more and more private universities being encouraged to set shop in the country, the government has also been repeatedly announcing and glorifying the prospective entry of foreign universities in India’s higher education sector. December 2015 will mark the WTO-GATS Conference wherein the Government of India is all set to allow 160 member countries of WTO to establish universities in India as commercial ventures. This, the people’s right to education will be completely dismantled as the government will then be bound to protect the interests of foreign and domestic corporate houses that pursue profits in the sector. To create a “level playing field” for these profit making entities, the government will need to dismantle all subsidies and support to public universities, so that these private and foreign entities can “compete” with public universities in the market. It is in preparation for this commitment to the WTO that the government took this move to scrap the non-NET scholarship. Thus we need to understand this as a deliberate attempt to sabotage public universities in preparation for the planned marketization and privatization of higher education of India. There is an uncanny similarity between the way the demise of public healthcare one cannot help but observe the mushrooming of Maxx and Fortis hospitals while most of the populace requires adequate treatment and marketization of higher education of India. There is an uncanny similarity between the way the demise of public healthcare one cannot help but observe the mushrooming of Maxx and Fortis hospitals while most of the populace requires adequate treatment and marketization of higher education of India. There is an uncanny similarity between the way the demise of public healthcare one cannot help but observe the mushrooming of Maxx and Fortis hospitals while most of the populace requires adequate treatment and marketization of higher education of India. There is an uncanny similarity between the way the demise of public healthcare one cannot help but observe the mushrooming of Maxx and Fortis hospitals while most of the populace requires adequate treatment and marketization of higher education of India. There is an uncanny similarity between the way the demise of public healthcare one cannot help but observe the mushrooming of Maxx and Fortis hospitals while most of the populace requires adequate treatment and marketization of higher education of India. There is an uncanny similarity between the way the demise of public healthcare one cannot help but observe the mushrooming of Maxx and Fortis hospitals while most of the populace requires adequate treatment and marketization of higher education of India. There is an uncanny similarity between the way the demise of public healthcare one cannot help but observe the mushrooming of Maxx and Fortis hospitals while most of the populace requires adequate treatment.
The Khadija Project in Azerbaijan

One year ago today, investigative reporter Khadija Ismayilova, 39, was unjustly jailed in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku. Her colleagues today release new stories building on her work revealing corruption among Azerbaijan’s top officials and their friends. Nearly 70 journalists, researchers, and supporting organizations gathered in Istanbul in November to share skills, notes, and plans for future stories following up on Ismayilova’s work at part of the seventh annual conference of the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP).

Journalists Pushed out of Jobs in Turkey

Around 1,000 journalists have been pushed out of their jobs since the increasingly powerful Turkish president’s party won re-election earlier this month. It was shortly before Turkish authorities summoned Can Dundar, the editor-in-chief of Cumhuriyet, one of Turkey’s largest newspapers, and one of his most senior editors, to court and locked up in a jail cell explained why he believed the government under the country’s increasingly powerful president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, had continued to crack down on the press even after its decisive election victory earlier this month.

Dundar was jailed on Thursday and faces a possible sentence of life in prison on espionage and terrorism charges for publishing a report in May that included photos and videos alleging Turkish intelligence officials were smuggling weapons to Syrian rebel fighters described as jihadis in January 2014. The report, yet to be refuted or denied, shone an uncomfortable spotlight on allegations that Turkey has supported, or at least been complicit, in ISIS.

Journalist’s Facebook account blocked in Kerala

The Facebook account of journalist VP Rajeeva was blocked after she put out a post about child sex abuse during her time at a madarsa on November 21. The events, Rajeeva’s Facebook posts says, were spread out across her six years at the madarsa. Rajeeva started receiving threats after she put up the post, which made her write another post in which she said that despite everything, she would remain fearless. (IndiaToday)

Murders of journalist in Brazil

Over 30 journalists and bloggers have been murdered in Brazil since 1992, making it a dangerous place for those who speak out against local corruption – especially in the country’s remoter regions. And a culture of impunity means the killers are rarely brought to justice. In a country like Brazil, where there were more than 32,000 murders in 2014, it is not always easy to identify patterns. Many of the Brazilian journalists have had to deal with violence, threats, and even imprisonment as part of their work. A report by Brazil’s Associação Nacional de Jornais (National Newspaper Association), quoted in an article in The Guardian, has said that in addition to the killings, 24 journalists have been imprisoned, 33 have been the victims of assault and 59 have received threats since 2008.

On September 4, 2014, two days before floods wreaked havoc in Kashmir, two TV reporters, Nazir Masoodi of NDTV and Aasif Shuaib of News24, washed through chest-deep water trying to reach the first floor of the Bone and Joint Hospital in Srinagar where patients had just been moved to the upper stories as the water level kept rising. It had been raining torrentially non-stop for days. Moments later, both rushed to Bemina where the water had broken one of the dykes of the flood channel. With their wet clothes on, the duo continued reporting, making their way to house after house where hundreds were still trapped.

Scenes like these became common in the days to come. Journalists, most of whom had no information about their own relatives, continued covering the floods, putting their lives and the lives of their colleagues in harm’s way. With limited boats, no life jackets and no telecommunication network, dozens of Kashmir-based journalists preferred covering the catastrophe and saving trapped people rather than staying with their families in safety.

One of them, Shafat Siddiqui, who contributed his photographs to Pacific Press and Dainik Jagran, was found dead with cameras still slung around his neck on September 11, five days after he went missing. According to his family, Siddiqui was asked by his office to photograph the clock tower in Lal Chowk. “He had no car. They asked him to come and he went out to fetch petrol and then left at around 10:30 am,” The Indian Express quoted Siddiqui’s uncle as saying on September 24. When reporters from Delhi landed to cover the floods, most of them were not clear how to access the areas submerged under water; who to contact and how. The administration, by the then Chief Minister Omar Abdullah’s own confession, was missing. The only working solution for covering stories was to either explore possibilities around Srinagar airport (which was untouched by the floods) or follow the army operations. Many journalists who opted for the latter almost acted like embedded correspondents, trusting that the army was using its rescue efforts as a public relations opportunity. Questions like: “Are you grateful to the army personnel who rescued you?” put by some reporters were controversial and the recreation of scenes was also not unethical.

The fury of locals against this phenomenon rose to such a level that the reporters, who had been working out of the Valley, had to remove the logos of the channels from microphones for weeks after the floods as they feared a backlash. Most of the journalists and editors in Delhi did not understand the sensitivities on the ground. Scenes like these were repeated in the aftermath of the Nepal earthquake.

This is not an aberration. Most journalists who work from small towns or the hinterlands share a similar fate. They break stories which high-profile journalists sell, face intimidation and live on meager salaries. Often labelled as ‘contributors’ or ‘stringers’, they have no contracts with the organizations they work for and do not win awards or fellowships. Paid per story or per picture, they are, as the Dinkar Jagran editor in J&K, Abhimanyu Sharma, wrote in an op-ed to Siddiqui, “stringer[s] who contributed pictures as ‘shouqia’ (as a hobby).”

Honour all without favour

Gowhar Farooq

Cut to November 23, 2015 and the Ramnath Goenka awards in the capital. Journalists like Siddiqui did not find even an honorary mention in a ceremony that attracted some of the biggest names in Indian politics and the arts. Though Siddiqui lost his life while on duty, a Delhi-based reporter won the award for reporting on the Kashmir floods.

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Such cases exist all over India. Tarun Kumar Acharya, who worked as a stringer for Kanak TV, a local Oriya TV channel, and as a reporter for Sambad, one of the largest circulated Oriya newspaper, was found murdered on May 28, 2014. Acharya was allegedly killed over a news item on children working in a cashew processing unit. According to the police, the owner of the cashew plant arranged contract killers to eliminate Acharya.

Similarly, in November 2014, M.V.N. Shankar, a senior journalist for the Telugu-language daily Andhra Prabha, died at a local hospital a day after being beaten by assailants with iron rods. Shankar had frequently reported on the oil mafia. None of them was deemed fit for something like a special category award called the Journalism of Courage which The Express Group declared for its correspondent Vijay Pratap Singh who died due to the injuries he sustained in a bomb blast in Allahabad on July 12, 2010.

And, this is not the case with only the Ramnath Goenka awards. It is true almost everywhere. Since these journalists are not staffers or do not work for big organizations, they are not even nominated for awards. There is absolutely no doubt Singh deserved the award but so do the Siddiquis, Acharyas and Shankars of the world who report in adverse conditions, with limited resources and without much backing from the organizations they work for. The idea of the awards should be to honour brilliance wherever it can be found, even if it means seeking out those who may never be nominated.

(Gowhar Farooq is an assistant professor at the AJK MCRC, Jamia Millia Islamia.)
Reaffirming faith on Constitutionalism, this year, law day was re-christened as Constitution Day. Constitu-
tion is a document, which dictates the past, defines the
present and shapes the future of the country. It’s the
religion of the state. All the entity under the poli-
ty defines them and derives their validity from it. In
a constitutional democracy Constitutionalism is the only
way of life, and there exists no life beyond or above it. Con-
titution is indeed a law, but distinct and different from
other law. In the form of legal rules and prin-
ciples it encompasses the common will of people. It’s
a union of law and politics and it is a political and
legal document. Constitutionalism requires both rule
of law and rule of politics to be in consonance with the
Constitution. Curiously, constitution (the Grundnorm), which is the
product of a long historic revolution, doesn’t encour-
age revolution. It recognizes the right to resistance of
the government against the people but doesn’t confer
the same right on the people against the government.
By this constitution demands the adherence of people
to Constitutionalism without any exception. However,
the mixture of law with politics leaves wide scope for
its stake holder to practice mischief, specifically in
the name of Constitutionalism.

Role of Law in Rule of Life
Relation of human life with law is of antiquity. How-
ever, elevation of law as the ruler, in its present form,
is the outcome of a long process. In which it has ad-
opted various forms without changing its role. The
role of law has always been to limit the autonomy
of man by controlling and regulating his behaviour. Thus,
law is always used as a means to achieve a ‘law of
nature’, it justifies the act of mighty, and as ‘natural
law’, the power of reasoning. After the emergence
of nation-states and positivization of law, law became
the language of state and a means for serving its wishes.
In the contemporary modern democracy, governed
by the constitution, state became the subject of law. A
union of law and politics, and both a political and
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The informal suspension of constitution by perpetual
state of exception and extra-judicial execution, with-
out any formal declaration, seems to have become
the integral part of Constitutionalism. In which the
constitution is being used as a political document to enforce
the political will through judicial platform. Where the
political will is to eliminate all those who don’t inte-
grate into the system or to whom the system doesn’t inte-
grate.

Constitutionalism: Exception as norm
Trijeeb Nanda

The Constitution inter alia embodies the principle of
rule of law; i.e. equality before law and equal protec-
tion of law to every person. Thus, very often, ‘rule of
law’ and Constitutionalism is used interchangeably,
but there exists a fundamental distinction. The exe-
cution of Bhagat Singh and many others, in pre-inde-
pendence era, was also according to the rule of law.
But, now the principle rule of law can’t be understood
in isolation, it must be in consonance with the consti-
tution. Thus, under Constitutionalism neither martyr
sions are enacted to control abnormal situations. The
government is conferred with the power to pronounce
the proclamation through a formal declaration and the
only justification for the suspension is enforcement of
Constitutionalism. This principle of necessity has widely been invoked
to enforce political wishes through law. Adolf Hitler
violated the emergency provision of the German Con-
stitution, and never revoked. Thereby, established a
permanent state of emergency, where the role of law
was to establish the rule of law of Hitler. In India also
it has been used as a tool to satisfy the political wish.
Suspension of Constitution inevitably pushes the hu-
man life into a state of exception. It essentially creates
the abnormal situation where role of law is to make the
life of the normal people difficult. That’s why it be the
act of Hitler in Germany or the act of Indra in India in
the late 70s, invariably invites condemnation without
any exception. Apart from this constitutionally recognized and de-
fined exception, i.e formal declaration of emergency,
the political history of the modern democratic polity
indicates about the evolution of new technique for em-
ploying exception. Here, law employs exception neither
by invoking nor by suspending the constitution. Nor
it is formally promulgated as emergency. The role of
law in North-Eastern states and other so-called disturb-
ar areas of the country are the examples of employment
of new technique. In these areas, the operation of the
rule of constitution is informally revoked by the rule of
exceptional legislation. The exceptional law like AFSPA
and UAPA are nothing but law of emergency, which
essentially requires an abnormal situation. However,
these extra-constitutional emergency legislations em-
ploys exceptions in advance and not as a result of any

necessity. In cases of necessity, exception is employed
for a temporary period to deal with already occurred
extra-ordinary situation. The judicial justification of this permanent state of
exception through constitutional interpretation by the
judiciary amounts to normalization of an abnormal
situation as a part of Constitutionalism. This, yet to be
defined exception, has become the technique of govern-
ance under various constitutions of the world.

Extra-Judicial Execution
Constitution guarantees right to life of every person
without any discrimination, and categorically prohibits
its deprivation except according to procedure estab-
lished by law. But the people killed in encounter by
security forces are not availing this protection. These
executions are popularly known as death by encoun-
ter, more specifically police encounter. Where security
forces are neither conferred with any impunity nor
exempted from criminal liability by any specific excep-

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search Fellow at Tata Institute of Social
Sciences, Mumbai (Criminal Justice Fel-
lowship). He is currently working on
Access to Justice for the marginalized
and vulnerable undertrial prisoners in
Odisha)
De-notified tribes are born as Humans but labeled as Criminals. India acquired independence in 1947 but still their freedom and rights are not granted to them. They are one of those who enriched Indian history, culture and social life. They are offenders without offences. Even offenders have rights in legal system of a democracy but they are restricted through legal and social institutions. De-notified tribe’s human rights entitlements are known, but ignored by the mainstream of the society. They are Indians without Indian citizenship entitlement.

Chhapparband is one of the De-notified Tribe communities in Maharashtra which is marginalised socially, economically and politically till today. They were criminalised and brutally killed by the British Government. These communities were threat to British Empire. The aim of the British Government was to control this vast population which was nomadic in nature. In the name of maintaining law and order, British government used “Criminal Tribe Act” as an effective weapon against these rich cultural community, converted them into very cheap wage labour. Due to colonial encroachment these communities became socially-economically-politically and culturally vulnerable.

The ‘Chhapparband’ is elaborated as ‘Band’, means the group of people and this community is mainly known for their art of building the ‘Chhappar’, so together this community is known as ‘Chhapparband’. Traditionally this community used to make coins such as Mohara, Hon, etc., through melting gold-copper and other metals and secondly they were well-known for the art of making temporary tent (Chhapparband) for Kings and Sardars. It was criminalised for making fake coins during the British era.

The ‘Chhapparband’ is one serious aspect that was rarely discussed. It is well known fact that even those who fought for RTI also are not ready to give more information than restricted by the law. Of the hundred applications received, even if we get responses for only 10, still we claim it is wonderful legislation. There can be several criticisms against RTI, which are discussed widely but there is one serious aspect that was rarely discussed.

In a disciplinarian and state-centric society like India, there is no doubt that law becomes all encompassing vital for the social life. Ten years back, if a group of people felt that there was a problem with the way decisions are made by government officials, with regard to anything, they used to go and stage a protest, shout, argue, express anger, remind them that they are publicly accountable and the decisions are based on the basis of people’s money etc.

Each one of these aspects is a politically loaded activism about which public servants used to feel tension or threat. These activities released tremendous political energy from people. This constantly created a dialogue, tension between people and officials and kept the idea of participation very alive. Officials may not be giving information then but still were scared to face the public and give some excuse or explanation for not giving information.

But today most radical activity begins with petition under RTI application by individuals. No question of groups coming together to protest against the inaction of any officer. Officers take their sweet time to refuse the information. You are forced to go around appealing after appealing until you turn blue in your face.

We are not realizing the fact that all laws, especially like RTI, effectively tame the political energy of the people into petition raj. The powerful told us how obediently ask the informations they want. The powerful want. Hence it is important to realize the limited value of the legislation.

(Santosh Pawar is a Criminal Justice Fellow working in Pune on Denotified Tribes.)
When the state that was the country’s biggest agricul-
tural success story in the 1970s tops the list of indebted
farmers, it is obvious that there is something very rot-
ten in the state of agriculture in the country. A three-
part series that looks at the agriculture crisis in India’s
food bowl, Punjab

When Veer Davinder offered to serve whisky before
dinner at his farmhouse in Dundhara village in Pun-
jab’s Faridkot district, the young farmer made it a point
to clarify that the offer was not reflective of the sit-
tuation of farmers in the state. His friends said it was
part of Punjab’s tradition of hospitality, and a polite
refusal to partake of the whisky did not stop the hardy
Jat farmers from stuffing their guest with good food.

We were here to discuss the reported crisis across
Punjab’s fields. The Jats were at a loss to explain their
situation. “Anakh jattan di,” said one of them, meaning
that the Jat brotherhood prided itself on the fact that a
Jat may break, but won’t bend. “Once upon a time this
meant that even if a single Jat farmer committed sui-
cide, it is a blot on the entire brotherhood. Tragedy in
Punjab today, it means that a Jat farmer would rath-
er break and commit suicide than to bend to seek help
or mercy,” says Labh Singh, a farmer himself.

The crisis of agriculture in Punjab is as peculiar as the
fact that farmers in Punjab are predominantly from
the Jat community which is comparatively much bet-
ter off than the communities that comprise farmers
in the rest of the country. Punjab produces around
two thirds of the foodgrain procured annually in the
country, a remarkable feat for a state that occupies
only 1.5 % of the country’s geographical area. But this
has also meant overexploitation of land and other re-
sources and intensive use of inputs. The fact that Punjab’s
farmers are today more heavily in debt than farmers in
any other state.

According to the latest National Sample Survey Or-
ganisation (NSSO) data, farm households in India have
an average outstanding loan of Rs 1.258, but in Punjab
the average outstanding loan is Rs 41,576 (December
2003). The state’s farm indebtedness, that is, unpaid
loans, both in the formal and informal sector, is around
Rs 26,000 crore, more than the state’s gross annual
earnings from agriculture.

The recovery rate of institutional loans in Punjab, too,
is high, the highest in the country at 85 %. With overdue
loans hardly around 15 %, Punjab will not stand to
benefit much from the debt relief measures proposed in
the Union budget 2008. “The resource allocation
criterion of the Centre has been disadvantaging the
better performing states, and Punjab, with such high
debt recovery, would naturally not benefit much,” says
economist Ranjit Singh Ghuman of Punjab University,
Patiala.

The Union budget announcement of a bank loan waiv-
er for small farmers caused only faint smiles across the
emerald fields of Punjab, which have a bumper wheat
crop this season. “Ninety per cent of farmers in Punjab
are in debt, but a majority of them have taken loans from
arhtiyas (commission agents) and private mon-
eylenders, not banks,” says Shamsher Singh, 56, a well-
to-do farmer from Harj Majra village in Patiala district.

Shamsher Singh should know, as he is also the director
of the Kheti Vikas Bank, Chandigarh. “Punjab’s farmers
will not be lifted out of their mess unless private money
lenders are waived completely,” he says. The non-in-
stitutional loan was the biggest evil because of its high

proportion - according to some estimates, 50-55 % of
total agriculture loans in the state - coupled with the
high rate of interest, ranging from 26 % to 60 % an-
nually.

A bank official in Chandigarh said it was a very com-
plex process to find out how much small and marginal
farmers owe. But loan figures with the state agricul-
ture department to date revealed that Rs 52,240 crore
was advanced by commercial banks, Rs 4,080 crore by
cooperative banks and Rs 1,974 crore by Punjab Agri-
culture Development Bank. Which means that the to-
total burden of non-institutional loans could be anything
around Rs 20,000 crore.

Initial estimates by officials hint that Punjab’s farmers
would benefit by between Rs 800 crore to Rs 1,000
crore under the loan waiver scheme. Compared to
their contribution to the nation’s food security, this
benefit is considered insufficient to manage the crisis
of 3.24 crore marginal and small farmers and 87 lakh
other farmers in the state. The fact that this prosper-
ous state has been reporting a spate of farmer suicides
in recent decades surprises many outside the state.
With the Punjab government in denial mode, there are
no definitive suicide figures yet. Independent studies
have, however, brought out the gravity of the situation.

In November 2007, the Movement against State Re-
pression (MADR) wrote to Lok Sabha speaker Somnath
Chatterjee and all parliamentarians, listing seven dif-
ferent estimates of the number of suicides in Punjab,
pending an official survey by the state government.
The suicide figures ranged from a handful to several
thousands. While the Punjab government’s status re-
test listed 2,814 farmer suicides during 1988-2000, the
Punjab Farmers’ Commission 2006 said some 2,000
farmers were taking their own lives every year. Surpris-
ingly, the Punjab Police Report 2007 listed only seven
suicides in as many years, and the Punjab revenue re-
port for 2007 conceded 132 suicides in the past five
years. The MADR’s own estimate of farmer suicides
for 1988-2006 was around 60,000.

Says MADR convenor Inderjit Singh Jaijee, “The Cen-
tral government is willing to concede farmer suicides
in Maharashtra and the southern states, but not in
Punjab because the state has long been projected as an
agricultural success story. If government admits farm-
ers in Punjab are dying, it would mean agriculture in
India was in distress.”

MADR, a non-government organisation started in the
1980s by Jaijee, a former MLA, had warned the pow-
ers that be in New Delhi and Chandigarh in 2001, that
suicide is violence turned inward in Punjab. “It will not
be long before anger and despair are turned outward
and result in social and political turmoil,” it stated in a
memorandum to the government.

MADR’s data from an in-debt survey of 1,508 suicides
from 1988 onwards, in Moonak sub-division in San-
grur district, comprising 91 villages, throws some light
on the Punjab crisis. MASR’s data from an in-debt survey of
1,508 suicides from 1988-2006 was around 60,000.

Called Nanak Kheti, Dutt described it as an ecologi-
cal farmers’ movement to change the entire food cul-
ture that has been corrupted by the use of chemicals
and to practice of monoculture. So far, 200 villages
in 60 blocks across Punjab have joined KVM’s effort, he
claims.

Jaijee feels that natural and organic farming has a lim-
ited role to play. “The Punjab agriculture model was a ‘paradigm mistake’ and farmers were committing suicide due to deceler-
ation of agricultural growth since the mid-1980s. The
KVM has taken up the Punjab farmers’ cause and is in-
volved in ‘dismantling the old paradigm by promoting
an eco-friendly version of green revolution’.

Anish Malekar has been a full-time senior researcher
with CCD for three years. He has considerable experience in reporting
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Producers

Punjab: Crisis in Food bowl of the country

Anosh Malekar

The causes of the Punjab farmer’s downward spiral
into debt for the past two decades are manifold, but a ma-
ior part of the blame falls on the inequitable cost-price
structure, non-availability of credit, high rates of in-
terest, restrictions on trade and cold storage on agri-
culture land,” says Jaijee. In the absence of a holistic ap-
troach to cure the malaise, the loan waiver will prove to be
only a temporary crisis management measure in Pun-
jab as elsewhere in the country, he says.

The suicides are a symptom of the agricultural crisis
whose roots lie in soil contamination, soil erosion, re-
duced soil fertility, micronutrient deficiencies, falling
water tables, water shortages, and increased vulnera-
bility to pests, all of which have contributed to falling
income from agriculture. This has led to overall ru-
ral impoverishment, reduced availability of nutritious
food crops for the local population, increased drug use
and alcoholism in the countryside, the displacement of
vast numbers of small farmers from their land, more
and more farmers being forced out of agriculture, and
increased social tensions and conflicts.

Experts have been discussing the Punjab situation for
a while and the discourse on the continuing crisis in
agriculture has progressed from ‘crop devaluation’ to
‘a second green revolution’, with no consensus yet.
Farmers’ organisations say the present crisis has been
attributed to a state of distress and to the Punjab’s lack
of forward thinking to a ‘second green revolution’, with no
consensus yet.

The Punjab crisis is too serious a situation for
ologists to step into the void and force farmers in
Punjab to turn to suicide. To their credit, the Punjab
government has declared a moratorium on farmers’
debts - including those of farmers who have already
committed suicide. And at the same time, it has

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