

Vol No. 30 | Issue No. 04 | April 2019 | Price 30/-

PROUT

A Journal of Proutistic Views and Neo-Humanistic Analysis

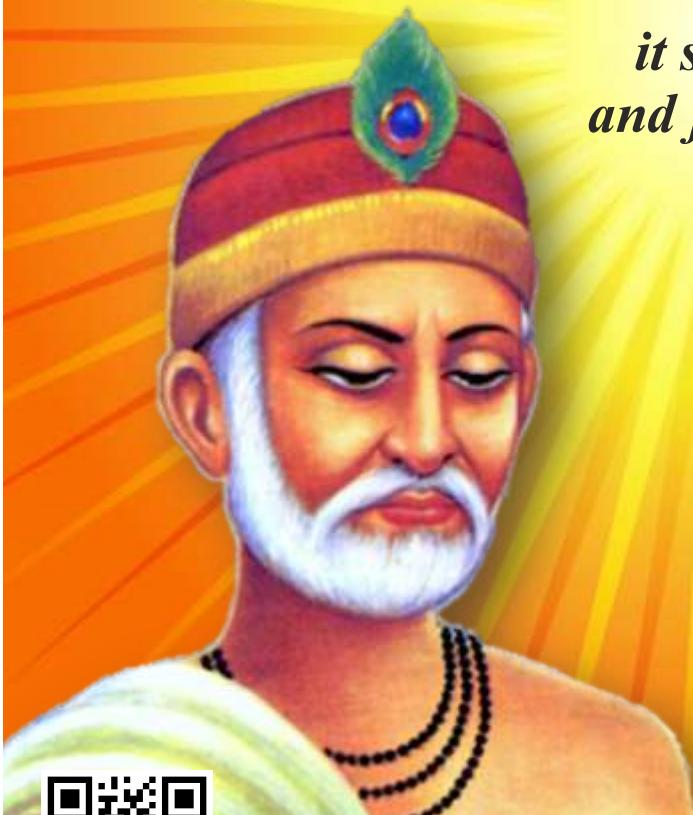


ISSN2321-6786

The Structural Genocide
That is Capitalism



*“Knowledge is for all –
it should be available to all
and free like the light and air.”*



Scan the code with
mobile/fab using
QR Code reader

13

CAPITALISM AND THE EXISTING
SOCIAL STRUCTURES CAUSE
DEPRIVATION OF PEOPLE'S BASIC
NEEDS – THIS IS ITS HARMFUL
GENOCIDICAL TENDENCY

21

MANY BUSINESS PERSONS ARE NOW DIRECTLY
ENTERING POLITICS TO CONTEST ELECTIONS. IN THE
ABSENCE OF STRONG “CONFLICT OF INTEREST” RULES,
THEIR ENGAGEMENT AS ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES
CARRIES THE RISK OF FOSTERING CRONYISM

READ & SUBSCRIBE PROUT A Vibrant Magazine that Informs & Inspires

PROUT

PROGRESSIVE UTILISATION THEORY

Propounded by - Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

PROUT - Cry of the Suffering Humanity

What is PROUT :

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

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

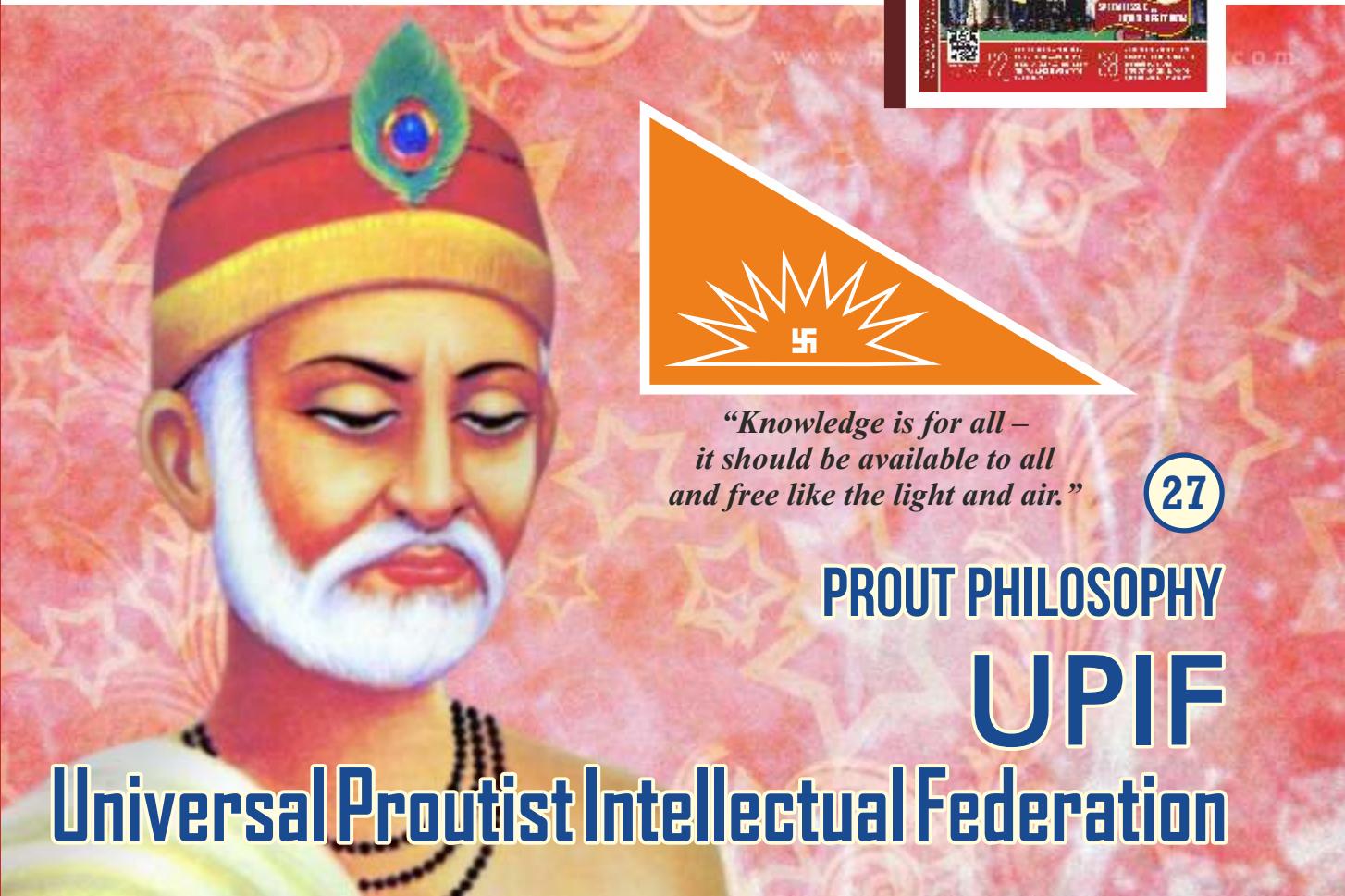
PROUT magazine invites scientists, economists, politicians, artists, intellectuals and others to join us in the creation of a new, spiritually bonded society by propagating and popularising unambiguous elevating thoughts. Through Proutistic views and Neo Humanistic analysis, it strives to serve as beacon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

Main principles of PROUT and Neo-Humanism

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

Contents

VOLUME 30 | ISSUE 04 | APRIL 2019



PROUT PHILOSOPHY UPIF

Universal Proutist Intellectual Federation

Feature

08

HUMAN CARDINAL DUTIES
The Duty of Proutists



20

CRONY CAPITALISM
Crony Capitalism in India
Part-2



34

HEALTHCARE
Right to Healthcare



39

HEALTHCARE FAULTLINES
What Happened to
India's National
Free Medicines Scheme?



12

CAPITALISM DANGERS
The Structural Genocide
That is Capitalism



REGULARS

- | | |
|--------------|------------------|
| 05 Editorial | 07 Inspirational |
| 06 Letter | 44 Activities |

41

FINANCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY
NPTC Violating Rights of
Communities Year After Year



Criminal codes are generally framed by politicians according to their own standards. Sometimes they include a tinge of humanity and sometimes they do not. Thus the present-day legal codes are not necessarily humanitarian. Rational people may defy a legal code but they should never violate cardinal human values. I would never tell the people of a country to follow their legal codes blindly, but would tell them to always follow cardinal human values.

— SHRII PRABHAT RANJAN SARKAR

Fundamental Principles of PROUT

1

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

2

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

3

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

4

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

5

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

Editor

A'ca'rya Santosa'nanda Avadhuta

General Manager: Pranav Koul

Correspondents: Kanhu Charan Behura / Ravindra Singh

Editorial Board

A'ca'rya Acyutananda Avadhuta / A'ca'rya Vedaprajnananda Avadhuta / Sohail Inayatullah / Thejesh Puttuswamy

Circulation Manager: Ramkesh Choudhary

Layout & Design: Suman Jha / Nishant Kumar Jha

Rate (INDIA)

Newstand Price	- ₹ 30/-
Annual Subscription	- ₹ 324/-
Two Years Subscription	- ₹ 612/-
Three Years Subscription	- ₹ 864/-
Five Years Subscription	- ₹ 1350/-
Ten Years Subscription	- ₹ 2520/-

Overseas (By AIRMAIL)

Annual	- US\$ 45
--------	-----------

Overseas (By Paypal)

US	- US\$ 45
Others	- US\$ 50

Payments in India may be made by cheque favouring **Neo-Humanist Education Foundation** mailed to **Acarya Santosananda Avadhuta**, JC-48, Khirki Extension, Main Road, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi 110017
For outstation remittance from non computerized banks/branches add Rs 30.00 for bank clearance charges.
Or amounts may be deposited directly to any branch of the State Bank of India as per details below:

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

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

Head Office : Prout Bhawan, JC-48, Khirki Extension
Main Road, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi - 110017
Mobile No. : 09212199658, 9810625082 Email : prout.am@gmail.com



For enquiries, please contact :
Mobile No(s) : 9891742980, 8700124625, 9350860274
Email : proutcustomercare@gmail.com

Printed & published by A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta on behalf of Neo Humanist Education Foundation and printed at Royal Press B-82, Okhla Industrial Area Phase-1, New Delhi-110020 and published from PROUT Bhawan, JC-48, Khirki Extension, Main Road, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi - 110017
Editor : A'ca'rya Santosananda Avadhuta



FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

STILL MISSING INDIAN PRISONERS OF WAR

The nation was overjoyed with the return to India of Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman of the Indian Air Force from Pakistan on March 1, after being in their custody for two days. On February 26, flying an ageing Russian built MIG 21 aircraft, he in an act of great skill and daring engaged a vastly superior American F-16 of the Pakistan Air Force that had transgressed Indian air space, in a dogfight and downed it. 45 minutes after his release Prime Minister Narendra Modi tweeted “The nation is proud of your exemplary courage”.

While the nation rejoiced, there were those who cried “Pilot freed what about our men?” These are kin of 54 Indian Prisoners of War who like Abhinandan were declared missing in action. While 48 out of the 54 were missing since the 1971 war, three went missing in the 1965 war against Pakistan and are still believed to be languishing in Pakistani jails. Of the 54 missing personnel, 27 were from the Army, 24 from the Air Force, two from the Navy and one from the Border Security Force. According to army veterans some are seriously ill and some have lost mental balance or may have even died under mysterious circumstances.

While most have forgotten, the families of the PoWs have remained strong and continue their efforts to bring them back. But that doesn't wipe out their ordeal of running pillar to post to retrieve them or the helplessness in view of lack of action. As long ago as 15 years ago, India's then Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao had sent six family members to Pakistan which had allowed them to see their loved ones. But relations between the countries soured and all the families could do was gasp at straws at that moment and return. The Pakistani authorities then only confirmed the presence of the PoWs in its jail to the families.

While Pakistan has denied knowledge about their existence and whereabouts, there is overwhelming evidence over the last 47 years to claim the presence of the PoWs in the neighbouring country.

The evidence has been well-documented in national and international media, from accounts of conversation between officers of Indian Forces with their Pakistani counterparts to their mention in biographies of noteworthy personalities including former Pakistan PM Benazir Bhutto. Yet Pakistan has denied their existence.

For close to five decades these soldiers who were then in their prime age faced imprisonment. Apart from their identities, India does not have a single clue about their physical and mental condition, the treatment meted out to them as Pakistan even denies their existence, their health condition, and the number of PoWs alive and dead and under what circumstances. In return for their services, the soldiers have received the message of total abandonment by us and multiple governments.

In 2015 the Ministry of Defence gave an affidavit in the Supreme Court that it has no details regarding 54 missing defence personnel believed to be held captive as prisoners of wars (POWs) in Pakistan jails after 1965 and 1971 wars, and expressed its inability to state anything affirmatively about their whereabouts and said it would continue making efforts for their release and repatriation.

The sad reality, however, that it is we who have forgotten about the same soldiers who with their valour and supreme skills gave us the 1971 war, a war geopolitically significant to India as well to the people in the region formerly called East Pakistan which later on became Bangladesh. All India has done is give the PoWs the status of ‘missing’ in action, despite having had the proof and the power to bring them back.

As the families strive to get their beloved back home, one wonders what goes through their hearts and minds as they have little to no information about them. As they live in a state of purgatory, where they don't know whether their family member across the border is alive or dead, if alive then in what health condition, and will they ever be united with them. A gross injustice of separation and an endless waiting has been thrust on them. The 1971 war ended on December 16, every year that day is celebrated as ‘Vijay Diwas’ but for the 54 families there is little joy as one more year passes since they last spoke to their loved ones. They and their sons still in Pakistani jails, the families deserve justice.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Moving Towards Social Synthesis

This article by Prout's founder is indeed an eye opener. There can never be peace and tranquility in society unless the gulf between the rich and poor as it exists today is reduced to reasonable and rational limits. Just as light and darkness cannot remain side by side so does extreme wealth and extreme poverty. This has to go at the earliest and with the help of neohumanism and the principles of proutistic economy.

TN Das, New Delhi

Liquor Free India

Congrats to Prout Magazine for highlighting the evils of liquor in society. The Editorial and the articles bring them out very clearly. Sooner the governments and people understand this the better. I would in fact like to

suggest a step further. Let the entire world be freed from liquor consumption and be kept safe from its harmful effects.

Sarita Devi, Nagpur

Medicine as a Tool of Domination

This is a dangerous portend. Any form of control that curbs the freedom of human spirit is wrong. Over history we all know that humans progressed because of this very spirit to ask questions and seek answers.

**Kanu Sarma,
Behrampore**

Dadhici Divas

A very informative article on how simple people high on morality battled the forces of corruption and adharma. The details about the supreme sacrifice made by these brave women and men for their ideology is heartwarming. They dedicated their lives for humanity and gave it up for that cause and will be remembered as shining light for times to come.

Manoranjan Kumar

Crony Capitalism

An interesting and a well researched article, showing the dark underbelly of this new form of capitalism, when spirituality is lacking. The cartoons show how the nexus works

between the government and these cronies. Over the years this malaise has grown and needs to be checked urgently.

**Sadhana Bhavnani,
Kutch**

Planetary Initiation

This article clearly brings about that universalism as propounded by Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar is the only answer to have a stable and balanced society where the economy flourishes, people are happy marching in unison towards and environmentally enriched earth free from manmade calamities.

Sagar Deep, Kamorta

Izzat O Iqbal

The details revealed by the writer about government scam and its attack on the prestige of the defence forces that selflessly defend the motherland is indeed shocking. The issues raised and solutions offered are very pertinent and should be paid heed to by the powers that be at the earliest. It should not be forgotten that the perils that face the nation with disgruntled and dissatisfied soldiers are very grave. It's high time corrective steps are taken.

**Nb Sub Murthy,
Nagercoil**

A Dish of Ice Cream

In the days when an ice cream sundae cost much less, a 10 year old boy entered a hotel coffee shop and sat at a table. A waitress put a glass of water in front of him.

"How much is an ice cream sundae?"

"50 cents," replied the waitress.

The little boy pulled his hand out of his pocket and studied a number of coins in it.

"How much is a dish of plain ice cream?" he inquired. Some people were now waiting for a table and the waitress was a bit impatient.

"35 cents," she said brusquely.

The little boy again counted the coins. "I'll have the plain ice cream," he said.

The waitress brought the ice cream, put the bill on the table and walked away. The boy finished the ice cream, paid the cashier and departed.

When the waitress came back, she began wiping down the table and then swallowed hard at what she saw.

There, placed neatly beside the empty dish, were 15 cents – her tip.





THE DUTY OF PROUTISTS

■ Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

This universe is our common patrimony. Ours is a universal joint family, Parama Purusa [Cosmic Consciousness] being Supreme Father. Like members of a joint family, we should live with the policy of "Live and let others live." The exploited and unexploited potentialities of the world do not belong to any particular person, nation or state. They can only enjoy these potentialities. We are to utilize all the mundane and supramundane wealth accepting the principle of Cosmic inheritance. This is our social dharma. It is not only our social dharma, but the logical and rational approach too. This is the

correct social philosophy...

The duty of Renaissance Universal(1) is to make intellectual appeals, and the work of the Proutists is to see whether law and order is strictly enforced or not. If it is not enforced strictly or if it goes against the principles of Yama and Niyama, enforcement is to be done by creating pressure of circumstances.

There should be rational acquisition and rational distribution of mundane property, otherwise the peace and tranquillity of society will be disturbed. The per capita limit of acquisition should be fixed according to the collective resources of the universal society.

To materialize the ideals of rational acquisition and rational distribution of mundane resources, our first approach will be spiritual, followed by psychic. Where even the psychic approach fails, the application of force(2) would also be supported for the greater interest of the society. Those who are trying to avoid this fight are shirking their human responsibility...

Reign of Vice

In all walks of present-day life, the dark shadows of immorality are fast taking definite shape and hampering human progress. A very strong moral force is required to wipe out this filth of immorality. One cannot expect this moral force from the government power functioning within a democratic structure. We expect it from non-political ends. The government, be it fascist, imperialist, republican, dictatorial, bureaucratic or democratic, is sure to become tyrannical if there is no moral force to check the capricious activities of the leaders or of the party in power. Immoral activities from the side of the government give rise to mass upsurge.



French Revolution 1789 oil on canvas by Louis David

The annals of human civilization say that the downfall of a particular government becomes inevitable if it goes against the collective interests of the middle-class people. In an educationally backward country, where the mass is not politically conscious, the talk and practice of adult franchise corrupts the governmental machinery.

Middle-class people, with their developed intellect excited by pecuniary troubles, take the leading part in such a mass upheaval against the reign of terror, and finally a change in the sceptre is effected by this politically conscious sector of society. Under the democratic set-up, the middle-class people who function as a part of the government find it very difficult to raise a voice of active protest. They are the silent sufferers, getting no recognition for their sufferings. This is the greatest drawback of the democratic system of government.

The annals of human civilization say that the downfall of a particular government becomes inevitable if it goes against the collective interests of the middle-class people. In an educationally backward country, where the mass is not politically conscious, the talk and practice of adult franchise corrupts the governmental machinery. The government proves hostile to the interests of the middle-class people because hypocritical leaders cannot purchase their votes or befool them with high-sounding assurances. The corrupt leaders apply all their cunningness to purchase votes from the backward people. The more cunning the candidates are, the more successful they become. Hence the formation of a politically-conscious group, or better still a politically-educated group, is essential in every country to check the corruption prevalent among political leaders.

The world is moving very fast, and at every step the necessity of such a group is very strongly felt. Youths form an important part of the so-called politically-educated group, and the student community is a distinguished section of it. Deficiencies in the political structure cause deterioration in the educational system, and thus adversely affect the future of these students. Governments, being the economic force behind the universities, compel the universities to play the pitiable role of "Your most obedient servant". The sole purpose of forming Proutist organizations is to put a moral check on the immoral practices in our individual and collective lives.

The present-day politicians misguide students for their own selfish

ends. Certain sections of students have become puppets in their hands. They have lost their originality, and hence are unable to work as a moral check. You Proutists should work as a non-political group strictly adhering to the principles of Yama and Niyama.

Those who have a correct philosophy and a correct spiritual sadhana based on the principles of

Yama and Niyama will be the guiding personalities in the society of tomorrow. It is the duty of conscious people to snatch away the physical power and the intellectual leadership from the hands of political hypocrites. Politicians are of no use to society because they are engaged in the business of mudslinging and nothing else.

If sadvipras [spiritual revolutionaries who follow Yama and Niyama] get active mass support, revolution is bound to come. In case a government adopts the ideals of Prout, the rule of sadvipras will prevail. If the same is not adopted by the government, a physical revolution is sure to come, and ultimately power will be transferred to the sadvipras.



Students protest in a prominent university



Revolution for a Cosmic Society

The locus standi of a nation depends on the following factors: (1) common history; (2) common tradition; (3) common territory; (4) race; (5) [common] faith; (6) [common] language; (7) [common] sentiments; and (8) common ideals. Among these factors items one to seven are relative factors and as such are of a transitory nature only. Within the scope of item eight there can be a blending of absolute with relativity.

The absolute factor is the ideal of Cosmic ownership. (The universe is a creation of Brahma [the Supreme Entity] and as such the ownership of the universe is with Brahma. We may enjoy and utilize the objects created by Brahma, but we cannot declare that any item is mine. Everything is our common patrimony.) We are to accept this factor

within the scope of relativities. Not only will the common spiritual factor unify the inhabitants of multilingual or multi-regional countries; the entire universal society will come under the banner of this common spiritual ideal and become one.

As intellectual revolution is of a democratic nature, Proutists are to make people conscious of their rights and demands. [This can be done by:]

1. Starting study circles and popularizing [ideological] literature. This is the first phase of intellectual propaganda. It stands for ideological education.

2. Platform propaganda and mobilizing the mass. This is for ideological consciousness because the mass can never be ideologically educated.

3. The Proutists supporting the sadvipras in democratic fights (that is, helping them in occupying seats in parliament, assemblies, local self-governments, cooperative societies, etc.)...

The universe is just like a joint family. Peace and tranquillity depend upon a well-knit socio-economic structure. The moulding of the socio-economic structure depends upon ideological outlook. First we should have a constructive ideal. The ideal should be not only the culminating point but also the starting point, which will always be supplying us with vital juice.

We want a Cosmic society, a Cosmic tie of fraternity.

Footnote

(1) Renaissance Universal is an organisation created by the Author to propagate spiritual, philosophical, social, economic and political ideals in the society and to unite the intellectuals to fight all forms of discrimination, disparity and injustice. —Eds.

Ahimá and non-violence are not synonymous. Ahimá means “not to harm anybody” while non-violence means “non-application of force”. The equivalent Sanskrit word for violence is *candaniiti*, and for non-violence, *acandaniiti*. —Author.

The motive of the politicians is only to capture power. They befool the public with high-sounding words. Therefore it is necessary that the public should be politically educated, because in that case politicians will not be able to cheat them. The time is sure to come when all their cheating tactics will fail to produce any effect, and the public will snatch away their mask of social service. At present the general mass is not politically conscious. The intelligentsia exploit their ignorance. It is the duty of Proutists to challenge this so-called intelligentsia...

The sadvipras will capture power either by intellectual revolution or by mobilizing the mass. The duty of Proutists will be to help sadvipras to become powerful and to strengthen their hands by mobilizing the mass. Renaissance Universal will carry on intellectual and moralistic propaganda.

A socio-economic ideal can be established by either of the following two methods: (1) intellectual revolution; (2) physical revolution.

Intellectual revolution stands for the propagation of ideals, but to materialize these ideals takes a pretty long time. Suffering humanity is not going to wait for this. Intellectual revolution is possible in theory only.

When the hopes and aspirations of a group of people – a majority or a minority – are not fulfilled in a democratic framework, a non-democratic or sanguinary revolution is sure to take place. Such a revolution, although undesirable, is inevitable and irresistible.

Physical revolution denotes fight against all factors which go against the principle of public welfare. The Proutists will inaugurate a new era of revolution against all sorts of fissiparous tendencies and social evils. If a country's laws are not strong enough to rectify the conduct of immoralists, the Proutists will do something concrete.

CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY

■ Arun Prakash

Most of Western World lives in capitalist societies
Many believe capitalism is associated with 'free markets'
But there are no free markets
They also feel inflation is rising prices
Though it actually is growing money supply
One often hears ironic statements like
Inflation dangers because of rising oil prices
The truth behind all this lies in the
Study of money whose complexity is used
To disguise evade or hide the truth.

Capitalism in actual fact is slavery
Because Labour are many
While Capital is controlled by the few
Communism on the other hand
Was born as a class struggle
Of Labour against Capitalists but
Ended as the other side of the same coin
Communism is state Capitalism
Not it's antithesis - merely a subset
Probably that's why it collapsed earlier.

What is capitalism and where's the control
Capitalism is an economic system where
One of the factors of production Capital
Dominates the other namely Labour
By controlling the flow of money
The agreed medium of exchange
First by making it scarce and then
Making it as expensive as possible
Causing perpetual unemployment forcing
Labour to accept harmful conditions.

Which is how every major industry in the world,
Pharmaceuticals, Energy, Food, Telecom
IT, Aviation, Weapons, Automobiles
Is run by a few gigantic Transnationals
Who divide the market among themselves
Control watchdogs meant to supervise them
Operate in cartels as proxies of money power
Which actually controls them
And set rules of the game
To share the market keeping prices high.
The so called 'free markets' are basically
One gigantic Money Power controlled Trust
An Orwellian thought control operations
Serving doublespeak dishes of slogans as
'Freedom is Slavery' and 'War is Peace'
Massive propaganda for one and all even as

'Consumption is good for profits' but also
Good for the political establishment
Subtle economic pointers of monopolistic
Tendencies of those with money and power.

But when the world is awash in cash
How can money be scarce
True but in the capitalistic system
Strangely all money is in a way
Directly or indirectly a debt to banks
To be repaid – not a problem by itself
Interests over debts have to be paid too
So there's a double whammy
Not only that money is scarce
Interest makes it unbearably expensive.

Unemployment in Western societies has
For centuries been an incurable disease
Still the poorest 80% people in the West
Pay trillions in interest to the richest 10%.
While next richest 10% pay same interest received
This gets more aggravated in poorer nations
The reason for such a situation is
Producers pass on capital costs to consumers
Who don't realise that up to 45% of price
For anything bought covers capital costs.

This includes interest even though
One without any debt loses up to
45% of income to another's interest
By controlling money supply this way
Capital creates bottleneck in production
Becomes and remains supreme
So what's the solution – it's simple
In the factors of production
Roles should be reversed
To free markets from Capitalist control.

In a Proutistic system of economy
With no monopolies and no cartels
Where sufficient money freely circulates
Markets will become truly free
Great monopolies will not survive for long
If many people and organisations gain access
To all markets now barred due to lack of finance.
People will not chase jobs jobs will chase people
Yet labour will never be a bottleneck
But a prized factor of production.

The Structural Genocide That is Capitalism



Javier Sethness

No one denies that terrible things happen in the world, but the standard response of liberals and conservatives is that famine, plague, and war are natural problems that can never be eliminated. Human suffering is tragic, but unavoidable. The poor – and the sick, and the hungry, and the prematurely dead - will always be with us.

Many genocide scholars themselves have recently asked whether iniquitous economic systems might represent instances of structural violence. For example, Adam Jones, known for his work on genocide studies, has examined such cases as global poverty,

privatization, state corruption, and regimes of sanction and embargo as worthy of greater investigation under the rubric of genocide studies; he even suggests that the modern world's inability to tackle the problem of genocide stems from a failure to recognize the part played by institutional violence.

Garry Leech's *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide*, therefore, lies within a growing main-stream of current thought among those who take seriously the myriad problems currently facing humanity. Leech's thesis is that "social injustice and inequality are inherent in capitalism, and the resulting structural violence constitutes a class-based structural

genocide that targets the poor," such that capitalism "should not be viewed as a legitimate system under which to organize society" (p.7). The author opens with a survey of the literature defining structural violence and the varying definitions of genocide in currency before proceeding to examine the logic of capital.

According to this logic, "society exists to serve the economy, rather than the reverse," and "individual and property rights prioritized under liberal democracy—and enforced by the rule of law—do not ensure freedom for all people, but rather maintain the conditions of inequality under which some individuals are free to exploit others" (pp. 26, 27). As he later notes, the emphasis upon the human rights of the individual belies a hostility towards collective rights – both social and economic.

This is why in *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide*, he argues that "structural violence [is] inherent in the capitalist system" and that "it results in death on a genocidal scale, thereby constituting a class-based genocide that targets the poor, particularly in the global south."

Leech estimates that over 10 million people are killed every year by capitalism's structural genocide. His accounts of structural violence in Mexico, India and sub-Saharan Africa are compelling and appalling. No reasonable person can read them without concluding that the system responsible must be ended.

By *structural violence*, Leech means damage to humans caused by "the deprivation of people's basic needs as a result of the existing social structures." Obvious examples include hunger or disease caused by food and medicine being too expensive or kept off the market for business reasons. When such violence leads to large numbers of deaths, he argues, we must call it *structural genocide*.

The core of *Capitalism: A*

Capitalism and the existing social structures cause deprivation of people's basic needs – this is its harmful genocidal tendency

Structural Genocide is a series of case studies and analyses showing that capitalism by its very nature deprives hundreds of millions of people of the necessities of life. Just one example: every three seconds, a baby dies of preventable disease or hunger – and in the same three seconds, military organizations spend \$120,000 on weapons.

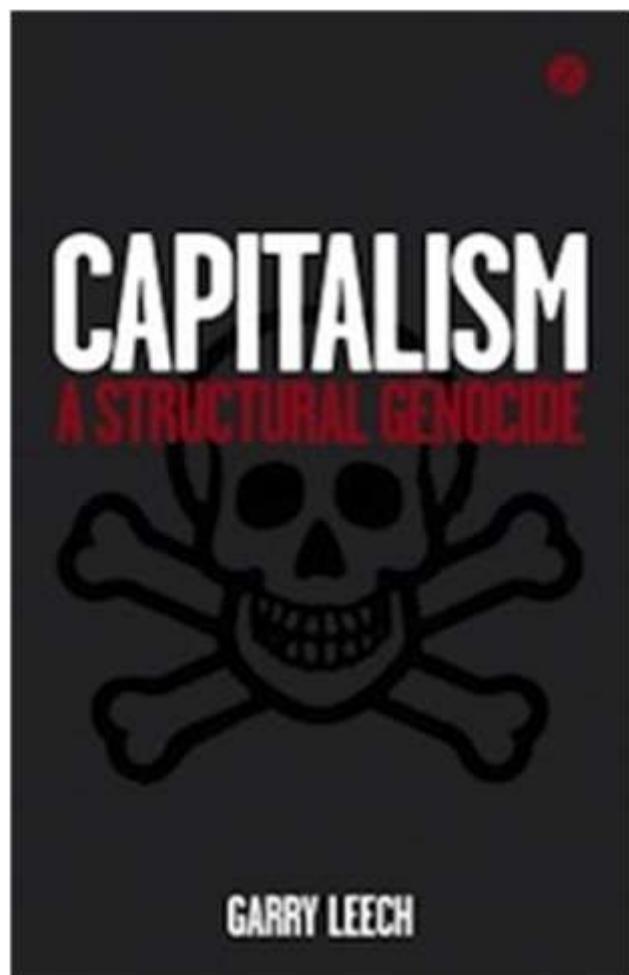
Garry Leech, an author who had previously penned a book on the FARC insurgency in Colombia (2011), has assembled a forceful denunciation of the status quo with *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide*. In essence, he argues cogently in this work that the devastating structural violence experienced by societies subjected to the rule of capital since its historical emergence – and that particularly felt by the world's presently impoverished social majorities – is, instead of being an aberration or distortion of market imperatives, central and inherent to the division of society along class lines and the enthronement of private property. Even a cursory examination of the depth of human suffering perpetuated historically and contemporaneously by the hegemony of capital should lead disinterested observers to agree with Leech that the catastrophic scale of violence for which this system is responsible can be considered nothing less than genocidal, however shocking such a conclusion might prove to be.

In this book, Leech guides his readers through theoretical examinations of the concept of genocide, showing why the term should in fact be applied to the capitalist mode of production. He then illustrates capitalism's genocidal proclivities by exploring four case studies: the ongoing legacy of the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in Mexico; the relationship between trade liberalization and genetically-modified seeds on the one hand and mass-suicide on the part of Indian agriculturalists on the other; material deprivation and generalized premature death throughout much of the African continent and the global South, as results from hunger, starvation, and preventable disease; and the ever-worsening climatic and environmental crises. Leech then closes by considering the relevance of Antonio Gramsci's conceptions of cultural hegemony in attempting to explain the puzzling consent granted to this system by large swathes of the world's relatively privileged people – specifically, those residing in the imperial core of Europe and the United States – and then recommending the socialist alternative as a concrete means of abolishing genocide, while looking to the Cuban and Venezuelan regimes as imperfect, but inspirational experiments in these terms. In sum, while I take issue

with some of his analysis and aspects of his conceptualization of anticapitalist alternatives, his work should certainly be well-received, read and discussed by large multitudes.

Leech begins his text by referencing the original formulator of the concept of structural violence, Johan Galtung. In 1969, Galtung famously expanded prevailing notions of societal violence to include consideration of "the avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or of human life." Key to Galtung's formulation of structural violence in this sense is the gap between "the potential and the actual," or "what could have been and what is." Thus, avoidable death resulting from preventable or treatable diseases today constitutes violence, given the technological progression of modern medicine, whereas centuries ago this would not have been the case, according to Galtung. For Leech, then, capitalist society is indelibly marked by structural violence, as the vast inequalities in wealth and access to which it gives rise lead small minorities to be overwhelmingly privileged, while large groups of others are prevented from meeting their basic needs.

Transitioning then to consideration of the question of whether the large number of avoidable deaths observed under conditions of capitalism should in fact be



considered genocidal, Leech concedes that the UN's 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide excludes mass death resulting from one's pertaining to a given social class as constituting genocide. However, he notes that an initial draft of the Convention from 1947 did include death or injury resulting from "lack of proper housing, clothing, food, hygiene and medical care, or excessive work or physical exertion" within the definition of genocide.

Hence, while such a formulation did not appear in the final version with which we are all familiar, Leech does not accept legal positivism in this case as final; in this vein, he could have done well to have also mentioned that Raphael Lemkin, inventor of the concept of genocide, himself believed the charge should include mass murder of persons following from their belonging to particular classes. Leech nonetheless does mention that the 1998 Rome Statute defines the crime of extermination in part as "the intentional infliction of deprivation of access to food and medicine calculated to bring about the destruction of part of a population," so in this sense has the weight of international law behind him. Leech's only remaining theoretical difficulty, then, is to argue that intentionality exists within the context of the perpetuation of capital-induced genocide:

This proves an easy task, for the question of intent in judging capitalism is not one of examining the actions of particular persons or states (as in most traditional cases of the charge of genocide) but rather of judging the "logic" of the system as a whole. Hence, structural genocide – defined by Leech as "structural violence that intentionally inflicts on any group or collectivity conditions of life that bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" – can be said to be an intentional outcome of adherence to norms which govern a social system that by nature

"inevitably results in . . . death on a mass scale," as does capital. For Leech, the proffered defense of willful blindness – "such was not our intention," the system's managers might exclaim – is no defense at all. Or, in Jean-Paul Sartre's words: "The genocidal intent is implicit in the facts. It is not necessarily premeditated."

Following this opening discussion of the theoretical case for considering capitalism to be genocidal, Leech takes a few particularly devastating examples from the contemporary world to illuminate his argument. In Mexico, the passing of NAFTA in 1994 has led to the dispossession of campesinos (peasants) on a grand scale, as the country's stipulated importation of heavily subsidized maize and other crops from the United States effectively led millions to abandon agriculture and migrate to Mexican and US cities in search of employment in the manufacturing sector, in accordance with neoclassical theories of "comparative advantage" – and very much mirroring the means by which capitalism emerged historically through the destruction of the commons in England. For Leech, this forcible displacement has resulted in the explosion of precarity

within the informal sector of the economy in Mexico, as many ex-campesinos fail to find traditional proletarian jobs, and it has also driven the horrifying feminicides of maquiladora workers in the Mexican border regions, migration en masse to the United States (and attendant mass death in the Sonoran desert), as well as the horrid drug war launched in 2006 by then-president Felipe Calderón. Leech sees similar processes in Colombia, which hosts the second-largest number of internally displaced persons in the world (4 million), with many of these people having been removed from their lands due to military and paramilitary operations undertaken to make way for mega projects directed by foreign corporations.

The choice to spend money on guns instead of food and medicine is irrational by any humanitarian standard, but it makes perfect sense if the prime directive is to preserve a system based on "an inequality in power and wealth that ensures the interests of capital are prioritized over those of the majority of human beings and nature."

Alarmingly, in India, Leech reports that more than 216,000 farmers committed suicide between 1997 and 2009, largely out of desperation over crushing debts they



accumulated following the introduction of genetically-modified seed crops, as demanded by the transnational Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS, 1994) and the general shift from subsistence to export-oriented agriculture. In many cases, the genetically engineered seed varieties failed to expand yields to the levels promised by Monsanto, Cargill, and co., leading farmers then to take on further debt merely to cover the shortfalls as well as to pay for the next iteration of crops – which by conscious design were modified at the molecular level so as not to be able to reproduce naturally, thus ensuring biotech firms sustained profitability (a “captured market,” as it were). That such a dynamic should end in a downward spiral of death and destruction should be unsurprising, for all its horror.

Leech further illustrates his case regarding capitalism's structurally genocidal nature in a chapter examining Africa south of the Sahel. It is this world region that has been “most severely impacted” by capital's genocidal imperatives, claims Leech, and it is difficult to argue with this claim: Merely consider the millions who succumb to AIDS on the continent each year or the other millions who perish in the region annually due to lack of medical treatment for complications within pregnancy or conditions such as diarrhea and malaria, themselves catalyzed by pre-existing background malnutrition. All this deprivation is exacerbated, argues Leech, by food-aid regimes overseen by wealthier societies – which in the US case demands that food be purchased from and shipped by US companies, thus effectively removing a full half of the total resources intended for the hungry – and the infamous land-grabs being perpetrated on the continent in recent years by investors from such countries as Saudi Arabia and South Korea. Fundamentally, though, the conflict is one based on the guiding principles of capital: Because

Africans in general do not possess the requisite income to “demand” food commodities within international capitalism, they themselves do not constitute a “viable market” and so are rendered invisible - nonpersons, or “unpeople”.

In these terms, Leech also discusses the toxic role of the capitalist pharmaceutical industry, which famously and “logically” invests an overwhelming percentage of its research and development funds in highly profitable schemes for lifestyle drugs directed at first-world consumers - at their most absurd, treatments for baldness, erectile dysfunction, and so on – instead of in essential medicines that could relieve the horrendous disease burden borne by the peoples of the global South. Leech starkly illustrates these tensions by noting that, were the eight largest US pharmaceutical companies to have gained an average profit of \$6.8 billion instead of \$7.7 billion in 2008, with the difference going to purchase anti-retrovirals for the 3.8 million HIV+ Africans who go without any treatment at all, a considerable percentage of the estimated 1.3 million annual deaths observed on the continent resulting from HIV/AIDS could be prevented. Leech summarizes this all rather starkly: “There is no clearer illustration of the shortcomings in trying to reform the behavior of capital than the ongoing annihilation of poor people in sub-Saharan Africa who are dying as a result of the structural violence inherent in capitalism.”

A similarly horrifying genocidal tendency for which capitalism is responsible is the next one briefly examined by Leech: that of the specter of catastrophic climate change. Leech claims it to be a “truly inconvenient truth” that the capitalist system itself is incapable of mitigating the total threat posed by global warming and instead precipitates this grim eventuality due to its incessant need for ceaseless expansion and profit,

based principally on the indefinite exploitation of hydrocarbon resources. Clearly, it is the world's poor who so far have suffered the most from capitalism's degradation of the climate, despite having contributed next to nothing to the perpetuation of this world-historical problem: the estimated 2,000 Kenyan farmers who killed themselves upon the failure of rains in 2008, as Leech mentions, or the 260,000 Somalis murdered in the 2011 famine that followed from the worst drought in the past 7 decades.

Leech observes that the ever-increasing annual death toll for which capital-induced climate destabilization is responsible will merely cause the overall number of 10 million annual preventable deaths to burgeon, leading ultimately perhaps to the deaths of “millions – or even billions,” in what may well develop into the extermination of humanity altogether.

With his antepenultimate chapter “Legitimizing the Illegitimate,” Leech follows Gramsci in seeking explanations for the means by which such a brutal system as capitalism has reproduced itself over time. He observes plainly that “most people's world views currently reflect the values of capital,” at least within more affluent northern societies, and that capitalism proceeds with its genocidal proclivities while enjoying “the apparent consent of a significant portion of the world's population.” Like Gramsci, Leech largely faults the hegemonic cultural processes that obtain within core-imperial societies - formal education, the media, work arrangements, etc. - for normalizing the prevailing state of affairs, in part by excluding the barbarous proceedings of capital from consideration – in contradistinction to his own volume. Channeling Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and other theorists with similar concerns, Leech notes that Western consumers remain largely ignorant of the extreme violence that is

required as the very basis for the relative privileges they enjoy in global terms; worse, perhaps, most Northerners – a majority of whom, claims Leech, enjoy “middle-class life style [s]” – have the capacity to escape the alienation driven by capital precisely by engaging in mindless consumerism, thus perpetuating the vicious cycle. For Leech, resistance to the rule of capital is far more evident in the global South, where Western imperial military ventures have long been employed to pacify and control the course of history, in radical denial of self-determination, dignity, and justice.

Leech closes this volume with a plea for socialism as an alternative to capitalist genocide. Given the development of his argument in preceding chapters, he declares that any means of attempting to overcome the extreme violence of capital cannot serve merely as a “band-aid” to the metaphorical “appendage severed by the brutality of capitalism.” The system itself must be overthrown, dismantled; the point is not simply to apply anemic reforms that might slightly attenuate capital’s genocidal logic, but to abolish the genocidal system altogether. For Leech, the most appropriate political alternative is that of a socialism marked by participatory decision-making and social control of the means of production; crucially, as well, this project should include concern for nature – hence, “eco-socialism” – as much of the historical experience of socialism clearly has not.

Despite our disagreements – I would say that Leech has performed a great service with his presentation of capitalism as being structurally genocidal. Perhaps among the most revolutionary acts one can take, as Rosa Luxemburg asserted, is to “proclaim loudly what is happening.” Leech’s volume does this well and should be greatly commended for this, given the general struggle to “displace and estrange the world” (Adorno) from mainstream presentations of it that would have existing power relations live on indefinitely or until such time as catastrophic destruction sets in, whether through impending nuclear war, environmental collapse or a combination of these two.

It is to be hoped that Leech’s passionate contempt for the brutality and senselessness of capital will be taken up by radical social movements seeking to intervene toward the disruption of the hegemonic death-system, in favor of more emancipatory tomorrows.

As Mark Twain wrote in contemplating the infamous legacy of the Jacobin Terror during the most intense period of the French Revolution: “There were two ‘Reigns of Terror’ if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; . . . our shudders are all for the ‘horrors’ of the minor Terror, the momentary



Terror, so to speak; whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe [or guillotine], compared with life-long death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty, and heart-break? . . . A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror – that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us have been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves.”

Perhaps it is best to conclude in the words of the author himself:

“What are we waiting for? How long are we going to sit idly by and watch the political warmongers deploy their drones, their warships, their stealth bombers, their missiles, our sons and daughters, and ultimately, their nuclear weapons against the most impoverished peoples of the world? How long are we going to ignore the corporate warmongers as they wield their magic profit wands that fill their wallets and bellies to overflowing while millions of children perish from hunger and preventable diseases? How long are we going to accept the unjust inequality of the 1% pocketing a grossly disproportionate amount of the wealth generated by the toil of the 99%? How long are we going to passively accept the suicidal insanity of raping and plundering our planet’s finite resources to the point that none of us will be able to survive? Let the Revolution begin!

And what about our irrational fear of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists, which keeps us paralyzed and distracted from the injustices perpetrated daily in our name? The most deadly weapons of mass destruction being used in the world today are not chemical or biological, they are the rules established by the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and all the so-called free trade agreements that only escalate the levels of global inequality, human suffering and death. Corporate elites and their political lackeys wield these weapons with little concern for human well-being or the environment. Wall Street investment bankers gamble in a global casino where the odds are rigged in favor of the house; and the house just happens to be owned by the 1%. Meanwhile, the biggest losers in this capitalist casino lose more than money; they lose their homes, their health, their

education, their means of subsistence, their dignity, even their lives. They are the millions who die needlessly every year from hunger and preventable diseases. These are the ultimate victims of capitalism's structural genocide. Let the revolution begin!

This genocide is not simply an unfortunate consequence of capitalism; it constitutes the very foundation of the system. And we are standing on that foundation today! Everything we build is erected on that blood-soaked foundation! Was it not the genocide of the indigenous peoples throughout the Americas and the theft of their lands that created the wealth that funded the Industrial Revolution? Was it not the Enclosure Acts that forced people off the land and robbed them of their means of subsistence so that they could be "free" to toil in the miserable conditions of the factories of industrial England? Was it not the forced kidnapping of millions of Africans and their enslavement in the Americas that fuelled "development" in the United States and Canada? Was it not the destruction of industries in India and the vivisection of the countryside by famine that led to the Industrial Revolution. The same violent practices have continued to this day through the structural genocide responsible for the ongoing forced displacement of peasants from their lands throughout the global South so capitalist robber barons can continue to exploit the planet's natural resources in order to line their own fancy pockets. Let the Revolution begin!

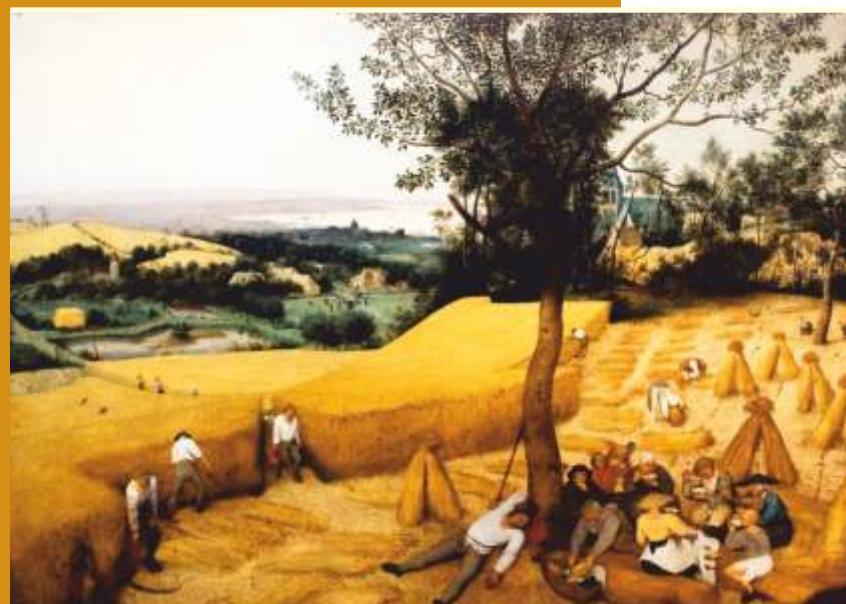
No social system in human history has ever proven to be so genocidal; not communism, not even fascism. And no amount of tinkering with a system that is inherently genocidal will end the genocide. In the first decade of the 21st century more than 120 million people died because the structures of the capitalist system

prevented them from meeting their basic needs. Meanwhile, Europeans spend more money annually on ice cream than the amount required to provide clean drinking water and basic sanitation to everyone in the Global South. And Americans and Europeans together spend more on pet food each year than the amount needed to provide basic healthcare to the world's poor. Only in a genocidal system does it make more sense to produce ice cream and pet food for the wealthy than clean water and healthcare for billions of people who do not constitute a viable market because their labor is not required and they are too poor to be consumers. Only a genocidal system can render half of humanity disposable! But the flip side of this equation is that the world's poor have nothing left to lose. Let the Revolution begin!

But what happens when the poor dare to resist and fight back? Are they not then the lucky recipients of "democracy" and "freedom" delivered, not only at the end of the barrel of a gun, but through laser-guided bombs and missiles that destroy their homes and tear their limbs apart? Do they not benefit from economic sanctions that result in hunger and sickness due to shortages of food and medicines withheld in the name of humanitarian intervention? Are they not deemed to be terrorists? We used to kill them because they were communists. Regardless of the label that we pin on them, do THEY really constitute a threat to OUR security? And do we really believe that killing and maiming them through bombing, starvation and disease will make them see the world as we do? Or will it make them truly hate us? Let the Revolution begin!

And what about you and me, who live in the belly of the imperialist beast? WE are not innocent in all of this! The majority of us in the wealthy nations of the world or living in wealthy areas of former colonies are both slaves

to the 1% and accomplices in the exploitation and genocide of the world's poor. We are told that our lifestyles are a product of our own individual hard work and that nobody has a right to take this away from us. But what about those who toil for 12, 14 or 16 hours a day in a desperate struggle for survival? Do they not also work hard? And yet, no matter how hard they work they will never come close to attaining a lifestyle like ours. In fact, they will be lucky to preserve their lives, never mind achieve a comfortable lifestyle. OUR consumption habits and lifestyles are dependent on the exploitation of THEIR labor and THEIR natural resources. WE do not enjoy our lifestyle because we are somehow inherently smarter or superior or whiter or harder working, but because we have the good fortune to live in the land of the imperialist exploiters,



A painting depicting plight of farmers during British Enclosures Act of 1700s

whether it is the United States, Canada, Britain, Continental Europe, Australia or New Zealand. WE live the way we do by consuming other peoples' share of the planet's resources. This is why the wealth gap ratio between rich nations and poor nations has increased from 3:1 in 1820 to 35:1 in 1950 to 106:1 today. And this is precisely why we would need five planet Earths for the entire world's population of seven billion people to live like we do. In reality, the "American Dream" is a nightmare for hundreds of millions of people around the world. Have we no

of the 1%. There exists a propaganda machine that convinces us to accept this unjust reality. Our education system demands order and obedience within hierarchical authoritarian structures that grade us and categorize us according to the needs of a society whose values are dictated by capitalist elites. Why else would we be forced to sit obediently in rows, to memorize the ridiculous myths about "democracy" and "freedom" and "justice" that are spoon fed to us from "white" washed textbooks? Not only does education bury our conscience, it also crushes



conscience? Let the Revolution begin!

But WE DO have a conscience! It has just been temporarily subsumed under the weight of the propaganda that the capitalist elites and their political lackeys bombard us with daily. This propaganda hides from us the connections between our relatively comfortable lifestyles and the massive suffering endured by millions in order to ensure that lifestyle. WE benefit from the great wealth generated under capitalism while half of the world's population endures misery and hardship. But even our comfortable lifestyles are being eroded with nary a peep from us as we are forced to work longer hours and to accumulate ever-higher levels of debt while the wealth generated from our work is increasingly centralized in the hands

our spirit. The only thing that we are good for upon graduation is to enter an equally rigid workplace that demands the same order and obedience. We have not been educated; we've been indoctrinated! Let the Revolution begin.

And do the media enlighten us to this reality? No! They further indoctrinate us through sensationalized stories that serve to reinforce the beliefs and myths instilled in us by the education system and to distract us from the real issues that impact our lives and the world in which we live. It is more important that we shop, watch television and tweet celebrities than face the harsh realities that result from our lifestyle choices. But no amount of shopping and television and celebrity worship can

sufficiently numb our conscience; this is why so many of us are so dependent on painkillers in the form of alcohol, illegal drugs and anti-depressants. Is it not time to rekindle both our conscience and our spirit? Let the Revolution begin!

To those who cowardly bomb the poorest peoples of the world with remote-controlled monsters in the sky; to those who believe they have an inalienable right to perpetrate structural genocide through their brutal exploitation of people and nature; to those who use the wealth generated by OUR labor to build THEIR mansions and privileged lifestyles; to those who defend their privilege with hi-tech tools of surveillance that spy on our every action and word in the name of national security; and to those who use their power and influence to develop mechanisms of propaganda and mind control to keep us compliant, I issue a warning: Beware, for these weapons will soon be turned against you! After all, if the political palaces known as the White House, 24 Sussex Drive and 10 Downing Street, and the corporate suites of Wall Street, Bay Street and The City, and the war ministries located in the Pentagon, the Pearkes Building and Whitehall were to all vanish into oblivion, wouldn't the billions of oppressed and impoverished people around the world be better off? These establishments and what they represent are not sources of freedom and life; they are the perpetrators of suffering and death. Let the Revolution begin!

Should it not be the corporate elites who are forced to cower in fear, terrified at the prospect of hunger and disease ravaging them and their families to the point that they are forced to beg for food stamps and other handouts? Should it not be the homes of the fat cat investment bankers that are foreclosed on so that they find themselves and their families, not safely ensconced in their luxurious gated communities, but living on the street in constant fear of the violent

threat posed by the angry hordes whose dignity they have been destroying for centuries? Should it not be the politicians and generals who wield the modern hi-tech swords of death who are forced to live in constant fear of being blown to pieces or made to endure torture at the hands of the poor and dispossessed victims of their ongoing genocide? Would this not constitute justice? Let the Revolution begin!

And what kind of world could be gained through such a Revolution? Imagine a world in which all resources were evenly distributed so that no child ever went

hungry. Imagine a world in which we cared about our neighbour more than we care about a contestant on a reality TV show or a character in a soap opera. Imagine a world in which nurturing Mother Earth was more fulfilling than shopping for a new pair of shoes or the latest electronic gadget. Imagine a world in which we co-operate rather than compete with each other. Imagine a world where that cooperation extends to the workplace and we are empowered as co-bosses by a collective decision-making process rather than being mere appendages of the production system forced to obediently follow the dictates of

others. Imagine a world where authoritarianism does not exist in the political realm, in our workplaces or in our homes. Imagine a world in which ALL of us have a meaningful voice in ALL of the major decisions that impact our lives. Imagine a world where ALL blacks, whites, browns, males, females and queers are seen as equal human beings. In short, imagine a world of harmony and compassion. Some might say that such a world is nothing more than a utopian dream, but I say it is the belief that we can continue as we are that is utopian.

So let the Revolution begin, NOW!



All public resources go to the rich. The poor, if they can survive in the labor market, fine. Otherwise, they die. That's economics in a nutshell. The dominant propaganda systems have appropriated the term "globalization" to refer to the specific version of international economic integration that they favor, which privileges the rights of investors and lenders, those of people being incidental. In accord with this usage, those who favor a different form of international integration, which privileges the rights of human beings, become "anti-globalist." Roughly speaking, I think it's accurate to say that a corporate elite of managers and owners governs the economy and the political system as well, at least in very large measure. Why not stakeholder action? There's no economic principal that says that management should be responsive to shareholders, in fact you can read in texts of business economics that they could just as well have a system in which the management is responsible to stakeholders.

- Noam Chomsky

Crony Capitalism in India

Part-2

■ Chiranjib Sen

(a) The capitalist firms:

Market reforms have significantly transformed the business environment. As noted above, in the pre-reform period they depended greatly on managing the protected (but license and permit ridden) environment. There is now much greater competition, and also greater exposure to the global economy. Technological dynamism is more visible, and financial markets play a larger role than they once did. As mentioned earlier, some firms and their owners have prospered spectacularly. The number of billionaires has risen in recent years. In 2015, there were 97 billionaires in India. This number was exceeded only by the US and China (Patel, 2015).

The business operating environment is *not uniform for all categories of Indian firms*. We argue that *capitalist firms function in a dualistic business environment*, which varies across firm size, and even more so across industry sectors. Government permissions for entry and operation are crucial in some business sectors. Important among these are “natural resource intensive” sectors such as mining and land-dependent real estate. Those firms that can obtain access to these government controlled resources gain a decisive competitive edge. These sectors are therefore prone to “rent-sharing”, and are a suitable ground in which crony capitalism can thrive. There is a convergence of interest between cash-hungry political actors and business firms. This operates at two levels - large industrial projects that require the approval of senior politicians (central government

ministers or chief ministers), and those that require facilitation by local politicians. In the former category, we have, for example, the telecom spectrum, natural gas exploration and coal block allocation. Then there are the mega-industrial projects that require broad-based state support to very large companies. Local level cronyism is to be found in so-called “cash-rich” sectors, where smaller business firms such as liquor production, real estate and infrastructure operate (Gowda and Sharalaya, 2016).

In other sectors, however, the reliance on government permissions and facilitation is not as great. Information technology and other modern high-tech firms belong to this category. Some of them have been very successful in the post-reforms era. These are mainly the modern, globally integrated firms that operate in industries that are not “rent-thick”. These firms owe their success largely to their ability to negotiate the globalised marketplace. They export products and services in highly competitive and dynamic markets, raise finance abroad, have international production units, and recruit internationally. Apart from the initial land for setting up their production units, basic infrastructure facilities, and some support on trade issues and visas, these globalised firms do not require very much facilitation from government. They also need to be more transparent in their accounting and financial reporting practices, because their activities are continuously under the scanner from domestic and foreign financial

market analysts.

Thus we can classify large capitalist firms into two broad categories, based on their operating environment. One category operates in “rent-thick” industries, and they have a propensity for crony capitalism. Their business strategy and investment practices include significant expenditure on securing government connivance. These may be thought of as “political investment” by the firms. The second category are the “market-competing firms”, which do not require significant political investment for business success.¹ Both types co-exist in India, and each occupies a substantial space in the economy. This dualism is corroborated by Gandhi and Walton (2012), who estimate that 43 per cent of Indian billionaires and 60 per cent of their wealth originates in rent-thick sectors. As land and other natural resources have become scarce relative to demand, many firms have sought to corner these resources. The methods used have not been transparent. Raghuram Rajan describes it as a shift from the old “Control Raj” of the pre-reform days to the new “Resource Raj.” Both are characterised by corruption and collusion with government functionaries (Rajan, 2012).

It is also worth noting that many business persons are now directly entering politics to contest elections. In the absence of strong “conflict of interest” rules, their engagement as elected representatives carries the risk of fostering cronyism.² The closeness to government and policymaking affords much greater returns on their political investment. Approximately 22 per cent of Lok Sabha members and 16 per cent of Rajya Sabha members are “primarily business persons”. Among the elected representatives there are steel tycoons, large contractors, hotel magnates, infrastructure developers, retired CEOs of big companies,

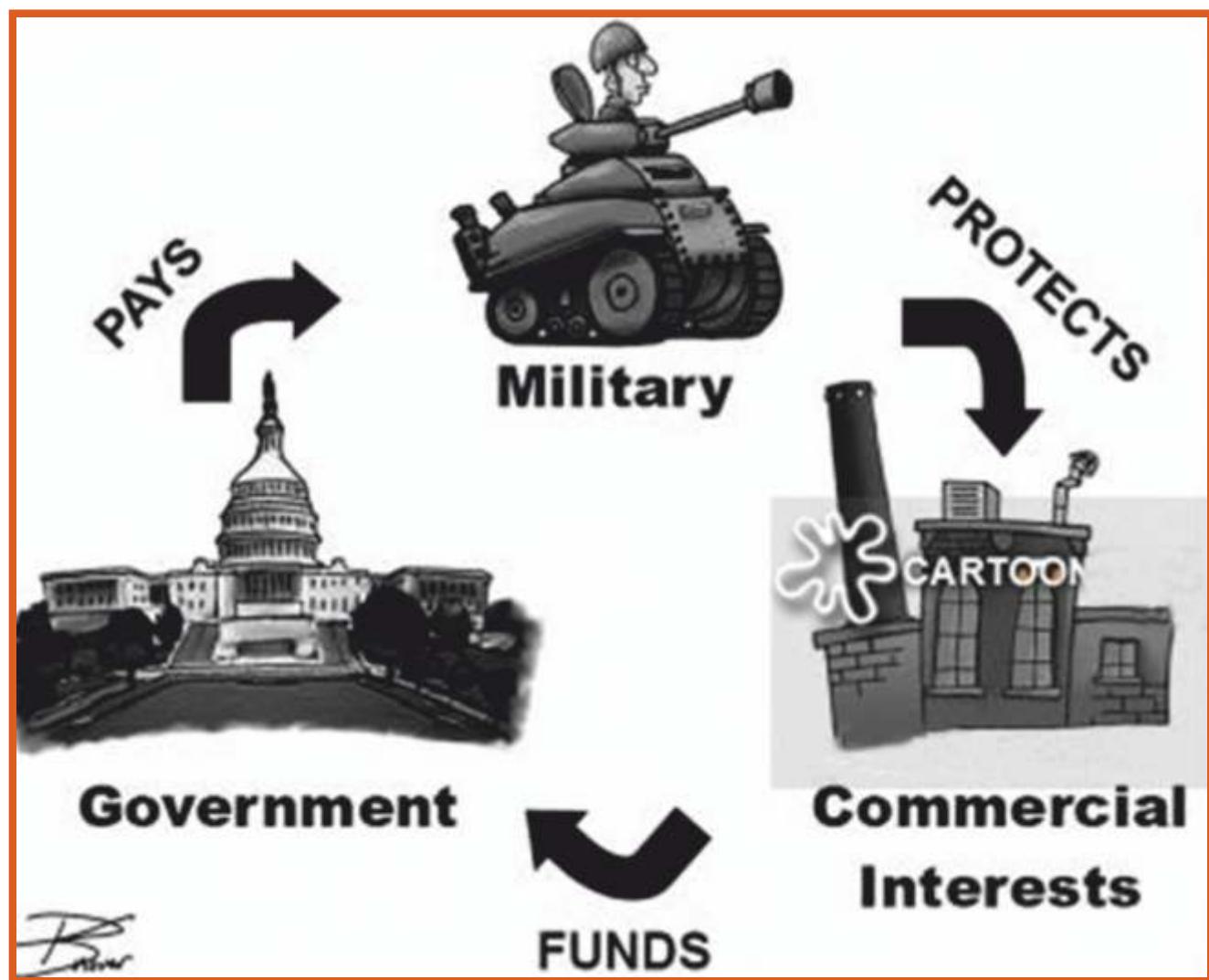
Many business persons are now directly entering politics to contest elections. In the absence of strong “conflict of interest” rules, their engagement as elected representatives carries the risk of fostering cronyism

media “barons”, tobacco “kings” and mining “lords” (Gowda and Sharalaya, 2016: 147). The direct entry of business persons into politics is a relatively new phenomenon in India, but there are precedents. It is in fact a symptom of

the institutionalisation of crony capitalism. Examples can be found in Russia and South Korea. In both cases, the root cause was the dependence on businessmen for election funding.³ In South Korea, when democracy re-started

following the initial phase of military rule, the military-linked political party of President Park Chung-hee (earlier the President of Hyundai Engineering and Construction) became reliant on big business groups for election funds.

CRONY CAPITALISM (ALWAYS FOLLOW THE MONEY TRAIL)



This process brought the military rulers and large conglomerates closer, and eventually paved the way for capitalist leaders to enter politics, and later to even win the presidency (Yergin and Stanis law, 1998; Kim, 1997). Surprisingly the ensuing massive corruption caused massive public protests which forced her to resign.

What the last 5 years have seen is the terrible indebtedness of most of the Indian business houses to public sector banks. It is estimated that not more than 50% of that money can be recovered. And that money is more than enough to provide food, medical care and education to every citizen. Instead of being penalised, these crony business houses get more loans just to make their interest payments. To bring money to the public banks, demonetisation was launched and many loans have been written off. This all has wrought severe damage on the economy.

(b) The Bureaucracy

During the early decade following independence, the bureaucracy played a very significant role in economic administration. The “higher bureaucracy” in particular, comprising of the All-India and the Central Services, enjoyed high social status, commanded respect and had considerable power in the era of planning. For a variety of reasons, the effectiveness and clout of the bureaucracy declined steadily from the time of Indira Gandhi's tenure as Prime Minister (Krishnan and Somanathan, 2005). However, market reforms exacerbated the decline and triggered a very sharp process of change in the role of the bureaucracy. The market reforms provided ideological cover for a concerted attack on the civil service by a constellation of interest groups. These groups included market reform ideologues, multilateral institutions promoting Washington Consensus policies, business associations that had been suffering through the controls and permit raj, and also the politicians who could not quite have their unquestioned say because bureaucrats were not compliant.⁴

The market reforms sought to reshape administrative functioning by:

- (a) reducing the autonomy of bureaucratic functioning;
- (b) increasing the power of the political executive in policy decisions and hands-on engagement in policy implementation; and also
- (c) increasing the accountability of the civil service to the citizens at large for public service delivery (through mechanisms such as citizens' charters, stronger service standards, and grievance redress systems).

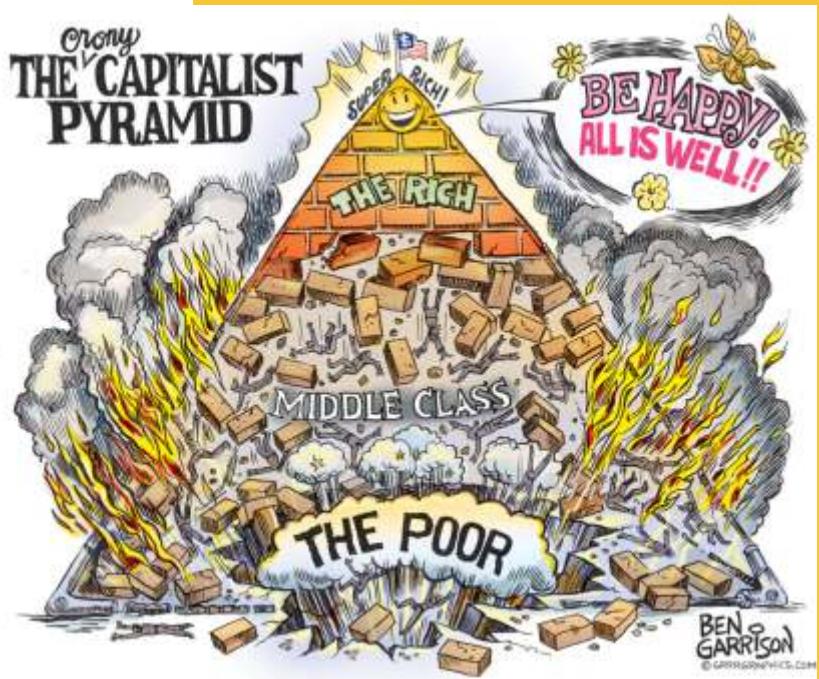
It is true that in India during the 1970s and 80s, inefficiency in government increased, the quality of public services was poor, petty corruption was common, and citizens felt

disempowered in the face of an unaccountable civil service.⁵ In particular, there was a social and cultural distance between the bureaucracy and business persons.

Despite all such deficiencies, however, a strong and well-functioning civil service is absolutely vital to a “rules-based” system of LMEs. It is the central task of the bureaucracy to uphold rules and procedures in government work. It is their major responsibility to provide professional advice on policymaking to political bosses so that policy choices are rational and defined by public interest. And it is their job to implement policies efficiently and fairly. A longstanding challenge to bureaucratic functioning is political interference in decisions and pressure from interest groups to swing decisions in their favour. In order to facilitate their ability to function, built-in mechanisms are in place, insulating the bureaucracy from such pressures.⁶ It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for crony capitalism to flourish in the presence of a strong and upright bureaucracy. In recent decades, politicians weakened the independent bureaucracy through several mechanisms in order to make them more pliant. These include:

- (a) using frequent transfers of recalcitrant and upright officers to unimportant posts as a way of “incentivizing” compliance;⁷
- (b) dividing the bureaucracy and creating “friendly” officers through favouritism in posting and promotions based on caste identities;
- (c) favouring civil servants based on political affinity; and
- (d) damaging careers of non-compliant officers by writing unfair and discriminatory annual confidential reports (ACRs).

These strategies have had the effect of disrupting the lines of administrative authority and discipline by



weakening the authority of the head of the administration (e. g., the Chief Secretary) (Appu, 2005). Through such processes, politicians have attempted to create a system of bureaucrats who are more amenable to facilitating crony capitalism. The objective is often to completely politicise the policymaking process.

4. The Modus Operandi of Crony Capitalism

In the above section, we examined how the behaviour of the key actors in government-business relations has altered over time, particularly after 1991. We analysed the structural factors due to which each category of actors has become amenable to crony capitalism. In this section, we shall examine how the crony capitalism process works.

The reports of India's national audit agency (the Comptroller and Auditor General) have played a major role in exposing a number of cases in which crony capitalism is involved. Vinod Rai, a former CAG during whose tenure many of these episodes came to light, has recently published a memoir detailing his experience (Rai, 2014). His work provides a rare insight into the processes of governmental decision making during such episodes. Drawing on his work, we examine the modus operandi of crony capitalism with reference to one illustrative and well-known episode - Coal Mine Block Allocation. Prior to market reforms, coal was the monopoly of public enterprises. The transition involved enabling private firms to operate government-controlled natural resources. Privatisation of natural resources has always been contentious. This is particularly so in the case of coal. Policy pronouncements are rarely straightforward statements of intent. Jenkins (2007) describes how reform policymakers attempt to manage political opposition through devious tactics. In the case of coal as well, the Government of Narasimha Rao attempted "reform by stealth". Powerful coal mining unions and political patrons of (the public sector monopoly enterprise) Coal India

Limited (CIL) were beneficiaries of the status quo. Initially, the government denied that the coal sector would be opened to the private sector.

The process of private participation was, however, introduced gradually. A group of private stakeholders was slowly built up to create a political constituency for privatisation. This was done by first allowing a few firms to establish coal washeries. Next, some private firms investing in power generation, steel and cement projects were permitted to establish captive coal mines. The justification for allowing private firms to enter the coal sector was that efficiency would come from vertical integration. A bureaucratic mechanism was put in place to evaluate the applications contending firms sent in. The monopoly position of CIL was further weakened by allowing some firms to import coal. In this manner, a private sector interest group was created as a constituency for future privatisation. This entire process had a significant element of discretionary decision making. It is this group that forms the basis for cronyism, when the size of potential rents increases sharply. However, the Ministry initially allocated coal mining block through a set of rational and objective selection criteria. This system was corroded by crony capitalism. The subversion of the policy decision making process by cronyism is explained more fully in various studies.

A fundamental feature of crony capitalism is bias and unfairness in the government's policymaking process. How did this come about? As noted above, business efforts to influence policy are common across the world. Most of it is legitimate. In India, before the liberalisation of 1991, leading companies engaged in lobbying efforts (Kochanek, 2007). They maintained offices in Delhi mainly in order to lobby for their particular interests with regard to obtaining licenses. They also engaged with government

collectively through business associations. The leading associations at the time were FICCI (representing indigenous capitalist firms) and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry in India (ASSOCHAM) (which represented the foreign companies). The associations typically pressed for simplifications in regulations, lower taxes, and so on. Businessmen did form personal relationships with ruling party politicians. Nevertheless, individual capitalists were not really in a position to shape core policies during this phase. The state-dominant ideology was very strong, and the business community did not enjoy a high level of social influence at the time. Capital markets were relatively underdeveloped, and middle class investors had not entered financial markets in large numbers.

During the 1960s and 70s, business firms had already begun to provide money and gifts to bureaucrats and politicians in expectation of favours.⁸ There were reports of "black money" flowing to political party coffers. During Indira Gandhi's regime, the Congress party increased its "socialist" rhetoric. In 1968, her government banned corporate donations to political parties. Ostensibly, this was to prevent black money from corrupting politics. However, many believe that it was really to choke political contributions to rival parties. This measure had the perverse effect of driving corporate funding of political parties underground, and probably made black money contributions more common (Gowda and Sridharan, 2012). According to Kochanek, the ruling party used coercive methods of persuasion (e. g., the use of government machinery such as the Revenue Intelligence and Enforcement machinery) to raise election funds. Those companies that complied were able to expand their business and prosper. Apart from facilitation of licenses, the companies benefited from access to large industrial loans from public

sector development financial institutions and nationalised banks. Other companies (such as the South Indian business houses) resisted such pressures from the Central government, and carved out working relations with the State governments.

During the 1980s and the 1990s, the mechanisms of political funding underwent changes, which increased the role of corruption. During this phase, Kochanek argues that the locus of political rent-seeking shifted from industrial licensing to large public sector projects with private participation, military contracts and infrastructure contracts with foreign companies. Direct political contributions from Indian business houses became less important than kickbacks. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi removed the ban on corporate contributions to political parties, but by then these funds were not very important.⁹ After 1991, the idea of privatisation in industries gained ground among reformers. With the crony capitalism of the 2000s, we are observing yet another, new phase wherein there is intensification of collusion with regard to manipulation of the policy process.

Crony capitalism is primarily a “rent-sharing” arrangement. For this to be a viable system, it requires an enabling institutional configuration of policymaking. In the section below we present a schematic account of the new mechanisms:

a) Generation of high potential rents

Economic rents are primarily a reflection of scarcity of a natural resource relative to its demand. A sharp rise in demand leads to a rise in rent. This can happen as a spillover of the high aggregate economic growth in the economy. It can also originate from rising demand abroad, as has happened with the Chinese demand for Indian iron ore. But it can also be triggered by domestic policy. A policy decision of the government announcing very ambitious targets for production and/or utilisation of the natural

resource will also increase potential rents. Often this comes with substantial government spending to back it, which works like a public guarantee of future demand. These announcements sharply increase the expected profitability in these sectors, demand for access to these publicly controlled natural resources increase, and with this the potential rent rises. For example, in the case of coal, the announcement by the government of its new power policy - “Power to all by 2012” triggered the rise in demand for coal. Similarly, in the case of the 2G spectrum allocation, the National Telecom Policy (NTP 1994) was the trigger for high rent on spectrum.

How should this potential rent from the natural resource be shared? Once the decision is made regarding the recipients of the rights of utilisation of the resources, the next step is to decide on the price. If private parties are compelled to pay the full implicit commercial value of the resource, then of course the entire rent is retained by the government - and by implication the citizens of India as a whole. At any price below full market value, the rent is shared between the government and the private party. Crony capitalism is, in principle, the increase in the portion of rent that accrues to the private party with the connivance of politicians or bureaucrats. It is, however, difficult to estimate the true market value of a natural resource in the absence of a competitive market process that establishes the price. It is for this reason that auctions are recommended as a better means of gaining both price-discovery as well as to benefit the public exchequer

b) The resource allocation policy process

In the case of natural resources, the typical policy process in the late 1990s and 2000s has worked as follows:

a. Policy is made by a small group of top decision makers. This includes the Prime Minister (PM) and his team, which includes staff in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO),

the concerned minister and his top officials. These policies are general in nature.

b. The implementation of the policy is the task of the bureaucracy in the Ministry. They frame the detailed guidelines and rules. During this process, negotiation and discussion take place within government (including with other related ministries) regarding their content. These deliberations are confidential in order to insulate against meddling by external interested parties.

c. In the market reform period, natural resource sectors have been opened to private sector participation. Demand for access to these resources from the latter is high. Allocations are typically made on the basis of scrutiny of applications by a designated committee. Decisions are made on a case by case basis. Final clearance requires the concurrence of the concerned minister, and may also require the approval of other bodies such as the Cabinet Committee on Foreign Investment and the State Government. Because of the closed nature of these deliberations, the system affords opportunities for crony tactics. There has been resistance from politicians to utilising alternative, more transparent allocation processes such as auctions.

A study of the Coal Block Allocation episode, based on the publicly available findings of the CAG's investigation of the issue (Rai, 2014; chapter 8). The case study details how the pre-existing administrative policy process for allotment lost its rationale and functionality. This occurred due to two key structural factors. The most important factor was the ability of private interests to exert pressure through political channels in order to influence the internal decision making process on allotments. The confidentiality vital to this mode of allocation was thus no longer guaranteed. The external attempts to subvert the system derived from the sharp increase in the potential rents

that could now be extracted from access to coal.

The second factor is that the sharp increase in the number of applicants for allocation makes the detailed case by case evaluation procedure by the designated committee very time-consuming and onerous. Recognising these constraints, the Ministry's civil service officials proposed the introduction of a new and transparent allocation mechanism - auctions. Apart from transparency, Ministry officials argued that the major advantage of the auction system would be a more reliable price discovery for the natural resource. Hence it would result in a substantial gain for the government exchequer. This move was resolutely resisted by the political executive (the Minister of State, or MOS) in charge of the Coal Ministry.¹⁰ In doing so, the Minister actively supported the interests of the private sector allotment holders who were receiving a high share of the rent on the scarce resource. *Ipsa facto*, this suggests that the MOS was colluding with crony capitalists.¹¹

The case study details how the conflict between the bureaucracy and the Minister played out. It describes the struggle for institutionalisation of a new allocation mechanism after the earlier system had lost its effectiveness. The striking feature of this part of the episode was the ability of the MOS to block the transition to the auction system despite the fact that the PM (who held additional charge of the Coal Ministry in phases) had supported the transition. The PMO appeared to reverse its own stand on the issue. This allowed long delays in implementation of the new system, and consequent build-up of frustration and uncertainty among bidders. The case also highlights the extremely weak systems of inter-ministerial coordination. The MOS had argued that new legislation was necessary. It took an inordinately long time for Coal Ministry officials to recognise that no new legislation was necessary for the shift to the auction system. This highlights the necessity of effective political coordination and strong commitment at the highest levels of government when it comes to implementing policy change, and to resist crony capitalist inroads.¹²

The issue could not be resolved through the political and administrative processes. In the end, alternative corrective mechanisms were brought into operation in the face of policy failure. The CAG, the CVC, the media, the political opposition parties, the Supreme Court and the investigative agency all played roles in the corrective process. However, this type of corrective process is very imperfect and incomplete. It is conflictual, generates a lot of negative publicity, is time consuming and not free from counter-bias. It has been suggested, for example, that the investigative and enforcement agencies do not really function independently, and that they follow the directives of the government in power. Under such conditions, the party affiliation of crony actors may change, but the crony capitalist processes will continue. A deeper change in the structure of our political-economic system is necessary.

Conclusion



Under the British we saw large-scale looting of the country leading to regular famines. Under the British a group of servants emerged who built economic empires or kingdoms for themselves. These brown Britishers who helped the British loot India began to become more and more assertive and began bankrolling members of the Congress party. After the British were forced to transfer power to the Congress due to the INA-inspired naval mutiny, these crony capitalists took over. However, the ideologies of Gandhi, of the Congress socialists and the foreign-sponsored communists led to the creation of what has been called "crony socialism" in which foreign corporates no longer had direct control over the economy. Later Rajiv Gandhi ushered in the era of "crony capitalism" in which foreign corporates were allowed more and more to take over the Indian economy by partnering with Indian business-houses. The culture of inefficiency, massive corruption of these business houses led to great frustration of foreign corporates.

The global economic downturn of 2007 intensified the pressure for change in India. Hence the foreign corporates began pumping money into the BJP and an Indian think-tank created in Delhi by a large grant from the CIA-linked Ford Foundation began creating a new agenda for India combining religious nationalism with extreme corporate empowerment through the repression of labour through increasing contractualisation, the gutting of labour laws and creating a climate of repression and suspicion. The new phase the country seems to be moving towards can be termed "crony fascism".

Notes

1. Firms in information technology and other high-tech sectors that compete in global markets and/or do not depend on natural resources belong to the latter category.

2. The ethics rules for elected representatives in India regarding this matter appear to be lenient.

Members of the Lok Sabha need to disclose their assets and liabilities to the Speaker, but not their interests. There is a provision that an MP should declare that they have “personal, pecuniary or direct interest” in a matter that is discussed in parliament. But this is hardly done in practice. See PRS Legislative Research (2010). A well-known example of how political power and business interests can converge is the case of the Reddy brothers who had prominent iron ore mining interests in Bellary district of Karnataka. Janardana Reddy was a minister in the State Government in the BJP-ruled government headed by B. S. Yeddyurappa (Guha Thakurta, 2014). See also the Lokayukta Santosh Hegde Report (Government of Karnataka, 2011).

3. In Russia, Yeltsin struck the infamous “loan-for-shares” deal with the “oligarchs”. Yeltsin won the elections. As a reward, the oligarchs won control rather cheaply of the giant public sector company Norilsk Nickel. It led also to entry of the oligarch-leader Vladimir Potanin into Yeltsin’s cabinet.

4. The attack on bureaucracy was a global phenomenon that began

with Margaret Thatcher’s and Ronald Reagan’s strident calls to fix the government. It found an echo in the New Public Management approach to administrative reform.

5. It is perhaps true that the higher civil service had over time become somewhat insular, clannish, unresponsive, and lacked an ethos of citizen-friendliness. Unlike the economic bureaucrats of East Asian developmental states, the Indian civil servants also did not have a culture of working in partnership with non-government stakeholders.

6. These are long term job security, constitutional protection against wrongful dismissal, and other appeals processes. There are of course rules and processes for proper conduct, which are intended to provide a measure of protection against arbitrariness.

7. The average tenure in a post for IAS officers has fallen drastically. It is obviously not possible to get familiar with a new post and deliver effectively without a reasonable duration of tenure. According to a media report, over two-thirds of IAS officers work for less than 18 months in a post (Thakuri 2014).

8. This was the period of the so-

called “brief case politics”, referring to the practice of transfer of cash donations to Congress Party coffers.

9. J. R. D. Tata is reported to have told President R. Venkataraman in a private meeting that “since 1980 industrialists had not been approached for political contributions and that the feeling among them was that the party was financed by commissions on deals” (Kochanek, 2007: 420)

10. The Coal Minister changed several times in this period for exogenous reasons. Shibu Soren held the position for two stints. During this time, he strongly supported the MOS (D. N. Rao) against the PMO, and upheld the auction system. During the intervening period, PM Manmohan Singh held additional charge as the Coal Minister.

11. Subsequently the MOS and several others have faced trial in the CBI Court under charges of collusion.

12. P. C. Parakh, who was the Coal Secretary at the time has attested (Parakh, 2014) to the weak position of PM Manmohan Singh and his unwillingness to take a strong stand against vested interests.

In ancient India a form of elastic economy was prevalent which supported the collective economic endeavour of the people. In the Vedic Age the economic system of India evolved on the basis of social classes (varṇa). The shūdras, kṣatriyas, vīpras and vāeshyas – these four social classes evolved and remained content with specific economic activities of their choice. One particular class engaged itself in farming, while other classes undertook different occupations. People did not rush towards agricultural work as is happening today. As this class system (varṇashrama) was hereditary, there was little scope for socio-economic imbalance. In that age agriculture reached a high degree of expertise and efficiency. Kings used to be directly involved with the different aspects of agriculture such as planting multiple crops according to the different seasons, large-scale and small-scale agriculture, the use of manure, the application of insecticides, irrigation systems through rivers and canals, and dairy farming. In those days the state had the duty to confiscate land from landlords who kept land unutilized, and transfer it to those who could properly utilize it for agricultural purposes. The value of land was determined by the extent of its productivity. The state used to fix the price of agricultural produce, and as a result there was little scope for the business class to exploit farmers.

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

PROUT PHILOSOPHY

"When for age after age society spins in the murky eddies of evil and vice, when individual and collective knavery masquerades as intelligence, when hypocrisy, bribery and fraud are the yardsticks for measuring the ability to lead –

It is then that the genuine followers of Bharati [divine power of eloquent, righteous wisdom] must struggle on in spite of constant humiliation. Only taunts and insults will be their fate. Those who are afraid of these insults are incapable of offering anything really lasting to humanity."

Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar



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

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

You will have to propagate this mission from door to door. No political party or so-called religious institution can bring salvation. Praising God in concerts with drums and cymbals will not bring salvation either, because this will not bring the sinner to submission. To curb the onslaughts of the immoralists today, arms are more necessary than drums and cymbals. (Your Mission)

The heart of this mission lies in a moral revolution. This revolution is an eternal revolution that ends alone with permanent Samadhi. This is why, as Shrii Sarkar says,

"You must have a flaming moral purpose so that greed,

UPIF



"Knowledge is for all – it should be available to all and free like the light and air."

UNIVERSAL PROUTIST INTELLECTUAL FEDERATION

By Daniel Pinchbeck

Teachers are the conscience of society. Thus the humiliation of teachers is the humiliation of humanity. There can be no compromise with the forces of selfish greed, amoral characterlessness and violent lawlessness. When these three run rampant, then it is the time when teachers must wage war. This is a war to awaken the conscience of students and parents, a war against all forms of corruption and above all a war against the degrading forces assaulting the immortal spirit of our child leaders of tomorrow. This is a war to be fought by reasoning and consensus building and this is a war to be fought by research, reflection and rectitude. This is war fought for the primordial mission of all teachers to enkindle young minds with moral courage and

compassionate wisdom.

Our Mission

The word "mission" comes from the root "mit". "Mit" means "to do something worth doing". To do something worth doing is a mission. Clearly, concisely and conclusively Shrii Sarkar boldly explains our mission as educators today:

"In the society, on the one hand we see the hoards of antisocial elements, and on the other hand we feel a sense of frustration among the moralists. These moralists have therefore developed a tendency to go out of the society. With more wealth and strength, the antisocial elements are in an advantageous position, and the moralists appear to be the culprits. This state of affairs is neither desirable nor behoving, and it should not be allowed to continue.

oppression and exploitation shrivel before the fire in you.”

To ignite this fire in every youth, in their parents and in society at large is the mission of UPIF. In every walk of life from the family to the factory we see the primary disease is a lack of basic honesty. This falsehood is the root cause of all the crimes in our schools, our neighbourhoods, our government and of course our economy. Yet still today people fail to treasure the yearnings and feelings of honesty within themselves and fail to honour the honest people in society. The stark consequence of this state of affairs is vividly described by Shrii Sarkar as follows,

“In the transitional period of civilization, honesty in individual life is a prime necessity. We shall have to remain ever vigilant that the darkness of petty self-interest may not shroud this supreme human treasure. With the very extinction of honesty, civilization too will not survive; the long *sádhaná* of the human race will go in vain, and all intellectual achievements will become meaningless. Book knowledge that cannot be utilized in life has no value.” (Ananda Púrnimá 1958)

Shrii Sarkar first and foremost was a moral preceptor. He used divine powers not to perform miracles but to expose the corruption in disciples publicly so as to force them to become moralists and to force them to fight against corruption in their family, in their workplace and then in society at large. His teachings on morality are vast but are rooted in the ancient code of Yama and Niyama. These can be briefly explained as follows.

Yama Sadhana

1. Ahimsa – Not to inflict pain or hurt on any living thing in the world by thought, word or action is Ahimsa.

2. Satya – The benevolent use of mind and words is Satya.

3. Asteya – To not deprive others of their wealth directly or indirectly, and to renounce the desire to acquire or retain the wealth of others is Asteya. Asteya means “non-stealing.”

4. Brahmacharya – To keep the mind always absorbed in Brahma (the Supreme Entity) is Brahmacharya. This is also a scientific form of meditation.

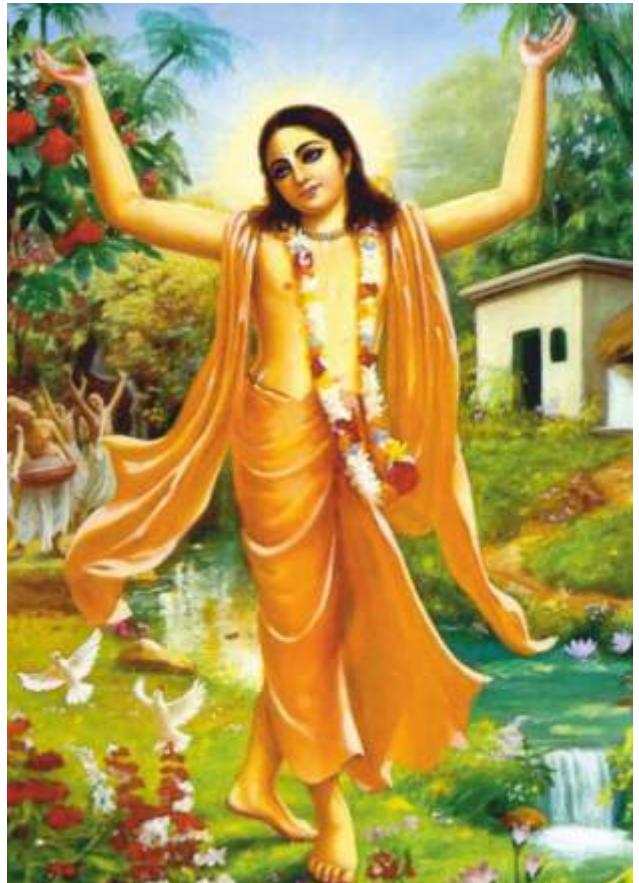
5. Aparigraha – To renounce everything excepting the necessities for the maintenance of the body is known as Aparigraha.

Niyama

1. Shaoca is of two kinds – Purity of the body and of the mind. The methods for mental purity are kindness towards all creatures, charity, working for the welfare of others and being dutiful.

2. Santosha – Contentment for things received unasked-for is Santosha. It is essential to try to be cheerful always.

3. Tapah – To undergo physical hardship to attain the objective is known as Tapah. Upavasa (fasting),



serving the guru (preceptor), serving father and mother, and the four types of yajina, namely, pitr yajina, nr yajina, bhuta yajina and adhyatma yajina (service to ancestors, to humanity, to lower beings and to Consciousness), are the other limbs of Tapah. For students, study is the main Tapah.

4. Svádhyáya – The study, with proper understanding, of scriptures and philosophical books is Svádhyáya.

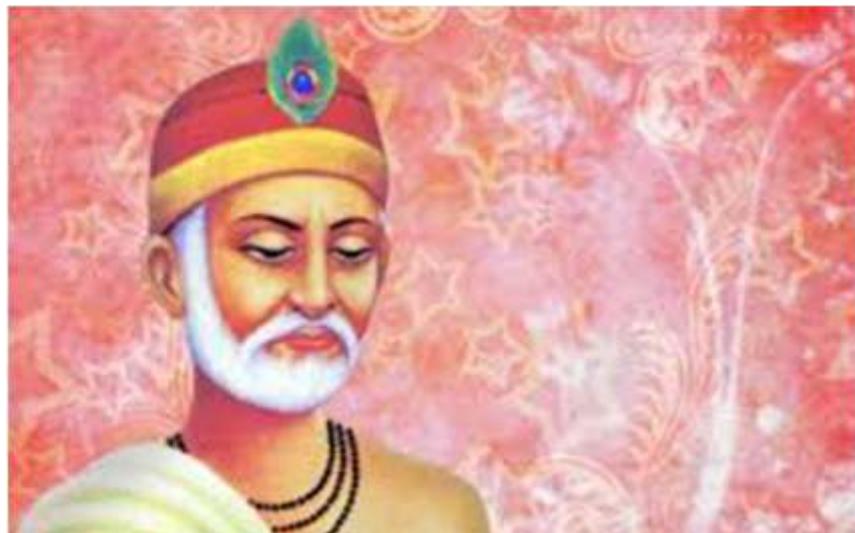
5. Iishvara Pranidhána – This is to have firm faith in Iishvara (the Cosmic Controller) in pleasure and pain, prosperity and adversity, and to think of oneself as the instrument, and not the wielder of the instrument, in all the affairs of life. It is above all a form of spiritual meditation

This moral mission is not for personal development as in the case of religions. To bring about collective Ahimsa and collective Asteya means one will have to stop the thieving of exploiters and one will have to stop the violence their victims are facing. This comes for the spirit of life as a service mission that was at the heart of Shrii Sarkar's life and ideology. He explains that,

“Sevá means offering maximum service to others and offering minimum service to himself. And where the service offered to himself becomes zero, it is the stage of *pratisthá* [becoming established] in sevá.” (The Three Vital Factors)

This moral mission is part of the heritage of intellectual warriors of the past as Shrii Sarkar explains,

"In the Vipra Age those who tried to bring about even a little social change in the interest of the common people either died smashing their heads on the hard bricks or broke the bricks with their hammers and strong arms. Those who hammered in this way were welcomed with open arms by the downtrodden masses, but vested interests defamed them. This indirectly helped those great social leaders to popularize their causes. Such great leaders included Shrii Krsna, Buddha, Vardhamana Mahavira, Hazrat Mohammed, Mahaprabhu Chaitanya, Raja Ramamohana and Ishvarchandra VidyaSagara.



In the middle period [of Indian history] Shrii Krsna united all the kings of India in order to apply force and to destroy those powerful leaders who were doing evil and who, in the name of morality and justice, were encouraging unrighteousness within the accepted structure of society. He gave a clarion call to the human race and declared that the human body is the medium through which dharma is realized. However, it should not be utilized only for performing spiritual activities and breathing through alternate nostrils in a darkened room. People also have to become *karma yogis* so they can destroy the root causes of sin in society.

They should even mercilessly take up arms against their relatives if necessary. On behalf of the common people Krsna declared war on a social system built on a base of selfishness in order to smash it. He stood defiantly against the systems of exploitation of the gurus and priests and propounded his own psychologically-based *karmavada* [doctrine of action].

Vardhamana Mahavira tried to evolve a new ideology based on a scientific outlook.

Hazrat Mohammed offered a new way of life to the ignorant and oppressed who were swirling endlessly round and round in the

religious life. Raja Ramamohana opposed this practice and did not rest till he had stopped it. As a result many attempts were made on his life.

VidyaSagar did not rest till he had compelled the Hindus in his region to recognize widow remarriage.

All historians know that the paths of Shrii Krsna, Buddha, Mahaprabhu and Mahavira were not strewn with roses. Even today the standard bearers of vested interests do not sympathize with such personalities.

Among people who today appear to us as moral leaders, those who protested against prevailing customs and superstitions, such as Lenin, George Bernard Shaw and Manavendra Roy, were criticized and made the victims of false propaganda. They were opposed and abused at every step for no reason at all. Their only crime was to deal a blow at the vipers' machinery of exploitation." (The Vipra Age)

We should note that as Shrii Sarkar revealed great saints such as Chaitanya Mahaprabhu were murdered for their uncompromising stance against social injustice. We teachers are humble and determined followers in the footsteps of these great souls. Today we cannot but respond to the heartfelt plea of Shrii Sarkar

"You will bring about a radical change in the social set-up so that each and every individual might find ample scope for their physical, mental and spiritual evolution. Remove the sorrow and suffering of the exploited humanity. Wipe the tears from their eyes. Build an ideal human society based on Dharma. Let this be the sole mission in your life." (Vraja Krsna and Dvaetavada)

Universal Fight Brings Universal Renaissance

Let us briefly examine the dimensions of the mission. As superstitions are everywhere rising to strangle the rationality and

muddy whirlpool of superstition. He clearly declared that all the people of the world belonged to one caste.

Kabir and Mahaprabhu launched open revolts against the casteism which had kept Indian society crippled by creating a tremendous complex of self-aggrandizement in one section of society and a terrible inferiority complex in another section. Although Mahaprabhu had been born into a well-known Brahman family, he suffered many insults because of his opposition to casteism. Despite this he remained steadfast in his ideology.

Burning innocent women to death was once considered by Hindus to be a part of their

universal love of students of today we must first and foremost speak out on the crucial importance of science. As Shrii Sarkar says,

"The teaching of science must always be encouraged. The study and application of science will assist in the spread of knowledge and help to ensure that the right to knowledge in every sphere of life – social, economic, psychic and spiritual – is attained by all. Knowledge and science must be free like the light, the air and the unhindered wealth of nature. They must serve all and supply the vital juice of life." (Some Educational Policies)

Science will make young students realise that they are Cosmic citizens living in a vast universe. Just as the first astronauts were dramatically transformed when beholding the Earth from outer space so will our children be liberated from superstition and narrow sentiments by science. However students must be given the mission to liberate science from the war-capitalists. The fact is that the number one industry of all the superpowers of the world is weapons and this is the root of all the violence in the world.

A rational outlook arising from material science, mentally liberated from prejudices and inner vices by the science of meditation will enable students and teachers to develop their viveka and awaken the conscience of society to fight all disparities and inequalities. For example there are social disparities between various races, caste, religions, social groups (tribal and non-tribal), as well as between men and women. In the political sphere some nations rob or invade other nations but the mission of PROUT is to end all form of imperialism by establishing a democratic world government of sadvipras. In the realm of geography, we find there are rich regions and poor regions which are undeveloped and the mission of NeoHumanist education, as Shrii Sarkar says, is to work with students and parents to develop the local culture, local economy to liberate these marginalised geographical regions. The mission of UPIF is not just to train students to fight all these kinds of discrimination but to awaken their parents and society at large to fight this poisonous corruption of the human mind. This is the root mission of UPIF in society. And this mission is a mission not just of UPIF of the entire human society as Shrii Sarkar reminds us,

"Now humanity bleeds. The future is dark. So we have come here to do something. I have come here to do something, and you have also come here to do something. My coming is significant, and your coming is not less significant. We have come with a mission; and our lives, singularly and collectively, are a mission. Not missions – ours is a collective mission. Here we all are one. We have come to do something... And what will be the effect? The effect will be that the world will realize that humanity is one and indivisible, and no power in heaven or on earth can destroy this glorious humanity. We have come here to save humanity, and we will save humanity."

(Devotees Moving around the Cosmic Nucleus)

Mission Objectives

Let us now focus on our liberation mission from all forms of corruption, discrimination and violence in our schools, in our local communities and in our states today. The rudimental vow guiding all teachers in the global movement of UPIF is:

"I want every human being to be guaranteed the minimum physical requirements of life; every human being to get scope for the full exploitation of his or her psychic potentiality; every human being to attain absolute truth; and endowed with all the glories and achievements of the world, to march toward the Absolute. In and through this movement, humanity should be made conscious of the purpose and meaning of life." (Human Progress)

Our Primary Objectives are

(1) Free, comprehensive, holistic education be provided to all people of all ages from the primary to the highest level. The curriculum shall be organised at the District level and the monitoring of education shall be organised at the Block level. The aim of various levels of UPIF committees is to oversee this and to act as an independent vigilance commission or educational ombudsmen. UPIF shall also work for the development of educational computer software in the local language. In this regard UPIF shall work to provide every school with computers and with computer education. As part of this movement to establish public education in a comprehensive manner throughout the country, UPIF shall raise and fight to enact a law requiring that every single government officer including MPs shall be ordered to educate their own children only at government schools and colleges. UPIF shall also fight to demand that a proper percentage of the Budget be spent on education at the level of other Asian nations and at the level of European nations. UPIF shall fight to make sure funds allotted for the education of Dalits, Adivasis and other minorities is fully utilised and results in the rapid advancement of education in their



communities.

(2) Basic literacy programmes shall be launched to make every child and then every adult capable of reading newspapers, government forms and understanding basic mathematics and science. Basic language literacy shall be based on the NeoHumanistic Philology of Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar and in particular its reforms of Bengali spelling, grammar, vocabulary and literature which can be applied to other languages. These basic literacy programmes shall also provide basic literacy in the local history and culture as well as basic literacy in the realms of practical economics and politics so as to empower people to attain sampurna swaraj. These programmes must have a short-term timetable to achieve basic literacy as has been achieved in Kerala. Similar programmes shall be launched in colleges to enable students coming from deprived families (such as in reserved seats) to develop their language, science, technology and knowledge skills at least up to the high school level. Basic literacy campaigns shall continue until every person has mastered high school level education. These programmes shall be organised by UPIF either alone or in coordination with Ananda Marga schools, Teacher's Unions, service organisations and local government officials.

(3) Every form of persuasion and satyagraha shall be employed by UPIF to ensure that every government school and college functions at high academic levels and has basic infrastructure and facilities. In addition the same methods shall be employed to make sure that every community has proper schools nearby and has access to colleges at a reasonable distance. In fighting for these basic educational rights of every school and every community UPIF committees and members shall at all times maintain law, order and disciplined conduct. New satyagraha methods such as Kiirtan Andolans and Yoga meditation morchas shall establish justice through spiritual dynamism instead of vandalism and goonda-

ism. In all discussions and debates, the dignity of the mother language shall be maintained by the teachers and all forms of ugly or vulgar language shall be strictly shunned. UPIF shall work to end the violence, vandalism and culture of abuse on college and university campuses while at the same time encouraging dialogue and dignified protest. UPIF teachers shall always use social struggle to elevate and empower the mother tongue. In particular UPIF members shall work to develop culture of self-effacing humility and endless thirst for all forms of knowledge in order to serve and love all created beings in every possible way.

(4) UPIF committees shall at every level from the Panchayat to the state level, monitor the process of admissions in schools and colleges and shall take all actions from filing FIRs and official complaints to local, state and central government authorities to stop the extortion of money from parents as well as the sale of seats to wealthier parents. UPIF shall interact with the media and create their own media to expose and shame such criminals to the public in order to bring to an end this form of criminality which deprives talented but poor students of their fundamental rights to an education based on merit. Similarly UPIF shall work to prevent schools and colleges from extorting money in order to provide school-leaving, merit and other certificates.

(5) UPIF committees shall strictly monitor the provision of Mid-Day Meals to eliminate all forms of corruption. In addition UPIF committees shall launch programmes to provide free Breakfasts to students in poor areas and shall work with other service organisations and government officials in this regard. UPIF shall also launch educational, agricultural and food provision programmes so as to ensure the health of the local mothers. In pursuance of these aims UPIF shall work with Ananda Marga Master Units, other service organisations and government officials to develop the agriculture so as to provide proper nutrition to the local people. This shall be done from the primary level to the



college level.

(6) UPIF committees shall serve as people's vigilance commissions to fight the charging of high fees in private schools and colleges (in addition to in government institutions). As per the Right to Education Act every single private school shall have to provide education to poorer students who cannot afford their fees. UPIF shall work to persuade and pressurise by Satyagraha every single private school and college to admit poorer students who are either talented or who come from very poor areas.

(7) UPIF shall fight all forms of corruption in government schools and colleges in particular the theft of funds provided for construction of buildings and above all the theft of funds to provide textbooks. UPIF shall fight all extortion of funds from parents to repair the school. All such funds must be publicly collected and inspected by an accountant.

(8) UPIF shall also work with librarians at all levels to fight for the provision of libraries in every high school. With modern computer technology an entire library of classical literature can be stored on a computer. Hence UPIF shall work to have all teachers to have basic literacy in classical literature and the best of modern literature. Further through the storing of films on computer basic literacy in the arts and sports shall be provided. To popularise this UPIF shall work with cultural organisation and local authorities to organise poetry and cultural programmes to honour the birth of various eminent personalities.

(9) UPIF shall work to make teachers, students and parents physically fit and healthy through organising the teaching of basic hygiene, health as well as traditional and Olympic sports. UPIF shall work with all concerned people and the government to properly develop track and field and other basic sports at levels to a high standard. In addition UPIF shall work for the martial arts training to be provided at all girls high school based on the Kalaripayattu and Varma Kali traditions of South India and shall develop local martial arts such as Raibense and Cho to inspire youth with noble ideals of social service in the tradition of the Anushilan Samiti. These programmes shall be coordinated with UPIF programmes to develop vocational education and education in traditional handicrafts at all levels.

(10) UPIF shall work to stop absenteeism by teachers at all levels. In addition UPIF shall protest against teachers who simply read out from the textbook and do not properly teach the students. When inspirational talks and warning fail, UPIF shall petition government officials and carry out Satyagraha to penalise or remove such teachers and hire new ones. In particular teachers of colleges who have been absent due to running private coaching classes shall be made to pay a large fine. They shall be pressurised to



attend classes on NeoHumanist Education where they will be educated in their duty to be Samaja gurus.

(11) UPIF shall work to demand that teachers at the college and university level be provided with time and facilities for academic research. UPIF shall also work with these teachers to provide continuing education for school teachers. UPIF shall work in particular with university teachers to bring science fairs to every community.

(12) UPIF shall set up programmes whereby teachers and members of the public can report all manner of crimes or corruption anonymously. UPIF shall work to protect all such whistleblowers from penalisation or discrimination if their identity is discovered. This vigilance mission includes crimes against girls, and minority castes and religions. UPIF shall work to mobilise teachers, the public and the youth to fight against all these forms of corruption. In this regard UPIF shall work in coordination with the Universal Proutist Students Federation (UPSF) and the Universal Proutist Youth Federation (UPYF). In particular it shall work with the latter to provide practical education to older, unemployed youth and to mobilise them to fight corruptions.

Conclusion

In a simple and profound discourse Shrii Sarkar stated the mission of education today and how it is crucial to human survival today,

"You know, it is the inherent wont of all living beings to expand in the physical arena, and for this purpose, rather because of this element – this wont is nothing but a sort of element – they exploit others, they forget the interest of other living beings. Just now I said that it is the inherent wont of all living beings, both human beings and animals, to expand in the physical arena. In the case of human beings there is another wont, another inborn instinct, and that is simply to expand in the psychic arena also. So unlike

other animals, human beings have got one scope, or got the scope, to divert their physical longings into spiritual aspirations. Other animals have not got this. But because of this psychic wont, they exploit others in the psychic level as well as the physical level, and this exploitation in the psychic level is more dangerous than in the physical one.

So that there may not be any intellectual extravaganza or any physical subjugation, human beings require proper training both physically and mentally. And this is what is called "education" – properly training the physical existence and also the psychic world. Because of the want of such a training in proper time, there remains no coordination, no adjustment between inner being and outer being. Sometimes people are very sincere in the vocal field but there remains not an iota of sincerity in the inner world, in the internal world. And this is what happens in the modern world. The existence of both individual and collective existence has become one-sided, that is, it has lost its balance. For this what we require most is a proper system of education.

Just to show their sincerity of purpose, just to show that they are developed human beings, sometimes people speak of disarmament. They say there should be a check, a control over the manufacturing of weapons, of deadly weapons. They say like this vocally. They express this idea vocally, but internally they remain ready for worse weapons or more deadly weapons, just to keep others under their servitude in the physical sphere. It is nothing but a very bad type of brutality. Once upon a time a certain person, a leader, said, "Keep the prospects of peace but keep your powder dry." That is what happens today. We may say this physical longing, rather this physical wont, should be diverted towards psychic longings. But if it is diverted



towards psychic longings by proper mundane education – that will not suffice. In that case there remains the fear of psychic subjugation. So the remedy lies elsewhere.

Yes, human beings should be goaded by human feelings – human sentiments, human ideas. No doubt it is good if human feelings serve as a moral check in this competition of weapons, but it is not the last word; human feelings cannot check the internal fighting, the type of infighting prevalent amongst human beings. For this purpose we should have a two-fold approach. For the purpose of training this turbulent mind, what is to be done? One is to get proper education, one is to be imparted with proper education – not general education – in the gospel of, in the idea of Neohumanism. This will help human beings in training the mind. And at the same time spiritual practice should go on for proper psychic remoulding. This is what we require most. There is no alternative." (Education and NeoHumanism)

Faced with such a challenging goal, some may feel that this is beyond even the dreams of an ordinary teacher trying to survive and trying to give a little knowledge to poor students. To these teachers and to us in our moments of doubt and despair, Shrii Sarkar calls out,

"Human society is now to decide whether to live or to die. If

this mud-slinging and intolerance are encouraged, humanity has no future – the future is dark, the future is sealed forever. But you know, I am not a pessimist. I am always an optimist. And I want all my sons and daughters to be optimists. And I want them to struggle against this death signal of humanity, and come out successful.

And I am sure that you boys and you girls must be optimists; and it is your duty to save humanity. And I hope you will be able to save humanity, because, just like me, you are also optimistic. You should know that great, or good, people are few in number, they are not many. They do not come within the scope of millions or billions. They are always few in number. And these few, they are the torchbearers of human society, they are the pioneers, they are the vanguards of human society. So it is your duty to save humanity. And those who are unable to shoulder their own bags and baggages – their responsibilities are to be shouldered by you. You should remember that the life of a spiritual aspirant is a mission. One's entire life is a mission, one's entire existence is a mission. And your mission is – what? To save humanity from this crisis. I hope you will be successful. And I not only hope, I am sure that you will be successful."

(To Save Humanity)

Right to HealthCare

■ Indrajit Khandekar, B. H. Tirpude, P. N. Murkey

Introduction

The Constitution of India has provisions regarding the right to health. The obligation of the State to ensure the creation and the sustaining of conditions congenial to good health is cast by the Constitutional directives contained in Articles 38, 39 (e) (f), 42, 47 and 48 A in Part IV of the Constitution of India. [1]

The state has to direct its policy towards securing that health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength [Article 39 (e)] and that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and maternal abandonment [Article 39 (f)].

Article 42:

"Provision for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief- The State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief"

Article 47:

"Duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health-The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as

"Maintenance and improvement of public health have to rank high as these are indispensable to the very physical existence of the community and on the betterment of these depends the building of the society of which the Constitution makers envisaged. Attending to public health in our opinion, therefore is of high priority-perhaps the one at the top". Supreme Court of India

among its primary duties and, in particular, the State shall endeavor to bring about prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health"

Protection and improvement of environment is also made one of the cardinal duties of the State (Article 48A).

The above articles act as guidelines that the State must pursue towards achieving certain standards of living for its citizens'. It also shows clearly the understanding of the State that nutrition, conditions of work and maternity benefit as being integral to health.

Article 25 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being.

Article 7 (b) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have been cited by the Supreme Court in ESC Ltd v Subhash Chandra Bose [2] while upholding the right to health by a worker.

Although the DPSP (Directive Principles of State Policy) quoted above are compelling arguments for the right to health, this alone is not a guarantee. There must be a clearly defined right to health so that individuals can have this right enforced and violations can be redressed. *J Indian Acad Forensic Med. April-June 2012, Vol. 34, No. 2 ISSN 0971-0973*

The Indian judiciary has interpreted the right to health in many ways through public interest

litigation as well as litigation arising out of claims that individuals have made on the State, with respect to health services etc. As a result there is substantial case law in India, which shows the gamut of issues that are related to health.

Article 21 of The Constitution and Right to Health Care

The Fundamental Right to Life, as stated in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution, [3] guarantees to the individual her/his life which or personal liberty except by a procedure established by law. The Supreme Court has widely interpreted this fundamental right and has included in Article 21 the right to live with dignity and "all the necessities of life such as adequate nutrition, clothing...." It has also held that act which affects the dignity of an individual will also violate her/his right to life.

The Constitution incorporates provisions guaranteeing everyone's right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. Article 21 of the Constitution guarantees protection of life and

personal liberty to every citizen. The Supreme Court in Bandhua Mukti Morcha vs. Union of India, [4] has held that the right to live with human dignity, enshrined in art 21, is derived from the directive principles of state policy and therefore includes protection to health.

In Vincent Panikulangara vs. Union of India, [5] the Supreme Court of India on the right to health care observed:

"Maintenance and improvement of public health have to rank high as these are indispensable to the very physical existence of the community and on the betterment of these depends the building of the society of which the Constitution makers envisaged. Attending to public health in our opinion, therefore is of high priority-perhaps the one at the top".

In a historic judgment in Consumer Education and Resource Centre Vs Union of India, [6] the Supreme Court has held that the right to health and Medical care is a fundamental right under Article 21 of the constitution as it is essential for making the life of the workman meaningful and purposeful with dignity of person. "Right to life" in Article 21 includes protection of the health and strength of the worker.

The expression 'life' in Article 21 does not connote mere animal existence. It has a much wider meaning which includes right to livelihood, better standard of life, hygienic conditions on workplace and leisure. The court held that the State, be it Union or State Government or an industry, public or private is enjoined to take all such action which will promote health, strength and vigour of the workman during period of employment and leisure and health even after retirement as basic essentials to life with health and happiness. The right to life with human dignity encompasses within its fold, some of the finer facets of human civilization which makes life worth living. The court accordingly laid down the following guidelines to be followed by all asbestos industries:

In Kirloskar Brothers Ltd v. Employees' State Insurance Corp. [7] The Supreme Court, following the Consumer Education and research Center's case, has held that 'right to health' is a fundamental right of the workmen. The Court also held that this right is not only available against the State and its instrumentalities but even private industries to ensure to the workmen to provide facilities and

opportunities for health and vigour of the workman assured in the provision of Part IV of the Constitution which are 'integral part of right to equality under Art 14 and right to invigorated life under Article 21 which are fundamental rights to the workmen.

Further in, State of Punjab and Others vs. Mohinder Singh Chawala [8] "it has been held that right to health is integral to right to life. Government has a constitutional obligation to provide health facilities." Similarly, the court has upheld the state's obligation to maintain health services. [9]

Apart from recognizing the fundamental right to health as an integral part of the Right to Life, there is sufficient case law both from the Supreme and High Courts that lays down the obligation of the State to provide medical health services.

The issue of adequacy of medical health services was also addressed in Paschim Banga Khet Mazdoor Samity vs. State of West Bengal. (10) The question before the court was whether the non-availability of services in the government health centres amount to a violation of Article 21? It was held that that Article 21 imposes an obligation on the State to safeguard



the right to life of every person. Preservation of human life is thus of paramount importance. The government hospitals run by the State and the medical officers employed therein are duty-bound to extend medical assistance for preserving human life.

Failure on the part of a government hospital to provide timely medical treatment to a person in need of such treatment results in violation of his right to life guaranteed under Article 21. Therefore, the failure of a government run health centre to provide timely treatment is violative of a person's right to life. Further, the Court ordered that Primary health care centres be equipped to deal with medical emergencies. It has also been held in this judgement that the lack of financial resources cannot be a reason for the State to shy away from its constitutional obligation.

In Mahendra Pratap Singh vs. State of Orissa, [11] a case pertaining to the failure of the government in opening a primary health care centre in a village, the court had held "In a country like ours, it may not be possible to have sophisticated hospitals but definitely villagers within their limitations can aspire to have a Primary Health Centre. The government is required to assist people get treatment and lead a healthy life. Healthy society is a collective gain and no Government should make any effort to smother it.

Primary concern should be the primary health centre and technical fetters cannot be introduced as subterfuges to cause hindrances in the establishment of health centre." It was also stated that, "great achievements and accomplishments in life are possible if one is permitted to lead an acceptably healthy life". Thereby, there is an implication that the enforcing of the right to life is a duty of the state and that this duty covers the providing of right to primary health care. This would then imply that the right to life includes the right to primary health care.

Medico-legal Cases and Right to Health Care and Medical Assistance :

This has been explicitly held with regard to the provision of emergency medical treatment in Pt. Parmananda Katara vs. Union of India. [12] It has been held that held that it is the professional obligation of all doctors, whether government or private, to extend medical aid to the injured immediately to preserve life without waiting legal formalities to be complied with by the police under Cr.P.C. Article 21 of the Constitution casts the obligation on the State to preserve life. No law or State action can intervene to delay the discharge of this paramount obligation of the members of the medical profession.

The obligation being total, laws of procedure whether in statutes or otherwise which would interfere with the discharge of this

obligation cannot be sustained and must, therefore give way. This is a very significant ruling of the Court. It is submitted that if this decision of the Court is followed, in its true spirit it would help in saving the lives of many citizens who die in accidents because no immediate medical aid is given by the doctors on the ground that they are not authorized to treat Medico-legal cases. Let us hope that all doctors (Government or private) of this country should follow this ruling of the court earnestly.

Medical Examination of Rape

Victim and Right to Health Care :

It was a common practice among the doctors to refuse to examine the rape victim unless she is not referred by the police. However, the Supreme Court in State of Karnataka vs. Manjanna, [13] has recognised the right of the rape victims medical examination and disapproved the refusal of some government hospital doctors, particularly in rural areas, where hospitals are few and far between, to conduct any medical examination of a rape victim unless the case of rape is referred to them by the police. Such refusal to conduct the medical examination necessarily results in a delay in the ultimate examination of the victim by which time the evidence of the rape may have been washed away by the complainant herself or be otherwise lost.

Working of Blood Banks and

Right to Health Care :

The instrument of Public Interest Litigation used by Common Cause, addresses the issue of the working of commercial blood banks. The court in Common Cause vs. Union of India and Ors., [14] while recognizing that blood donation is considered as a great life saving service to humanity, it must be ensured that the blood that is available with the blood banks for use is healthy and free from infection. The Supreme Court in this case laid down a system of licensing of blood banks. It may be inferred from the above reasoning that the State is entrusted with the



responsibility in matters of health, to ensure efficient functioning all centres relating to health care.

Cases of HIV/AIDS and Right to Health Care :

Recently the Supreme Court [15] has addressed the epidemic of HIV/AIDS. In a case where the court had to decide whether an HIV positive man should disclose his condition to the woman he was to marry, the court has held that "the woman's right to health to precedence over the man's right to privacy". It found that the hospital did not error in disclosing his status to his fiancé. *J Indian Acad Forensic Med. April-June 2012, Vol. 34, No. 2 ISSN 0971-0973*



Sahara House and Sankalp Rehabilitation Trust [16] filed Public Interest litigation in the Hon'ble Supreme Court for access to equitable treatment for PLHIV (Patient Living With HIV, AIDS). In this Public Interest Litigation, the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India reviewed the steps taken by National AIDS Control Organisation, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India to combat HIV/AIDS and the services being provided to PLHA's. In this regard, the Supreme Court has issued various directives for enhancing the extent and efficacy of treatment administered to PLHAs.

Living and working conditions of workers and right to health care:

While the provision of health services is essential to ensure good health, there are several other factors that influence a person's health. The Supreme Court has recognized this in a number of ways. This was first addressed in Bandhua Mukti Morcha vs. Union of India [17] a case concerning the living and working conditions of stone quarry workers and whether these conditions deprived them of their right to life. The court held that humane working conditions are essential to the pursuit of the right life. It lay down that workers should be provided with medical facilities, clean drinking water and sanitation facilities so that they may live with

human dignity.

In Citizens and Inhabitants of Municipal Ward vs. Municipal Corporation, Gwalior, [18] the court deliberated on the question- Is the State machinery bound to assure adequate conditions necessary for health? The case involved the maintaining of sanitation and drainage facilities by municipal corporations. It was held that the State and its machineries (in the instant case, the Municipal Corporation) are bound to assure hygienic conditions of living and therefore, health.

Mentally Ill Person and Right to Health care:

There is sufficient case law on the issue of health in State run institutions such as remand homes for children and "care homes". In Sheela Barse vs. Union of India and Another, [19] a case pertaining to the admitting of non-criminal mentally ill persons to prisons in West Bengal, the Supreme Court has held that "(1) Admission of non-criminal mentally ill persons to jails is illegal and unconstitutional.... The Judicial Magistrate will, upon a mentally ill person being produced, have him or her examined by a Mental Health Professional / Psychiatrist and if advised by such MHP / Psychiatrist, send the mentally ill person to the nearest place of treatment and care." It has further directed the state to improve mental health institutions and integrate mental health into primary health care, among others.

Further in Sheela Barse v Union of India and Others, [19] the Supreme Court has entrusted to High Courts the duty to monitor the conditions of "mentally ill and insane" women and children in prisons and pass appropriate orders from time to time.

In the most recent case involving the death of 25 inmates of a mental health institution in Erawadi, Ramnathapuram District [20] as they were chained to poles or beds and could not escape from a fire that broke out, the Supreme Court has directed the state to implement the provisions of the mental health act as well as to undertake a survey of all institutions that provide mental health facilities and ensure that they are maintaining standards of care.

Section 81 of the Mental Health Act, 1987, has provided that mentally ill person be treated without violation of human rights.

Biomedical Waste and Right to Health Care:

The Biomedical Waste (Management and Handling) Rules, 1998 and The Biomedical Waste (Management and Handling) Amendments Rules, 2000 was notified by the Central Government in exercise of the powers conferred by Ss 6, 8 and 25 of the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986. The act makes it a duty of every occupier of an institution generating biomedical waste which

includes a hospital, nursing home, clinic, dispensary, veterinary institution, animal house, pathological laboratory, blood bank by whatever name called to ensure that such waste is handled without any adverse effect to human health and the environment.

Pollution and Right to Health Care:

In Santosh Kumar Gupta vs. Secretary, Ministry of Environment, New Delhi, [21] contended that the policy, controls / regulations and their implementations are inadequate thereby causing health hazards. In its judgments, the High Court of Madhya Pradesh has laid down that pollution from cars poses a health hazard to people and that the State must ensure that emission standards are implemented maintained.

In the land mark MC Mehta vs. Union of India, [22] the Supreme Court has held that environmental pollution causes several health hazards, and therefore violates right to life. Specifically, the case dealt with the pollution discharged by industries into the Ganges. It was held that victims, affected by the pollution caused, were liable to be compensated.

Conclusion

From the above discussion of cases it is evident that the judiciary has clearly read i nto Article 21, Right to Life, the right to health. It in fact has gone deeper into the meaning of health and has substantiated the meaning of the right to life.

The question that must be discussed more thoroughly is whether an amendment to the Constitution, which will state the fundamental right to health, is desirable? Enumerated rights have an edge over wider interpretations of existing rights, as States can be held accountable for violations.

However, with the extensive case law that is

available is it not possible to use what is available to ensure that health care, facilities and condition ensuring health are fundamental rights of every citizen? If the case law reflects the ability of the courts to read the meaning of 'health' in very wide sense (everything from the responsibility of the municipal corporation to provide sanitation facilities down to access to emergency medical treatment has been interpreted in the right to health) then why not use the instrument of case law to confer rights? It is this question that must be examine in the light of the recent amendment guaranteeing primary education for all. The process that led up to the amendment must be looked at critically as well as how the implementation of it is currently taking place.

Any amendment guaranteeing the right to health should have a focus on primary health care, which is preventive and curative. It should also have specific focus on the health of women- more specifically reproductive health, children, and the disabled- both physically and mentally. Keeping this in mind there must be more detailed examination of an amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing the right to health.

Contributions

First author has collected the data, and prepared the draft of manuscript. Other authors revised the manuscript. Authors:
Associate Professor,
Department of Forensic Medicine,
MGIMS, Sevagram, Dist: Wardha (Maharashtra)
E-mail:ilkhandekar@yahoo.co.in,
khandekar@mgims.ac.in
Prof & Head
Professor



What Happened to India's National Free Medicines Scheme?

■ Chhaya Pachauli

The central government has for years been talking about a “free drugs initiative”. Operationally, this has remained a slogan. What India has is only a central government initiative and guidelines for free drugs, but nothing as statutory as a “scheme”, which means that even the poorest in India do not have a right to free medicines.

Nearly 67% of India's out-of-pocket expenditure on health is spent on medicines. Despite this, India has recently decided to push ahead with health insurance protection, which won't actually help patients where they spend most of their money.

Earlier this year, the government spoke about “free drugs” several times. In March, the cabinet approved an allocation for the National Health Mission (NHM) and said it would have a “special focus” with “intensification of initiatives such as National Health Mission Free Drugs and Diagnostics Services Initiatives”. This, because it is their “target” to reduce a patient's out of pocket expenditure. But in the absence of an enforceable and accountable scheme, neither the central nor state governments are obligated to provide free drugs to citizens.

Successive governments have raised the issue of “free drugs” but to no avail. Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced in his Independence Day speech in 2012 that the government would soon launch a national scheme for free medicines and diagnostics. When

Nearly 67% of India's out-of-pocket expenditure on health is spent on medicines. However, despite promises, India does not yet have a scheme for free medicines.

the Bharatiya Janata Party assumed power at the Centre in 2014, Arun Jaitley said in his 2014 budget speech that a free medicines and diagnostics scheme would be set up. However, no money was allocated for it.

Even the National Health Policy 2017 specifically emphasises provisions for free medicines and diagnostics at public hospitals. But there is still no national scheme guaranteeing free essential medicines to patients in the country.

In May 2011, the Planning Commission had constituted a working group on drugs to inform allocations in the 12th five year plan (2012-2017). The group had recommended a national program for free medicines and diagnostics, a move prompted by similar schemes successfully implemented in Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan. This recommendation was also echoed by the High Level Expert Group on universal health coverage constituted by the Planning Commission.

Need for a National Free Medicines Scheme

According to the 71st National Sample Survey (NSS), about 63% of the national healthcare expenditure is borne by people out of their pockets. The Health and Morbidity in India 2004-2014 report by Brookings India, which compares

NSSO data from 2004 and 2014, stated that 7% of Indians fall below the poverty line just because of indebtedness due to this expenditure, as well as that this figure hasn't changed much in a decade. About 23% of the sick can't afford healthcare because of these payments.

Much of this problem of debt can be solved if medicines are made available to people at affordable prices. However, what are the factors that keep the prices of medicines up?

India currently has a mechanism for price control but it is applicable only to a handful of commonly used drugs. Patients are also victims of rampant irrational prescription practises. The government has tried to respond to this by setting up 'Jan Aushadhi' shops that sell generic drugs. However, doctor lobbies like the Indian Medical Association have themselves been resisting the prescription of generic drugs. A recent government report said that, in some cases, patients paid a markup of as much as 1,737%.

In this setting, an effective way to bring medicines within the reach of all is by provisioning free quantities at public health facilities. As mentioned earlier, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan have done it already, and the results have been

remarkable. The schemes contributed to an increase in patient footfalls at the health facilities and helped rationalise prescription practices. However, apart from a few states like Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha, not many have come forward to replicate the initiative.

Lessons from Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan

Tamil Nadu introduced a free medicines model in 1995. It consisted of highly effective systems of drug procurement, quality checks and supply and distribution. Sixteen years later, in 2011, Rajasthan launched a similar but expanded scheme for free medicines called 'Mukhya Mantri Nishulk Dawa Yojana' (MMNDY). Rajasthan is usually not seen as an exemplary state but in this aspect of healthcare, the scheme was widely praised, including by the WHO.

The MMNDY is a universal assurance scheme that provisions 606 essential and life saving medicines, 137 surgical items and 77 sutures at no cost for every patient seeking care from any government hospital. A government-owned special purpose vehicle, the Rajasthan Medical Services Corporation (RMSC), manages about 90% of the procurement and supply chain. The table below compares the MRP and RMSC tendered rates of medicines. The magnitude difference is obviously significant.

The data from the state's health department shows that the scheme heralded a big jump in patient footfalls across public health institutions: from 4.4 million in 2012-13 to 8+ million in 2015-16. The state also recorded a 2.6x increase in OPD consultations and a 1.5x increase in the number of hospitalised patients in this period.

A 2013 study by the WHO, the Public Health Foundation of India and an NGO named Prayas found that, under the MMNDY scheme, district hospitals sported an 88% availability of the specified drugs

and primary healthcare centres, about 71%. (*Disclosure: The author works for Prayas.*) Also, 98.3% of the medicines were found to have been prescribed using generic names while 89.02% were single formulation medicines (as opposed to fixed-dose combinations). The scheme thus also helped rationalise prescription practices.

No Minimum Standards

While there is no national scheme as of now, the central government offers an incentive for state governments to launch schemes for free drugs and diagnostics through the NHM. It has also published guidelines on the lines of Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan models for other states to adopt.

However, a majority of states still do not have provisions for free medicines. Some claim to provide medicines free of cost; however, in the absence of any scheme or state policies and systems to support drug procurement, supply and distribution, last-mile availability is poor and patients continue to be forced to spend on medicines. Also, among states that have a free medicines scheme, there are variations. For example, differences have been recorded in the number of medicines provisioned at no cost under the scheme, in the number of hospitals covered and the kind of support systems in place.

While some of these variations are to be expected, many of them emerge because of politicians' reluctance to implement the scheme in its true spirit thanks to pressures from lobbies of medical care providers and pharmaceutical companies.

For the last few years, health insurance schemes have emerged as one of the key measures to improve access to healthcare. The recently announced National Health Protection Scheme (NHPS) assures a cover of up to Rs 5 lakh for secondary and tertiary healthcare services to 10 crore poor families across the country. This only

establishes an increasing inclination towards health insurance schemes.

Almost all these schemes only cover expenses related to healthcare services that require hospitalisation. They conveniently overlook expenses incurred in out-patient care. About 64% of the total out-of-pocket expenses borne by patients in India are related to out-patient services.

Unfortunately, both central and state health insurance schemes have not acknowledged this reality even as they push for health insurance. This is one of the reasons why India has had no substantial reduction in the percentage of out-of-pocket spending in many years.

It must be recognised that for the poor, and for many rural and remote areas, public health systems remain the only way to access essential drugs. A national free medicines scheme would ensure that a range of life-saving medicines is guaranteed free of cost to everyone through public health facilities, regardless of whether a state implements a free medicines scheme or not. In turn, the states can have the flexibility to add medicines over and above those specified by the national scheme to be made available at no cost, especially to meet distinct epidemiological needs.

While the centre and the states will have to shell out very little extra funds for the scheme than what they are already spending on medicines, the returns can be high. Apart from reducing out-of-pocket expenses, the scheme could potentially regulate irrational prescription practice and help bring patients to healthcare facilities at the preliminary stages of their illnesses, so reducing the rate of hospitalisation.

The writer is a public health activist working on the campaigns for the right to free medicine and against the privatisation of public health institutions in Rajasthan.



Excerpted from the Centre
for Financial Accountability
Report : The Dark Side of
NTPC : A Critical Look at the
Social and Environmental
Footprints of NTPC

NTPC Violating Rights of Communities Year After Year

■ ■ ■ Prout News Report

Between 2011-12 and 2016-17, according to NTPC's website, it had spent over Rs 1,200 crore on its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities. The NTPC wants to send out a message that it is a good 'corporate citizen' and it cares about the communities and the environment where it operates. However, there are several documented instances where NTPC has gone against the welfare of people and despite being a Government-owned company, has shown actions similar to profit-hungry private corporations. Moreover, NTPC has heavy backing of the state machinery, which has given it the leeway to violate the rights of communities where it has been operating, along with causing damaging effects on the health of people and the environment. Moreover, NTPC has shown poor

concern for labour safety, as it has been quite evident in the case of the Unchahar tragedy, along with overlooking the demands of its contract workers for better wages. Given below is a compilation of various news reports spanning over more than a decade which throws light on the track record of NTPC on various fronts:

a. Land Acquisition / Rehabilitation As a power producer, NTPC has always been dependent on acquiring huge tracts of land for its projects. The land which NTPC has acquired for its projects is mostly based in rural areas with the area spread over several villages. The NTPC pays compensation to the villagers for the land it acquires and local governments play a key role in facilitating this acquisition. However, the required land for NTPC's projects has not been given

up by villagers easily in lieu of compensation. The loss to existing livelihoods, inadequate compensation, lack of employment opportunities in the upcoming plants, pollution, environmental hazards, etc. have been some of the key factors in opposing the displacement. While the government says that the acquisition of land is important for development of the nation as meeting the growing power demand is one of the key prerequisites for the growth of Indian economy, but, many times, the communities whose land is being acquired do not necessarily agree with the government. For them it is more important to ensure that their livelihoods and environment is not sacrificed on the altar of nation's development.

Given below are some of the documented instances where

communities have opposed the acquisition of land for NTPC's projects or have demanded better compensations for parting with the land. There have also been protests demanding jobs for local people in these power plants. Many of such struggles fail to get due media coverage. Hence, the instances mentioned below may only give a partial picture to the reader:

In January 2018, there were news reports that farmers in Gadarwara area of Narsinghpur district of Madhya Pradesh have been protesting for more than 15 days against acquisition of land by NTPC. According to a separate news article in 'Down to Earth' magazine, about 1,800 acres of land was taken for 3200 MW power plant from 500 small and marginal farmers for the construction of the power plant on rich fertile land. The news in 'Indian Express' mentioned that Madhya Pradesh Congress leader Ajay Singh had said that the farmers were promised Rs 18 lakh per acre, along with an annual bonus of Rs 30,000 per acre for the next 30 years and that NTPC had agreed to provide employment to at least one family member of the affected farmers; but, none of the promises had been fulfilled.

According to a news report in 'The New Indian Express', since December 2017, hundreds of villagers had been protesting against NTPC's upcoming Gajmara plant in Dhenkenal district of Odisha demanding compensation from the Government. The protesters were claiming that they have not received the compensation amount, even though NTPC said that it had released compensation for those who lost their land before starting the project. This NTPC project is an upcoming 2400 MW coal-fired power plant which would be a joint venture between NTPC and aluminium major NALCO, which would be used for supplying low cost electricity for aluminium production.

Bharatiya Rail Bijlee Company Limited (BRBCL), a

74:26 joint venture of NTPC and Indian Railways at Nabinagar in Aurangabad district, faced protests from the local villagers, who were demanding employment. The villagers had cut off the water supply of the power plant which had brought it to the verge of a shutdown. There were around 100 people from a displaced village, Kajrain, involved in the protest, which also included 40 women. The demand of the protesters included compensation for several plots, measurement of residential land, and irrigation facilities.

In July 2017, NTPC's 460 MW Talcher Thermal Power Station (TTPS) faced agitation from hundreds of local villagers, including women, who demanded employment for the locals. The protesters had also submitted a memorandum to the Talcher Sub-Collector, seeking employment and a few other demands. However, NTPC's General Manager gave a rejoinder, stating, "NTPC never committed jobs to locals in the plant. Besides, there are no vacancies in the plant." This agitation happened just two days before a public hearing for the expansion of Talcher Thermal Power Station.

In October 2016, four villagers were killed when police opened fire on the protesters whose land was

being acquired by NTPC in Chirudih area in Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand. More than 500 villagers from different villages of the Barkagaon block had been staging 'Kafan (shroud) satyagrah' for last 10 days in Chirudih area of the NTPC site. However, they became aggressive when the police and officials arrived and asked them to end their agitation. The NTPC had acquired 8,056 acres of land for one of its biggest projects – the Pankri-Barwadih coal mining project in 2010. But, work could not start due to the villagers demanding higher compensation, employment and rehabilitation. The agitation of the villagers intensified after NTPC reportedly initiated the mining work.

NTPC's coal mining project in Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand faced strong opposition in June 2016, which could have led to 30,000 villagers losing their land with NTPC's plan to acquire 17,000 acres of land. The project would have affected 32 villages in the Keredari and Barkagaon block where the villagers alleged that NTPC had not discussed the issue with them. It was alleged by local rights activists that the compensation paid by NTPC to the villagers was grossly inadequate. According to a local lawyer, though



the villagers were not opposed to land acquisition, they wanted better compensation. According to the villagers, the land in this area is highly fertile and cultivation is done three times in a year.

It was reported in May 2016 that villagers who had lost land in Barkagaon block of Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand had called for a block-level shutdown to protest against NTPC and police atrocities, where NTPC had been carrying a captive coal mining project. The villagers were demanding higher compensation, employment and rehabilitation. The displaced villagers had formed a platform by the name of Barkagaon Buddhiji Manch and they sat on a hunger strike demanding that the company should fulfill their demands.

An article was published on Sierra Club's website, an environmental organization, which narrated the displacement faced by the people of Singrauli in Uttar Pradesh due to several power projects, which started with NTPC's Singrauli Power Project in 1977. According to an estimate, more than 300,000 people have been displaced because of the power projects which have been established in the region. The article also highlighted the plight of one of the displaced persons, Ram Shubhang Shukla, who sat for 63 days on protest in 2016, demanding rehabilitation and land for the land lost due to the NTPC project. Ram Shubhang Shukla is physically challenged, but no one from the various government departments paid heed to his plight. He has received only Rs 1,200 as compensation so far.

In September 2015, construction work was stalled at NTPC's North Karanpura Super Thermal Power Plant in Tandwa town in Chatra district of Jharkhand due to a protest by a group of around 50 villagers demanding permanent job in the project. It was alleged that the company was not giving jobs to those who were losing their land. It was also claimed by sources that even though the matter was later on



Fishermen and families protesting in Tamil Nadu

settled after the intervention of the local administration, regular protests by the villagers and local leaders could turn into a massive crisis.

In September 2015, a farmer had allegedly set his house on fire and others had raised slogans and tried to resist the authorities' move to vacate them from their land for the Meja Urja Nigam Private Limited (MUPNPL)'s project of setting up ash dyke in Salaiya Kalan village of Meja block in Allahabad district of Uttar Pradesh. MUNPL is a joint venture of NTPC and Uttar Pradesh Rajkiya Vidhut Nigam Limited (UPRVNL) which has been tasked with construction of a 1320 MW power plant at Meja block. According to reports, Salaiya Kalan village was to be vacated by the villagers as the land was already acquired by MUNPL for the construction of an ash dyke. Although no untoward incident was reported from the village, one of the farmers allegedly set his house on fire before vacating it. Some of the village youths tried to resist and raised slogans against the authorities after which Rapid Action Force (RAF) was asked to move inside the village. Heavy police force was deployed in and around the village thereafter.

Farmers and land-owners have been protesting against NTPC demanding higher compensation

from NTPC for their land in Solapur district of southern Maharashtra as per a news report of April 2015. Since early that month, the plant site at Fatalewadi village near Solapur has been under siege with hundreds of protesters demanding additional compensation. To control the agitation, the district administration had invoked Section 144 in the area and 150 police personnel were deployed. It was estimated that NTPC would have to give out Rs 300 to Rs 500 crore extra if it agreed to meet the demand of the agitators.

A massive protest was registered in September 2014 in Meja block in Allahabad district of Uttar Pradesh against the upcoming Meja Thermal Power Plant of Meja Urja Nigam Pvt. Ltd. The plant is a joint venture of National Thermal Power Corporation Limited (NTPCL) and UP Rajya Vidyut Nigam Limited (UPRVNL). The villagers had been demanding higher compensation. The villagers had been paid Rs 90,000 per bigha (one third of an acre), while they were demanding Rs 25 to Rs 30 lakh per bigha. Villagers who had been displaced by the plant have been protesting for many days. They alleged that the plant was being constructed forcibly by deploying hundreds of police personnel.

A protest against Kudgi Power Plant in Bijapur district of Karnataka in July 2014 had turned violent when

police was forced to open fire and burst tear gas shells. According to police, five people were injured in the incident, while two of them suffered bullet wounds. The incident also led to the imposition of Section 144 in Kudgi town. The Kudgi Power Plant was facing protests by hundreds of people for few months prior to this incident, even though 50 per cent of the project had already been commissioned. It was alleged by the protesters that the local residents were not provided jobs, even though NTPC officials had promised the same while acquiring fertile pieces of land from them a few years ago. The escalation of violence led to the exodus of hundreds of NTPC workers out of the town. The protesters had threatened to continue their protest till the government agreed to shift the plant out of Kudgi.

It was reported from Meja block in Allahabad district of Uttar Pradesh that villagers of Salaiya Kalan village had a confrontation with the district administration when they opposed the construction of an ash dyke by Meja Urja Nigam Private Limited (MUNPL). It was informed by the leaders associated with the agitation that the villagers were protesting against the power plant under the banner of 'Visthapit Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti' as many villagers had been displaced because of the power plant and many farmers had been directly affected. According to the villagers, police had used force against the legitimate demands of villagers, which included compensation enhancement, construction of houses for the displaced farmers, jobs, etc.

The NTPC had been allocated the Pakri Barwadih coal block in Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand in 2004 and it was expected that mining would begin by February 2013. However, the work at the site was stalled due to agitation against land acquisition. NTPC officials had claimed that the compensation for the land acquisition had been paid by the company as stipulated by the state government, but, still, the farmers were agitating against the company. The NTPC came out with a statement: "Land owners are agitating for a higher land compensation and the law and order situation in that area is not conducive."

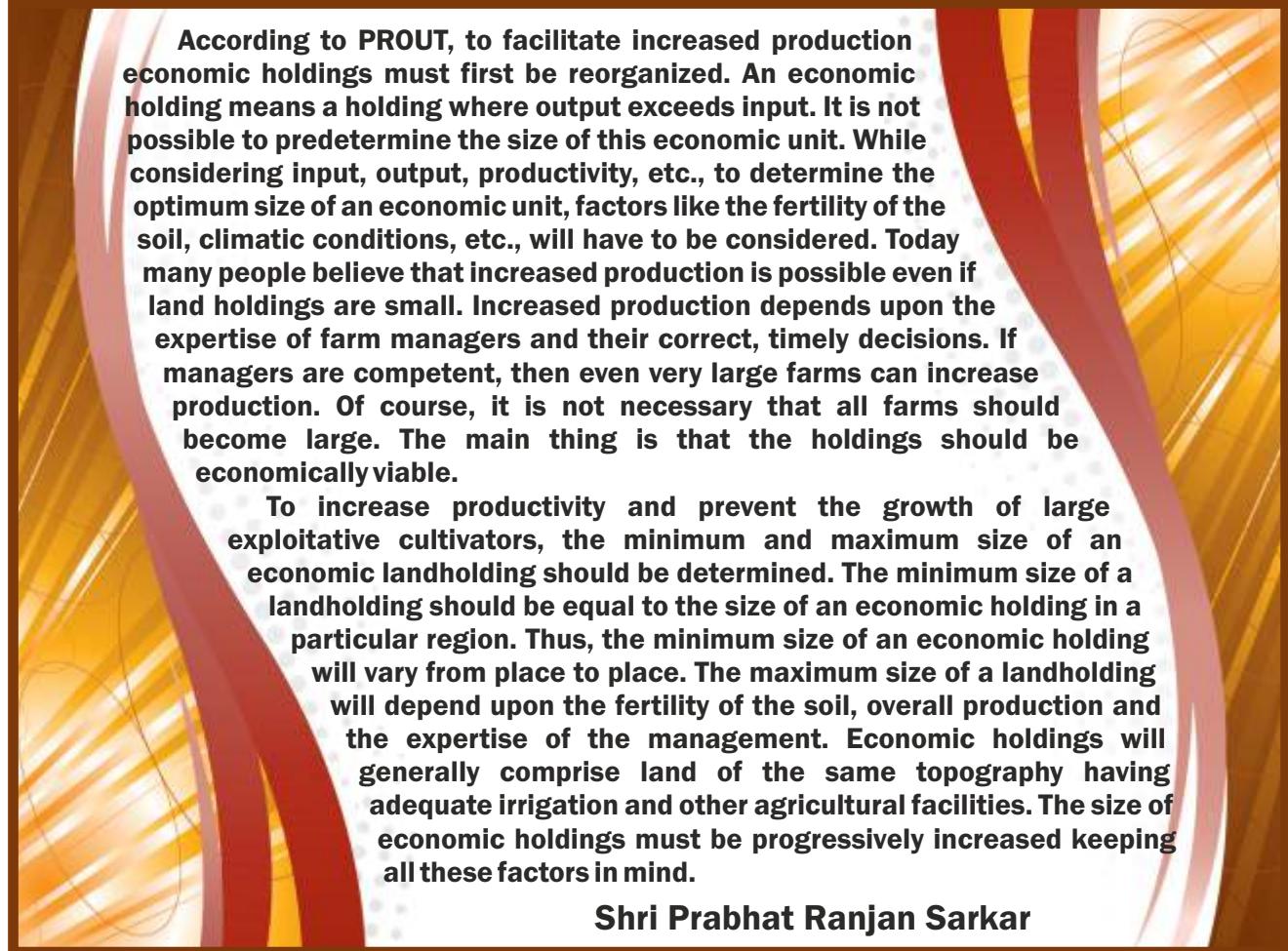
In July 2013, it was reported that NTPC's 1320 MW Solapur Thermal Power project at Fatalewadi village in Solapur district of Maharashtra was facing agitation from villagers who were demanding higher compensation from NTPC for the land they had parted with earlier. The villagers had asked NTPC to stop the construction work till their demands were met and they also wanted a higher number of locals to be given jobs. The construction work of the power plant had begun in 2009. The locals wanted the compensation for their land in line with the prevailing market rates.

The NTPC was allocated the Pakri Barwadih coal block in Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand in 2004. It was reported in June 2013 that villagers in Barkagaon and Keredari blocks had firmly refused to part with their cultivable land. This mining project, which was intended to feed its ultra mega power project, met with opposition protesting villagers stopped Thiess India from starting its work. Thiess India is part of an Australian Company which had been given the task by NTPC for coal exploration. The villagers were demanding Rs 40 lakh per acre as compensation, but NTPC refused to raise the compensation amount beyond Rs 15 lakh per acre. The NTPC had alleged that villagers had assaulted some of the contractors engaged by the company for levelling the ground before mining.

According to a news report, from February 2013, construction work at NTPC's first hydroelectric power project at Koldam Dam in Bilaspur district of Himachal Pradesh was stalled by the people displaced due to this 800 MW hydroelectric project. They were demanding permanent jobs for a member of each family or Rs 25 lakhs as compensation, along with other demands, such as free electricity and medical treatment at the NTPC dispensary. The protest led to imposition of Section 144 by the administration, while NTPC workers deserted the site.

A violent clash between villagers and police was reported in June 2012 at the project site of NTPC's Simhadri Super Thermal Power Plant at Parawada in Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh. The violence broke out when a pipeline for the seawater pump house for the second phase of the power plant was stalled by hundreds of angry fishermen from Tikkavanipalem who were demanding jobs for the people affected by the project. The agitated fishermen pelted stones and personnel of the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) opened fire in the air to quell the violent mob. Though no one was injured in the firing, eight people got injured in stone pelting, which included





According to PROUT, to facilitate increased production economic holdings must first be reorganized. An economic holding means a holding where output exceeds input. It is not possible to predetermine the size of this economic unit. While considering input, output, productivity, etc., to determine the optimum size of an economic unit, factors like the fertility of the soil, climatic conditions, etc., will have to be considered. Today many people believe that increased production is possible even if land holdings are small. Increased production depends upon the expertise of farm managers and their correct, timely decisions. If managers are competent, then even very large farms can increase production. Of course, it is not necessary that all farms should become large. The main thing is that the holdings should be economically viable.

To increase productivity and prevent the growth of large exploitative cultivators, the minimum and maximum size of an economic landholding should be determined. The minimum size of a landholding should be equal to the size of an economic holding in a particular region. Thus, the minimum size of an economic holding will vary from place to place. The maximum size of a landholding will depend upon the fertility of the soil, overall production and the expertise of the management. Economic holdings will generally comprise land of the same topography having adequate irrigation and other agricultural facilities. The size of economic holdings must be progressively increased keeping all these factors in mind.

Shri Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar

four policemen and four civilians. State secretary of CPI (M) B.V. Raghavulu said that NTPC completely failed in keeping a check on pollution, which, adversely, affected the livelihood of the fishermen, and that NTPC should not have gone ahead with the second pipeline without rehabilitating those affected due to the first pipeline.

In December 2011, fishermen living near the NTPC Simhadri Power Plant of Vishakhapatnam district came up with a unique way of protest against the NTPC power plant and Pharma City, when they came with fishing boats and nets in front of the NTPC gate. The fishermen belonged to four villages, viz. Dibbapalem, Jaalaripeta, Mutyalammapalem and Tikkavanipalem, and demanded that the NTPC and Pharma City managements should provide jobs to their children and resettlement of their villages. The fishermen complained that they were not getting the catch due to the dumping of hazardous waste of the companies into sea waters. The agitators conducted a funeral procession of NTPC and Pharma City managements at the power plant site.

An incidence of violent clash was reported in January 2011, when hundreds of farmers clashed with the police demanding higher compensation in Aurangabad district of Bihar in lieu of the land acquired

by NTPC in Nabinagar. The incident left a dozen farmers injured and it was reported that one farmer had died in the incident, which the district authorities had denied. The Nabinagar power plant was being set up as a 50:50 joint venture between NTPC and Bihar State Electricity Board (BSEB) for a 1,980 MW power plant for which 2,800 acres of land were required. The farmers alleged that the state government had promised that no industry would be set up on fertile land. The farmers had earlier written a letter to Chief Minister Nitish Kumar with a demand to assess their quality of land.

It was reported in a 2010 news report that the plans for NTPC's 2300 MW Mauda Power Plant in Nagpur district of Maharashtra had ran into trouble because of land acquisition issues for the second phase of the power plant. The acquisition for the first phase had happened smoothly. However, the farmers were demanding a high price for their land because of which the District Collector had to intervene. The District Collector had arranged a meeting with around 150 farmers who had pressed for several demands, including Rs 25 lakh per acre, job for one member of the family, scholarship for students, setting up of a hospital in the village and Rs 5 crore for the repair of roads damaged due to heavy vehicles plying through their villages, among other demands.

(to be concluded)

Bliss Drowning All Differences

Shrii Shrii Anandamúrti

Dharma was born out of this endless quest for happiness. One day, through experimentation, human beings discovered the true path of happiness. This was the starting point of *dharma-carana* [observance of dharma], the path on which people feel immense joy.

Every human being, regardless of caste, creed or colour should practise *dharma-carana*. The joy of *dharma-carana* flows from one and the same source and is so elevating that the mind cannot measure it. When an object is small, it can easily be measured with a tape measure. But when joy surpasses the capacity of the mind it becomes immeasurable. A person overwhelmed with joy may become senseless or may dance joyfully. That intense, immeasurable joy which leads one to infinity, is called “*ānanda*” or bliss.

Ucche [small bitter gourd] is a bitter tasting vegetable which is not liked by everyone. *Rasagollas* [delicious Indian sweet], on the other hand, are rather satisfying to eat. However, the pleasure derived from eating a *rasagolla* is limited: while it sits on the tongue it is satisfying, but as soon as it goes down the throat, the pleasure ends. A *rasagolla* is ephemeral; only *Parama Purusa* is infinite. He is immeasurable, He is infinite. When one comes in contact with Him one attains infinite *ānanda*, not the limited pleasure of a *rasagolla*. When one experiences just a little extra joy, one tends to forget oneself. When one experiences infinite joy, what happens? One merges in the ocean of infinite joy thus attaining “*savikalpa samādhi*”. When that flow of joy becomes so great that one loses one's own identity and existence, it is called “*nirvikalpa samādhi*”. This happens due to extreme joy.

“*Bhaktirupananda ca*”. Bhakti is the embodiment of *ānanda*. *Ānanda* may also have an external manifestation. I [have] spoke[n] about “*bhaktipremasvarupinii*”. Those established in bhakti cannot indulge in any form of duplicity. Radiating deep love for humanity, they work tirelessly to establish an ideal social order free of all exploitation where human beings can stand up and fight against any type of injustice.

There is another expression of bhakti which occurs when devotees realize that all beings are created from *ānanda*, exist in *ānanda* and return to *ānanda*. This realization causes a radical change in their outlook – no longer can they differentiate between rich and poor, highborn and low-born. They observe an ocean of *ānanda* flowing within and around all created beings. “*Rasa vae sah*” – all are flowing in the same rasa, the same ocean of bliss. In that divine flow the devotees see *Parama Purusa* dancing with each entity. In philosophy, this dance is called “*rásaliilá*” [divine play in the flow of bliss]. It does not mean that someone is actually playing a flute with all the humans and cows dancing around him. Rather, it means that all the entities of this beginning less and endless universe are floating in the ocean of cosmic bliss. There is no place for sorrow since sorrow only exists where petty interests clash and vie with each other. When the devotees clearly understand this they become established in bliss.

When all humans are dancing in the same rhythm of *Parama Purusa*, when they are all moving in the same ideational flow, should there be any distinction between rich and poor, high-bred and low-bred? Of course not. In this divine flow there is not even a distinction between devotees and non-devotees. Does *Parama Purusa* ever exclude the non-devotees from His infinite, endless cosmic dance? Does He not feed and protect them too? Why should such a sense of distinction influence the human mind? Humans must keep such divisions and distinctions out of their minds. When all are dancing in the same flow of bliss what right does anyone have to discriminate against them? If one person rejects another, *Parama Purusa* will be angry...Everybody is dancing in that ocean of ideation, that ocean of bliss. Nobody can ignore this divine flow of bliss; nobody should be prevented from enjoying that bliss...

“*Bhaktih bhaktasya jiivanam*”. Fish live in water – their existence depends upon it. If you pull a fish out of the water it dies. Humans are creatures of the land. If you keep a person immersed in water for a long time he or she will die. Land is a person's life. Similarly, if devotees are unable to remain in a devotional environment, they will surely die. Wherever they go, they scour the earth, the oceans and the skies in search of other devotees. When two devotees meet they cling to each other in an embrace of deep affinity. For them, the company of a non-devotee is unbearable. Hence, “*Bhaktih bhaktasya jiivanam*”.

Devotion is the life-force of a devotee, and without it nothing can be achieved. When the life-force leaves a person's body, death quickly follows. Similarly, if devotion is taken away from the devotees, they, too, will die.

Proutist Bloc, India (Odisha) Takes Up the Cause of Vulnerable Citizens

Article 39 of the Indian constitution directs the government to secure adequate means of livelihood for all men and women equally. But sadly, 69 years after the implementation of the Constitution, various governments have not only failed to provide enough employment for capable citizens, but have also shown apathy towards old, sick, helpless and differently-abled citizens of the country.

Proutist Bloc, India (Odisha) has taken up the cause of these vulnerable citizens, who are getting a paltry sum of Rs. 300-500 from the central and state governments under the social security scheme. PBI contends that with sky-rocketing prices of essential commodities, 10 rupees a day is not social security but social cruelty. It is an insult of the most-neglected section of our society. Therefore, PBI demands that the amount of money should be raised to at least Rs. 1500 a month.

It is to this end, the party has launched a full-fledged movement in the state. As a part of the movement, sit-ins, mass rallies, public meetings etc. were held in the following areas of Boudh district : Ramgadh (28 Dec 2018), Dhalapur (18 Jan 2019), Pitambarpur (19 Jan 2019), Mahalikpada (22 Jan 2019), Kushang (24 Jan 2019), Chataranga (06 Feb 2019), Karanjakata (07 Feb 2019), Sankulei (08 Feb 2019), Harbhanga (11 Feb 2019), Sarsara (23 Feb 2019), Radhanagar (23 Feb 2019). On 26 Feb, all the above-mentioned areas were covered and thus, 33 Gram Panchayat and Sadar Boudh NAC (Urban) within about 30 days saw intensive and extensive activities by PBI.

These events were organized and led by Kedarnath Sahoo (National Movement Secretary, PBI), Aditya Pradhan (State Movement Secretary) Sridhara Ghibila (President, Dist. Baudh PBI), Champeswar Danta (Secretary, Dist. Boudh PBI) Dharanidhar Lauria, Jogendra Kanhar, Sadanand Pradhan, Rabindra Behera, Bidyadhar Behera, Swadhin K. Parida, Prabin Patra, Sachindra K. Sahoo and others.

Achievements

While the movement is still on and striding forward to its goal, it has already crossed a few milestones with the following success stories under the leadership of Kedarnth Sahoo and Aditya Pradhan :

1. After a long fight against the district administration, in September 2018, the Social Security beneficiaries got 1 crore and 59 lakhs rupees for 48,000 pensioners.

2. Hundreds of beneficiaries have already received their dues up to Rs. 20,000, and hundreds of others will be soon receiving their dues, which have been already sanctioned by the government.

Our correspondent talked to some of the beneficiaries namely Chandan Patra of Mathura GP, who has received Rs.4000, Gurudeb Naik from Adenigad GP (Rs. 4200), Krusna Ch. Sethy Rs.7900, Musad and Duti Sahu Rs. 8400 from Tileswar GP and Mashes Behera - Rs.3200 from Mahalikpada GP.

Rajesh Naik from Landibandh, Mathura GP, Padmabati Danta, Mathura, Laxmi Kanhar from Raipur, Mathura GP and Minketan Bhuyan, Sarsara GP are yet to get their dues, but they are hopeful that PBI will be able to help them too.

3. Earlier, as a result of continuous struggle by PBI (Boudh, Balangir and Deogarh), hon'ble Supreme Court passed an order on 13 Dec 2018 in response to writ petition (civil) case No. 193/2016 and ordered the government of Odisha to raise the pension of the old aged/widows and differently-abled people from Rs.300 to Rs.500 and Rs.500 to Rs. 700 respectively.

Surely, another success story is waiting to be written soon when PBI compels the government to raise this amount to Rs.1500 per month.



ACTIVITY

PBI Pays Tribute to Pulwama Attack Victims

The district committee of Sitamadhi met on 19 Feb 2019 at its district office and paid its homage to the soldiers killed in Pulwama attack in Kashmir on 14 Feb. He expressed empathy and solidarity with their family members and relatives.

Condemning the attack as a cowardly act, national organising secretary Rajkishore Prasad said it is a high time we abolished article 370 and allow the citizens from other parts of the country to work and settle in Kashmir, so that it becomes a part of India in the true sense. He said that our army has always been ready to meet any eventuality, but the lack of political will has caused the Kashmir issue to remain unsolved



Proutist Bloc, India All Set to Contest General Elections 2019

Proutist Bloc, India (PBI) is all geared up for the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections. According to the national public relations secretary Ravindra Singh, the names of the candidates for 9 Lok Sabha constituencies falling in Delhi, Odisha, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have been finalised and will be declared soon. Besides, the names of ten candidates for Odisha Legislative Assembly elections, which are taking place along with General Elections, have also been finalised.

The paucity of resources have not been able to dampen the spirits of the party cadres and office-bearers, who are all very excited and visiting every village and city, disseminating the party's message among the people.

Prout journal wishes a great success to the candidates and expects that their performance will fill people with a hope for freedom from fear, hunger, corruption and terror, and will provide them an ideal political alternative.

Delhi (PBI) Finalises Candidates for General Elections 2019



On March 10, the election management committee appointed by PBI's Delhi State Committee met at Prout Bhavan in Malviya Nagar, Delhi, to finalise the names of the candidates for the upcoming Lok Sabha elections. After the meeting, State General Secretary Baidnath Sah told our correspondent that the names of the candidates for four out of seven seats in Delhi have been decided and will be declared in a week. The candidates for West Delhi, North-West Delhi, South Delhi and Chandani Chowk Lok Sabha constituencies have been finalised, while the names of the candidates for the remaining three Lok Sabha constituencies will be finalised shortly. Meanwhile, the preparations for the elections are going on in full swing. The Election Commission of India has fixed the polling date for Delhi on May 12.

ACTIVITY

PBI (Odisha) Fights for Complete Ban on Liquor Sale

On March 13, Proutist Bloc, India and Milit Odisha Nasha Nivaran Abhiyan jointly organised a rally from Chandrachud Temple to the collectorate in Boudh district of Odisha. The rally saw the participation of 200 people, including PBI cadres, office-bearers and local people.

Passing through the major roads of the district and shouting slogans, the agitators reached the DM office in the afternoon, where they were addressed by PBI's National Movement Secretary Kedarnath Sahoo, Purna Chandra Biswal, PBI youth leader Aditya Pradhan, Milit Odisha Nasha Nivaran Abhiyan's representative Sarveshwar ji and PBI's National Convener Acharya Santosananda Avadhuta.

Since Model Code of Conduct had come into force, the agitators were not allowed to use loudspeakers and submit the memorandum of their demands. The agitators demanded that a blanket ban be imposed on the production and sale of liquor in the state during the entire period of elections to ensure free and fair polling. Addressing the demonstrators, Kedarnath Sahoo said the government, on the one hand, is running a full-fledged department to dissuade people from drinking, and on the other hand, it is issuing licenses to liquor shops and collecting revenue. It is high time the government did away with this contradiction. He asked the government to either ban the sale of liquor altogether or drop the sham of being a welfare state.

Acharya Santosananda Avadhuta said the first and foremost duty of a government is to enhance the well-being of the citizens, but the way different governments across the country are ensuring the availability of liquor even in the remotest parts of the country shows that the public welfare has taken a backseat, and their foremost concern is collection of maximum revenue, irrespective of its source. The physical damage, economic loss and moral degeneration effected by liquor hardly bothers them. He said, "Without the presence of healthy and aware citizens in the country, democracy is a sham, so complete ban on liquor is one of the prerequisites for democracy."



Veteran Proutist Passes Away

On 17 March, senior Proutist Tattvik Dhruvendra ji, the publication secretary of Proutist Sarva Samaj (PSS) passed away in a hospital in Darbhanga, Bihar. While at an organisational meeting in Hajipur, he complained of acute discomfort and was immediately rushed to the hospital where he breathed his last at around 1 AM.

The organisation has lost a dedicated worker, devoted to Shrii Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar - Propounder Prout, who always led from the front and inspired those around him with his fiery speeches. He will be remembered forever for his contribution towards the propagation of Prout and for his service to the society. May the Lord shower His infinite grace upon him!





GLORIES OF HIS SACRIFICING LOVE

TUMI, BHÁLOR BHÁLO SABÁR MUKH CEYE
BHÁLOR BHÁLO SABÁR MUKH CEYE
TUMI ÁLO ÁNIYÁCHO ÁNDHÁR BEYE
TUMI, CHANDE GÁNE SMITÁNANE
BÁDHÁY JUJHIYÁCHO PRIITI DIYE
TUMI ÁLO ÁNIYÁCHO ÁNDHÁR BEYE

TOMÁR, KEU PAR NÁI SABÁI PARAM ÁTMIIYA
ÁÁ
TOMÁR, KEU PAR NÁI SABÁI PARAM ÁTMIIYA
SABÁI COKHER MANÍ SABÁI PRIYA
SABÁR KATHÁ BHEVE NIJE PATHE NEVE
SABÁY SAUNGE NIYE JÁO EGIYE
TUMI ÁLO ÁNIYÁCHO ÁNDHÁR BEYE

KATA, RÁTER TAPASYÁ AMÁNISHÁY
ÁÁ
KATA, RÁTER TAPASYÁ AMÁNISHÁY
KATA CÁPÁ VYATHÁ NÁBOLÁ BHÁSÁY
TUMI SABE CHILE BHÁVE BHARIYE DILE
KOЛЕ NILE JE CHILO DHULOV LUTÍYE
TUMI ÁLO ÁNIYÁCHO ÁNDHÁR BEYE
TUMI, BHÁLOR BHÁLO SABÁR MUKH CEY
TUMI ÁLO ÁNIYÁCHO ÁNDHÁR BEYE

Gazing upon everyone with such love
You have brought such radiance
crossing the darkness.
With the rhythms and songs of Your
Smile and Your Face
You struggle with us against all
obstacles and bestow Your love.

Nobody is a stranger for You
Everyone is the closest,
Supremely dear family member
for You.
Every being is the jewel of Your eyes.
Every being is Your darling, dear one.
You are feeling for everyone and all
their stories.
Keeping everyone with You along You
new path,
You go on moving forwards.

So many moonless nights
Full of suffering (Tapasya)
With so much agony,
Have never been told in words
You have only filled everyone with
such ecstasy
And those who were buried in the dust
and mud
You lifted up onto Your Lap.





Solar LED Home Lightings | Solar LED Lanterns | LED Bulbs | LED Torches

ADD SUN TO YOUR LIFE

Andslite is dedicated to brighten up your lives. For years, we've been creating effective ways to harness solar energy to provide you cost-effective electricity. Another effort in this course are Andslite provide quality and economical products.

UNIQUE FEATURES :

- Energy efficient lighting products
- Strong ABS body & PC glass
- High power focused torch lights for long distance coverage
- Long backup rechargeable Study lights
- Solar lanterns and emergency lights for lighting homes & offices, etc.
- More than 50 LED lighting products with 1 year warranty*

*Conditions apply

Lighting by
JAPANESE & USA
LEDs



Manufacturers of :

- LED Solar Home Lights and Lanterns
- LED Study Lights
- LED Torch Lights & Head Lights
- LED AC Bulbs & USB Laptop Light
- Solar Modules (3 Wp to 300 Wp)

ANDS LITE Pvt. Ltd.

AN ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFIED COMPANY

Registered Office: 103, 2nd Floor, FIE, Patparganj Industrial Area,
Delhi - 110092, INDIA | Tel.: +91-11-22156913 | Fax: +91-11-42141253

Manufacturing Unit: Plot No. 1D - 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, Sector-7, IIE,
SIDCUL, Haridwar - 249403 (UK), INDIA

Tel.: +91-1334-239231, +91-9997739011 | Fax: +91-1334-239823
www.andslite.com | andslite.led@gmail.com | Call: 1800 11 6913 (Toll Free)



Scan to watch our film



Like Us on Facebook:
facebook.com/AndslitePvtLtd



With best compliments from



Supreme Impex

(A Govt. Recognised Export House)

Manufacturers of : Hi-Fashion Export Garments

Plot No, 24, Gurukul Industrial Area,

Faridabad, Haryana - 121 003

Tel. : 0129 -4181700

Email : supremeimpex@supremeimpex.in

Website : www.supremeimpex.co.in

