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# EDITORIAL

Development is the essence of any nation. It is not a mere concept or a standalone philosophy divorced from the socio-economic and political factors of any given context. In most of the cases, discussion around development is reduced to a mere objective political agenda or at the best a topic to be discussed during policy discourses. There is hardly any subjective outlook from the viewpoint of justice, freedom, equality and human rights. Development of a citizenry is not possible till the issue of social justice is addressed alongside.

Social justice is a complex web of interconnected and interdependent aspects which need to be taken into account and worked to evolve a development agenda based on justice and peace. In such a context development and social justice delve deep into the shared obligation to understand and deliver freedom, liberty, human rights, dignity both as collective and individuals. For a truly just and peace loving society, it is imperative that issues concerning the most marginalised groups are given priority.

Often it is seen that while the juxtaposition of development swells the citadels of the all the sections that are already powerful one – particularly the ones who wield social, economic and political power – to a large majority it leads to marginalisation, oppression, injustice, exclusion, discrimination and disadvantages. This reality is more specific in the case of oppressed sections like Dalits, Adivasis, Blacks, women, ethnic, religious, linguistic and sexual minorities, children, peasants, landless labourers and forest workers. The ethics of freedom, eco-spirituality, geocentric culture, self-rule, social and distributive justice, sharing of values, democratic engagement through free social and cultural means and human rights. As the crisis grows, the role of the state as a unit of deliverance and social system based on power and domination is being challenged through this process.

This could be particularly observed in most of the states once colonised by the European power centres. In many of those states, there are clear mismatch between the idea of development and social justice. Here the development process initiated by the State stands on the pedestal of colonial structure or an hangover of the same, which is invoked over the socially oppressed and marginalised sections. While the developed super power states out rightly dictated the mechanics of development and also that of social justice and human rights, others followed without even raising a 'nay' question. In this game, the state provided a semblance of mitigating problems through 'development' without actually addressing the questions of justice or resolving the impediments of development in fundamental ways.

In countries like India, liberalism is similar to the karmic theory of rebirth: both necessarily lead to social exclusion by postponing the question of injustice and inequality. The karmic theory entertains the hopeful possibility of a Dalit being reborn as a Brahmin, thereby tying Dalits to their 'traditional duties' and reinforcing the status quo. Interestingly, while the structures of injustice, oppression, repression and violence were consolidated and kept intact, in the name of development the system was constantly being legitimised by its actions, which kept the pretensions of development alive. These pretensions were constantly kept alive through concessions either as reservations or as social security, which were often only marginal, however served the vested interest of the vote bank populist politics of the entrenched political system. Such nominal gains were continued in a way that the system innovated sophisticated and efficient methods of further marginalisation and seclusion.

Globally, the neo-liberal doctrines aimed at destroying people's collective structures that stands in the way of unhampered plunder and expropriation of resources. In such a context the idea of development naturally meant the dismantling of community control or even the idea of community's control over resource zones at one end and on the other blocking all possibility to provide rights over land, water and forest to the historically deprived sections. This shifts the pattern of just and rightful access to resources, and therefore development. Fuelled by capitalist, development patterns underwent significant changes; nevertheless, what was apparent was that these changes constituted new ways for the continuance of the same social order globally. In such a circumstance, the reaffirmation of the primacy of the democratic political process in symbolic terms helped the system to command legitimacy.

It is in this context that the debate on 'Development and Social Justice' attains immense prominence and this edition is an attempt to address these questions. This issues of JPS is divided into three sections such as Thematic Articles, Special Articles and Documents. We are thankful to all the contributors who brought forth thought provoking insights through these papers.

Cynthia Stephen  
Diana van Vugt  
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# SECTION 1

# THEMATIC ARTICLES

# CHANGING CONCEPTS OF DEPENDENCY: THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT AS A POLITICAL STRATEGY IN THE MISSION FOR GLOBAL CAPITALISM

Diana van Vugt\*

## Abstract

Together with humanitarianism and human rights, development forms the conceptual heart of the post-colonial world order, which revolves around the values of egalitarianism and compassion. Compassion unites mankind under the same egalitarian and universalist post religious morality. However, at a closer view, the politics of compassion harbour a set of arguments that legitimises post-colonial interventionism: 'just wars' to replace dictatorship by democracy, humanitarian intervention to halt excessive human rights violations and sustainable development programmes to promote general welfare and well-being.

This paper investigates the concept of development as a strategy to pursue the political interests of economically strong international stakeholders, as represented by the global economic institutions; the World Trade Organisation, World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Because the World Bank has manifested itself most prominently as a global development agency, the emphasis will be on the study of the Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF). Comprehensive development should be viewed in contrast with the Bank's former 'narrow' economic concept of development. In accordance with the popularity of the discourse of compassion, the World Bank's development ideology has become a wholistic amalgam of policy goals related to human welfare and wellbeing

Generally, World Bank development projects are concerned with the privatisation of those services, welfare and well-being oriented sectors. It will thus be argued that the comprehensiveness of the World Bank's development concept should be seen in the light of the Bank's neo-liberal premise of a global, privatised and liberalised market economy, while weakening the influence of the state and public sector.

***Keywords: Development, Human Rights, Power Politics, International Organisations, World Bank, Comprehensive Development Framework.***

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*'What if it were possible for governments to join together with civil society, with the private sector, to decide on long-term national priorities? What if it were possible for donors to then come in and coordinate their support, with countries in the driver's seat, with local ownership and local participation? What if it were possible for these strategies to look five, ten, twenty years ahead so that development could really take root and grow and could be monitored on an ongoing basis? Too ambitious some will say. Too utopian. But what if I told you it is already happening?'* (James D. Wolfensohn, 1998)

## Introduction

Together with humanitarianism and human rights, development forms the conceptual heart of the post-colonial world order, which ideologically revolves around the values of compassion, egalitarianism and universalism. Compassion unites humankind under the same egalitarian and universalist post religious morality. However, at a closer view, the politics of universal compassion harbour a set of arguments that legitimises post-colonial interventionism: 'just wars' to replace dictatorship by democracy, humanitarian intervention to halt human rights violations and development programs to promote general welfare and well-being. This paper investigates development policies as a political strategy to pursue the political interests of economically strong international stakeholders, as represented by the global economic institutions: the World Trade Organisation, World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The interest of dominant member states and private sector partners resides in the maintenance of relations of dependency with developing areas as a reservoir of cheap resources and production. The concept of development emphasises the subjected status of developing states, or more generally, the global poor. Akin to humanitarianism, the concept of development is based on victimisation, which legitimates intervention as a moral calling to relief human suffering (Halttunen 1995; Hunt 2007).

In recent decades, the World Bank brought itself prominently to the fore as a global development agency. The conceptual framework of the Bank's development policies is condensed in the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF). The CDF revolves around four principles, namely: wholistic long-term approach to development, country ownership, country led partnership and result orientation. According to the 2004 Staff Manual, these principles have meanwhile permeated the whole of the World Bank's development policies (World Bank 2004). The CDF should be viewed in contrast with the Bank's former

'narrow' economic concept of development, as represented by the neo-liberal Washington Consensus. In accordance with the popularity of the discourse of compassion, the World Bank's development ideology has become a wholist amalgam of policy goals related to raising the general level of welfare and wellbeing. The ideological shift from plain neo-liberalism to comprehensive development is commonly portrayed as a linear process of enlightenment, more in particular, crystallising wisdom through experience, together with the rhetorical surplus of charismatic leadership, like that of former World Bank president James D. Wolfensohn.

Despite the limited mandate of the World Bank, involving economic issues exclusively, the expanding concept of development has legitimised an elaborate range of policy interventions in developing states, including public sector reform, health care, education and environmental protection. Generally, World Bank development projects are concerned with the privatisation of service, welfare and well-being oriented sectors. A CDF related instrument concerns country-led partnerships, which aim to forge co-operation between lending governments and a diversity of private sector actors, such as investment banks and transnational companies (TNCs). It will not be inquired whether the comprehensive development approach is 'just' or 'unjust'. Rather, this study focusses on the mapping of structures of global power politics and, in particular, the question how these are reflected in morally imbued concepts like human development. In particular, it will be analysed how such concepts change under influence of powerful transnational market actors as well as the pressure of their major critics. Accordingly, the World Bank's CDF is studied in the light of preceding development concepts that dominated the World Bank's policies and regulations.

### **Comprehensive Development or Compassionate Global Economy?**

In her book on the history of human rights, Hunt (2007) discusses the construction of normative self-evidence of human rights. The premise of self-evidence is necessary to explain the moral force of human rights. The classifying criterion for superior normativity consists in the presumption that the rule of law and political consensus at best only partly explain the existence of these norms. They are 'something more', an added dimension of justice, paradoxically assumed to exist 'out there', despite a lack of clear legitimising criteria. Religious self-evidence has mostly given way to a secular compassionate conscience enveloping whole humankind (Halttunen 1995). The normative self-evidence of human rights relies on the assumption that this special category of rights is characterised by naturality and universality.

The concept of normative self-evidence could be applied to moral concepts in general. The contemporary mainstream development discourse centres primary on the moral urgency to relieve the poor. As such, the concept of development has similar qualities that Hunt (2007) observes in human rights. Development, whether or not formulated as a human right in itself, is perceived as normatively self-evident, which is legitimised by its presumed natural and universal character.

Accordingly, poverty is conceptualised as large scale, extreme, remediable, undeserved suffering that necessitates a compassionate response (Gasper 2004). Especially noteworthy are the aspects of remediability and undeservedness. The latter emphasises the unjust character of poverty, while the first expresses the possibility for positive change through action. Furthermore, the undeserved character of poverty legitimises interventionist actions as a compassionate necessity to remedy injustice caused by poverty. A clear example is the Jubilee 2000 movement; with reference to Leviticus, the movement rose the clearance of Third World country debts to a crucial moral imperative of liberation and emancipation of the underprivileged. The movement had a significant impact on international debt relief policy and the discourse on development in general. In 1986, development was officially declared a human right by the UN General Assembly. Thereby, it has been explicitly incorporated in the international human rights discourse. Besides the right to development itself, a variety of human rights are integrated in development theory and policy. The MDGs provide a typical example, for instance, the right to education is converted into the policy goal of primary education for all by 2015. In a similar vein, anti-discrimination provisions are reflected in the goal of gender equality.

The presumption that progress through intervention is both possible and necessary underlies the concept of development (Woods 2006). This connects it tightly with the premises of the concept of modernisation, as well as the tradition of liberal political and economic philosophy since the Enlightenment. Traditionally, development - as modernisation - has been conceived as a phased process of a technology and science led progress. Though, in the post-colonial era the emphasis shifted towards economic growth, in the sense of a prosperous market economy, which is nevertheless conceived as closely connected to technological and scientific innovation. Woods (2006) observes that the ideology and models of economic growth have been changing significantly over time. A concept of development that primarily focuses on poverty reduction as a moral cause, is a recent phenomenon, related to a quest for authority and morality after the collapse of the two-tire Cold War world system. The World Bank's development concept harbours a quest for legitimacy beyond its economic mandate. This quest should mostly be seen in the

light of persistent critiques on Bank's capitalist premises, which drew broad public attention to the alleged environmental and humanitarian hazards resulting from its policies. As will be discussed in more detail below, the World Bank has significantly broadened its mandate and discretion beyond economic support to developing states. It nowadays rather assumes a task of dictating the reform and rearing of entire political and societal structures that should support the transformation to a liberal market economy and integration into the advanced capitalist world system.

Economist Amartya Sen and former World Bank president James D. Wolfensohn are generally seen as the ideological gurus of development as a concept of compassionate morality. This morality establishes a global responsibility for and solidarity with the misery of fellow humans, which in turn, obliges the powerful and well-resourced to relief suffering. In case of development, this takes the form of poverty reduction. Sen's concept of development as freedom is closely related to self-respect, which he defines, with reference to Adam Smith, as being able to appear in the public sphere without shame (Sen 1999). Increasingly the individual and opportunities for self-realisation became main objectives of development, as fundamental building blocks for the prosperous development of the national and global market. Accordingly, Sen (1999) defines development as (individual) freedom acquired by opportunities to achieve values and goals in life one has reason to value. Development typically depends on the acquisition of liberal democratic assets such as civil rights and a progressive standard of living, defined in terms of purchasing power (Sen 1999). Substantive or basic (human) rights play a crucial role in Sen's conceptualisation of development, namely as the elementary normative safeguards of freedom and opportunity. It is noteworthy to mention that Sen's book *Development as freedom* (1999) is based on lectures delivered at the World Bank in 1996 as a visiting scholar on invitation of Wolfensohn, the then president of the Bank.

The period of Wolfensohn's presidency went into history as an era of crucial change in which he played a key role. Like Robert McNamara in the 1970s, Wolfensohn is renowned as one of the 'socially minded' World Bank presidents. McNamara's presidency is widely associated with the emergence of the basic needs approach, which put the interests of the poor on the World Bank's development agenda. Instead of mere GNP growth, development came to signify a conscious effort for poverty reduction, including redistribution of resources and basic welfare provisions. Sen explicitly pays tribute to the basic needs approach as the precursor of his capabilities theory of development (Sen 1999). Both depart from the premise that fulfilment of primary needs - food, shelter, basic income and healthcare - are a precondition

for development. Typically, both arose in times that the global economic institutions' market liberalisation policies were harshly criticised and were thus in need for alternatives. CDF is also such a deliberate alternative. 'Founding father' Wolfensohn (1998) formulated five targets the World Bank's wholistic development policy, which in fact constituted the Comprehensive Development Framework.

First, it should advocate principles of good governance, both by the Bank and lending governments, including transparency, free flow of information and participation. Second, it should formulate the institutional framework necessary for a well-functioning market economy, such as property rights and access to justice to enforce them effectively. Third, the framework should foster inclusive development policies, involving education for all, basic health care and social welfare facilities. Fourth, effort should be given to the necessary infrastructure and public services for communication and transportation. Finally yet importantly, the framework should guarantee environmental and human sustainability. The concept of development borrows the notion of intra and inter-generational equity from the Brundtland definition of environmental sustainability (WCED 1987). Explicitly stretching the scope of development policy beyond the borders of generations, profoundly articulates the future and progress oriented character of development ideology.

Thus the Comprehensive Development Framework aims to provide a set of guidelines for concrete development policy strategies and programmes. Besides prescribing a more democratic, country owned approach to development, it seeks to harmonise the World Bank's development policies and regulations. The CDF proposal was launched in the early spring of 1999 and monitored since March 1999, based on an experiment with a selection of CDF pilot countries. Already in the 2001 report to the Board, it is claimed that the combination of long-term holism, country initiative and result orientation indeed lead to more development effectivity (World Bank 2001). Wolfensohn assertion that developing states should be placed on the driver's seat became one of the slogans of the comprehensive development era (Wolfensohn 1998). This is no surprise, taken into consideration that the Bank's standardised structural adjustment programmes (SAP) are one of the major targets of critics, blaming their non-responsiveness to local needs and opinions for ineffectiveness of the SAPs, as well as ruthless enforcement of market liberalism on dependent states.

Country-led partnership is envisioned as a partnership between lending governments, private actors, including investors, lenders and donors, and civil society, that serves to map public needs and draw up a

long-term development plan. In those partnerships, private funds tend to dominate the scene, qua resources and thus bargaining power. In fact, this model results in a high degree of privatisation of functions that have been traditionally associated with the public sector, like health care, education, negotiation of labour conditions, social welfare provisions and infrastructure. Thus, the humanitarian morality that legitimises the CDF, serves to support the primary objective of the World Bank which still is generating a global market economy in which private actors dominate. Presenting this moral framework as self-evident does not mask the uniform liberal democratic value package that is deemed necessary for the creation of the right environment of a flourishing, global oriented market economy.

In his 1998 presidential address to the Board of Governors, Wolfensohn (1998) calls upon an outright humanitarian appeal as he stresses that the poor are the major and most tragic victims of the East Asian crisis. The general message conveyed by Wolfensohn's speech is one of humanitarian crisis in the developing areas of the world and, in one go, the necessity to intervene in order to counter the spiral of human misery. To underline the message of humanitarian urgency, Wolfensohn mentions, amongst others, war threats between Ethiopia and Eritrea, nuclear tests by India and Pakistan and terrorist attacks in Kenya and Tanzania as humanitarian drawbacks that especially affect the most vulnerable. Instead of hope, those crises have left '*dark, searing images of desperation, hopelessness and decline*' to put it into Wolfensohn's (1998) charismatic words. Strong images of human suffering are prone to catch broad public attention, since they trigger compassionate identification (Halttunen 1995). However, the flip side of compassion is the implied superiority status of the 'better off', which is converted into a moral responsibility and thus legitimacy to intervene. Indeed, following the sketch of the suffering of the vulnerable - the helpless subjects dependent on the humanitarian goodness of the better-off - comes the incentive for intervention:

'Mr. Chairman, we must address this human pain. We must go beyond financial stabilisation. We must address the issues of long-term equitable growth, on which prosperity and human progress depend. We must focus on the institutional and structural changes needed for recovery and sustainable development. We must focus on the social issues. ... Because if we do not have the capacity to deal with social emergencies, if we do not have longer term plans for solid institutions, if we do not have greater equity and social justice, there will be no political stability. And without political stability, no amount of money put together in financial packages will give us financial stability' (Wolfensohn 1998).

Humanitarian concerns are skillfully driven home to the Bank's financial objectives by presenting the satisfaction of basic human rights as a precondition for lasting financial stability and economic growth

(World Bank 2005B). This is the crux of World Bank's development concept as worked out in the CDF. According to the successive legal councils Ibrahim Shihata and Roberto Danino, the World Bank's mandate includes political and social issues as long as they are directly relevant for economic growth (Sage and Woolcock 2006). Thus stretched mandate leaves ample discretion to the Bank's policy makers and management to broaden its scope of legitimate intervention in the political and social businesses of developing states.

However, this should not automatically be condemned as the 'evil capitalist genius' of the financial institutions. The International Financial Institutions (IFI's) are no relentless power machines; they need public support and recognition from governing elites, private and public. They are built on the very premise that a free market merits all. As Head (2008) recalls, the Bretton Woods conference operated under the creed that world trade fosters world peace. Even though, market liberalism ideologically legitimises the global power status quo and maintains existing dependency relations, there is a general belief that liberalising markets and privatising public sectors is 'the best thing to do' for all parties involved. This is based on the assumption that efficiency and effectivity are maximal in a free and competitive market economy. The common good of a global market economy is generally thought of as a trickledown effect, which spreads the benefit of a free, competitive market throughout the entire (world) community. The 1980s African debt crisis and the East Asia crisis by the end of the 1990s put into question the effectivity of uniform Washington Consensus style market liberalisation and privatisation.

Moreover, the growing popularity of humanitarian imaginary and increasingly rapid circulation of these images in high tech media, stimulated worldwide public outrage with the injustice of poverty as a hazard of global capitalism (Halttunen 1995). The 'Battle of Seattle' and kindred large-scale protests against the global economic institutions have meanwhile acquired a nearly legendary status. The IFIs apparent disfavour of the global poor marked them as part of the camp of oppressors. The IFIs, especially the World Bank, have been attempting to get rid of this stigma, which harmed their credibility and legitimacy (Woods 2006; Head 2008). The World Bank has been trying to accomplish this by adopting the discourse itself, thereby putting humanitarian concerns at the service of a global market economy. Rather than proving the evil of capitalism, the US and/or global economic institutions, this observation indicates that morals might not what they seem to be. Instead of a transcendent category of justice, moral values come to light as rhetorical fashions and strategies to present political interests.

## Development as power politics

Basically, development as power politics manifests itself in two ways:

1. The content and goals of development concepts.
2. The institutional structure in which those are embedded.

Especially the latter reveals which are the dominant interest groups behind an ideological constellation. The CDF as a development ideology supports the objective of a global advanced capitalist economy, which is likely to consolidate existing North-South dependency relations. Even if the CDF in principle compensates for this power imbalance by granting more 'voice' to lending governments and directly affected individuals, developing states are at least dependent on the approval of the IFIs, which leaves the power to set the terms and conditions with the IFIs. For instance, International Development Agency (IDA) funding is made dependent on a compulsory Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), prepared by the applicant government. After approval, the IDA produces a medium term development plan, called Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) based on the PRSP.

Partly the World Bank's persisting emphasise on the importance of privatisation could be explained as an anti-corruption measure and for good reasons: corruption is often deeply imbued in developing states' governing institutions. Otherwise, ideological commitment to the neo-liberal assumption of superior efficiency and effectivity of market forces accounts for the advocacy of private sector partnerships and a small state apparatus and public sector, resulting in an environment where corporate governance flourishes. However, by stretching its mandate into vital public policy areas like education and healthcare, the World Bank propagates transnational, rent seeking entrepreneurs to seize the development market in fragile states and economies. Notwithstanding the question whether this is to the advantage of the public good, privatisation and increasing corporate governance fail the promise of more country ownership, so fundamental to the CDF principles (Woods 2006).

The World Bank's (and IMF's) Third World management, as Rajagopal (2003) calls it, at first serves the interests of dominant corporate players on the global market. They easily compete, often small, local businesses out of the market and profit from cheap labour, resources and production. The domination of developing markets by foreign corporations tends to reinforce their status of 'satellites'. Mostly, foreign consumer markets feast upon the revenues of cheap outsourced production. The global political economy

seems to evolve exactly according to Wallerstein's (1974) concept of a modern world system of centres and peripheries. Wallerstein already pointed out that emerging centres in developing states resemble enclaves, rather related to developed economies abroad than raising the local levels of technology transfer, economic growth and welfare (Wallerstein 1974; Wolf 1997).

The humanitarian culture of legitimacy thus comes to the fore as a concept of dependency, defining and legitimising the neo-colonial relationship between the global north and south. The imperialism of civilisation missions and Washington Consensus model Structural Adjustment have been replaced by humanitarian interventionism; compassion with the poor as political strategy to manage the poor. Rajagopal (2003) discusses the ironical role of resistance movements in the reaffirmation of the power of the IFIs as guards of the north - south divide. The more they pressure those institutions to adopt human rights and other liberal democratic values, the more the IFIs colonise those values for the pursuit of a global (corporate) market economy. Woods (2006) elaborately discusses the Janus face contemporary mainstream development ideology creates within the World Bank as an institution, its policies and practices. She especially stresses the odds between the weighed voting system, hierarchical structure and professionalism, on the one hand, and liberal democratic ideals such as country ownership, stakeholder participation, consultation procedures and quasi-judicial review on the other.

The Bank's hierarchical structure and strong professional orientation on economic analysis have an advantage that they generate a high level of policy consistency and modelling of complex problems, resulting in standardised policy programmes. Woods (2006) points out that the large majority of the Bank's employees are economics graduates from a prestigious Anglo Saxon university. Developing states are under-represented, while, at the same time, dependent on the World Bank in several ways. First, the weighed voting system prioritises the largest shareholder states, while developing states are subdued by conditionality and depth re-payment (Woods 2007; Head 2008). Furthermore, developing states have significantly lesser means than developed states to provide for highly skilled, well-equipped state representatives and staff members in Washington as well as decentralised World Bank offices (Woods 2006).

The ideals of country ownership, country-led partnership and stakeholder participation are significantly impaired by the formal and *de facto* political power surplus of developed states, which, in practice, results in a lack of participation of developing states and local stakeholders in policy decision-making. Ironically,

the IFIs were construed to be rather independent from state interests and the UN family, in order to carry out their Keynesian mandate to check and balance transnational market forces from a politically neutral point of view. Instead, their very institutional structure reaffirms the power surplus of resourceful member states and corporate partners. Woods considers this as one of the most important failings of the IFIs. She summarises as follows:

'The governance structure of the institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund) produce a dramatic asymmetry of accountability whereby paradoxically those countries least affected by the decisions and actions of the World Bank and IMF have the most influence and the most capacity to hold either institution to account' (Woods 2006).

The position of developing states is further weakened by their dependency on funding by the IFIs, since foreign investment and private funding generally depend on the 'seal of approval' of the World Bank and IMF. Moreover, when applied, decentralisation and bottom-up policymaking significantly tend to slow down decision-making and lead to case-by-case compromises that lack the coherence and consistency of top-down applied structural adjustment programmes, assembled by high skilled economists and decided upon by the senior management in Washington DC (Woods 2006). This leads to a profound tension between the Bank's organisation structure and institutional habits, on the one hand, and the pressure for change, on the other. This contradiction is hard to solve without either re-centralising or decentralising policymaking. Till so far, the prevailing trend within the Bank has been preaching country ownership and country-led partnership, while keeping the stronghold on formulating the ideals, targets, standards and conditions of development plans, based on in-house professional modelling and centralised decision-making. The conclusion to draw from this analysis is a simple one: lest the political interests and organisational structure that dominate the World Bank should change radically, putting developing states on the drivers' seat is not likely to be realised.

## **Conclusion**

The study of the World Bank's CDF as a concept of development serves to illustrate the dynamics of defining, legitimating and institutionalising global power structures. While states are on decline, international institutions, like the World Bank, play an increasingly important role in transnational governance. Institutions in themselves are devoid of intentionality; their 'voice' and influence depends on a complex interplay of political interests, knowledge distribution and resources involved in their institutional structure and identity. Analysing this interaction is doomed to result in a somewhat

simplified, or to speak with Weber, ideal typical picture. Nevertheless, such ideal typical mapping could contribute to study and discussion on globalisation and its effects on different interest groups. The underlying theory in this paper is that morals are neither the transcendent category they seem, nor do they guarantee justice. Instead, morals should invite to an investigation into political relations focusing on the question: who benefits? The World Bank's comprehensive development concept has been analysed as part of a humanitarian morality that currently dominates the discourses of international relations. Compassion with human suffering serves to legitimise interventionism, varying from military force to development programmes. The study of the World Bank's CDF shows how this structure of victimisation serves as a powerful neo-imperialist incentive to extend the limits of legal mandates and de facto political influence alike.

The increasingly holistic and inclusive character of the World Bank's development concept - resulting in the CDF - empowered the World Bank to bring a whole range of development issues under its wings and freely relate them to the pursuit of economic growth. Additionally, by pushing lending governments for partnerships with private investors and lenders, privatisation of vital public interests and 'common goods' is stimulated, such as basic education, health care and social welfare provisions. This leads to further weakening of often already feeble and under-resourced national governments and public institutions in favour of corporate governance in close cooperation with the global economic institutions. In its current ambiguous form of preaching country ownership, while at the same time weakening the basis for country influence, the CDF serves an exploitative world system in which developing areas serve as the peripheries or satellite regions of the global market economy, dominated by corporate actors.

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# WITHOUT JUSTICE AND SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT IS A LIE

Felix Padel\*

## Abstract

People's food, water and livelihood/work security is rapidly being undermined by accelerating takeovers of land, as well as dismantling of laws that protected workers' rights, and a mass informalisation of labour. Against this trend, employment in security firms and security forces may be rising, but whose security do these protect? Abuses by security forces are rarely punished, and perpetrators re-offend with impunity. Massed security forces are not only attacking Maoists, but are used to force through 'development projects' that do not have local people's consent, enforcing their dispossession with violence, and devastating the ecosystems. The communities have lived in basic symbiosis with for generations.

Many so-called 'development projects' are destroying much more than any benefits they bring, marshaling natural resources into short-term profits for a small elite, while devastating ecosystems that future generations depend on. What would real development look like? What is equality before the law for rich and poor? How could one learn to share the earth's resources fairly? How could one learn the skills of Non-Violent Communication to prevent conflicts, instead of gobbling up these depleting resources in escalating wars? To develop to a stage of 'democratic civilisation' we will have to search radically new structures of power and authority, and an economic system in harmony with our ecological realities.

The principle of local control over resources does not just empower communities; it is also a safeguard for future generations. Can we learn to share rather than to hoard and compete, learn indigenous processes of law as reconciliation; learn self-entertainment, rather than passive forms of being entertained by 'stars'? This paper engages with some of these critical aspects.

**Keywords:** *Development, Justice, Tribals, Security, Conflict, Adivasi Alternatives*

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## Whose Development?

Officially, poverty has decreased in India. In practice, this decrease depends on manipulated statistics and terminologies, compounded by blindness to the anguish of fellow humans. Most evidence, in line with the hard realities that anyone involved in grassroots India knows too well, suggests not only that the gap between rich and poor has hugely increased, but that poverty has increased, and is increasing vastly *per se*. If this is so, then the whole basis of what has been called ‘development’ is a lie. In particular, the ideology promoting colossal loans from the World Bank and other institutions is a lie in as much as it has failed, and is failing, to raise the standard of living for at least fifty percent of India’s population (Sharma 2009; 2011).

Among many other sections of society, approximately 20 million tribal people – a quarter of India’s Scheduled Tribe (ST) population – have been displaced in the name of development since Independence (Padel and Das 2011). Most of these people’s standard of living has fallen drastically. The main culprits are big dams and mining/metal projects that dispossess tribal lands, flooding them or turning them into wastelands, and converting skilled cultivators into ‘unskilled labour’. The massed police deployed to force through ‘development projects’ regularly commit violence against people whose land is being taken. Local people’s protests meet a wide range of violent tactics to suppress and undermine their movements – abuses that are perpetrated with impunity, by a police force who are supposed to be serving the people, not aiding the entities dispossessing them.

The Mapithel dam in Manipur is one example unfolding right now, among many new dams being promoted on tributaries of the Brahmaputra, that are meeting people’s resistance movements in North East India. Several tribal villages are being directly displaced by the Mapithel dam; many more are losing their lands, and the forest areas vital to their livelihoods; protests are being suppressed with violence; while the media is largely silent on abuses (Anaya 2010; Vasundhara 2011; *Land is for Life* 2015, Longjam 2015 and Yumnan 2015). People in the rest of India wonder at the violence reported from Manipur without seeing the connection between tribal fury at the new legislation, which makes land grabs of tribal territory easier, and the forced construction of this dam.

Real development would mean security in food, water and work conditions. Rapidly expanding security forces throughout tribal areas guarantee security only for mining/construction companies and other exploiters. The insecurity they perpetrate for ordinary (poor) people unfolds through thousands of false cases, fake encounters, and atrocities committed with impunity, for which Adivasis and Dalits rarely receive justice in the courts, or equality before the law. A recent exception was the life sentence passed in

November 2014 on several soldiers for staging a fake encounter in Kashmir (BBC 2014).

Real development will start when Justice is ensured, in the form of equality before the law, even when perpetrators are men in uniform or senior officials in powerful companies. Until then, most ‘development’ projects are actually destroying indigenous processes of development, since tribal societies are highly developed in their symbiosis with nature, and this symbiosis is being obliterated by displacing projects. Some people from the left parties question whether this idea is an example of ‘ecological romanticism’. It is true that at present under attack from parties ranging from left, right to centre, tribal people sometimes turn against the forest out of anger with forest guards or tiger-loving conservationists whose policies throw them out of the core forest areas where they have always lived. In a sense, the whole concept of ‘tribal development’ itself is based on a lie lingering on from the colonial era – the view of indigenous societies as ‘primitive’, ‘backward’ or ‘underdeveloped’, that is actually an expression of extreme cultural racism.

Bhagaban Majhi, a leader of the Kashipur movement in Odisha against the Utkal Alumina project (a subsidiary of Birla) expresses in these words: *‘We are not against development. Give us schools. Give us hospitals. But take away the company. We do not need it ... What kind of development is it to mine millions of years old mountains for the sake of profit for a few officials for a few years? ... We want permanent development...’* (Das and Das 2005). In a debate with Nehru Jaipal Singh Munda said in 1946: *‘You cannot give democracy to tribal people; you have to learn democratic ways from them. They are the most democratic people on earth’* (Barla 2015: 10-11). It is the same Munda who gave us the word ‘Adibasi’. It may be correct to call India the world’s largest democracy, but India possesses indigenous models that are far more democratic than the present corrupt model of political parties locked in senseless competition, heavily funded by corporate entities, deciding key policies behind closed doors.

## Security

Food and water security are increasingly recognised as essential needs and rights. At least 50 million people have been displaced from their land and homes in the name of ‘development’ since India’s independence of which at least 40 percent are tribals. Figures for how many of all these have regained or improved their standard of living through resettlement – which is what is supposed to happen according to India’s Rehabilitation and Resettlement legislation and World Bank standards – are impossible to gauge, but agreed to be very low indeed. The vast majority have experienced a catastrophic drop in their living standards, and a betrayal of almost every promise they were made. Often the old people die off

within weeks of removal, from grief at the vastness of their loss as well as hunger and disease (Sahu 2009; Padel and Das 2011; Padel 2012).

When tribal people and other small-scale cultivators are thrown off their land, this is often justified by economic reasoning: they are ‘only doing subsistence farming’, which is ‘uneconomic’. But Adivasi<sup>1</sup> economics is based on ecological principles (Padel, Dandekar and Unni 2013). Mainstream economists understand hardly anything about this, or about the ecosystems on which life on earth depends. ‘Development projects’ that generate profits for construction and mining companies are eroding the resource base that human life depends on, including future generations. Yet ‘money talks’, and short-term financial and political incentives trump real sustainability. Most of the people being displaced in the name of development are among humanity’s best examples of real, long-term sustainability.

Water security is diminishing everywhere. Dams are diverting rivers, blocking their flow, creating bodies of stagnant water, unsafe for drinking, reducing the rivers that thousands of villages have always depended on for drinking, bathing, watering animals and crops. The steel, aluminium and many other factories that are consuming a major share of the electricity created by dams and coal-fired power plants, are also guzzling water. Producing one tonne of steel consumes over 40 tonnes of water; one tonne of aluminium consumes over 1,000 tonnes of water. India is the world’s fourth largest steel producer. What is the cost the farmers and its citizens’ future pay for this? Groundwater levels are dropping drastically due to ‘water mining’. ‘Green revolution’ agriculture depends on pumping water from ever-lower levels. In Punjab, where this was centred, water levels have dropped from 97 percent of the state having water within ten metres of the surface, to 6 percent, with huge pollution by fertilizers and pesticides, and widespread lack of clean drinking water giving rise to a high level of diseases (Dutt 2010).

As for food security, cash crops such as cotton and commercial rice strains increase incomes for a while, but they bring in un-repayable debt burdens, and reduce the kinds and quantities of crops grown in the much more mixed traditional cropping patterns that were practiced over hundreds of years. Tribal communities that used to rely on the forest to supplement food supply even in times of drought, can no longer access this, since forests and their biodiversity are either disappearing or being fenced off to exclude the communities that used to live in symbiosis with their natural environment.

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<sup>1</sup> The Scheduled Tribes in India are commonly known as Adivasi or Adibasi.

Livelihood and job security are closely inter-connected. When new projects offer employment on a massive scale, nothing is as it seems. The POSCO<sup>2</sup> steel plant project in Odisha claimed to offer vast numbers of jobs. But very few of these would have been permanent, while indigenous livelihoods, based on fishing as well as betel vine cultivation, which Jagatsingpur villagers had developed over many years to ensure a good income, were completely discounted in official calculations (Mining Zone People's Solidarity Group 2010). Many vines were cruelly destroyed shortly before POSCO started the process of withdrawal. Everywhere, livelihoods that people have developed sustainably over generations are being swept aside. One obvious result is the huge increase in migrant labour that we witness now. Some projects, such as POSCO, offer 'attractive packages' of one job per family – a reality hardly ever properly realised in practice. Once a project is up and running, who checks independently that these promises have been implemented correctly? Which projects have been shut down for not implementing them honestly?

Making labour more 'productive' means basically increasing the exploitation of workers, often quite drastically, by undermining people's job security and compensation rights, while increasing working hours and the proportion of short-term contracts – a casualisation, informalisation, or 'rationalisation' of labour that is portrayed as business friendly, but is certainly not people-friendly. In other words, in neoliberalising India, job security is increasingly under threat; and India's highly developed legislation protecting security of work conditions is getting eroded for the sake of 'a good environment for doing business'. A high GDP does not mean a high rate of employment, let alone satisfactory working conditions (Bhaduri 2009).

One area where there is certainly more employment is in security firms and security forces. But whose security is being protected? It is certainly not the security of the poor people. Gated enclaves, industrial security forces, a huge increase in security forces in tribal areas – these are not just there to keep out thieves and fight the Maoists. Their primary purpose is very often to ensure smooth takeovers of public space and resources, and to force through projects that do not have local people's consent, cowing down dissent and protests. In recent years we have seen this on a mega-scale at Kalinganagar, Maikanch and many place is Odisha, on behalf of Tata Steel, Jindal, Bhushan, Mittal and other steel companies, Utkal and Vedanta aluminium companies, the Lower Suktel and other dams, among many others; and for similar projects in Andhra, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, West Bengal – every state probably; also to force through the Kudankulam and Jaitapur nuclear power plants; and many dam projects in addition to the Mapithel dam in Manipur.

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<sup>2</sup> POSCO is a South Korean multinational steel making company. Formerly it was known as Pohang Iron and Steel Company. It is the fourth largest steelmaker by measure and the largest steel manufacturing company by market value in the world.

Abuses by security forces are rarely punished. Perpetrators, even of rape, therefore re-offend with impunity (Iqbal 2010; Padel 2013). As emphasised by Ragavanshi, Parveen and Khan (2015), every atrocity leaves a scar – assault by lathi, tear gas, or firing, false cases, torture, and false encounter killings. Thousands of people are crippled by false cases, in or out of jail (Ferreira 2014; Sethi 2014). Without justice, healing is very hard. It's not only victims who need to bear testimony. If truth is suppressed it harms all of us.

How can human rights activists be dismissed as Maoist or terrorist sympathisers in Chhattisgarh, Kashmir, Manipur and other states? How can the courts justify hundreds of false cases slapped against Adivasi protestors against Tata Steel's proposed steel plant at Lohandiguda in Bastar? How come the police are being used again and again against the citizens they are supposed to serve, on behalf of such companies, blatantly manipulating 'consent' at the Lohandiguda and many other Public Hearings?

It is good that the principle of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) is recognised in the new Land Acquisition Act (LARR 2013), and in guidelines for international banks financing many projects. But thirteen major Acts are excluded from its remit; and in dozens of Public Hearings held in India for displacing projects since Public Hearings became mandatory under the Environmental Protection Act in 1997, people have not been given proper information prior to demands for their land; consultation has been misrepresented as consent in official documents and the press, even when nearly everyone at a Public Hearing has spoken strongly against a project; and these Hearings have been held in an atmosphere that is anything but *free*. At Lohandiguda and other Public Hearings, people have been forced to sign documents under gross intimidation.

As George (2015) argues its genocide is taking place in many, perhaps most tribal areas. Use of the term 'genocide' is controversial by definition, but if we see what happened in the classic case of genocide that was perpetrated on the indigenous inhabitants of America, there were two levels: direct genocide, meaning complete extermination, which was done to many tribes; and removal to 'reservations', including forced placing of children in mission-run schools (the 'stolen generations') and outlawing of customs, removal from national parks – what many call Cultural Genocide. This is the process unfolding in India now. It's an extremely violent process; yet everything is couched in terms of 'bringing them forward', 'giving them the benefits of development/civilisation'. Police firings are the most visible, publicly reported symbol of genocide. Those at Kalinganagar (January 2006), Maikanch (December 2000) and elsewhere become symbols of this far wider, slow-motion, multi-level violence, which involves

an agonisingly slow soul-death for thousands of families who are being dispossessed of everything they valued.

## Justice

In this context, Justice is a prerequisite for development. Human rights organisations carry on a valiant battle, and Adivasis who choose to speak out, such as Soni Sori or Sodi Sambo in Chhattisgarh, or Dayamani Barla and Gladson Dungdung (2015) in Jharkhand, among many other Adivasi activists, stand at the forefront of real development.

But what about Sodi Sambo, and thousands of Adivasi and Dalit victims of state terror, who are being forgotten, who have disappeared? Sodi was shot and wounded in cold blood by police and Salwa Judum SPOs, who also killed six other people in an attack in her village, Gompad, Chhattisgarh on October 1, 2009. Her case became symbolic of Chhattisgarh's injustice several years ago. Who speaks of her now? And where is she? Has she been disappeared, like no small number of girls and women abducted from tribal villages and never heard of again? (Borpujari 2010; Siddharta 2010).

This is not just a problem in India. Indigenous people who are trying to stay put on their land are getting killed without justice right now in Indonesia, Brazil, Ethiopia, and other countries. The USA is a country based on the genocide of its indigenous population, and as the today's superpower, has not given the rest of the world a good example of sharing the earth's resources or resolving conflicts peacefully.

Gross abuses on prisoners – most of them innocent civilians – have been well documented in Bagram, Abu Ghraib and many other prisons in Afghanistan and Iraq; so has 'collateral damage' in the form of thousands of civilians killed in drone and other 'special operation' attacks in these and other countries; yet there has been no effective worldwide protest against US drone attacks that have already killed hundreds of people – a majority of them innocent civilians counted as 'collateral damage' - in contravention of international law (Scahill 2013) – all compounded by denial. These models of 'security forces' getting away with murder don't exactly set a good example to the rest of the world for peace, democracy and accountability. Implicitly, security forces of many, perhaps most countries, simply follow the leader, copycat style.

The International Court of war crimes pursues undoubted baddies from African countries, Yugoslavia and other parts. But what about war crimes committed by American, British or Israeli forces? Out of a miniscule number of cases that have come to trial within these countries, a tiny number of perpetrators

have been convicted. But overall, the double standards are obvious, and this injustice is a poison fuelling many conflicts around the world.

For survivors of atrocities, especially perhaps children whose parents have been tortured, maimed or killed, and who have been violently dispossessed from their homes, what process can begin to heal what they have gone through? What therapies and processes of bearing witness to see justice delivered? (Raghuvanshi, Parveen and Khan 2015) What processes of truth and reconciliation, here in India? This is a vastly neglected question, but needs serious planning, since this survival-of-atrocities is the situation for millions of people right now, throughout India's tribal areas, Kashmir, Punjab, the Northeast, just as for Syrians, Iraqis, Afghans, Yemenis, Ukrainians and so on the list goes.

Especially so, since it seems to be a law of human nature that abused people very often become abusers, unless they manage to heal their trauma. A victimhood identity turns toxic. A classic case is Jewish survivors of the holocaust, who have carved out their new state of Israel by ethnically cleansing the indigenous Palestinians, roughly half of whose population – about a million from 200 villages – were forced out of their homes in the war of 1948, with the rest suffering an escalating apartheid and dispossession ever since, through the daily humiliation and violence of settlements, check-points, firings, jailing and bombing campaigns (Pappe 2013).

## **Real Development**

These questions force the most vital questions of all: what paths of development have we chosen and are we choosing? What is real development? For example, processes of displacement are often termed 'Development-Induced Displacement' – a term that adds insult to injury, since for people being displaced, as they often say very clearly, these projects do not mean development at all, but cut off their own process of development. In India popularly, from Nehru's time till now, people refer to the huge hardship through displacement of large numbers of people. They were removed to make way for a dam or other project as a *sacrifice* these people have to make 'for the sake of national development' - in other words, a modern form of human sacrifice.

But do these projects really represent development for the nation as a whole? The cost-benefits equations of big dams have been shown to be extremely doubtful time and again, even apart from devastation they cause to communities and ecosystems. Land brought under cultivation is often less than the cultivated land flooded, flood control backfires when sudden release of flood waters from dams causes worse floods than any that occurred before, siltation is much more rapid than planned, financial costs much higher, the

effective life of a dam much shorter – every benefit is doubtful apart from the short term profits to construction and power companies, and supply of low-priced water and power to corporate consumers. Who needs this much electricity? Water and power from the controversial Sardar Sarovar dam on Narmada went mainly to the new city of Gandhinagar and industries; only a small proportion of the villages that were meant to get water got it. In Singrauli, among the mega-power plants and coal mines, around Upper Indravati and other dam projects, villagers whose well-being has been sacrificed for the ‘common good’ remain without the electricity they were promised.

India’s steel and aluminium production has increased vastly. But is this really benefitting most people? How can economic pressures be squared with ecological priorities? (Padel and Das 2010; Padel, Dandekar and Unni 2013; Das and Rose 2015). Instead of seeing hundreds of people’s movements as ‘anti-development’ or ‘anti-national’ could it be that many major industrial projects, promoted with huge foreign investment, are actually *de*-developing highly developed livelihoods systems, cutting off paths of indigenous sustainable development that are safeguarding the country’s future? Could it be that movements against these destructive investment projects actually represent the cutting edge of real development?

For example, every bauxite-capped mountain in southern Odisha and northern Andhra now has several Memorandums of Understanding (MoU) signed by corporate entities and government representatives. If it was not for multiple movements, combining with the legal safeguards protecting environment and forest (often dismissed as ‘road-blocks to development!’), the destruction of these mountains, as sources of the water that make this whole region so fertile, could turn huge areas into a wasteland very quickly – a process that has already started. For example, around Nalco’s bauxite mine and Damanjodi refinery in Koraput district (Das and Das 2005; Padel and Das 2010: 81-89).

Therefore tribal societies need to be understood as already highly developed, and in danger of de-development. Are new government plans to fast-track the ‘development’ of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), by pouring money into road-building and education schemes for example (GoI 2015), aimed at undermining the exceptional resistance of some of these groups to imposed schemes, such as Dongria resistance to Vedanta’s mining plans, and Baiga resistance to forest takeovers?

Rather than making tribal communities learn mainstream models, do we in the mainstream need to learn from them, if we are to survive as a species, and achieve real development through democratic ways? As Jaipal Singh Munda said, can we learn to share rather than to hoard and compete, learn indigenous

processes of law as reconciliation; learn self-entertainment, rather than passive forms of being entertained by ‘stars’? In many ways, indigenous cultures’ emphasis on dancing is a radical expression of democracy in action, through which different communities come together in fun rather than in conflict.

The principle of local control over resources does not just empower communities; it is also a safeguard for future generations. Demand for decentralised decision-making in the Northeast was exemplified in the Agartala and Dimarpur declarations of local people’s rights over use of natural resources, in February and May 2013 (Hueiyen/Newmai News Feb 2013; Imphal Free Press 2013; Indynews May 2013). This is in the context of over 100 new mega-dams in India’s Northeast that are threatening to replicate the mega-dam model that has spread so much destruction in mainland India, wiping out numerous indigenous communities, and obliterate many ecosystems over a vast area, for the sake of selling hydropower, impelled by an ‘MoU virus’ of financial inducements or bribes paid to politicians as incentives (Chakravartty 2011; Padel, Dandekar and Unni 2013: 59-61).

India generated seminal practices of self-development over 2000 years ago, including the art of yoga, questioning of teachers and materialism (exemplified in the *Upanishads*), and confronting one’s illusions and ego through meditation. Calling India a ‘developing country’ insults a land that gave birth to such major discoveries in ancient times. It is clear that, whatever positive benefits the British brought to India, highly developed manufacturing industries and multi-culturalism were *de*-developed under British rule, under the guise of development. Just as British rule de-developed vital areas of India’s development – dumbing down and curtailing cloth and other industries, and playing divide-and-rule politics that raised Hindu-Muslim tensions – tribal areas’ indigenous processes of development are being de-developed right now in the name of investment-induced development!

So what about the next 2000 years? Is our present system of democracy – of political parties locked in ceaseless competition for electoral advantage – suited to people’s present well-being and long-term survival? Or is what we all really need ‘permanent development’, as called for by Bhagaban Majhi? Our political party system, like our corporate and financial system – in the USA and other ‘developed’ countries, just as in India – is locked into ruthless competition where ‘the real world’ is reduced to short-term financial profit, forgetting the much realer, material world of the ecosystems that support us on planet earth.

Why have not these ecological and community-based realities impacted ideas about how society should develop? The answer lies in uncritical acceptance of Western economic theories that put self-interest and

market forces as drivers for change, combined with corruption by foreign funds in a worldwide financial system based on debt, the arms industry and war; and a monolithic model of development based on the hideous cruelty of capitalist industrialisation and exploitation, which even many Marxists collude in accepting as if it is a ‘necessary stage’.

There are infinite possibilities. Just as thousands of natural species have evolved in different ways, there is no one way to develop, but infinite choices (Pattnayak 2000). Without justice and security, development is a lie. Real development would involve transition to a political and economic system that guarantees fair distribution of resources and prevents political corruption – a system that the jailed Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan calls a ‘democratic civilisation’ (Öcalan 2007; Padel October 2012). Are we humans still capable of evolving to such a stage? Can we learn to resolve conflicts peacefully instead of resorting to wars? Can we develop beyond the present crises presently engulfing every society, by bringing our political, corporate and financial chiefs under democratic control?

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# CASTE DYNAMICS, RESOURCE POLITICS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: A CRITICAL EPISTEMOLOGY \*

Goldy M. George \*\*

## Abstract

Caste dynamics from the perspective of ex-untouchables has been theoretically revolved around the notions of purity of blood, creation and sustenance of hierarchies, excommunication and exercise of power based on the social construct of higher beings. While these core aspects have remain intact of caste as a mechanism, the operational part of investigating the material and spiritual components from the perspective of the oppressed groups have got seldom attention in the academia.

Ambedkar dream project to annihilate caste from the surface through redistribution of resources did not materialise. Ambedkar's clarion call of equality, liberty and fraternity through the establishment of social and political democracy has stuck with in the debates around reservation alone. In a neoliberal economy, the question of reservation has further been entangled in the access to space within educational institutions, employment and political spheres, while on the other end large chunk of land has been transferred into the hands of industrial houses without even settling the question of large scale landlessness. While the first part is extremely essential, the scope for upward mobility of the community as a whole gets limited. The second one gives better scope but has not been addressed despite the existence of laws like Land Ceiling Act and provisions for redistribution. This paper delves deep into the dynamics of caste, resource politics and the dichotomy of justice from the margins.

***Keywords: Caste Dynamics, Social Power, Knowledge, Resource Politics, Social Justice, Epistemology***

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*'In the past the peasants who had small pieces of land who couldn't eke out enough from it for their survival used to eat fruits from the nearby forests and used to collect leaves, flowers and dried tree branches and by selling these to others supplemented their income. They also used to maintain a couple of cows or goats and were living happily in their villages depending on the village common grazing land. But H.M's government's conspiratorial bureaucracy have used their foreign intelligence and have newly established the great forest department and have incorporated all mountains, hills, valleys along with barren lands, and village common grazing lands in this department, thus making it impossible for goats or the poor peasants to find even breathing space in the forests...'*

Jyothiba Phule in his Marathi book

'Shetkaryacha Aasud' (Cultivator's Whipcord) 1882

## **The Emergence of a New Debate**

Caste dynamics and rights over resources in the context of social justice is one of the most complicated issues that is hardly in any discussion circles. As such this is not a new question; however the current format is a relatively newer one. There are specific reasons and compulsion for raising this question at this juncture of history as the betrayal of the betrayed continues for centuries unknown till today. Raising this issue would unfold the conspiracy of the upper caste rulers of this country to which they may be obliged to answer. Such a study would require long time as well as deeper analytical tool, which this paper does not intent to engage with. This paper engages with the philosophical understand and theoretical postulation of these concerns from the purview of justice concerns.

In general terms the caste and it's dynamics surround around untouchability practices, social discrimination, excessive violence between social groups, lack or hindrance of opportunities, political oppression and suppression of rights. In recent days these have been together clubbed into the category of social exclusion, even in the academic arena. However this does not cover the entire question of resource dynamics. Caste dynamics from the perspective of ex-untouchables has been theoretically revolving around the notions of purity of blood, creation and sustenance of hierarchies, excommunication of racist considered not equivalent and the exercise of power based on the social construct of higher beings (Ambedkar 1936; Srinivas 1952; Dumund1970; Lee and Thorat 2008). While these core aspects have remain intact of caste as a mechanism, the operational part of investigating the material and spiritual components from the perspective of the oppressed groups have got seldom attention in the academia.

Although in 1947 Ambedkar (1979) refers to the question of nationalisation of land, industries and resources to be nationalised, in the post Ambedkar phase the community elders, political leaders, scholars

and intellectuals from the Dalit<sup>1</sup> communities missed this critical aspect of interpreting the material aspect. The dream project of Ambedkar to annihilate caste – which is yet to see the daylight – from the surface of India in theoretical terms related with the question of discrimination free India. The clarion call of equality liberty and fraternity through the establishment of social and political democracy has to greater extent stuck within the debates around reservation alone.

In a neoliberal economy, the question of reservation has further been entangled in the access to space within educational institutions, employment and political spheres, while on the other end large chunk of land has been transferred into the hands of industrial houses without even settling the question of large scale landlessness. While the first part is extremely essential, the scope for upward mobility of the community as a whole gets limited. The second one gives better scope but has not been addressed despite the existence of laws like Land Ceiling Act and provisions for redistribution. The scope for accessing forestland under the recently enacted Forest Rights Act 2006 for the ex-untouchables is almost a big cipher. The calls for and investigation on how we look at the questions of resource politics from the margins.

## **The Dynamics of Caste and Resource Question**

Caste as a structure is an age-old mechanism of hierarchy based on social constructs, economic manipulation, political power and cultural supremacy of a particular class of people, who are believed to be higher in the ladder than others. In either case there is a set of people who are higher and the other ones. Since caste still operates as a definite pre-condition in establishing marriages, social relations and access to employment, millions of Dalits and other former low-caste people remain behind in education, employment and access to wealth. Although untouchability and casteism is banned in India, discrimination is widely practiced and statistics draw the logical conclusion that there is a broad correlation between one's economic state and one's position within the caste hierarchy. The government may boast of economic progress and grand new development schemes, such as highways joining major cities or plans to interlink major rivers, but it has failed to address issues like education, caste and gender discrimination and the rural-urban gap. The result is the continued upper-caste dominance in profession, business, and culture (George 2013).

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<sup>1</sup> The term Dalit denotes the ex-untouchables as per Hindu social order of caste. The technically term is Scheduled Caste. All Scheduled Castes and Dalits, but all Dalits are not listed in the Scheduled Caste list. This is not a legal term; however, it has not been notified illegal either. For these reasons, this term is applied in this paper.

Dalits continue to face the wrath of the caste lords and are denied of human dignity and rights, including a just share in the resources like land, water, forests, minerals, mines and aquatic resources. Caste discrimination and Dalit Rights over natural resources is one of the most complicated issues, which as such this is not a new question; however the current format is a relatively newer one.

The operational mechanics of caste as a system is to be understood in two parts viz. the material and ideological-cultural-spiritual one. The material base of caste system systematically took away the control over property (the entire resource base), operationalised division of labour, income distribution and surplus appropriation. In the second part the geo-centric culture, history, ideology and spirituality was replaced with an alien one consisting of slavery, subjugation, made the indigenous communities realise that their culture is substandard, subjected them to inhuman suppression, and the caste (*jati*) was determined by birth determined leading it to be their lone destiny. Therefore everything was centred on 'birth'. The indigenous communities were culturally, ideologically and spiritually forced to apply all energy and efforts on the revival of their 'birth' from the present lower caste one to a higher ladder in the next round. This elevation of status – as per the '*shastras*' – was only possible through tireless service of the upper caste lords in the present birth thereby avoiding the traumas in the next birth (George 2011).

This traditional order was not merely an ideological construct but an economic and political structure too. It articulated and encapsulated an entire system of production that existed over centuries with only minor alterations within its confines. The economical and political realities of inequalities were justified, defined and glorified through religious pronouncements based on the divine divide of purity and pollution. Traditionally, ritualistic compulsion and coercive oppression ensured their compliance in providing virtually free labour for the upper caste landowners (Teltumbde 1996). The fact that they had been denied right over land or territory only compounded the matter by making them completely dependent upon the owners and controllers of the means of production and livelihood.

The subsequent consequences had been drastic, where all forms of resources, (both productive and natural) including land, water and forests went out of their hands. The belief system that evolved over the course of time told the indigenous people time and again that they were not supposed to owe any property, lest lay claims over it. They were reduced as slaves and labouring classes on their own land. Land and forest turned to be alien to the Dalits. Today land, forests and other natural resources are not free from public debates or academic investigations. However with caste becoming the key constituent and the centre of power it also developed as a social system in resource control and management aligning to the fondness of these centres. The very character of control and management shifted from a community based production to production for the castelord, who in return amassed, accumulation maintained a

surplus. In this process the relation of community with the means of production drifted, thereby altering the character of relations among communities too (George 2011).

Caste remains as the oldest feudal system in the world, which categorically disallowed the slaves to hold any property. The downfall of feudalism in Europe was also the beginning of modern capitalism. With the growth of capitalism as a world economic system, it aligned with dominant social systems and power centres. In India, capitalism began to exploit its roots during the colonial British regime. The programme of capitalism had its earlier collaboration with Indian mercantile capital and British capital. Unlike Europe, it did not have to battle against feudalism; rather it was implanted on the trunk of the latter in India. As a result, even in the capitalist institutions in the cities, caste discrimination simultaneously existed. Ambedkar was quite aware of the exploitative potential of capital and hence he had declared capitalism and Brahminism as the twin enemy of his movement. Capitalism was in an infantile stage then, but Brahminism encompassed the phases of slavery, feudalism and extended its tentacles as we see to the phase of imperialism (Teltumbde 1997: 40).

It is an undeniable fact that Dalits have suffered displacement from land through the ages. The land occupied by them has always been seized at the flimsiest excuse, forcibly or through economic strangling. The right to hold land – even homestead land – of these groups, has always been tenuous at best (Teltumbde 1996). The continuous process of expropriation of resources, particularly land, from these sections takes on a new dimension today. The pasture and fallow lands were developed by the labour, particularly the Dalit toilers in the hope that they would at last acquire a piece of land to call their own. Once the land is developed and made cultivable, they were forced off it through various measures, covert and overt, legal and illegal, economic and extra-economic. Debts and mortgages, denial of water for crops and lack of agricultural implements and inputs, social boycotts, upper caste violence, rapes, mutilations and killings throw them off the land. Their labour invested in the development of land is expropriated, at best at a pittance (George 2011).

The complexity and dynamics of caste system is still a lingering puzzle for social scientists across the world. Caste closely functions with an idea and agenda of pollution (George 2015: 164). It is certain that the concept of stratification finds a specific space of self-consciousness of the Indian psyche. This stratification further connects and involves deeply the mechanics of the caste system to the social dynamics of untouchability, exploitation, discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation as a natural by-product at one end; while on the other it creates the countless degrees of economic inequality in terms of access to wealth and resources as well as rights over land, water, forests, business, knowledge and resources. The material domain of the lower castes is closely linked to the culture and spiritual values they emotionally uphold. However, all these have been substantially rejected by the social order of caste.

Thus the idea of stratification is not only limited to the social order, rather it is extended to all other areas of economic, political, religious and cultural life – thereby enabling its clutches on power and governance. In this sense power and governance is a means establishing perpetual domination, control and rule (George 2015: 164-65).

## **Justice, Construct of Social Power and Dalits**

Many theories of power have consistently debated in academics and it is often concluded that the more the power is exercised, the more injustice is committed. Rawls (1999) refers 'Justice' as fairness is one of the core components of social institutions, which essentially addresses two principles of socio-economic inequalities that need a rearrangement. He says,

'...the first requires equality in the assignment of basic rights and duties, while the second holds that social and economic inequalities, for example inequalities of wealth and authority, are just only if they result in compensating benefits for everyone, and in particular for the least advantaged members of society. These principles rule out justifying institutions on the grounds that the hardships of some are offset by a greater good in the aggregate. It may be expedient but it is not just that some should have less in order that others may prosper. But there is no injustice in the greater benefits earned by a few provided that the situation of persons not so fortunate is thereby improved. The intuitive idea is that since everyone's well-being depends upon a scheme of cooperation without which no one could have a satisfactory life, the division of advantages should be such as to draw forth the willing cooperation of everyone taking part in it, including those less well situated' (Rawls 1999:13-14).

While re-examining this entire synthesis of justice, it in fact would be the thwarting away of power structures and constructs, which invariably in India consists of a difficult combination of Caste, Class, Feudalism, Patriarchy and the ethnicity question. The construct of power in such context contradicts to the very idea of justice where Foucault (1984) comments,

'...it seems to me that the idea of justice in itself is an idea which in effect has been invented and put to work in different types of societies as an instrument of a certain political and economic power or as a weapon against that power... one can[not]t, however regrettable it may be, put these notions forward to justify a fight which should... over-throw the very fundamentals of our society' (Foucault 1984: 6).

Epistemologically, the two theoretical position in the context of caste reflects a contradiction between power construct and justice, where justice as a mechanism has not disempower the institution of caste – rather it has provided more impetus, particularly due to the negative connotations that justice delivery mechanism has produced. Therefore the idea of justice has remained concentrated in and around the brackets of power structure – historically in the hands of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya combine,

which at present has taken shape of the combination of multiple oppressive and repressive ideologies like Brahminism, Capitalism, patriarchy, racial supremacy and ethnicity – as the notion of fairness is completely absent and whatever exists is the mercy of the power centres and power structures. Operationally in such contexts, the formation of classes is central to the operation of power over any sections, by which the so-called lower origin people gets transformed into an oppressed class; therefore are secondary and not eligible for justice on the principles of equality. This means as a whole the idea of justice needs critical reinvestigation from a different perspective.

Duffee (2002: 4) suggests that the basic conception of the unified theory of social power is that people exercise power over other people by three different means – economic, political, and social. Kunhaman (2015) notes, in any social process, the central question is power. Power is used by the strong against the weak to maintain the status quo. This also suggests that there is a close relationship between the theory of power and the theory of oppression (George 2015: 168).

Young (1990) in her theory of oppression argues the five faces of oppression. The first two are ‘exploitation’ and ‘marginalisation’ – both are the results of exercises of economic or compensatory power. The second two faces of oppression are ‘powerlessness’ and the ‘normalisation and legitimisation of violence’, both the results of uses and abuses of condign power. While violence gets normalised and legitimised, it also creates the culture of silence. Oppressed people become so powerless that they do not even talk about oppression. They are silenced without any will or voice. Under such a situation, even the little space for engagement gets squeezed off. The fifth face of oppression she calls as ‘cultural imperialism’.

These five faces of oppression legitimise the flow of social power. Social power is always generated in a circular flow. Therefore the mechanism of oppression is also in a circular flow. This indicates that the powerful at one end enforces over the powerless, while the powerless empowers the powerful by permitting that flow in a normal and natural manner. This circular mechanism is complete only through a two way process of downward and upward flow. Thus, as Kunhaman (2014) states that the silence of the oppressed is more dangerous than the violence of the oppressor.

Consequently, this predicament also influences the knowledge creation as it raises questions like who creates it, what acceptance do the oppressed people have while creating their knowledge and how the ideas and value chains of caste critically impact knowledge as well as knowledge creation. There are few theories in social science, which holds validity across time and clime, for social processes are ever changing, yet nowhere close to ‘Justice’ as a livid reality nor as a discipline. Guru (2002) categorises that the social science as a field of scientific enquiry has never been egalitarian, particularly in the context of

the divide between the theoretical *Brahmins* and empirical *Shudras*.

## **Dalits and the Neoliberal Resource Politics**

The introduction of the market economy – under the aegis of globalisation, liberalisation and privatization – an extension of capitalism – has already thrown to the wind its intentions. This has already startled the earlier assumptions of some who believed that market economy would open up the spectrum of equality and liberty for the oppressed people. The fact is diametrically opposite. Uprooting the people off their land, forests, common property, and ancestors have been on the rise in the phase of neo-liberal economy. This has not only alienated the groups, but also increased the poverty gap indicators. The little space that one could gain through reservation in education, employment and political power is completely dismissed with the advent of private companies and the efforts to dismiss the entire idea of reservation is on a full swing (George 2015: 66-67).

A strong market driven development is on the agenda. Eventually resources like land, forests, water, minerals, and the common property would be in the hands of corporates. Corporates are not for any charity; they are here to make profits. The best and easy mechanism would be to apply the most oppressed ones as the soft targets since they are the easiest of all prey. This has already begun. Community rights are regularly dismissed and all physical space is dwindling. This in turn has changed their relationship with nature, work, occupation, language, body language, rites, rituals, signs, symbols and myths (George 2015: 67).

The majority of labouring Dalits being rustic poor would have been benefitted by land reforms through the Ceiling of excess land and redistribution to the landless. However land reforms have thoroughly failed in India. The agricultural labourers were left untouched in these reforms. A close examination of various land reforms laws has shown that the present legislative measures have become so complex that a graduated or phased programme of implementation according to priority attached in each problem in various areas was what was really absent in it. Beneath the undercurrents of the dominant landholding system of Zamindari, land reforms and land distribution become more harsh and formidable in the newly arisen socio-political context (George 2011).

The failure of the land reforms can be judged by the fact that 86 percent Dalit own small tracks of land, which is not enough for sustenance, compelling them to work as agricultural labourers. Another is the land based bonded labourhood that the Dalits continue to live with till today. For instance in Central Bihar there is a system called Dakathia evolved by the upper caste to perpetuate their control over the Dalits. According to this, a landlord gave ten katha (a little less than half acre) of land to a labourer who cultivated it and keep the harvest. In return, he had to work at a standard rate of two kilograms of rice and

half a kilogram of *sattu* (flour of Bengal gram) for the entire month. Often ten to fifteen persons (in fact families) in the rural Bihar depend on such land for survival. If the Dalits wish to migrate, the land is confiscated along with the standing crop and if harvested he is forced to pay the rent for the whole year which the Dalits cannot afford. Hence they are bound to that system and the land for generations (DFS 2006).

In caste terms, land reforms brought immense economic aid to the intermediately castes and hence they turned socially and politically dominate over Dalits agricultural labourers. The percentage of rural Dalit labour households with land declined from 44.38 percent in 1974-75 to 35.05 percent in 1993-94. On the other hand, during the same period the rural labour households without land increased from 55.65 percent to 64.95 percent (DFS 2006). Presently many of those displaced have ended up as daily wage labourers in the Public Works Department, working on national highways, suffering from poisonous fumes, heat and dust, and earning less than Rs. 150 per day.

In the case of forestland, the right to entitlement of Dalits has been completely dismissed in the Forest Right Act<sup>2</sup> (FRA) as alien and outside intruders. There are several examples of Dalit being part of the forest ecosystem for generations unknown. Several ritual such as worship of earth, soil and forest are instances of the geocentric culture, which indicates that they had been living in close association with forest, forestland and forest resources. In forest areas, the biggest dilemma is almost seven decades after independence, the state continues all anti-Dalit juxtaposes, strengthens caste system, defends and sustains the British-India's draconian acts and laws quite uninterruptedly, without leaving the minimum breathing space at all.

In FRA, the rider for other traditional forest dwellers to conform to the condition of being resident of/dependent upon forestland for the past three generations has left many genuine beneficiaries out. The act was drafted in a way whereby forest dependent Dalits, who were not in occupation of land in the state before the 1930 were excluded from being benefited from the Act. Despite the rider, many Dalits in forest areas have placed their claim to which the authorities have seldom response. An unofficial notification seems to have gone across the states not to entertain any application from the Scheduled Caste category. Interestingly much of these forestland has rich mineral resources, particularly in the Central Indian states. Corporate sector has eyed it for long and the neoliberal economics opens up the boundaries for the investor while the state only acts as a weak instrument to facilitate such movements.

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<sup>2</sup> The Act is known as the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006

In States like Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Jharkhand a war like situation exists between the government security forces and the Adivasi<sup>3</sup> people in order to establish the supremacy over the forestland under the aegis of anti-Maoist operations. Most of these regions are militarised or semi-militarised zones, who work on the behest of the companies. The mining companies have a free-go all such areas, while the inhabitants have to leave their land in search of life and livelihood. Interestingly the transfer of both cultivable and forestland to the mining corporates are done without resolving the question of landlessness. This legal protection under Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act (PESA), FRA, Samatha Judgment are consistently bypassed in such areas. All the three were assumedly the efforts to revert the historical injustice committed to the forest-based communities.

The Adivasis are finding it extremely difficult to survive and have been on the forefront of different struggles to protect their land. Numerous studies have already placed the extents of land alienation to face due to mining, industrial projects and other development projects. Under these circumstances, land rights of Dalits on forestland would only be a day dreaming efforts. It is only a matter of time when the resources fall into the hands of the corporate houses. Therefore an (un)holy alliance of all power centres has come to the fore.

## **Conclusion**

The aforesaid context needs a different approach to the entire question of resource politics and social justice in the context of caste as a power centre. The specific economic form in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out, determines the relation of the rulers and the ruled. Hence the study of the crisis of Dalits rights over resources needs historical perspective and approach. Historical evidences are ample to prove the conception of depeasantisation as a net result of the uneven structural changes, land holding patterns that have taken place from time to time due to the commoditisation of the economy in which land plays a critical and predominant role. It is beyond all doubts that industrial land acquisition and free market economy goes hand in hand.

Justice as a mechanism should engage in a process to thwart the power centres eventually leading to the culture of deliverance of justice in a natural manner though establishment of freedom of choice, equal political liberty, fair value, equitable share in benefits, neutral access to resources, freedom of thought, liberty of conscience and freedom of association. On the other hand, the complexity to contain with the

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<sup>3</sup> The term Adivasi or Adibasi is a common usage to denote the various tribes in India. More or less, it is a heterogeneous umbrella term to represent the ethnic and tribal groups that are generally considered as the aboriginal population of India. The official term is Scheduled Tribe.

implausible forces needs more careful study while engaging with justice concerns as there remains all possibilities of the dominant forces to apply all forms of political powers in order to sustain the power dynamics.

What is perhaps needed is the go back to the origin of anti-caste movement, which clearly addressed the different formats of injustice. Justice is a concept of moral righteousness based on ethics, rationality, relationship with nature, balance of culture, equity, fairness and natural law along with law, administration based on law, taking into account the inalienable and inborn rights of all human beings and citizens, the right of all people and individuals to equal protection before the law of their civil right, without any discrimination on the basis of race, class, caste, origin, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, nationality, colour, religion, disability, age or other characteristics, and is further regarded as being inclusive of social justice (George 2013).

In the globalised era, the sweeping changes in political structures, coupled with the disempowerment of state, it would be easy for the dominant forces to control the resource politics. Ambedkar's dream of a 'welfare state' has disappeared in the whirlwind of continued caste discrimination, planned development and further with the outgrown with the globalisation liberalisation policies. Caste, resource and justice together constitute the episteme of knowledge of the powerful sections that is not just capable of being expert or privileged in disciplinary terms, but constructs the potential to manufacture extensive influence, set public agendas, impact discussions, arguments, people's knowledge, opinion, beliefs, attributes, attitudes, norms, values, morals and ideologies. Altogether it is a reconstruction of the social and political realities – a symbolic means of the ideology of power and domination.

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SECTION 2  
SPECIAL ARTICLES

# IMPACTS OF TERRORISM-RELATED VIOLENCE ON PAKISTAN AND ITS YOUTH

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Khan Zeb\*\*

## Abstract

Since its independence from the British in 1947, Pakistan has been facing several internal and external security challenges, for example the conflict with India, insurgency in East Pakistan etc. A combination of such challenges led to its disintegration in 1971 when Pakistan's eastern part became Bangladesh. The country's direct involvement in the Afghan-Soviet War is a major reason of contemporary security troubles, such as terrorism and religious extremism. Nonetheless, a major wave of terrorism surfaced after 2002. Since then, terrorist attacks have indiscriminately targeted places like market places, hotels, religious and social gatherings, schools, religious places (mosques, churches, temples), public venues etc. This wave of terrorism has also directly affected the lives of religious minorities in Pakistan. As this trend has continued for well over a decade, it is timely to assess the impacts of terrorism on the country and the future generation – youth. This paper explores impacts of terrorism on Pakistan and its youth.

***Keywords: Terrorism, Youth, religious minorities, trauma, Brain drain***

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## Context

Pakistan faces multiple local and foreign challenges. Internally, there are violent security problems in the form of religious extremism, terrorism, political violence, and sectarianism. With regard to external factors, there has been an ongoing rivalry with India, which has led to three major wars between the two countries. Since the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, the situation in the country has produced fresh security challenges for Pakistan, for example in the form of roughly three million (1.6 million officially registered and the remaining are unregistered) Afghan refugees (Qureshi 2015). The so-called ‘war on terror’ has added another internal dimension through Pakistani security operations in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and US drone strikes. In 2013, Pakistan Army launched Operation Zarb-e-Azb causing displacement of around 614934 families (GoP 2015). Youth, the most vulnerable group is directly and indirectly affected by terrorism. There is a dire need to understand impacts of terrorism on Pakistan and its people, especially youth, for finding meaningful solutions of ending this menace.

## Impacts of Terrorism

Terrorism has direct links with other challenges in Pakistan. *Global Terrorism Index of 2014* ranked Pakistan at number three, after Iraq and Afghanistan (IEP 2014: 18). This report points to the severity of the problem in Pakistan. More than a decade ago, Islamabad joined hands with Washington and other international partners to eradicate terrorism, but there are no evidences available suggesting Pakistan’s achievements in this struggle (Javaid 2011: 235). Tactical mistakes have led to human suffering in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and many other places around the world where the so-called ‘war on terror’ has been targeted. Nonetheless, the country continues to face serious impacts of terrorism. With the US invasion in Afghanistan, Taliban slipped into the Pak-Afghan border region – FATA that provided strategically vital location for covert attacks on the US and its allies in Afghanistan. To prevent cross border infiltration, Pakistan deployed its troops into the border region for the first time and launched military operations against the Taliban (Burki 2010: 189).

In terms of the background of conflict-induced displacement, it is important to underscore that it has been ongoing for the past eight years. Displacement that started in 2008 has continued in many phases and since June 2014, after the launched of the Zarb-e-Azb, 102049 families are still displaced (GoP 2015). According to the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) in Pakistan, ‘the speed and size of displacement stretched government’s humanitarian capacities to the limit’ (UNICEF 2009:2). People from all regions of FATA have been affected by terrorism (See table 1). The unending cycle of violence and conflicts in Pakistan has increased security challenges for the nascent democratic state.

**Table-1**  
**Data of IDPs (February 2015)**

Agency	Total Registered Families	Registered Return	Total Balance
<b>Bajaur</b>	86407	72895	0
<b>FR-Tank</b>	2256	1852	376
<b>Khyber</b>	176396	11260	86107
<b>Kurram</b>	56122	21937	25865
<b>Mohmand</b>	48954	36759	0
<b>North Waziristan</b>	102047	0	100527
<b>Orakzai</b>	48656	8660	29615
<b>South Waziristan</b>	94096	4443	66681
<b>Grand Total</b>	614934	157806	<b>309171</b>

Source: (GoP 2015)

### **Developmental and policy issues**

Current demographics of Pakistan demand policymakers to pay more attention to youth development. The country is home to an estimated 103 million people under the age of 25 years, including 36 million within the age group of 15-24 (PIPS 2010: 1; Yusuf 2008: 2). Youth from different socio-economic backgrounds has been seen involved in terrorist activities in Pakistan. Young people between the ages of twelve to thirty do most of the terror acts (Khan 2011: 1). According to Shelley (2008: 34), unemployed youth with little prospect of future are engaged in terrorism and suicide bombing. As reported, around 5,000 youth received militant training, including 350-400 as suicide bombers in FATA. Some 300 potential suicide bombers were arrested in Malakand division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Yusufzai 2011). Terrorists find justifications for their acts in conditions of deprivation, corruption and relating issues (Blair et al. 2012). Terrorism and militancy have shattered all aspect of secured human dwelling in the country. Terrorists have not spared police stations, military convoys, judicial centres, mosques, churches, *hujras*, public gathering, schools and health centres and polio vaccinations teams (USSD 2014: 8). The state institutions and agencies have failed to respond to the crises. The disengaged and disconnected youth needs to be brought into mainstream through constructive activities.

### **Brain drain**

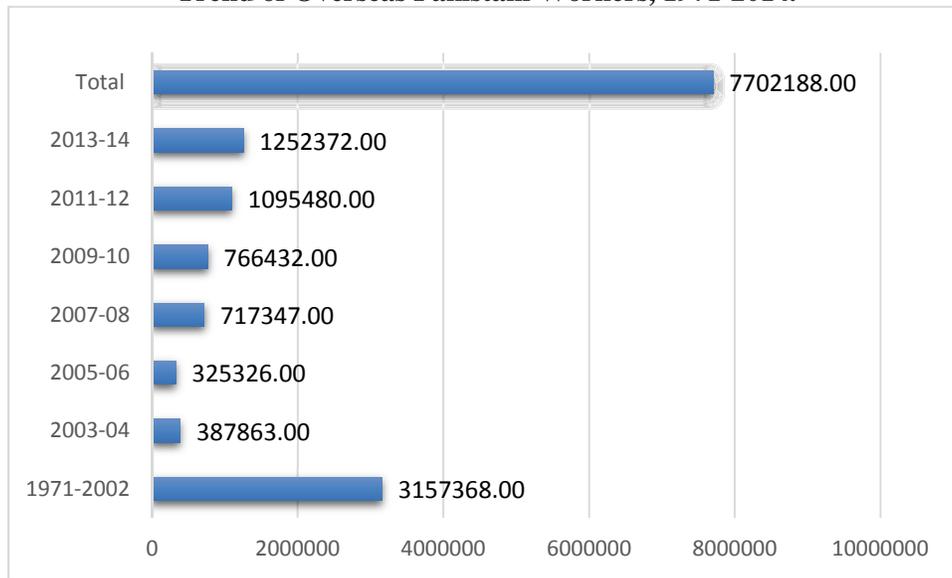
A widespread fear of violence is a major outcome of terrorism. Terrorists have been successful in spreading the terror, which is a major source of increase in the number of emigrants from Pakistan.

Whoever can afford is migrating to countries, such as the US, Canada, UK, Australia, New Zealand and many other European destinations. Parents, especially from FATA, are sending their children to the Middle East to escape from violence at home. There is a severe drought of policies aiming at retaining Pakistani talent within the country. According to a *Daily Times* (5 July 2009), nearly 3500 Pakistan's medical graduates were found jobless and most of such talented youngsters moved abroad. Since 2005 the number of migrants reached at 4156957, including 29377 engineers, 9040 doctors, 5795 teacher (GoP 2014b: 2).

Terrorism has been negatively affecting Pakistan's economy for a number of reasons, such as lack of FDI and failure of local industry etc. This has a direct affect on youth due to rising unemployment rate. Unemployment in the Pakistan and even in other South Asian countries is due to lack of absorption capacity (Maqbool et al. 2013: 194). This critical economic situation demands increase in employment opportunities by using all factors of production. *Economic Survey of Pakistan* (2014) reveals an increase in unemployment from 5.1% in 2007-08 to 6.2% in 2012-13. Unemployment is not the only reason of pushing doctors and other professionals outside Pakistan. A report published in *Daily Nation* (9 October 2008), suggested that terrorism and attacks on doctors are also major sources of brain drain in Pakistan. The data of the Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Pakistan shows that, since 2002, there has been threefold increase in migration to foreign countries, for example Saudi Arab, the UAE etc. (GoP 2014a). It is important to mention that this trend has been going on ever since the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 (See figure 1), but has significantly increased after 2001-02.

This brain drain is also happening due to the country's present image at international levels and the dismal state of economic development. According to Javaid (2011: 235), 'Due to terrorism, polarization and lawlessness no one is ready to invest in the country'. According to Pakistan's Board of Investment, FDI declined from US\$5,409.90 million in 2007-08 to US\$1447.3 million in 2012-13 (GoP 2013). This proves that the country having such a huge market is no more a favourite destination for foreign investors. Consequently, unemployment levels have increased – a phenomenon that affects youth (See figure 2). Facts relating to youth unemployment are alarming in Pakistan. According to a newspaper report (Khan 2013), roughly 60 percent of Pakistan's youth is unemployed. The same report also suggested that the youth unemployment rate is seven percent – comparing to the overall unemployment rate of five percent in the country. In addition, if we agree with the point of view of Irshad (2011: 231) that unemployment is a major cause of militancy and brain drain then the above facts deserve a greater attention from policymakers.

**Figure-1**  
**Trend of Overseas Pakistani Workers, 1971-2014.**



Source: (GoP 2014a)

### Poverty and deprivation

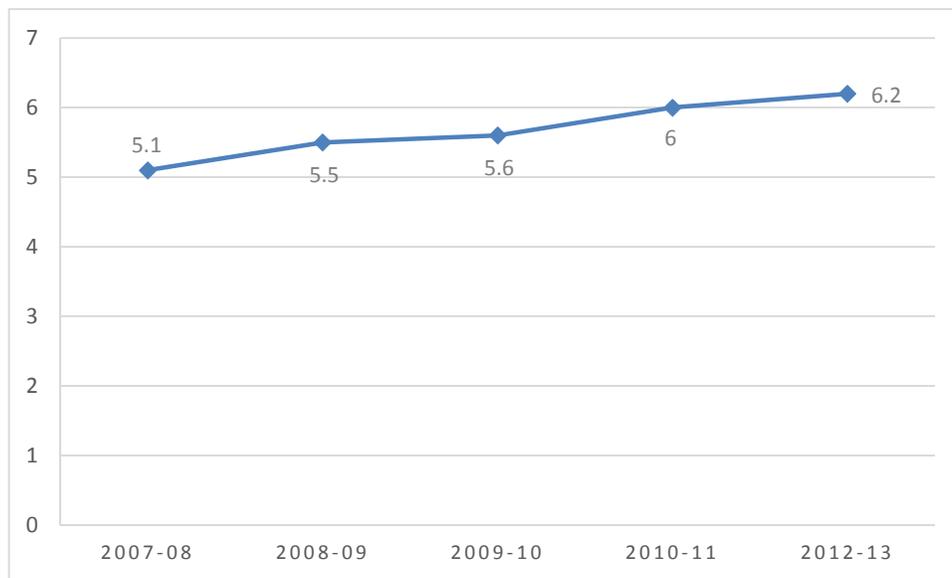
War on terror continues to have adverse affects on Pakistan’s economy. *Economic Survey of Pakistan 2013-14* explains both direct and indirect impacts of terrorism on Pakistan. The survey found that, during ten years between 2001 and 2011, the direct and indirect costs of war on terror amounted to US\$ 67.93 billion (See figure 3). By March 2014, costs of terrorism had reached US\$ 102.51 billion (Rs. 8264.40 billion) (GoP 2014c: 2). The crippling economy is supported by domestic and international debt. Debts reached to US\$ 15534 billion in March 2014 – an increase of eight percent from the last fiscal year (GoP 2014c: 132). These figures reflect a heavy burden on Pakistan’s economy, which is not helpful for countering terrorism in the country.

Marginalisation of certain segments – structural violence – is seen as a major cause of terrorism and extremism. We find the evidence for that if we look at places where terrorists have strong presence, such as FATA. This is a semi-autonomous region of Pakistan and long has been neglected in national developmental projects. Consequently, 45 percent of FATA’s population lives below the poverty line – higher than 40 percent at national level (Irshad 2011). Social deprivation in FATA has pushed many young people into terrorism (Ahmad and Azim 2010: 184). There is an increase in number of youth from FATA launching terrorist attacks across Pakistan. According to a report published in *the News* (15 August 2013), youth from FATA was involved in an Eid Day (9 August 2013) attack on a mosque in Bhara Kahu, Islamabad. According to Joshua (2013), ‘poverty and deprivation’ have driven hundreds of

Pakistani youth towards terrorism. It is often discussed by scholars that poverty is the root cause of terrorism in Pakistan because it forces parents to send their children to madrassas (Islamic seminaries) where free of cost education is provided (Irshad 2011; Michael 2007: 37). As there are hundreds of madrassas in the country that are breeding grounds of terrorists; therefore, there is a causal link between deprivation and terrorism. A renowned Pakistani scholar, Yusuf (2008: 3), explains the links of poverty with terrorism in Pakistan:

Overwhelming majorities of radicalized youth are found to have a strong sense of being discriminated against and are alienated from the larger society. This in turn is believed to be a function of socio-economic deprivation. Poor education standards, lack of economic opportunities, and unequal access to avenues for social and economic mobilization are usually present in countries that undergo radicalization among the young. The problem is often accentuated in societies which exhibit cultural polarization. Unfortunately, Pakistani society displays virtually all these symptoms.

**Figure-2**  
**Unemployment in Pakistan (percentage) 2007-08 to 2012-13**



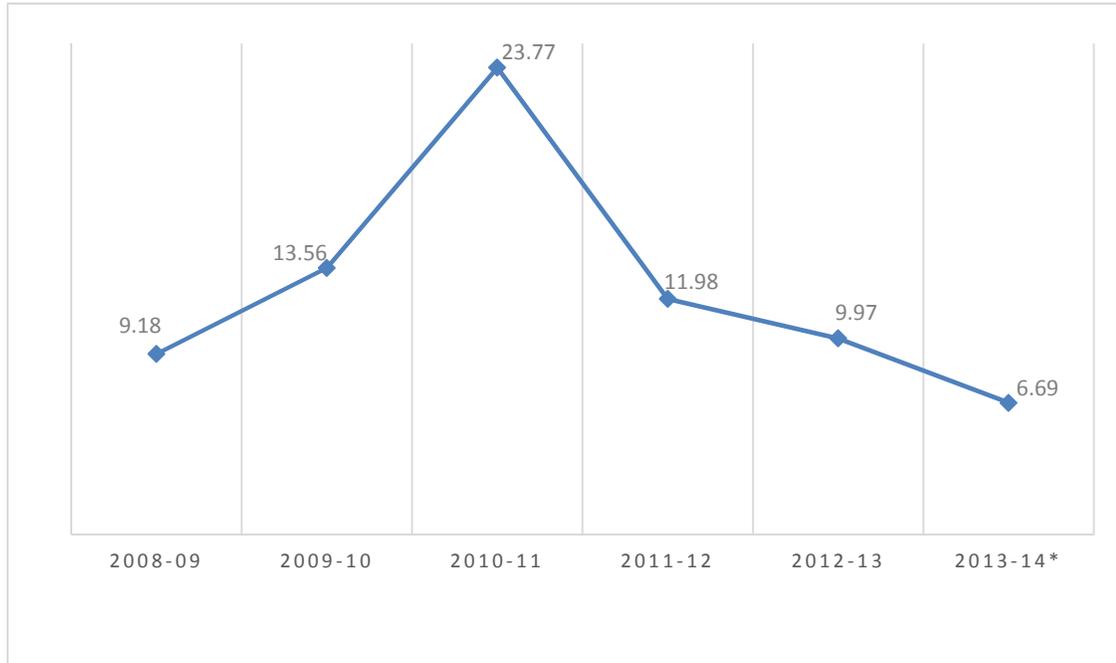
Source: (GoP 2014c)

### Religious Minorities

In South Asia, and particularly in Pakistan, the case of religious violence is not new but in present times, violence in the name of religion has developed its deeper roots. In 2008, during my trip to Nepal, I met hundreds of asylum seekers belonging to the Ahmadiya community of Pakistan. At that point, I could not completely understand their plight of living with no identity in Nepal while facing numerous hardships. However, when, in May 2010, terrorists in Lahore (Pakistan) attacked a couple of Ahmadiya mosques then I realized that the country is increasingly becoming insecure for religious minorities. This has

become a huge push factor for Ahmadiyas to migrate to other countries, such as Nepal, Canada, UK, USA, Germany and so on.

**Figure-3**  
**Costs of War on Terror (US\$ Billion) from 2008 to 2014**



Source: (GoP 2014c)

\*Estimated based on nine month actual data (July-March).

In Pakistan, the rise of terrorism has led to an increase in attack on religious minorities who are socio-economically marginalized. The severity of the problem has been intensified in the post-9/11 era, as can be seen through brutal attacks on religious minorities since 2002. In March 2015, 17 Christians lost their lives because of terrorist attack in Youhanabad, Lahore (*Pakistan Today*, 21 March 2015). These ongoing attacks on religious minorities have created a constant traumatized environment for millions in the country. This is also a major cause behind tens and thousands of non-Muslims leaving the country. Several reports have pointed out to a large number of Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Ahmadiyas from Pakistan migrating to India, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Thailand mostly as asylum seekers.

Muslim-Christian relations in Pakistan have reached their lowest ebb in the recent past mainly due to a number of international events, such as the so-called ‘war against terrorism’ in Afghanistan, the Iraq War, the issue of blasphemous cartoons being published by a Danish newspaper and others. Such issues abroad have added misery to the lives of innocent Christians in Pakistan; often they have been called

as '*American jasoos*', meaning American agents. Nonetheless, the religious minorities were always mistreated, but the post-9/11 era has led to greater adverse consequences for non-Muslims, especially Christians, in Pakistan.

### **Psychological Issues**

People are feeling very insecure in Pakistan and this general feeling can be observed by analysing people's behaviours. Terrorism is unlike traditional warfare because sometimes it is difficult to classify terrorists. The identification of terrorists is also difficult because there are diverse understandings of 'terrorism'. Consequently, there is a lack of consensus on defining terrorism at global levels because one country's freedom fighters are terrorists for another country.

In the case of Pakistan, it is also the invisibility of terrorists, which has spread the feelings of insecurity in the minds of the masses. This emotion has triggered some psychological problems, such as anxiety, depression etc. These problems are mostly identifiable among the youth because in some parts of the country they have been victims of direct and indirect exposure to terrorism. On the whole, everywhere in the country and everyone is experiencing indirect impacts of terrorism via mainly electronic media. According to a study conducted in Karachi, 91.5 percent university students were exposed to terrorism through TV channels (Ahmed et al. 2011: 410). Nevertheless, the level of insecurity is very high in places where people witness terrorism on regular basis e.g. Karachi, Peshawar, FATA, Quetta etc.

Changes in people's behaviours can be studied to explore the seriousness of psychological issues, especially among the youth – the future of a country. Stress levels range from mild to strong among the youth in Pakistan. A research found 65.8 percent university students under mild stress in Karachi - the city's history of violence was reported as a cause of 'resilience' among the youth (Ahmed et al. 2011: 410). It is an astonishing fact that even under a lot of emotional stress caused by rising insecurity in Pakistan; people are not facing mental breakdowns. A study conducted on behaviours of youth found a reason of that, 'youths are turning to religious groups to address their grievances' (Fair 2004: 492). This also reflects that the youth of Pakistan are turning to religion for dealing with their anxieties.

### **Conclusion**

The manner in which terrorists have affected the lives of millions, both directly and indirectly, in Pakistan is a mere reflection of the gravity of the problem. There have been frequent terrorist attacks in major cities like Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta, Islamabad and Lahore; therefore, a general feeling of insecurity has spread across the masses. Firstly, this insecurity continues to have negative impacts on the economic

development in Pakistan because foreign investment has decreased causing an increase in unemployment. Secondly, people in general, are feeling powerless and stressed by combination of factors like terrorism, poverty, unemployment, corruption and others. The stress levels have been visible among the youth who are finding a remedy in religion for addressing their psychological troubles. Thirdly, the lives of religious minorities have been directly affected by direct terrorist attacks on them across the country. Finally, a combination of both direct and indirect impacts of terrorism is having long-lasting developmental impacts on Pakistan, which is also evident by a massive brain drain in the country. Considering the fact that the country is home to a large portion of youth, there is an urgent need of devoting extra consideration to the special needs of youth under the present scenario, which is dominated by widespread terrorism.

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SECTION 3  
DOCUMENTS

# NOT SO HOLY

Arjun Prasad\*

The TV news just started. The big story read ‘Police fires teargas shells to disperse protesters who were demonstrating against the Israeli attack on Gaza in Jammu & Kashmir.’

‘Oh, Lord!’ exclaimed Maria, what is happening in Gaza? I do not know anything about the issue, even though this problem has been continuing for a while. Who is right and how can this sort of conflict be prolonged in this manner....who ever be right how the killing of innocent people can be justified’.

Anirudh sitting opposite to Maria heard what she said and replied that before taking sides she should primarily be aware of what the background of this conflict was. Anirudh gave her a book titled ‘NOT SO HOLY’ by a well-known academician Arun Choudary.

In fact Maria was not ready to read the book as she had lots of work to do and her semester examination timetable was out. Reluctantly, she took the book and turned the pages. The quote on the first page struck Maria. It was as follows.

*Whether the blood is one’s own or of others*

*It is the blood of Adam’s race*

*Whether the war rages in east or west*

*It is the blood of the peace of*

*The world*

-Sahir Ludhiyanan

Maria’s curiosity to read it brewed. She began to open the pages, read every line it told her.

## The Story of Jews and formation of Israel

The myth of Mosses marks the story of the Jews or Israel. Moses points to a vast land, which was fertile and called it the place where honey and milk flows. Later this land came to be known as Canaan. According to the Jewish religious text, this land was rewarded to Abraham (their ancestor).

There are biblical references about canon reason lies in the present Israel Palestinian region. It is believed that it from the twelve sons of Yakub, the son of Abraham the twelve Jewish tribes originated. Jews considered Palestine as their homeland, but they were driven out of Palestine about 2000 years also by the Roman emperor. Thus, the Jews were forced out of their homeland and they were scattered and settled in different parts of the world.

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In the initial stages, the Jews were granted political rights but gradually the situation changed. Propaganda that Jews were Actual agents for the trouble became popular among the natives of many European countries. This led to the massacre of thousands of Jews for centuries.

It was during the sixteenth century that this situation began to end and many countries showed humanitarian attitude towards Jews. The United States of America became the first country to grant complete political freedom and privileges to the Jews. Following this, England and Italy nullified the laws against the Jews but this was not the case of entire Europe. The migrated Jews mingled with other European communities causing no hindrance to their religious practices. Unfortunately, the Jews became the victims of hatred when they emerged very successful in society.

The Anti-Jewish propaganda popularised the notion that the Jews should be destroyed forever; for the betterment of humanity. It was in this scenario that Hitler emerged as the furour of Germany and the rest is history. For torturing and killing of Jews, concentration camps were built. The official statistics reveal that Hitler and the Nazis have massacred around 57 lakhs of Jews during the second World War.

The defeat of Germany during the second World War led to the liberation of the remaining Jews from the horrific concentration camps.

## **Israel's Formation**

The Zionist movement which was formed by Theodore Hersel, aimed at the creation of a Jewish state for meeting large scale migration, organisational and financial arrangement was needed. To meet this purpose a Jewish National fund was set up to purchase land which was to be occupied by the settlers.

Palestine became a British territory in 1919 and Jews started migrate to this region. The British did not handover power with any clear demarcation of power between the Jews and the Arabs. After the liberation of the Jews from the concentration camps more Jews migrated to Palestine. In 1947 a conflict started between the Jews, the British and the Arabs. Hotel Camp David was blasted and UN. General Assembly voted in favour of the partition of Palestine .The proposal of UN was to give by half of the territory to create Israel. Jerusalem and Bethlehem became administrative units. The proposal was rejected by the Arabs and welcomed by the Jews but they did not recognise the legitimacy of the Arab territory.

On May 14, 1948 the British withdrew the troops without handing over power either to the Jews or the Arabs. On the day of the British withdrawal the state of Israel was proclaimed by Ben Gurion, the then Prime Minister and Weizeman the then president of Israel respectively. Thus 2000 years of the Jewish dream of a homeland came to be fulfilled.

The Arabs created an extensive empire in the seventh century A D in Palestine and considered it as their home. The Migration of Jews initially was not considered as a threat to the Arabs. Both Arabs and

Jews considered Palestine as their homeland therefore the ...clash was not only religious but it was a clash of two different and aggressive nationalisms. From 1904-1921 around 76000 Jews went to Palestine. From 1947-1999 around 4 lakh people migrated to Palestine. The Middle-East countries did not recognise the Jewish state.

The modern Palestinian problem – which burns west Asia – started in 1948 with the sudden withdrawal of British without proper consensus between Arabs and Jews. The irony was that the same Britain was able to do it in the case of Indian and Pakistan. The Jews took advantage of this situation and declare their Jewish state.

The UN proposal of dividing Palestine and handing over half of it for the creation of Israel was nothing short of humiliation and unacceptable for the Arabs. This led to the war between the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs got support from the neighbouring countries and the armies of Egypt Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. They attacked Israel and gained 21 percent more land of Palestine than the propose plan in the partition by the UN. A cold war ensued between the two countries under the leadership of the two blocks that is the capitalist – United States of America (USA) block and the socialist United Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR) block. These nations sides for their own vested interests to have control and strategic importance in West and Middle-East Asia. The USA supported Israel while the USSR supported the Arabs.

The West Asian countries rallied once again against Israel in 1967. Egypt closed the Gulf of Aquah, which was the only access for Israel to Red sea. Israel was able to wage a powerful air strike against the Egyptian Air force and it defeated the Air force in the ground itself. This in turn made the situation of Arabs more vulnerable. Israel captured Gaza Strip and Sinai from Egypt, East Jerusalem and west bank from Jordan and Golan Heights from Syria. Israel thus accepted 28000 sq.km; thrice the size of its own territory. This has made the condition of Arabs in these regions also vulnerable and seven lakh people become refugees in other neighbouring countries. Following this, the Arab countries were not willing to fight against Israel. An umbrella organisation which stood for the case of Palestinian liberation was formed, named Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1964. From 1969 this organisation was led by Yasser Arafat. He was successful in bringing the international attention and support to the Palestine issue. The rest of the Arab countries with effective oil politics pressurised Europe and gained sentiments for Palestine and Japan reversed its policy towards Israel.

A faction of the PLO – Black September made Israeli Olympic team hostile in Munich Olympics in 1972. In the firing to rescue the hostiles, terrorist as well as the hostiles were killed. This attack gave the Israelis an advantage and enabled them to corner PLO and they were able to strike PLO and its centres.

The decision of Yassar Arafath to support Iraq during the Kuwait invasion shocked the entire Arab world. Iraq was defeated. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait who supported PLO stopped their co-operation.

Many attempts were made to find out a solution to bring peace in the region .The Oslo treaty was a historic step for achieving this aim. The Israeli Prime Minister Yetzack Rebbin and Yasser Arafat met in Oslo .For the first time Israel agreed to recognise Arafat's leadership. Gaza strip and West bank were granted autonomy, in return Jews of these areas were allowed to resettle. Thus Oslo treaty was an important diplomatic exercise in smoothening the relationship of the two countries.

The Oslo treaty paved the way for a short lived peace.. During this period many groups separated from PLO, Hamas thought Oslo treaty was against the interest of Palestine people. They wanted to break this and thus turned more radical. Many terrorist attacks were conducted by them and assassinated Rahim Sevi, the then foreign Minister in 2003. Following this Arafat was held under house arrest by Israel and in 2004 he died (allegations are there that Israel has poisoned him). Ever since that there did not emerge a leader who can guide and lead the Palestinian cause.

UNESCO and UN General Assembly have recognised Palestine and gave membership. The current scenario is that Israel is attacking the Palestine people on Gaza breaking all humanitarian consideration and without any botheration of the international community. Now the battle is like that of David and Goliath. Israel became a strong nation with possession of powerful weapons, the world's most efficient spy network Mossad and the support of US whereas Palestine possess only a few weapons and even stones are used as weapons to counter the firing from the machine gun. For restoring peace the neighbouring countries with permanent members of the Security Council and national community should stand up and find a solution.

Maria closed the book and she started watching news channel, she saw a flash news that Israel has bombed the rehabilitation centre for the physically challenged. She was shocked and wondered why countries like India were not reacting against this? Her father replied that we cannot comment or condemn it as both countries are our friends. Maria was not satisfied with her dad's reply. She knew that the main objective of our foreign policy was strengthening of the independence of the country and elimination of all forms of imperialism, colonialism, and racialism and thereby uphold world peace through mutual cooperation. Maria asked herself about the relevance of NAM. Maria's mom asked why is that even innocent kids are not spared? Maria replied that the most ironical thing is that the race which once subjected to cruel torturing and killings and forced migration are, doing the same to others.

Anirudh called Maria and asked whether she liked the book. She thanked him and replied 'everything is fair in war but even in the deadliest battles of history did follow some rules...'

## **Epilogue**

The Indian parliament did not pass any resolution against the Israel attack on Gaza... Hold on! Fine, it is an international issue, then what about Mussafarnagar riots??? Did anyone condemn it, rather than using it for polarising the voters on communal lines? Whether in Gaza or Mussafarnagar 'the majority' is not affected by it so it is obvious that why 'civil society' hesitate to take stand.

The efforts to bring down the violence have finally succeeded. It was under India's mediatorship the issue was solved... Hamas and other organisations have agreed for the peaceful settlement and Israel assured that she would not interfere in the affairs of Gaza. This effort of India was appreciated by other nations and got a permanent seat in UN Security Council.

Finally.....

The phone rang, and Maria woke up from a deep sleep

# **AN OBITUARY TO DR B D SHARMA: ONE WHO REDEFINED THE RIGHTS OF THE MARGINALISED**

**Goldy M. George\***

Dr. Brahma Dev Sharma (known to many of us as Dr Sahab), left passed away on December 6 2015 in Gwalior. He was not keeping well for some time and was being looked after by his son and daughter-in-law. Sharma was an Indian Administrative Service (IAS) officer who began his administrative career as the Collector of Bastar and retired as the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in 1991. For the next thirty years he remained as a mass leader of the Bharat Jan Andolan and influenced many other platforms particularly on the question of development and Adivasi issues. His entire life was committed to the development of Adivasis and had waged many battles, in and out of the government. He fought against the all forms of oppression, repression and suppression of Adivasis, poor and oppressed classes. Sharma played a key part in framing many of the laws that today exist to defend people's rights, including the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA), the Forest Rights Act and numerous policy and executive measures on these issues. He never lost sight of his fundamental belief in the need for people to organise and to fight for a better and just society.

An excellent writer, Dr. Sharma, both in Hindi and English, publishing tens of books and booklets on resource rights, Adivasi issues, Dalits questions, agriculture and the unorganised sector. He focused particularly on two themes: breaking the web of poverty through people's power and democracy and the struggle for people to collectively control their resources and livelihoods. While he addressed the first one through organising (or supporting) people's political processes in the second he entered into the framing of policies and laws. He thus brought in the agenda of people's rights in democracy and on resources into the national agenda, which were otherwise controlled and believed to be for the benefit of large business houses, corporates, urban elites, contractors and other exploitative classes. He was critical on how agriculture has turned into argi-business, which in return systematically destroyed and grabbed the natural resources zones across India. His writings, on farmers being reduced to destitution, have turned to be main standpoint of planning commission for years.

Being in administration, Sharma always tried to uphold the spirit of the Constitution and thereby represented the fundamental truth of what the rulers never seem to realise. His life-long association with tribal affairs, beginning with the troublesome days in Bastar (1968) and had the privilege of being the last

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Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1986-1991). He also served as the Vice Chancellor of NEHU, Central University and in numerous committees of Planning Commission and National Advisory Council.

In the early 1990s Sharma was troubled by the blown-up neoliberal economic arithmetic, where he foresaw the onset of the unbridled loot of natural resource zones over which the Adivasis inhabit. His outcry against Structural Adjustment Programme and the undue interference of International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and World Trade Organisation (WTO and formerly GATT) could be seen in most of his writings and urgency in framing preventive measure for Adivasi people. Bharat Jan Andolan was formed in this context, which gave the clarion call of *Mava Nate Mava Raj* (Our Rule in Our Land). He also formed the National Front on Tribal Self-rule, which raised the question of self-rule across the country. Parallel to these, he worked tirelessly primarily to draft Acts, policies and laws and later to implement them at the ground level. PESA was literally drafted by him, which turned out to be principle Act in Adivasi regions of India. He was the champion of Adivasi Self-rule and PESA provided the legitimate intervention space to Adivasis in order to organise, and take control of their life, means of livelihood and natural resources thereby become participants in the development process right from its beginning.

In 2010 he approached the President of India at a critical time when the entire country witnessed a virtual collapse of the Constitutional regime for the tribal people, who were being attacked and suppressed in a war like situation, demanding for peace. He believed that people do not accept injustice anymore and they will not remain silent. They would rise against all sorts of injustice, violence, atrocities, and killings. He believed that the Adivasis culture has the fundamental elements of building an egalitarian India. His concern for Adivasis and Constitution of India could be understood from the letter to the President where he wrote,

‘I am constrained to state at this critical phase of the history of tribal people that the Union Government is guilty of abdicating its Constitutional responsibility by allowing the situation to degenerate from that of stray revolts in 1960s to “warlike situation” at the moment. It has remained unconcerned with the simmering discontent from day one with the adoption of the Constitution. It has not issued a single direction to any State in 60 long years. You as head of the nation, at a critical time must ensure that the Union Government accepts unequivocally its Constitutional responsibility with due apologies for the decimated, shattered and disinherited tribal communities whose irretrievable loss – physical, economical and emotional – is an un-washable blot on the fair face of our nation that still stands by equity and justice.

May I invite your kind attention to some crucial aspects of virtual “warlike” situation *vis-à-vis* the tribal people in extensive parts of our country. No less than a person, one of your worthy predecessors, Shri K.R. Narayanan in his address to the nation on January 26, 2001 drew pointed attention to enlightened laws for protection of tribal lands and their affirmation in judicial verdicts, yet plagued by dilemmas of development that were not suitably addressed. He

poignantly observed, “*let it not be said by future generations that the Indian Republic has been built on the destruction of green earth and the innocent tribals who have been living there for centuries.*”

Amidst exceptions, there is cruel insensitivity and total lack of understanding, some honourable exceptions apart, about the tribal ethos amongst our ruling elite when they address the tribal as “poor” and talk about his joining the “mainstream” of national life. They hurt the simple people to the core who are super-sensitive about their “honour.” Let it be known that tribal is not poor. He is *Deprived and Disinherited in his own Domain*, his “DES”, ironically amidst the unbounded bounty of Mother Earth to her dearest children. They are the brightest jewels in the rich mosaic of great Indian civilization proud of its vivacious diversity.

That is not all. The tribal people are “the most democratic people on earth.” The founding fathers, therefore, especially bestowed them with a protective shield, the Fifth Schedule described as “Constitution within Constitution.” Yet these communities were virtually “criminalised” on the dot with the adoption of our Constitution. The colonial laws engulfed the hitherto excluded areas. They have no place for the “community” and its “customs and tradition,” the unwritten laws of their “Village Republics.” The Governors, endowed with limitless powers for removing any such dissonance, have remained unaware to date about the catastrophic impact of this lapse on their part on the life of the tribal people.’

He led many tireless battles and the legacy of these countless struggles reflected the vision of direct democratic governance based on his learning and gaining insights from India’s Adivasi (indigenous) population. This clarity of thought, philosophical understanding of Adivasism and the capacity to grasp and adapt it, is not found in most of the non-Adivasi intellectuals. Despite being threatened and beaten up by private henchmen, political party goons and police personnel, he never withdrew from any of the struggles. He remained a strong supporter of movements like anti-dam, anti-mining, anti-nuclear projects, anti-displacement, and took position in favour of the struggles for justice, equality, democracy and secular values. Dr. Sharma viewed the draconian laws as anti-national as it continued the British legacy of ‘*eminent domain*’ to suppress the democratic voices; and therefore thoroughly opposed such laws too. He intermediated between the Maoist and the Chhattisgarh government when the former abducted the Sukma Collector Alex Paul Menon in 2012.

With his death a great champion of human rights with extreme conviction, courage, ability and humbleness is lost for ever. Dr. Saheb – a teacher, guide, leader, comrade, an ardent fighter and a crisis manager of our times – is gone forever. With him an era combined with sharp intellectualism, grassroots camaraderie, administrative intervention, policy crafter, critical author and mutual solidarity comes to an end.

# CALL FOR ABSTRACTS

Theme: RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Volume 1, Issue 3.

Abstract Submission Deadline: December 15, 2015

Confirmation of Acceptance: December 20, 2015

Complete Manuscript Submission: January 1, 2016

Review Report: January 15, 2016

Reworked Manuscript Submission: January 25, 2016

Processing Fee Submission: February 1, 2016

Publication: February 15, 2016

The Journal for People's Studies (JPS) ISSN 2455-3115 (Online) calls for abstracts for its next issue on the theme '**Religion and Society**'. No society or nation is void of religion of some kind or other. Today religion and its various practices have become the macro-determinants of social, economic, cultural aspects of any nation. Both in history and at present, religious beliefs, ideas, philosophies, structures, social systems, cultural patterns, institutions, rituals and symbols are in the process of exploration. There are theories that suggest a mode of interdependence wherein one sees religion as the soul of the society, but such a perspective does not take into account the existence of certain aspects of societies or cultures whose identifiable elements do not fit into popular prescribed religious elements. Such heterogeneity is confused with and against grammatical directives of dominant religious praxis and popular culture, which clashes with a societal interpretation of functional rules for a nation's governance and policy making.

The inclusion of the term 'secular' in many nation states, marked a subtle paradigmatic shift from a heterogeneous religious society to an inclusive 'all religions' one. On the other hand the policy of Secularism has also resulted in non-acceptance of certain religious beliefs in favour of a homogenous Society. The line between the popular and not so popular religions in a society has resulted in a centre-periphery debate yet again. Another aspect is the entire idea of non-religiousness, which has emerged in rational debates around religion. The elite religious beliefs distances itself from such practices by either absorbing certain overlapping, or abstaining from those which are not very comfortable to acknowledge as being 'educated and civilised in a social set up'.

Today, the political game planners blueprint the entire election campaigns on the basis of religion and sell dreams of employment, prosperity and comfortable lives – all in the name of God. Hence God is highly saleable commodity to appropriate power. Critical analysis of this determination makes one look back and re-examine the relationships of religion and the society, the reasons behind its vice like grip on all aspects of life and it's continual vivisection of the society. Such analysis also proposes to look at attempts to build alternative models of religion in the society through secularism and inclusion.

In an age of technology, how are religions or more explicitly non-religious communities creatively and productively engaged? In what ways might communities set agendas for personal and community actions? What principles of companionship the religion could offer to the Society as a whole, and how could it provide leadership roles on issues like inter- faith dialogues and as a locus for the development across unified voice in differing faith systems. How are questions of justice, freedom, love, peace, inequality, poverty and human suffering addressed by religions/non-religions/ atheism/ secularism?

In order to highlight the society's interpretation of the relationship between the religion, non-religion and secular, JPS attempts to explore such interpretation applying scientific tools. You are welcome to send us abstracts which may include -

- Religion and Cultures
- Religion and Reason: Congruencies and Conflicts
- Religion, Oppression, Suppression and Discrimination
- Traditional, Modern and Post Modern Orientation of Religion and Society
- Sites and Rites of Passage
- Birth, Adulthood, Marriage, Death and Afterlife
- Religion and Commerce in and within a Society
- Globalised Society and Ritualistic Religion
- Religion in Ethnic, National, and Racial Identities
- Media, Religion and Societies
- Institutional control and Religious Rights
- Dynamics of Religious leadership and Control
- Religious Diversities, Tolerance and Understanding
- Religion: Difference and Interdependence
- Secularism of Society
- Religion in Politics and Politics in Religion

- The future of Religion in Societies
- Women in Religion and Culture

JPS welcomes abstracts on any of the above given themes or any other related theme that you find could be part of the broader theme of the issue. Interested persons are requested to go through the guidelines for more details. Any paper without following the style of writing would be rejected. Any submission after the deadline at any stage will not be entertained, unless it is reasonably communicated with the editors. Due to the large number of submissions, only those whose abstracts are shortlisted would be notified.

Supriya Banerjee  
Goldy M George  
(Editors)

# OBJECTIVES OF JOURNAL FOR PEOPLE'S STUDIES

Journal of People's Studies (JPS) [ISSN 2455-3115 (Online)] objectives have been carefully thought over a period of time and they are a product of a continuous dialogue between the Team members of JPS. They have been arrived post a series of conversations and thought process.

Following are the Key Objectives:

## ❖ **Bridge Gaps**

To endeavour towards bridging the gap between academics, activists, intellectuals, professionals and communities.

## ❖ **Creative Expression**

To create a space for creative expression of people sitting on the fringes of society.

## ❖ **Knowledge Creation**

To seek creation of knowledge by communities across society free of any external socio-political influences.

## ❖ **Document Knowledge**

To document the unexplored knowledge, thereby assist to expand the existing formats of knowledge.

## ❖ **Alternative Lens**

To initiate a process of viewing human wisdom, culture, ethics, history, politics and relationship from an alternative lens.

## ❖ **Communities Together**

To bring together the different creative communities from across the globe.