

# janata

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## Dalits' emancipation from humiliating vocations

A Dalit Asmita Yatra was taken out in Guajrat by the Una Dalit Atyachar Ladat Samiti from Ahmedabad to Una, where the obnoxious incident took place on July 8, when some Dalits were beaten for skinning dead cows, between July 31 and August 15, 2016. Symbolically, on the Independence Day the Dalits demanded that they must be freed from the task of disposal of cattle carcasses and instead they should be given land so that they may survive by doing agriculture, in any case a more respectable vocation than what they have been traditionally doing. Any landless Dalit is in any case entitled to receive land from the panchayat. Essentially the demand is to implement the provision in law for Dalit. Even in cases from around the country where Dalits have been given land titles by Panchayats they are not able to take control of their land sometimes. Encroachment over Dalit land is a fairly common problem. The police and administration tend to favour the powerful upper caste people who encroach upon the land of Dalits, just like they did in the Una incident.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was for nationalization of land. As land

reforms have not taken place in spite of the implementation of land ceiling law and the people fear that any surplus land will be given to private corporations rather than landless labourers, it may not be a bad idea to revive the call for nationalization of land, following Dr. Ambedkar. There should be a way of more equitable use of land. This will give Dalits the opportunity to give up vocations which are inhuman.

The young convenor of the Ladat Samiti, Jignesh Mevani says that he doesn't want it to just remain a Dalit movement. He would like to invite other progressive forces to join this movement for emancipation of Dalits. He invokes Shaheed Bhagat Singh also in his speeches. There is appeal for promoting inter-caste and interfaith marriages and also to strengthen Dalit-Muslim unity as Muslims too have been at the receiving end of the cow protection campaign. In fact, so long as it was only Muslims getting killed or attacked by cow vigilante groups the Prime Minister kept quiet. It was only when the Una incident received bad publicity and threatened the electoral prospects of BJP in forthcoming elections in Punjab and UP, that Narendra Modi in quite an

unexpected about turn came down heavily upon these groups.

However, the PM's outburst doesn't seem to have had any effect on the cow vigilante groups. Hindu Jagarana Vedike has killed Praveen Poojary, interestingly a BJP worker, who was accused of carrying cattle in a vehicle for slaughter house. So, it appears that PM's apparent anger was more for public consumption than actually intended to stop such incidents. In any case Vishwa Hindu Parishad and other Hindutva groups have condemned PM's accusation that 80 per cent of cow vigilantes are anti-social elements by the night. It certainly cannot be denied that they take law into their own hands. The faith seems to be given more importance than our Constitution.

The Dalit Asmita Yatra received good response in Gujarat and has given a platform to Dalits for assertion of their rights. The method of protest they have chosen, of abandoning the cattle carcasses, reflects the agony of their profession. Earlier Dalits are known to have given up this task in 19 villages of Mehsana district of Gujarat. Unless they give up these menial jobs their children will not be able to go to schools and generation after generation they will remain in the same tradition.

Now it is up to the class which is the consumer of leather items to worry about how they would remove the skin of dead cattle so that it may be used by leather industry. The cow vigilante groups have also protested against the use of cow leather for making various items. With the Dalits in Gujarat having resolved on a big scale not to skin dead animals, it has already become a problem for the government there. It is thinking of employing machines to perform the task and dispose of the dead body. The leather industry may be under serious threat because of the misplaced enthusiasm of the cow vigilantes and a right wing government not too keen to suppress the 'Hindu' sentiment.

In any case, a number of humiliating tasks which are performed by Dalits including getting down into sewer lines to clean them should have been mechanised long back. Just as this Yatra was to end in Una news came in of four people dying in Madhapur in Hyderabad because of suffocation when they had entered a manhole to clean it. It is really shameful that in the era of modernisation when most inhuman tasks involving drudgery are being mechanised, we still make live human beings enter the hell which is sewer line. This is another task that

the Dalits must be freed from.

It is only when the Dalits are freed from the inhuman tasks that it will give a chance to Dalit children to think about a more respectable future for themselves by adopting alternative careers after getting educated. Wherever Dalit families have got a chance they have left such humiliating professions. But the problem is that most Dalits engaged in menial tasks live in conditions of poverty which don't allow them to unshackle from their situation. Even a Free and Compulsory Right to Education Act, which got implemented in the country in 2009, is not able to pull all their children out and get them admitted to schools. When 23 Valmiki community which is traditionally involved in sanitation work, children were to be admitted along with another 8 Muslim children to the prestigious City Montessori School in Lucknow last year under the RTE, the school opposed their entry tooth and nail. Only by a Court order 13 Valmiki children got admitted to the school in 2015. The school again wanted them out in the current academic year. The Supreme Court has reprimanded it for this. The elite class has made the life of children of sanitation workers miserable, humiliating them at every step.

## Complicating the Kashmir issue

Even after lot of criticism, the government continues to use pellet guns in J&K against protestors. Recent victims include a 8 years old Junaid whose lung has been ruptured and Adil who has been blinded. 30 patients, victims of pellet guns, in a day clearly shows that government is in no mood to relent.

This reflects the tenor of

statement by Arun Jaitley made in Samba of Jammu region where he said that militancy and stone pelting need to be dealt with firmly and no laxity should be shown in dealing with such situation. Although Narendra Modi, in a meeting with opposition leaders the next day in Delhi, said that he shared the pain of Kashmiris. He said it is a matter of distress whether the lives lost are of our youth, security personnel

or police. But the PM is now known to initiate damage control when situation worsens and starts affecting his political prospects. Rajnath Singh, earlier said that instead of stones, bricks and firearms in the hands of Kashmiris he would like to see pen, computers and jobs. Both Rajnath and Jaitley have blamed Pakistan for fomenting the current trouble in Kashmir.

It is unbelievable that BJP leaders hold such simplistic ideas about Kashmir. Their approach is only going to worsen the situation.

When Rajnath or Modi say they would like to see development in J&K, do they really think economic prosperity is the answer to unrest in Kashmir? If economic well being would have guaranteed happiness then youth of Punjab would not have taken to drugs. Mental happiness is no less important than physical well being for peace to return to the valley. That can happen only when a political solution which is agreeable to Kashmiris is arrived at. Most commentators say it will have to be some kind of autonomy.

Jaitley must be asked why did women and children pick up stones? Stone pelting was people's answer to use of force against them by the Indian government. Jaitley must thank people of Kashmir as most of them have shown restraint and not picked up guns. Only a small minority indulges in the kind of violence which can kill security forces. It is a pity that while security forces can easily save themselves from stones, or at least will not suffer fatal injuries, they have no qualms about using pellet guns against people with serious consequences. No security personnel are getting killed, except for the two who died initially, in the present round of everyday violence. Only the number of civilians getting killed is going up. Kashmiris are right in doubting whether they are considered equal citizens of India, when pellet guns are used only against their agitation and not elsewhere in the country. No sensitive government would use such inhuman methods against their own citizens. Israelis use it against

Palestinians but then Israel doesn't have the kind of relationship with Palestine which India claims to have with Kashmir.

BJP seems to know only one way to deal with the problem - to remain tough. The curfew, already the longest in the history since J&K became part of India, has been there for more than a month and half now. Police have given up. People are directly facing the brunt of military and paramilitary. Security forces which are trained to face enemy at the border, start treating people like enemies. It doesn't look likely that security forces being present there in such large numbers will help create an atmosphere which can pave the way for normalcy to return. BSF has been called out after 13 years which is not a good sign.

Modi has appealed for peace to return to valley so that dialogue could begin. Jaitley thinks that the stone throwing protestors are the aggressors but in reality the security forces are the bigger aggressors given their power of ammunition. So, it is in the hands of government to bring peace to valley. The government only cuts a sorry figure by blaming Pakistan for even the stone pelting implying that Pakistan is able to influence proceedings in Kashmir while it has completely failed to have an impact.

Defence Minister Manohar Parikkar has also referred to Pakistan as 'hell,' to which south Indian actress and former Congress MP has given a very rational reply. There are protests against her and an advocate has sought sedition case to be filed against her. This has now become a trademark strategy of the Hindutva brigade. First a

controversy is created. Then if questions are raised about this, the Hindutva brigade will take to streets and create a scene. Nobody will question the original action. Only the reaction will be attacked. For example, there is noise about registering case against Akhlaq's family in Dadri but nothing is said about the people who killed him in the first place.

But commendably Ramya has stood her ground. The irrational behaviour of Sangh Parivar affiliates will have to be pointed out and questioned whatever the cost required to be paid. They are masquerading Hindu nationalism as the only form of nationalism, which is quite in variance from the idea of nationalism which our freedom fighters believed in. Actually, since the BJP has come to power there is sheer display of hooliganism in the name of nationalism and it must not be tolerated. Communal harmony was integral part of our nationalism legacy which is now sought to be dismissed in the name of minority appeasement.

Ramya is right. People in Pakistan are just like us. People don't hate each other. It is the governments which have created an atmosphere of enmity. Why should the people be dragged into it?

In Pakistan 48 per cent people enjoy the benefit of improved sanitation whereas the figure for India is merely 34 per cent. Proportion of underweight children in India is 43 per cent whereas in Pakistan it is merely 31 per cent. Hence for certain poor sections of population Pakistan may not be so much of a 'hell'.

—Sandeep Pandey

## Congress must set its house in order

Kuldip Nayar

Can the Congress Party be retrieved? This was the question posed to me. Another one is whether or not the party is relevant. Answering the last question first, I said that a 150-year-old organization which has loyal members even in the remotest rural areas cannot be irrelevant. The Congress led the independence movement and has ruled the country for more than five decades.

For my generation, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel who were the top two leaders of the Congress are icons and I cannot forget the sacrifices the people made under their leadership. Their words counted and people would gather at their call whenever or wherever they made. Then, the Congress was India and India was the Congress.

The situation began to change after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, who succeeded Nehru. I had the privilege of working as the press officer with Shastri. He had doubts about Nehru's succession plans and would often say that *unke dimaag me to un ki putri hai* (he has his daughter in mind). But, Shastri would, add that it would not be easy.

This turned out to be true because after the death of Nehru, Morarji Desai was the first one to throw his hat in the ring. Congress president K. Kamaraj did not want Morarji who he considered intractable and not accommodative for a country where it was essential to be conciliatory to take the people of

different religions, castes and regions together.

Shastri did succeed Nehru but died early because of heart attack at Tashkent where he had gone to sign a peace agreement with General Ayub Khan, martial law administrator of Pakistan. My feeling is that had he lived, relations between India and Pakistan would have normalized. I recall that after hearing the sudden death of Shastri, Ayub came to dacha where the Russians had put up the Indian Prime Minister up.

General Ayub said in my presence that "had he (Shastri) lived Pakistan and India would have become long-lasting friends." Ayub also became the pallbearer of the coffin that carried Shastri's body to the aircraft which flew it to Delhi. I think Ayub did echo the feelings of Pakistan because when I visited the country subsequently people recollected Shastri's friendship.

Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto, then Pakistan's foreign minister, was the spoiler. He did not want to sign a treaty which would shun violence in settling issues between India and Pakistan. And he flew straight from Tashkent to Islamabad and propagated that Ayub had sold the country to India. What Ayub had conceded was that the differences between India and Pakistan would be settled peacefully.

Shastri had made Ayub to write on the peace draft he had brought

along "without resorting to arms." The hand-written words in the text are retained by the National Archives of India. Although many people in Pakistan doubt this but the fact remains that General Ayub did sign the peace treaty because he, as the army chief, knew what the devastation the wars caused.

With such long and big heritage, the Congress Party cannot be written off. In fact, the very history of independent India begins with the movement which helped the country roll back the British Raj. It is true that the Congress has come down from the pedestal it had once occupied but it does not mean that it has become irrelevant.

Can the party be retrieved is a difficult question to answer. It had two major segments of followers: Dalits and Muslims. Mayawati, the dalit leader, has cornered the people whom the Hindu religion itself had categorized as *sudras* (untouchables). In fact, there is no religion in the world which makes discrimination against its own people as part of its traditions.

In fact, if the Hindus were to analyse they would find that the Muslims are converts from Hinduism because it did not treat them as equals, something which the Islam did. Today when the RSS raises the banner of *ghar wapsi*, it should realize that such a thing cannot happen until the Hindus give up untouchability which is rampant in

rural India. People of different castes may have begun sitting on the same bed, yet they still have separate wells and separate cremation grounds.

The Muslims, after the establishment of Pakistan, have sought a party which is secular. The Congress, however, was not as firm in its ideology as it was during the days of Nehru and Patel. Still the Muslims had no choice because the only alternative available to them after the Congress was the Communist Party. But this did not fit into their scheme of things and was too totalitarian and disciplinarian.

For a religion which has a holy book to follow, there was very little leeway. Islam attracted converts because it gave a sense of equality. *Hadeesh* (the spoken words) did give room for personal interpretations. But the loyal say that there could be no deviation from the book of roughly 1400 years old because these were the world of Allah.

Yet the Islam over the years has changed. If it could sever from the rigid path, Hinduism should have no problems of in overhauling itself in the face of modern challenges. However, discrimination against dalits is so deep that I do not expect many strides in this field. This is a challenge before the Hindus.

The experience so far has been far from happy. At the time of elections, some appeals are made and even top Hindu leaders from the Congress eat at the houses of dalits. But all this wears off once the polls are over and people are back to their old moorings of discrimination.

If the Congress wants to retrieve its lost influence, it would have to cleanse its own house. Secularism has become just a word and many Congress leaders are as rabid as the BJP fanatics. Secularism is a commitment, an aptitude of mind.

We have included secularism in the preamble of the constitution, but we are far from practising it. And, sometimes, I feel that India is trying to follow Pakistan where people wear religion on their sleeves to prove that they are firm Muslims.

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## Drop FIR against Amnesty

PUCL condemns the actions of the Bengaluru Police in foisting a case of sedition, creating enmity and other charges against Amnesty International India and unnamed staff for holding a meeting on 13<sup>th</sup> August, 2016 in Bengaluru on human rights abuses in Kashmir in which families of victims participated. From the statement of Amnesty it is evident that the police had been informed about the meeting, were present at the venue and had observed firsthand the event and therefore had knowledge that the allegations of the VHP about the meeting were politically motivated and false. That the Karnataka police chose to register a FIR despite all this only highlights the dangers of arming the state with such draconian laws like the anti-sedition laws.

The 13<sup>th</sup> August, 2016 event itself was in the backdrop of the 2015 Amnesty International report "Denied: Failures in accountability for human rights violations by security force personnel in Jammu and Kashmir". The Report focused on the travails of families of persons who lost their loved ones due to excesses by security forces. This report is in the public domain. Families of victims of State violence were present to narrate in first person, the situation in Kashmir and the difficulties in claiming justice and accountability in cases where innocent people are killed in

encounters or enforced disappearances. The meeting itself included showing video films of testimonies of other victim families, a panel discussion, musical performance and skit.

PUCL sees the recent registration of an FIR for sedition against Amnesty International, India and the witch hunt into the finances/ funding of the organisation as yet another instance in the long string of events where the State has used right wing majoritarian groups to stifle dissent, prevent discussion and control debate. There is a visible pattern across the country — from the incidents in JNU, Hyderabad Central University, Allahabad University, or the witch hunt against Teesta Setalvad and Javed Anand and their organisation CJP, Indira Jaisingh and Anand Grover of Lawyers Collective, Green Peace and now Amnesty International — where, in every meeting discussing human rights violations suffered by minorities and dalits, or excesses of security forces whether in Kashmir, North East or in Maoist regions, a small fringe group creates a commotion, which is used to first disrupt the meeting and thereafter to harass the organisers by slamming cases against them. Seldom is any action initiated against the individuals who disrupt meetings in the first place.

For instance, in the present incident, the local police were informed and were present at the meeting. Why were the disruptors not removed by the police present in the venue or why was no FIR registered against the persons who appeared to have come prepared to disrupt and actually disrupted the meeting?

It also needs to be highlighted that the repeated invocation of the anti-sedition offence (sec. 124 A IPC) over any other section of IPC is mainly to create a public opinion that those who demand accountability of the state and its agencies, including the police, paramilitary and security forces, are essentially “anti-national”. This creates a negative image about them amongst common people; the ‘anti-national’ tag, in turn, ensures that the state can further persecute them without much adverse public opinion.

It is in this context that we need to also notice that irrespective of political party in power, most governments tend to abuse the extremely coercive, anti-democratic, anti-sedition provision, sec. 124A IPC to silence dissent and crush criticism. There is little difference between a BJP government invoking sedition provisions against Dr. Binayak Sen in Chhattisgarh or the AIADMK government invoking sedition laws against peaceful, anti-nuclear protestors in Koodankulam in Tamil Nadu or cartoonist Aseem Trivedi being arrested in Maharashtra or the case launched by the TMC government in West Bengal against academics; more recently in the last one year itself, is the sedition case against JNU Students Union leader, Kanhaiya Kumar in Delhi, the Tamil folk singer

Kovan in TN for criticising the government’s liquor policy and against Hardik Patel for rallying the anti-reservation struggle involving Patels or Patidars in Gujarat; the latest to join this long list of infamous sedition cases is the present case against Amnesty International India launched by the Congress government in Karnataka. In all these cases, what weighed were political considerations of the ruling parties and governments dealing a death blow to the rule of law and functioning of the criminal justice system.

It has been a long held position of PUCL that the anti-sedition law (sec. 124A IPC) should be repealed immediately. It is ironical that in Britain itself the sedition clause has

been repealed while India continues to retain it.

PUCL appeals to all concerned citizens, democratically minded groups and human rights movement to once again give a call for repealing sec. 124 A IPC and to launch a mass citizen’s campaign to make ordinary citizens aware of the dangerous, anti-democratic nature of this archaic, colonial era provision of law.

PUCL also demands that the Government of Karnataka and the Karnataka Police immediately withdraw the FIR lodged against Amnesty International, India for the meeting organised by it on 13<sup>th</sup> August, 2016 in the United Theological College in Bengaluru.

–Prabhakar Sinha

V. Suresh

People’s Union For Civil Liberties

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## Saffron agenda

Muslims for Secular Democracy (MSD) strongly protests the decision of the Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation to make Surya Namaskar compulsory in the over 1,200 schools run by the civic body.

The BJP claims Surya Namaskar is beneficial in leading a healthy life, improves concentration and has nothing to do with any religion. While the combination of yogasana postures involved may well be beneficial for good health, Surya Namaskar does mean “salutations to Lord Surya (The Sun), the giver of energy to the world” and is widely regarded as “a wonderful regular routine of exercise, prayer and worship given in the scriptures”.

It is for this reason that very many Muslims find Surya Namaskar objectionable since Islam forbids bowing before or worship of anyone except God.

MSD believes that notwithstanding its posturing, the BJP’s decision to impose Surya Namaskar on all students irrespective of religion is an integral part of its saffronisation agenda.

It therefore supports the demand for a rollback of this unconstitutional decision of the BJP and its ally, the Shiv Sena.

–Hasan Kamaal, Javed Siddiqi, Noorjehan Safia Niaz, Javed Anand, Feroze Mithiborwala.

## A night in Istanbul

Megh Apte

History is laden with incidences wherein the ruling classes due to their decisions caused discontent amongst their subjects. There have been numerous tales where kings have been assassinated because they wielded excessive power, and there have been incidences when the people as a collective unit have run a revolution due to the abuse of power by the establishment. The French and the Russian Revolutions coupled with the Arab Spring are examples of just how powerful a weapon the people can be. But, there are incidences when the guardians of the frontier turn rogue and decide to run the country themselves, for this is what happened on the night of 15<sup>th</sup> July 2016 in Turkey.

Turkey is a medium sized country which falls under both Europe and Asia, though for trade, politics and alignment, it comes under the jurisdiction of the European Union, the historic city of erstwhile Constantinople, known today as Istanbul, has an unique feature of being the only city in the world to be a part of two continents. The beautiful and the magnificent river which is called as the Bosphorus by those living in Istanbul separates the Asiatic and European area of Istanbul.

Turkey has a 99.8 % Muslim population, of which 80% are the one belonging to the Sunni sect and the remaining 20% belong to the Shia sect. However, these two sects have lived in harmony as compared to the bloody history these two sects share amongst themselves in the Middle

Eastern countries of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Syria. The secularists and the Kurds (who have been demanding for the creation of an independent Kurdistan within Turkey) comprise the minority within Turkey.

The President of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan who was elected in 2014 as Head of State has rather turned the destiny of Turkey towards authoritarianism as opposed to the democratic ideals it was based upon, Mr Erdogan is the first leader since Kemal Ataturk to wield such tremendous power. The saying, ‘power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely’ would need a small modification, as Ram Jethmalani, a very senior lawyer in India, rightly said in the Supreme Court, that modification being: All power corrupts — and the *fear* of losing power corrupts absolutely! This fear has made Mr Erdogan paranoid about every independent institution in place whose job is to maintain a system of checks and balances and to ensure the presence of rule of law. In addition to it, he has suppressed the media to such an extent that the tiniest criticism is seen as a security threat. His party, Justice and Development Party has been heavily under the scrutiny of its political opponents, Mr Erdogan’s policies have been an extremely nutritious fodder for the opposition for their election campaign.

Fast forward to 15<sup>th</sup> July 2016, and a small faction of mid-level military officers tried to stage a coup d’etat, which is a French word which translates as seizure of power. This

was not some rudimentary attempt; after all, Turkey has endured the test of time wherein the generals have ruled the country; this was a sophisticated and a well planned conspiracy. I say well planned because, the moment the coup was taking place, Mr Erdogan was on a vacation on a seaside resort overlooking the Aegean Sea. The rebel factions had F-16 fighter jets, tanks and a well stocked supply of ammunition with them, which was indeed alarming. These fighter jets carried out an air strike on the Turksat broadcasting station so as to create an Iron Curtain, however, the strike could not permanently damage the station as a result of which the private broadcasting networks were able to air the news that a coup was being staged. The moment the news started trickling through, Mr Erdogan resorted to Apple’s Facetime and urged his countrymen to stand up to this threat against democracy, which is all the more ironic, given Mr Erdogan’s distaste for the social media and internet activism. The Turkish people gave an overwhelming response to this message and the coup was failed, but Mr Erdogan should not delude himself, this response was given in order to save Turkey from a military regime and not to save Mr Erdogan.

### The aftermath

The next morning, retribution was easily visible on the streets of Ankara and Istanbul after the rebels had been overcome. Mr Erdogan in a public address declared ‘This uprising is a gift from God to us because this will be a reason to

cleanse our army'. Mr Erdogan certainly did not mince his words when he made this statement for 6000 servicemen had been arrested, amongst them 100 were generals and admirals, he has not stopped there, 8000 policemen have been sacked, 3000 Judges and prosecutors have been suspended or detained. University professors, teachers and civil servants (about 350 from the Prime Minister's office) have been pushed out of service. These incidences beg the question, what if the coup was something planned by Erdogan himself? So as to make the incident as a blank cheque to oust democracy and establish an authoritarian regime, the latter form of government is on its way since a three month (with effect from 20<sup>th</sup> July 2016 ) state of Emergency has been imposed in the country.

The blame of having incepted the coup has been put on Fetullah Gulen , who is a Muslim cleric having gone into self-exile in the United States since 1998. Mr Gulen and Mr Erdogan were partners in crime when the going was good, however, on attaining power, Erdogan realized that Gulen was becoming a power centre himself and Gulen was accused of running a 'parallel state' within the established government. Gulen is a person who has openly professed an idea of an Islamic Caliphate in the past which gives Erdogan all the more reason to suspect him.

### **Turkey's relationship with NATO, EU and USA**

Historically, Turkey played a crucial role in the Cold War, it was the place closest to the erstwhile Soviet Union where the United States could establish a military base.

Even today, in its fight against the Islamic State (IS), the US views Turkey as a valuable ally. After all, the base at Incirlik in southern Turkey is used to carry out air strikes on IS. Turkey has however been not a part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). If Turkey were to apply to the NATO today, they would not succeed, the reason being, NATO lays down a set of criteria known as the 'members action plan', the criteria laid down in it need to be strictly followed by an aspiring applicant .

The criteria are as follows

- Ø A stable democratic system
- Ø Pursue the peaceful settlement of territorial and ethnic disputes
- Ø Have good relations with neighbouring countries
- Ø Show commitment to the rule of law and human rights
- Ø Establish a democratic and a civilian control of their forces
- Ø Have a market economy

Of all these criteria which have been laid down, Turkey fulfills only the last criteria. Over the past few months Erdogan has been overtly suspicious of America since the US has an alliance with the Syrian Kurdish militia known as the People's Protection Units, it is recognized by America as the most effective ground force against IS in Syria. However, there is a slight problem since this militia is also demanding an independent Kurdistan. Such alliances are viewed by Turkey as acts of having 'double standards' since America is directly supporting separatist views in Turkey.

To make matters worse, Turkey has been facing a strained relationship with the European Union as well, who is its largest trading partner. Turkey has made a deal with the European Union which included, Turkish effort to reduce the inflow of refugees to Greece in exchange for accelerating the abolition of short term visas for Turkish tourists and businessmen and fund Turkish efforts to support refugees. The criticism the deal faced was that the EU had designated Turkey as a 'safe country' for refugees, this failed coup has put a dent to that reputation as well.

### **Economic analysis**

There is one thing any sort of coup holds in common, they are always unexpected by their nature, whose objective is to catch the government unawares. The past three years have seen successful coups in Egypt and in Thailand and several failed ones in other countries. Jonathan Powell and Clayton Thyne of the University of Kentucky have collected immense data on this subject and have reached to the conclusion that between the years 1950 and 2010 there have been 457 coup attempts in total, out of which 227( 49.7%) were successful and 230( 50.3%) were unsuccessful, however post-2003, plotters of a coup have attained a decent hit rate of 70%, which indicates a certain amount of sophistication the plotters have attained over the years which is indeed an alarming sign.

Coups have been not so regular over the years. Their heyday was the mid-1960s, when nearly 15 took place every year, this can be easily

equated with the Cold War, since the 1960s was the time when US—Soviet relations were most strained and both countries tried to create unrest in the countries which belonged to the Eastern and the Western bloc. However, the current trend is that the occurrence of coups is declining, the main reason, the world has got richer. Looking at a sample size of 121 countries, John Londregan and Keith Poole, of Carnegie Mellon University, concluded in 1990 that coups were 21 times more likely to take place in poor countries as compared to rich ones. Using another group of countries, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler of Oxford University found in 2007 that the risk of coups fell about by 27% as the level of income per person doubled. By the same token growth rates matter. Raising it by one percentage point reduces the risk of a coup by 4.4%. The corollary is, of course, that slower growth rate raises the risk of a coup. There is no automatic threshold, North Korea is a perfect example where the soldiers have not rebelled against their leader despite having a disastrous growth rate.

### Lessons

1. Turkey has a long march ahead of itself now, this failed coup may be the making or breaking of a country. Erdogan has the chance to instill a spirit of democracy and constitutionalism. Constitutionalism essentially means having a system of checks and balances in place in order to prevent abuse of power by one wing of the government viz. Legislature, Executive, and the Judiciary. Mr Erdogan can start unmuzzling the press which has been suppressed for so long.

2. The jihadist elements which will now be more active due to this failed coup need to be carefully surveilled.
3. The power of the army needs to be curtailed by way of legislation so that such an incident does not happen again.
4. If the majoritarian attitude of Erdogan does not cease, Turkey is destined for doom since nothing ever comes out of ethnic discord and hatred for the minority. For, a country is judged by how it not treats its majority, but how it treats its minority.
5. The NATO needs to relax some of its criteria for membership since they are slightly hypocritical in nature. Many of the other NATO members have violated those criteria on numerous occasions.
6. A military government so close to the European Union would have set a very dangerous precedent since the gateways of terror would be wide open and the threat of war would be more imminent. I make this statement because, however despotic, spineless Nawaz Sharif might be as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, he still is a 'democratically' elected leader, he is accountable to the people to a very limited scale, but still he is. Opposed to that, a government headed by the Inter Services Intelligence and the Pakistani Army would be a major headache for the Indian subcontinent since both the countries have got nuclear weapons.
7. The refugee crisis needs to be handled more maturely by the

European Union, otherwise it will cause growing discontent amongst the people as already demonstrated by the people of Great Britain.

8. Mr Erdogan needs to balance his own political ambitions with the ambitions of his subjects, if the vested interests overwhelm public interest and if there is a damage to the economy of Turkey, Mr Erdogan can see himself being the next Hosni Mubarak, the Turkish people will have the final say in the second round and there will be no army to save Mr Erdogan this time.

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# Human nature: an evolutionary paradox

John Scales Avery

Today, human greed and folly are destroying the global environment. As if this were not enough, there is a great threat to civilization and the biosphere from an all-destroying thermonuclear war. Both of these severe existential threats are due to faults in our inherited emotional nature.

From the standpoint of evolutionary theory, this is a paradox. As a species, we are well on the road to committing collective suicide, driven by the flaws in human nature. But isn't natural selection supposed to produce traits that lead to survival? Today, our emotions are not leading us towards survival, but instead driving us towards extinction. What is the reason for this paradox?

## Some stories from the Bible

The Old Testament is the common heritage of the three Abrahamic religions, Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Some of the stories which it contains can be seen as attempts to explain the paradoxes of human emotional nature: Why are we born with emotions that drive us to commit the seven deadly sins? Why are pride, envy, wrath, gluttony, lust, sloth and greed so much a part of human nature? The story of Adam and Eve and the Garden of Eden attempts to answer this question, as do stories about the role of Satan in the world.

According to the biblical account, Adam and Eve ate apples from the Tree of Knowledge and were therefore expelled from the Garden

of Eden. This story can be seen as containing elements of historical truth.

Humans were originally hunter-gatherers. Populations were so sparse that gathering roots, berries and fruits from their environment gave them enough to eat. Occasionally they obtained additional protein from the meat of animals that they were able to kill. Then agriculture was invented. Populations rapidly became so dense that humans were no longer able to live simply by gathering fruit from the Garden of Eden. Expelled from the garden, they were henceforth forced to sweat for their daily bread.

What about "original sin" and the role of the Devil in the world? In the Bible, the Devil, or Satan, appears as a fallen angel who tempts humans to commit sins, i.e to break the rules of their societies. The existence of Satan is the biblical explanation of the presence of evil in the world. An alternative explanation is given by the doctrine of "original sin", which maintains that humans are born with a sinful nature.

Like the story of the Garden of Eden, these biblical concepts may also chronicle true historical events in human evolution. A sinful human is sometimes described as "behaving like an animal". In fact, what is regarded a sin in humans can be a necessary survival trait in an animal. It would be ridiculous to say "Thou shalt not steal" to a mouse or "Thou shalt not kill" to a tiger.

Our emotions have an extremely long evolutionary history. Both lust and rage are emotions that we share with many animals. However, with the rapid advance of human cultural evolution, our ancestors began to live together in progressively larger groups, and in these new societies, our inherited emotional nature was often inappropriate. What once was a survival trait became a sin which needed to be suppressed by morality and law.

Today we live in a world that is entirely different from the one into which our species was born. We face the problems of the 21st century: exploding populations, vanishing resources, and the twin threats of catastrophic climate change and thermonuclear war. We face these severe problems with our poor cave-man's brain, with an emotional nature that has not changed much since our ancestors lived in small tribes, competing for territory on the grasslands of Africa.

## The expression of emotions in man and animals

In the long run, because of the terrible weapons that have already been produced through the misuse of science, and because of the even more terrible weapons that are likely to be invented in the future, the only way in which we can ensure the survival of civilization is to abolish the institution of war.

But is this possible? Or are the emotions that make war possible so much a part of human nature that we

cannot stop humans from fighting any more than we can stop cats and dogs from fighting? Can biological science throw any light on the problem of why our supposedly rational species seems intent on choosing war, pain and death instead of peace, happiness and life? To answer this question, we need to turn to the science of ethology: the study of inherited emotional tendencies and behavior patterns in animals and humans.

In *The Origin of Species*, Charles Darwin devoted a chapter to the evolution of instincts, and he later published a separate book, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. Because of these pioneering studies, Darwin is considered to be the founder of ethology, the study of inherited behavior patterns.

Behind Darwin's work in this field is the observation that instinctive behavior patterns are just as reliably inherited as morphological characteristics. Darwin was also impressed by the fact that within a given species, behavior patterns have some degree of uniformity, and the fact that the different species within a family are related by similarities of instinctive behavior, just as they are related by similarities of bodily form. For example, certain elements of cat-like behavior can be found among all members of the cat family; and certain elements of dog-like or wolf-like behavior can be found among all members of the dog family. On the other hand, there are small variations in instinct among the members of a given species. For example, not all domestic dogs behave in the same way.

"Let us look at the familiar case of breeds of dogs", Darwin wrote in *The Origin of Species*, "It cannot be

doubted that young pointers will sometimes point and even back other dogs the very first time they are taken out; retrieving is certainly in some degree inherited by retrievers; and a tendency to run round, instead of at, a flock of sheep by shepherd dogs. I cannot see that these actions, performed without experience by the young, and in very nearly the same manner, without the end being known (for the young pointer can no more know that he points to aid his master than the white butterfly knows why she lays her eggs on the leaf of the cabbage). I cannot see that these actions differ essentially from true instincts..."

"How strongly these domestic instincts habits and dispositions are inherited, and how curiously they become mingled, is well shown when different breeds of dogs are crossed. Thus it is known that a cross with a bulldog has affected for many generations the courage and obstinacy of greyhounds; and a cross with a greyhound has given to a whole family of shepherd dogs a tendency to hunt hares."

Darwin believed that in nature, desirable variations of instinct are propagated by natural selection, just as in the domestication of animals, favourable variations of instinct are selected and propagated by kennelmen and stock breeders. In this way, according to Darwin, complex and highly developed instincts, such as the comb-making instinct of honey-bees, have evolved by natural selection from simpler instincts, such as the instinct by which bumble bees use their old cocoons to hold honey and sometimes add a short wax tube.

In the introduction to *The Expression of the Emotions in Man*

and *Animals*, Darwin says "I thought it very important to ascertain whether the same expressions and gestures prevail, as has often been asserted without much evidence, with all the races of mankind, especially with those who have associated but little with Europeans. Whenever the same movements of the features or body express the same emotions in several distinct races of man, we may infer with much probability, that such expressions are true ones, — that is, are innate or instinctive."

To gather evidence on this point, Darwin sent a printed questionnaire on the expression of human emotions and sent it to missionaries and colonial administrators in many parts of the world. Darwin received 36 replies to his questionnaire, many coming from people who were in contact with extremely distinct and isolated groups of humans.

The results convinced him that our emotions and the means by which they are expressed are to a very large extent innate, rather than culturally determined, since the answers to his questionnaire were so uniform and so independent of both culture and race. In preparation for his book, he also closely observed the emotions and their expression in very young babies and children, hoping to see inherited characteristics in subjects too young to have been greatly influenced by culture.

Darwin's observations convinced him that in humans, just as in other mammals, the emotions and their expression are to a very large extent inherited universal characteristics of the species.

## **Ethology**

The study of inherited behavior patterns in animals (and humans) was continued in the 20th century by such researchers as Karl von Frisch (1886-1982), Nikolaas Tinbergen (1907-1988), and Konrad Lorenz (1903-1989), three scientists who shared the Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology in 1973.

Karl von Frisch, the first of the three ethologists, is famous for his studies of the waggle-dance of honeybees. Bees guide each other to sources of food by a genetically programmed signalling method, the famous waggle dance, deciphered in 1945 by von Frisch.

Among the achievements for which Tinbergen is famous are his classic studies of instinct in herring gulls. He noticed that the newly-hatched chick of a herring gull pecks at the beak of its parent, and this signal causes the parent gull to regurgitate food into the gaping beak of the chick.

Tinbergen wondered what signal causes the chick to initiate this response by pecking at the beak of the parent gull. Therefore he constructed a series of models of the parent in which certain features of the adult gull were realistically represented while other features were crudely represented or left out entirely. He found by trial and error that the essential signal to which the chick responds is the red spot on the tip of its parent's beak. Models which lacked the red spot produced almost no response from the young chick, although in other respects they were realistic models; and the red spot on an otherwise crude model would make the chick peck with great regularity.

In other experiments, Tinbergen explored the response of newly-hatched chicks of the common domestic hen to models representing a hawk. Since the chicks were able to recognize a hawk immediately after hatching, he knew that the response must be genetically programmed. Just as he had done in his experiments with herring gulls, Tinbergen experimented with various models, trying to determine the crucial characteristic that was recognized by the chicks, causing them to run for cover. He discovered that a crude model in the shape of the letter T invariably caused the response if pulled across the sky with the wings first and tail last. (Pulled backwards, the T shape caused no response.)

In the case of a newly-hatched herring gull chick pecking at the red spoon the beak of its parent, the program in the chick's brain must be entirely genetically determined, without any environmental component at all. Learning cannot play a part in this behavioral pattern, since the pattern is present in the young chick from the very moment when it breaks out of the egg. On the other hand (Tinbergen pointed out) many behavioral patterns in animals and in man have both a hereditary component and an environmental component. Learning is often very important, but learning seems to be built on a foundation of genetic predisposition.

To illustrate this point, Tinbergen called attention to the case of sheepdogs, whose remote ancestors were wolves. These dogs, Tinbergen wrote, can easily be trained to drive a flock of sheep towards the shepherd. However, it is difficult to train them to drive the sheep away from their master. Tinbergen

explained this by saying that the sheep-dogs regard the shepherd as their "pack leader"; and since driving the prey towards the pack leader is part of the hunting instinct of wolves, it is easy to teach the dogs this maneuver.

Driving the prey away from the pack leader would not make sense for wolves hunting in a pack; it is not part of the instinctive makeup of wolves, nor is it a natural pattern of behavior for their remote descendants, the sheep-dogs.

As a further example of the fact that learning is usually built on a foundation of genetic predisposition, Tinbergen mentions the ease with which human babies learn languages. The language learned is determined by the baby's environment; but the astonishing ease with which a human baby learns to speak and understand implies a large degree of genetic predisposition.

## **On aggression**

The third of the 1973 prizewinners, Konrad Lorenz, is more controversial, but at the same time very interesting in the context of studies of the causes of war and discussions of how war may be avoided. As a young boy, he was very fond of animals, and his tolerant parents allowed him to build up a large menagerie in their house in Altenberg, Austria.

Even as a child, Lorenz became an expert on waterfowl behavior, and he discovered the phenomenon of imprinting. He was given a one day old duckling, and found, to his intense joy, that it transferred its following response to his person. As Lorenz discovered, young waterfowl have a short period immediately

after being hatched, when they identify as their “mother” whomever they see first. In later life, Lorenz continued his studies of imprinting, and there exists a touching photograph of him, with his white beard, standing waist-deep in a pond, surrounded by an adoring group of goslings who believe him to be their mother. Lorenz also studied pair bonding rituals in waterfowl.

It is, however, for his controversial book *On Aggression* that Konrad Lorenz is best known. In this book, Lorenz makes a distinction between intergroup aggression and intragroup aggression. Among animals, he points out, rank-determining fights are seldom fatal. Thus, for example, the fights that determine leadership within a wolf pack end when the loser makes a gesture of submission. By contrast, fights between groups of animals are often fights to the death, examples being wars between ant colonies, or of bees against intruders, or the defense of a rat pack against strange rats.

Many animals, humans included, seem willing to kill or be killed in defense of the communities to which they belong. Lorenz calls this behavioural tendency a “communal defense response”. He points out that the “holy shiver”, the tingling of the spine that humans experience when performing a heroic act in defense of their communities, is related to the prehuman reflex for raising the hair on the back of an animal as it confronts an enemy, a reflex that makes the animal seem larger than it really is.

Konrad Lorenz and his followers have been criticized for introducing a cathartic model of instincts. According to Lorenz, if an instinct is not used, a pressure for its use builds

up over a period of time. In the case of human aggression, according to Lorenz, the nervous energy has to be dissipated in some way, either harmlessly through some substitute for aggression, or else through actual fighting. Thus, for example, Lorenz believed that violent team sports help to reduce the actual level of violence in a society.

Although the cathartic model of aggression is now widely believed to be incorrect, it seems probable that the communal defense response discussed by Lorenz will prove to be a correct and useful concept. The communal defense mechanism can be thought of as the aspect of human emotions which makes it natural for soldiers to kill or be killed in defense of their countries. In the era before nuclear weapons made war prohibitively dangerous, such behavior was considered to be the greatest of virtues.

Generations of schoolboys have learned the Latin motto: “*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*” — it is both sweet and proper to die for one’s country. Even in today’s world, death in battle in defense of country and religion is still praised by nationalists. However, because of the development of weapons of mass destruction, both nationalism and narrow patriotism have become dangerous anachronisms.

In thinking of violence and war, we must be extremely careful not to confuse the behavioral patterns that lead to wife-beating or bar-room brawls with those that lead to episodes like the trench warfare of the First World War, or to the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first type of aggression is similar to the rank-determining fights of animals, while the second is more akin

to the team-spirit exhibited by a football side. Heroic behavior in defense of one’s community has been praised throughout the ages, but the tendency to such behavior has now become a threat to the survival of civilization, since tribalism makes war possible, and war with thermonuclear weapons threatens civilization with catastrophe.

In an essay entitled *The Urge to Self-Destruction*, Arthur Koestler says: “Even a cursory glance at history should convince one that individual crimes, committed for selfish motives, play a quite insignificant role in the human tragedy compared with the numbers massacred in unselfish love of one’s tribe, nation, dynasty, church or ideology... Wars are not fought for personal gain, but out of loyalty and devotion to king, country or cause...”

“We have seen on the screen the radiant love of the Führer of the Hitler Youth... They are transfixed with love, like monks in ecstasy on religious paintings. The sound of the nation’s anthem, the sight of its proud flag, makes you feel part of a wonderfully loving community. The fanatic is prepared to lay down his life for the object of his worship, as the lover is prepared to die for his idol. He is, alas, also prepared to kill anybody who represents a supposed threat to the idol.”

The emotion described here by Koestler is the same as the communal defense mechanism (“militant enthusiasm”) described in biological terms by Lorenz. In *On Aggression*, Konrad Lorenz gives the following description of the emotions of a hero preparing to risk his life for the sake of the group:

“In reality, militant enthusiasm is a specialized form of communal aggression, clearly distinct from and yet functionally related to the more primitive forms of individual aggression. Every man of normally strong emotions knows, from his own experience, the subjective phenomena that go hand in hand with the response of militant enthusiasm. A shiver runs down the back and, as more exact observation shows, along the outside of both arms. One soars elated, above all the ties of everyday life, one is ready to abandon all for the call of what, in the moment of this specific emotion, seems to be a sacred duty.

“All obstacles in its path become unimportant; the instinctive inhibitions against hurting or killing one’s fellows lose, unfortunately, much of their power. Rational considerations, criticisms, and all reasonable arguments against the behavior dictated by militant enthusiasm are silenced by an amazing reversal of all values, making them appear not only untenable, but base and dishonorable. Men may enjoy the feeling of absolute righteousness even while they commit atrocities.

“Conceptual thought and moral responsibility are at their lowest ebb. As the Ukrainian proverb says: ‘When the banner is unfurled, all reason is in the trumpet’.

“The subjective experiences just described are correlated with the following objectively demonstrable phenomena. The tone of the striated musculature is raised, the carriage is stiffened, the arms are raised from the sides and slightly rotated inward, so that the elbows point outward. The head is proudly raised, the chin stuck out, and the facial muscles

mime the ‘hero face’ familiar from the films. On the back and along the outer surface of the arms, the hair stands on end. This is the objectively observed aspect of the shiver!

“Anybody who has ever seen the corresponding behavior of the male chimpanzee defending his band or family with self-sacrificing courage will doubt the purely spiritual character of human enthusiasm. The chimp, too, sticks out his chin, stiffens his body, and raises his elbows; his hair stands on end, producing a terrifying magnification of his body contours as seen from the front. The inward rotation of the arms obviously has the purpose of turning the longest-haired side outward to enhance the effect. The whole combination of body attitude and hair-raising constitutes a bluff.

“This is also seen when a cat humps its back, and is calculated to make the animal appear bigger and more dangerous than it really is. Our shiver, which in German poetry is called a ‘heiliger Schauer’, a ‘holy’ shiver, turns out to be the vestige of a prehuman vegetative response for making a fur bristle which we no longer have. To the humble seeker for biological truth, there cannot be the slightest doubt that human militant enthusiasm evolved out of a communal defense response of our prehuman ancestor.”

Lorenz goes on to say, “An impartial visitor from another planet, looking at man as he is today: in his hand the atom bomb, the product of his intelligence, in his heart the aggression drive, inherited from his anthropoid ancestors, which the same intelligence cannot control, such a visitor would not give mankind much chance of survival.”

There are some semantic difficulties connected with discussions of the parts of human nature that make war possible. In one of the passages quoted above, Konrad Lorenz speaks of “militant enthusiasm”, which he says is both a form of communal aggression and also a communal defense response. In their inspiring recent book *War No More*, Professor Robert Hinde and Sir Joseph Rotblat use the word “duty” in discussing the same human emotional tendencies. I will instead use the word “tribalism”.

I prefer the word “tribalism” because from an evolutionary point of view the human emotions involved in war grew out of the territorial competition between small tribes during the formative period when our ancestors were hunter-gatherers on the grasslands of Africa. Members of tribe-like groups are bound together by strong bonds of altruism and loyalty. Echoes of these bonds can be seen in present-day family groups, in team sports, in the fellowship of religious congregations, and in the bonds that link soldiers to their army comrades and to their nation.

Warfare involves not only a high degree of aggression, but also an extremely high degree of altruism. Soldiers kill, but they also sacrifice their own lives. Thus patriotism and duty are as essential to war as the willingness to kill. As Arthur Koestler points out, “Wars are not fought for personal gain, but out of loyalty and devotion to king, country or cause...”

Tribalism involves passionate attachment to one’s own group, self-sacrifice for the sake of the group, willingness both to die and to kill if necessary to defend the group from its enemies, and belief that in case

of a conflict, one's own group is always in the right.

### **Tribalism**

If we examine altruism and aggression in humans, we notice that members of our species exhibit great altruism towards their own children. Kindness towards close relatives is also characteristic of human behaviour, and the closer the biological relationship is between two humans, the greater is the altruism they tend to show towards each other. This profile of altruism is easy to explain on the basis of Darwinian natural selection since two closely related individuals share many genes and, if they cooperate, the genes will be more effectively propagated.

To explain from an evolutionary point of view the communal defense mechanism discussed by Lorenz, the willingness of humans to kill and be killed in defense of their communities, we have only to imagine that our ancestors lived in small tribes and that marriage was likely to take place within a tribe rather than across tribal boundaries. Under these circumstances, each tribe would tend to consist of genetically similar individuals. The tribe itself, rather than the individual, would be the unit on which the evolutionary forces of natural selection would act.

The idea of group selection in evolution was proposed in the 1930's by J.B.S. Haldane and R.A. Fisher, and more recently it has been discussed by W.D. Hamilton, E.O. Wilson and R. Dawkins. According to the group selection model, a tribe whose members showed altruism towards each other would be more likely to survive than a tribe whose members cooperated less

effectively. Since several tribes might be in competition for the same territory, intertribal aggression might, under some circumstances, increase the chances for survival of one's own tribe. Thus, on the basis of the group selection model, one would expect humans to be kind and cooperative towards members of their own group, but at the same time to sometimes exhibit aggression towards members of other groups, especially in conflicts over territory.

One would also expect intergroup conflicts to be most severe in cases where the boundaries between groups are sharpest where marriage is forbidden across the boundaries.

### **Tribal markings, ethnicity and pseudospeciation**

In biology, a species is defined to be a group of mutually fertile organisms. Thus all humans form a single species, since mixed marriages between all known races will produce children, and subsequent generations in mixed marriages are also fertile. However, although there is never a biological barrier to marriages across ethnic and racial boundaries, there are often very severe cultural barriers.

Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, a student of Konrad Lorenz, introduced the word "pseudospeciation" to denote cases in which cultural barriers between two groups of humans are so strongly marked that marriages across the boundaries are difficult and infrequent.

In his book *The Biology of War and Peace*, Eibl-Eibesfeldt discusses the "tribal markings" used by groups of humans to underline their own identity and to clearly mark the boundary between themselves and

other groups. One of the illustrations shows the marks left by ritual scarification on the faces of the members of certain African tribes. These scars would be hard to counterfeit, and they help to establish and strengthen tribal identity.

Seeing a photograph of the marks left by ritual scarification on the faces of African tribesmen, it is impossible not to be reminded of the dueling scars that Prussian army officers once used to distinguish their caste from outsiders.

*(to be Concluded)*

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