

janata

Vol. 72 No. 16
May 7, 2017

Morari Babu's Ram
Sandeep Pandey

Turkish President in India
D. K. Giri

Global Vision of Olof Palme
Roger Hallhag

**Being at the same time
Chief Minister of a State and
a Member of Lok Sabha
is illegal**
Rajindar Sachar

Editor :
G. G. Parikh

Managing Editor : Guddi

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,
Naushir Bharucha Marg,
Mumbai - 400 007.

Email : janataweekly@gmail.com
Website: www.janataweekly.org

The Bug of Espionage

Kuldip Nayar

One bug which has bitten both India and Pakistan and now Bangladesh is the espionage. Anyone who visits from the neighbouring country is considered a spy until proved otherwise. It really depends on the External and Home ministries whether a particular person would be let off freely. In other words, the police force is an arbiter. And it goes without saying that the sentence awarded to the person would be life time imprisonment or death.

Normally, the court decides. However, the case in Pakistan is different because it is ruled by the military. Still the Civil Court have their role depending upon local military commanders. They in fact have the last word. Even the death sentence is awarded by them. The question of evidence arises but it again depends on local military commanders.

The Dawn from Karachi has reported how Jadhav, an Indian businessman, was sentenced to death. "Indian RAW Agent/Naval officer 41558Z Commander Kulbhushan Sudhir Jadhav alias Hussein Mubarak Patel was

arrested on March 3, 2016 through a Counter Intelligence Operation from Mashkel, Balochistan, for his involvement in espionage and sabotage activities against Pakistan. "The spy has been tried through Field General Court Martial (FGCM) under Pakistan Army Act (PAA) and awarded death sentence," the military's public affairs wing, ISPR, announced on Monday.

Sartaj Aziz, Advisor on Foreign Affairs to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has admitted that there was little evidence to convict but other things, he says, add up to prove Jadhav's involvement. In any case, Sartaj Aziz words are adequate. Since Pakistan has submitted the relevant papers to the Secretary General UN. It believes that the verdict, if he at all delivers, would be in favour of Islamabad.

Indeed, it is hell for a person who visits a neighbouring country. He or she is pursued by the Intelligence department wherever he goes. Even the shopkeeper is questioned as if he is party to the buyer's selection of the place. Markets want buyers from a neighbouring country because they spend lot of money.

But the questioning by the police deters them.

I recall that once a Pakistani who picked me up from the airport was upset by the police car that followed. He stopped the car and asked the driver why he was pursuing the car. He said in reply that he was not to blame. He was doing what his superior had asked him to do. My friend, who was a leading editor, knew the military superiors. The result was that the car pursuing us increased the distance but it did not give up doing so.

Assume that Jadhav was a spy of sorts but what could he have spied. Technology has advanced so much that through a satellite you can read from air even the digits painted on car number plate. Therefore, Jadhav's guilt would be considered Pakistan's revenge for some other deed.

The Pakistan announcement did not say when the trial would commence and how long it would continue before the verdict was handed down. In the case of Jadhav, the announcement mentioned that the sentencing had been ratified by Chief of the Army Staff Gen Qamar Javed Bajwa. It has not been spelled out why and on what ground.

Since Pakistan has denied even counselor facilities after as many as fourteen requests made, it is difficult to know the reason for death sentence to Jadhav. Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj has warned that if the sentence to Jadhav was carried out, it would be an unfriendly act. The recent surgical strike should be a warning. New Delhi can go to any extent.

(Continued on Page 3)

Morari Bapu's Ram

Sandeep Pandey

The usual picture that one would see of Ram would be with Sita, Laxman and Hanuman, of what is called the Ram Darbar. It was not a tradition to have isolated picture or idol of Ram. Even the common greeting was 'Jai Siyaram,' Sita's name appeared together with Ram's.

Then came the Ram temple movement. A picture of Ram in aggressive posture with arrow mounted on the bow, his hairs flying towards back, appeared during Lal Krishna Advani's rathyatra. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad converted a family Ram to an aggressor Ram. Jai Siyaram greeting transformed to slogan 'Jai Shri Ram.' If the purpose of Vishwa Hindu Parishad had been to spread the message of Hindu religion then a Ram Darbar picture would have been sufficient. But VHP was interested in milking political advantage out of the temple campaign. Hence the character of dignity personified Ram was changed.

Now Ram had waged a war against Ravan. Where would one find a Ravan in this age? So, it was decided to target the Babri masjid in Ayodhya. In the name of Ram temple movement workers of Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, Bhartiya Janata Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena launched an attack on the dilapidated structure of Babri mosque. It was BJP which was in power in Uttar Pradesh and in the Prime Minister Narsimha Rao they found a Vibhishan, someone who was willing to help them in demolition of

the mosque.

The Ram temple movement helped in polarization of votes which helped the BJP. But in the process they communalized the entire society and pushing the real issues affecting people like poverty, illiteracy, malnourishment, sorry state of affairs of health care, farmers' suicides, issues of injustice against marginalized sections of society. Now cow slaughter, Pakistan, Kashmir, love-jihad, anti-Romeo squads, triple talaq have become the dominating issues in politics. People who differed from the views of Hindutva politics became its victims. Individuals like Dabholkar, Pansare and Kalburgi were murdered. The politics of religion soon turned into politics of hatred and Muslims became the easy target. Muslim citizens had to pay with their lives for suspicion of having consumed beef or while carrying cattle from one place to another. The seeds of this kind of violence were inherent in the Ram temple movement. The cases of Muslims murdered in Ayodhya on 6th December, 1992 during the frenzy of masjid demolition have not been registered to date.

The path on which the Hindutva forces are taking this country will make it a fundamentalist nation. Is this the concept of Ram rajya?

This country will have to be saved from the politics of Hindutva. It will have to be ensured that followers practice the true tenets of their respective religion and live peaceably. For peace and happiness in society

communal harmony is essential. For communal harmony the syncretic aspects of religion will have to be given preference over the fundamentalist streak in it.

Here the efforts made by famous preacher of story of Ram from Gujarat Morari Babu are worth mentioning. The idols of Ram, Laxman and Hanuman that have been installed in the Ram Darbar of temple in his native Mahua in Bhavnagar District are bereft of weapons. He believes that the Gods of future will not need any weapons. Morari Babu has thus shown a character of Ram quite contrarian to that of VHP's.

It is possible to establish communal harmony on the basis of Morari Babu's conception of Ram. The Hindus believe that their religion is very peaceful. But the politics of Hindutva, imitating the politics of

other religions which originated much later in history, is trying to radicalise it. This poses perilous threat to the very existence of Hindu religion.

The Hindu society must stick to the image of Ram as portrayed by Morari Babu or Mahatma Gandhi and decisively reject the aggressive Ram, the movement for construction of whose temple is based on violence. Only this will save the Hindu religion. To insist on building a Ram temple on the disputed site is not religion but politics. Why should the common Hindu be drawn into this politics?

If the Hindu religion has survived so long in history it is not because of its aggressive character but because of its accommodative nature and value of tolerance. We have not only welcomed people holding different views but even adopted them. The people who want to make it a

fundamentalist religion are knowingly or unknowingly harming it.

Acharya Yugal Kishore Shashtri, the priest of a temple in Ayodhya, has opposed the politicization of Hindu religion. He has decided to convert his Ram-Janaki temple into an all faith harmony centre where people believing in any religion and even atheists would be welcome. An 'All Faith Harmony' Trust has been formed. Former cabinet secretary of Government of India, late Zafar Saifullah, was also part of this effort.

The politics of Hindutva will create divisions in society whereas efforts of Morari Babu and Yugal Kishore Shashtri will strengthen the unity within various groups. The people of India have to decide whether they want a violence and rift ridden society or harmony and peace?

(Continued from Page 2)

Both India and Pakistan should sit across the table and decide the matters between them once for all. Kashmir may be separated from other problems and discussed at a separate committee. There is no reason that why two cannot do business or set up joint ventures. In fact, goodwill would be generated if they could only ease the visa facilities for tourists to begin with. Unofficial trade which is going on at the borders can be allowed to increase. Official trade would bring in all kind of problems because both countries have a long list of grievances against each other.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said recently that there was no reason why India and Pakistan could not live as friendly countries. The fact of

partition is seventy years ago and whatever the wounds inflicted by both of them is a painful story. One million people were killed in the forced migration, the biggest in the world. Thirty to forty million people had to find new homes because they did not feel safe at their places after partition.

Jadhav is not the last person to face death sentence by military tribunal which sets a new precedents, of trial of civilians by military court. Apparently, political parties are not happy and they have tried to abolish military courts. The matter came up before the Pakistan National Assembly only a few days ago. There was a fierce opposition from democratic and liberal parties. But unfortunately the military had the last word and tribunals have come

to acquire a legal sanction.

Since Pakistan has a large say in the SAARC it may be prudent for other countries in the region to discuss some kind of common market and ways to establish even unofficial methods for trade and business. At present the business through Dubai is large but expensive. Agreed that Kashmir is a running sore, but some ways should be found other than pelting the stones to sort out the problem. Too much emphasis on the Islamic aspect is encouraging only the communal parties and postponing the solution.

Jadhav's sentence has become another problem between the two countries. The efforts should be how to lessen such instances of sentence-at-will. There are not conducive to peace in the region.

Turkish President in India

D. K. Giri

The Turkish 'all-powerful' President Recep Tayyip Erdogan was in India for a two-day visit on April 30 and May 1. Before we assess the purpose and outcome of his visit to India, it may be worth our while to peep into the radical transformation Turkish politics has just undergone after the April 16 referendum.

The Justice and Development Party, in Turkish *Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi* (AKP) came to power in 2002. Erdogan was the Prime Minister from 2003-14, and since 2014, he has been the President of Turkey. Erdogan has been a strong populist paternalist and a promoter of a personality cult. A Middle-East expert commenting on the style and politics of Erdogan said, "residing in a palace of more than 1000 rooms and considering himself as heir to the Ottoman sultans, Erdogan is now erratic, corrupt and a despotic strong man at the edge of Europe".

Erdogan has been systematically decimating the Turkish democratic institutions. He has ruthlessly repressed any opposition in any walk of the country - politics academia, media army, police, and so on. But, the April 16 referendum marks the nadir of Turkish democratic politics. The 'yes' vote in the referendum gives unfettered and almost unlimited powers to the President. The checks and balances that existed have been done away with; the position of the Prime Minister eliminated, the President has the right to appoint his cabinet, and all senior

bureaucrats without the approval of the Parliament; and the President rules by decree.

The campaign undertaken by Erdogan for the referendum was quite aggressive and repressive. The 'no' campaigners were hunted, hounded and harassed. Any voice of dissent was muffled; they were not even allowed to distribute flyers in favour of 'no'. The Organisation of Security and Co-operation in Europe has confirmed this in its report, albeit, a bit diplomatically that, "the 16 April constitutional referendum in Turkey was contested on an unequal playing field, and the two sides in the campaign did not have equal opportunities".

The country is evenly divided, the difference between 'yes' and 'no' vote was about 3 percent. Despite the repression by Erdogan's government, people voted for 'no' to certain constitutional changes. Turkey has been a modern society, compared to other Middle Eastern countries. Since Mustafa Kemal Pasha established Turkey into a republic out of the ashes of Ottoman Empire, it graduated from a 'sick man of Europe' to a strong, secular, and modern country, waiting to join the European Union. The standards for being a part of Europe are indicators of Turkish development as a nation. They are; full respect for democracy, the rule of law, fundamental freedoms, pluralism and human rights etc. Now the European Union is wary of Turkish slide into

authoritarianism from a pluralist democracy. But there is hope. No leader, however mighty one may be, can continue to rule in complete disregard to people's aspirations for freedom of discussion and dissent. So, Erdogan will have to change or the people will throw him out.

Against this dramatic backdrop in Turkey, we evaluate Erdogan's visit to India, the biggest functioning democracy in the world. Usually, when the heads of states visit other countries, there are talks on trade, agreements signed on economic cooperation, increase in tourist traffic, revival and strengthening of cultural ties etc. Predictably, all these happened during Erdogan's visit too. India and Turkey bilateral relations have been not-so-substantial because of Turkey's apparent proximity with Pakistan and its position on Kashmir. The political differences on Kashmir, and India-Pak acrimony were evident in the utterances of the leaders of both the countries. In an interview to a television Erdogan said, than Kashmir problem should be resolved through multilateralism, called for international involvement on Kashmir issue. India did not appreciate this stand, and reacted by saying it is essentially a problem of terrorism and Kashmir is an integral part of India and so on. Without delving into the crux of the Kashmir imbroglio, one would like to say that India needs to find an enduring solution to Kashmir problem. India's foreign policy (national interest) has been largely

influenced by the Kashmir question. The present government with a comfortable majority in the Parliament and as a coalition partner in J & K government should solve the Kashmir problem once and for all, so that we will not be wary of any head of state visiting India and making a statement on Kashmir. One cannot believe that we have run out of all ideas on Kashmir. The late Asghar Ali Engineer, a moderate Muslim thinker and activist once told me after a seminar in the University of Hull, United Kingdom, "Brother! India will not give an inch of Kashmir, nor can Pakistan ever defeat India on Kashmir; there should be such a regional structure, that Kashmir belonging to either India or Pakistan becomes immaterial". He did not elaborate on it for want of time, but here is one of the options.

Erdogan, however, made a strong statement on terrorism per se, "Turkey will always be by the side of India in full solidarity while battling terrorism - and terrorists will be drowned in the blood they shed". The political observers commented that Erdogan was expressing solidarity with India on the latest left-wing extremist attack on CRPF personnel at Sukma, Chhattisgarh. Prime Minister Modi's statement on terrorism struck a different note, as he said "countries need to work as one to disrupt the terrorist networks and their financing and put a stop to cross-border movement of terrorists.

On the trade and economic fronts, there was more convergence and promise. Both the countries pledged to increase their trade to 10 billion USD in three years from 6.5 billion

USD it is today. India and Turkey signed three MOUs; one in the field of information and communication technologies, one on training, and the last on cultural exchange programme for 2017-2020. They agreed to expand cooperation in energy and infrastructure sector. India and Turkey are both energy deficient and given that the energy needs are increasing day by day, both countries should make this sector an "important pillar in the bilateral relations". India also has invited Turkey into the construction sector. India plans to build 50 million houses by 2022. It has liberalised the FDI in construction sector. Turkish companies are invited to participate in this sector. Turkish tourism sector is more developed attracting a large number of tourists. It could collaborate with India in enhancing its tourism sector.

Coinciding with the visit, an India-Turkey business summit was organised by FICCI, where 150 business delegates from Turkey participated. The business seems to be upbeat in the bilateral relations. The Commercial councillor of Turkey expressed his satisfaction that "Erdogan's visit could well be one of the most comprehensive meetings in India in recent years; "this visit will provide significant benefits for both Turkish business people who already have investments in India and those looking to potentially invest here".

On India's UNSC membership bid, Erdogan pledged his country's support. On joining NSG, he welcomed both India and Pakistan. In view of his authoritarian style at home, Erdogan is not easy to comprehend as a leader. He has

taken bold stances vis-a-vis European leaders, stirred up the Turkish diasporas for his benefit, even wanted to go to Holland to talk to Turkish people living there. He implements radically neo-liberal economic policies, but combines them with widespread distributive mechanisms, allegedly, to garner popular support. The international commentators perceive him as a highly populist leader. But, if a strong leader is good for Turkey, then he is the man. When it comes to foreign policies, the nature of the at-home-regime does not matter much. Democratic United Kingdom was colonial in its foreign policy, and America with an established democracy at home is accused of neo-imperialism aboard. So, India, in its own interest, could build up strong economic ties with Turkey. The Indian state had good business relations with the military Junta of Burma while Indian people supported the liberation struggle launched by Aung San SuuKyi. Foreign policy is the function of promotion of national interest, although that is the conventional view. Promotion of political values in solidarity with the victims of denial of such values is also an imperative. Former President Obama did complain that India was quiet on Burmese issue whereas it should have been vocal, given its own impressive record of democracy. So, India has to do the tight-rope walk on its relation with Turkey. Erdogan's visit to India did not catch much international attention. Should it have? Is international attention the measure of successful bilateralism? It is necessarily not so, it is the benefit of the peoples of both the countries that should count.

Global Vision of Olof Palme

Roger Hallhag *

Unlike Ambassador Petritsch and Professor Meyer, I never personally knew my countryman Olof Palme. Still I feel part of a whole generation of then young political activists, who followed a path laid down by Olof Palme and his fellow leaders Willy Brandt and Bruno Kreisky. Like so many others at the time, I joined May Day manifestations and election campaign meetings in my home town Gothenburg, where listening to Olof Palme was the main attraction. Once Palme came and spoke at my secondary school, then as leader of the opposition before coming back as Prime Minister in 1982. I was a 23-year-old delegate to the so called Swedish People's Parliament against Apartheid, where Prime Minister Palme gave his last public speech, one week before being assassinated in February 1986.

The murder obviously shocked us greatly. When I learnt about it, my first reaction was denial - this is impossible! I shared that feeling with most, as political violence seemed so distant and unreal in a country that essentially has escaped war and violent conflicts for over two hundred years. Many refer to the assassination of Olof Palme as the moment when Sweden lost its innocence. Not even calm and peaceful Sweden was protected.

That was further proven when we lost our foreign affairs minister Anna Lindh, a social democratic prime minister in-waiting, in another assassination in 2003. Yet another such moment struck us again two

weeks ago. A man seemingly associated with ISIS sought to terrorize Stockholm, killing four persons and injuring several more.

The assassination in 1986 did not derail Swedish politics or democratic culture. The political maturity and leadership was there to act in a rational manner, instead of seeking scapegoats at home or abroad, even if feelings were strong and the police investigation did not go well.

For me, as for so many others of my generation, Olof Palme - in life and after - was a huge inspiration in opening our eyes to the world - and that was a world with much more dramatic conflicts and injustices than what we saw at home:

It was the Vietnam War that changed our view of the United States, it was military coups in Latin America leading us to welcome - yes welcome - in the 1970s new groups of refugees, after those that far earlier fled Nazi Germany - like Brandt and Kreisky - and the repression by the Soviet empire, it was the struggle to end European colonialism in Southern Africa, it was about ending both the Cold War and communist repression in half of Europe, and it was indeed the insight that appalling social conditions and poverty trapped most people in Asia, Africa and the Americas.

Palme explained and described it all forcefully. He made political sense of it and gave us a role. He made political will for international solidarity part of our identity. I want

to believe that this is one reason why Sweden, Germany and Austria have stood out among European countries in shouldering humanitarian responsibilities during the recent wave of refugees from Syria, Iraq and elsewhere.

Personally, I got deeply involved in the anti-apartheid movement and it was in that context I had my only political association with Olof Palme. As the school student unions in all the Nordic countries organized a fundraising for education for young refugees from apartheid in Southern Africa, Palme led the Nordic prime ministers - across the political spectrum - to come out in support of our campaign.

Later I had the privilege of working parallelly with Willy Brandt for a brief period. I was president of IUSY - the socialist youth international - during Brandt's last year of presiding the Socialist International. Unfortunately his health was not strong and he passed away shortly after leaving that post in 1992.

Despite the lasting inspiration Palme provided, I would say that with his passing, Sweden lost both a bit of its voice - nobody could fully take up his mantle at the world scene - and a bit of its self-confidence. A feeling of vulnerability started to set in. This trend was furthered by a severe economic crisis, hitting strongly at employment and public finances, in the early 1990s. Until then almost the entire 20th century

*Former senior advisor to Prime Minister of Sweden. Roger Hallhag's contribution at panel discussion on book by B Vivekanandan, "Global Visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt", (McMillan, 2016)

had been a golden age for Sweden, moving from poverty to become an advanced economy and welfare state.

In this new reality, Sweden joined the European Union - at the same time as Austria and Finland - and did not do it from a position of strength. It has been much discussed if Olof Palme would have chosen the same route. Many of us think so, not least because of his strong European and international vocation manifested in the cooperation we discuss today. However, it is also a fact that Olof Palme revoked an initiative for membership of the European communities in the early 1970s. He realised from Denmark and Norway that social democracy split over the matter of European integration and became much weakened. Palme bought us 20 more years of social democratic hegemony in Sweden by avoiding the subject.

Palme had a sharp tongue and could be brilliantly dominant in debates. This did not always serve him well. In some key electoral debates his slower adversaries won sympathy. Even if he was measured on policy and by no means prone to extreme positions, Palme did also not shy away from controversy. That made him to stand out in Sweden, a country with a very consensus-oriented culture.

By most measures, humankind has seen great progress in recent decades. Social and economic indicators are pointing in the right direction almost everywhere. Life is longer and livelihood is better, human rights are more respected, human freedom is greater and the idea of democracy has taken root across the world. I would say that our three leaders laid the ground for this positive development, unprecedented in human history, both intellectually

and through their policies at national and international level.

The most important contribution by Brandt, Kreisky and Palme was to advocate justice, freedom and well-being not as something confined to a one or another nation state, but as universal visions for all people and societies to aspire to. This was revolutionary thought at the time. The term globalization had not yet invented and known. Decolonization was recent and not yet completed. Almost all thinking about social reforms, liberation and development was centered on what could be done in and by nation states. The notions of universal rights and global solidarity were new, maybe not in theory but in political practice.

This aspect of the pioneering political leadership by the three is eminently captured by Professor Vivekanandan in his well-written book. The professor has a long-standing, unique and deep insight into European social democracy. At the same time, it is refreshing and clarifying to read about European politics with a global and Indian perspective.

I remember with pleasure the months that professor Vivekanandan spent in Stockholm, doing research from his desk in the party office building and the archives of the Swedish labour movement.

The publication of "Global visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt" last year facilitates discussions and reflections like this and is therefore very timely. The universal ideals and visions that these men espoused can certainly not be taken for granted.

The new era of democracy, human rights and human freedom irrespective of nationality and other

identities for which these leaders fought is of course sharply challenged today, not least in Europe. I don't need to describe that. Everyday there is news about narrow, short-sighted and confrontational political responses to social challenges and conflicts.

And that brings me to the issue of the learnings from the three men. One lesson is that apart from being true internationalists with global visions, they were first and foremost social reformists in their own societies, firmly based at home and in their respective labour movements. That's where all politics start and end. You cannot exercise effective leadership without being on the shop floor.

Secondly, they decided to play to the dreams and aspirations of voters, not resorting to the all too often effective but tragic trick of playing to our worst fears. In that respect they were true leaders, not as too many politicians today who are mere followers of ignorant sentiments and prejudices.

Thirdly, with this vocation of being what we can call homegrown and positive visionaries, it is also possible to take on new challenges, even if they are hard. In Sweden, Olof Palme could actually pioneer the environmental perspective, which was not so easy for a labour movement born out of the industrial revolution and building its achievements on exploiting natural resources. In the same way, gender equality was not felt as very necessary or important for male workers when Olof Palme first put it on the agenda.

These are some of the inspirations I take from looking back at the remarkable leadership that Professor Vivekanandan has recorded so well.

To,
The Prime Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

Subject: Memorandum to ensure Communal Amity.

We undersigned have celebrated today "Communal Amity Day" in response to the call given by BhumiAdhikarAndolan at Kathua (J & K).

We wish to state that India has been known to the world for its values of tolerance, mutual respect and secular traditions. Our Constitution recognizes and reaffirms the rights of individual and communities to practice and preach their various faiths. The cold-blooded murder of Pehlu Khan at Alwar is a murder of all of these values. Not only does it add fear in societies of the growing rise of criminal elements veiled as upholders of religious purity, but also takes away the belief of a law-abiding citizen that their lives are protected by the rule of law.

Your regime is equalising the issue of communalism with anti-Muslim sentiments, in the process completely dismissing its other manifestations. This technique is appealing to the sentiments of the majority Hindu population who are failing to connect it with their daily issues. The lynching of Pehlu Khan should not be viewed as an independent case as it would divert the larger issue at hand.

The recent incident at Alwar is an attack on the livelihood of the agrarian population. The cow, a key element in agriculture is being appropriated as a symbol of Hinduism and thus being

disconnected/ disassociated from its economic credentials. This disconnect is being widened by the self-proclaimed gaurakshaks and vigilante groups which are operating under the patronage of Hindutva elements. The claims of cow protection come in conflict with contemporary circumstances of land grab and its allocation to industries as this is largely shrinking the extent of pastoral lands meant for the grazing of cows.

Demanding justice for Pehlu Khan and victims of Alwar terror, BhumiAdhikarAndolan had organised a one-day dharna on the 19th of April at JantarMantar, New Delhi. The dharna was attended by a number of Members of Parliament of various political parties, farmers and civil rights organisations from Haryana and Punjab who extended solidarity and also launched their own agitation in the States demanding justice. Continuing its fight until justice for the victims of the Alwarepisode is achieved and also to stop any further terror in the name of the cow protection, we celebrate 30th April as 'Communal Amity Day'.

In the case of Pehlu Khan's lynching in Alwar, we demand that

- Rs One crore compensation for Pehlu Khan's family and job for a family member, arrest of perpetrators of the crime, Government purchase of unproductive cows at market rate

and protection of right to cattle trade as well as right to choice of food.

- The VasundharaRaje Government of Rajasthan must provide RsOne Crore as compensation to the bereaved family of Pehlu Khan and Rs25 lakhs each to the other victims, taking the responsibility of the incident and to ensure civil and democratic rights and to give a strong message to the anti national elements which are trying to disrupt communal harmony.
- The Manohar Lal Khattar government of Haryana must ensure immediate and free medical treatment to all the victims.
- The State Government must provide government job to one family member of Pehlu Khan.
- Immediate arrest of all culprits and ensure stringent punishment. Withdraw false cases against victims.
- A special investigation team under direct supervision of Supreme Court must be assigned to ensure impartial investigation to the crime and role of the police
- A high level enquiry under the supervision of the Supreme Court to unearth the conspiracy of RSS to create communal unrest on the issue of cow slaughter.

- Ensure farmers right to cattle trade and reopen all cattle markets immediately which have been closed down by the concerned state governments.
- Make provisions in the cattle protection law to obligate state governments to purchase unproductive cattle providing market rate to farmers.
- Protect the crops from stray cattle by incorporating clauses in the law to obligate state Governments to preserve all stray cattle in shelters ensuring sufficient fodder, water and veterinary care.
- The Union Ministry of Agriculture shall call a meeting of all the peasant and agriculture worker organizations to discuss protection of the rights of farmers on cattle wealth.

Sheikh Abdul Rehman (Ex MP)
Vice-President
9858613193

Dr Sunilam (Ex MLA)
National Coordinator
9425109770

I D Khajuria Amrit Varsha
Women's Coordinator
9419152093 9419167003

Bangladesh Bharat Pakistan People's Forum

Press Release

Start immediate dialogue with all stake holders including Hurriat and Pakistan to resolve Kashmir crisis

Jk forum for peace and territorial integrity organised may day celebration at Gujjar Desh Charitable Trust hall today ,function was presided over by Sheikh Abdul Rehman ,ChMasood Ahmad .

Bangladesh Bharat Peoples Forum national coordinator Ex Mla Dr Sunilam said that Bjp and it's Government must accept that their cannot be any military solution of a problem where people are united for a cause, if 5 lakh Mizos could not be suppressed militarily how 1 crore 10 lakh JK peoples voice can be suppressed? Dr Sunilam said that by arresting students and youth , imposing fabricated cases and sending them into jail is compelling them to become militants .Govt is giving them opportunity to organise themselves and prepare long term strategy. president of forum Id Khajuria said that many people say that Kashmir has become flash out after all we have seen 3 wars ,all accords are lying in the dust .What

we see are pellet guns ,bunkers,daily humiliations ,we need only one thing , dialogue without any conditions. J&K people need to unite to get justice.

Dr Juruddin said that situation is tragic. He said that New Government want to divide this country again on lines of Religion. They do not need vote of minorities. They must realise that if 8crore people can form a nation, than what 20 cr people can do ?

BBPPF Trinational president DebabratBiswas said immediate dialogue must be initiated with all stake holders including Huriyat and Pakistan.He said that BJP leaders must stop giving irresponsible statements ,MrBiswas alleged that PDP has joined hands with the forces against kashmiriat, jarurat and insaniyat, he said that BBPPF will organise peace solidarity conferences all in various states.

Ram Singh said that history of Kashmir is the history of broken promises ,he said their cannot be any solution without genuine democracy meaning that free and fair elections of block development council. Amjad Gilani from Kashmir valley said that stone throwing is the manifestation of anger of youth.

He said we are ready to become refugee & live in TN but we want Peace in our daily lives.

DrArif said that we need to establish peace centres all over not only j&k but all over the country. Head MistressVimalaKaur said that we need to isolate forces of intolerance, hatred ,secularism and fascim . MrsSantoshKhajuria said that war mongering should be stopped,war is not a solution it brings destruction .

Sheikh Abdul Rehman from Banihal said we demand Govt of India should stop step motherly.

treatment of Kashmiris. Jiyalal from Katua said that constitution is under threat. Trade unionist Raghuvier Singh said that people should be prepared mentally to involve in peace process.

Giving the valedictory address BBPPF vice president Sheikh Abdul Rehman warned countrymen that democracy and constitution is under

threat. He said that if you invest in rural development in place of purchasing War planes than poverty can be eliminated in 10 years. Mr Rehman said that Mr Modi is on the verge of imposing Presidential system in this country. He said that at the time when MPs of BJP are demanding Carpet bombing on Kashmir and Settlement of Kashmiris in TN as refugees, Prime

minister is keeping quiet.

Advocate Jamil Kazmi coordinated the programme. Mr Kazmi said that all promises must be fulfilled, democratic rights must be restored and Kashmiri must be treated respectfully.

Dr Sunilam
09425109770

Press Release: May 1, 2017

Marking ADB's 50 years, Protest Actions to take place in over 100 places in India this week

New Delhi: People's movements and other civil society organisations across India would hold over 100 actions of protest in 21 states of the country between May 1 - 7, 2017 to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), highlighting the gross human rights violations, loss of livelihood, and environmental destructions caused by the 'development model' being pushed by ADB and other international financial institutions (IFIs), using public money.

The during the first week of the May, the organisations will hold multiple programmes to expose the ADB's neo-liberal capitalist model of growth, where public money was used to promote private corporations, and its failed development paradigm, through raising the larger issues related to issues of accountability and transparency of ADB and other IFIs.

Shaktiman Ghosh, General secretary National Hawker Federation, a trade union conducting programmes in several states said, "The model of development pushed

ahead by ADB resulted in the loss of livelihood and forced eviction, pushing people to poverty, contradicting ADB's stated motto of 'fighting poverty' In urban areas, the hawkers are the badly hit ones. However with increasing privatisation of services, even the middle class will not be spared."

Some of the programmes being organized during the occasion range from organizing protests, public talks or lecture series to highlight the serious impacts of ADB's lending, at a time when ADB is celebrating 50 years of expanding its lending portfolio of just over \$3 billion during the first decade, to \$123 billion during the last decade.

The programs are geographically spread from Bilaspur in Himachal Pradesh to Thiruvananthapuram in Kerala, and to the Mundra in Gujarat to Dibrugarh in Assam. While Peoples' Forum Against IFIs, a platform of people's movements and civil society organisations working on the ill effects of international financing, is the one coordinating these 100+ events, the actions are

organised by local organisations in a manner which is relevant to them, to highlight their struggles / issues and seek transparency and accountability from IFIs.

"ADB needs to seriously review its push for hydro-projects in India, particularly in the Himalayas, in the name of clean energy program in the light of the adverse environmental and social fallouts of its projects and the complete failure of its safeguard policies in this context," Manshi Asher of Himdhara - Environment Research and Action Collective said. "Further, the escalation of costs in these projects has put a question mark on the financial feasibility of hydro power projects," she added.

ADB's investments resulting in undermining local governance bodies and other traditional institutions has come to the fore time and again. "The arrogance with which the destruction of cultures and communities by way of bulldozing our rights and the condescending belief that we indigenous peoples of the NorthEast are uniformed enough to be auctioning our rights and our

way of living to the highest 'development' bidder like the IFIs such as ADB, needs to be done away with. We are not stupid and we will do our best to protect our land and culture!" Ratika Yumnam of Indigenous Perspectives, Manipur said.

Highlighting the disproportionate influence IFIs have on the policies and other lending agencies, Leo Saldhana of Environmental Support Group Bangalore said, "ADB has always played the role of influencing a form of development that ensures revenue from loan recipient countries flows out to the coffers of countries that control the bank's stocks. For instance, ADB pushed for Metro projects in India, and after these super-expensive mega projects were well on their way but without serving the real need - of addressing public transport, the bank backed out.

"The way had already been paved of Japan Bank and JICA to step in to finance the Metro project, as is the case in Bangalore. Interestingly, the project has 300% cost over-runs and is yet not functional. Meanwhile, the entire city has been reduced to a mess of what it was before: India's 'garden city', but not any more!"

Coastal Gujarat Power Ltd (Tata Mundra) a \$4bn, 4000 MW coal based thermal power plant in Kutch Gujarat is one the projects ADB is co-financing, causing damage to people and environment. As confirmed by its own accountability mechanism, Compliance Review Panel, the project has violated ADB's policies on consultation with communities, the sanctioning of the project was based on erroneous social impact assessment and due to the project the fish catch has reduced drastically, threatening the livelihood of thousands of fishworkers.

"Our plea to ADB to restore the livelihood of the fishworkers have fell on deaf ears. While they are celebrating the 50 years, the fishworkers in Mundra are struggling to meet their ends," Bharat Patel, General Secretary of Machimar Adhikaar Sangharsh Sangathan said.

Through these 100+ actions, people's movements and other CSOs are demanding the ADB to mend their ways of lending, be transparent and accountable to people in whose name they run their business. Failing which, people will be left with no option than to strengthen their struggles, despite repressive laws curbing their right to dissent, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly.

Website: <https://wgonifis.net>

Twitter: @wgonifis

Email: wgonifis@gmail.com

PMC BANK
 PUNJAB & MAHARASHTRA CO-OPERATIVE BANK LIMITED
 MULTI-STATE SCHEDULED BANK
 1984 We enjoy to serve

PUNJAB & MAHARASHTRA CO-OPERATIVE BANK LIMITED

**Let's embrace the change and move to
 PMC Bank Digital Banking**

24x7

Petrol / Diesel Utility Bills

Grocery Shopping

Booking Tickets Insurance Premium

Mobile Banking Debit Card Internet Banking

**For Offers & Cashback
 Visit www.pmcbank.com**

Toll Free No : 1800 223 993
E-mail : helpdesk@pmcbank.com

**Operating from more than 120 locations across Maharashtra,
 Delhi, Karnataka, Goa, Gujarat & Madhya Pradesh**

*T.B.C Apply

Unity of Progressive Forces Needed

The emphatic win of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has led to much churning among many opposition parties, awakening them to the need for unity and even be willing to shed long held ideological positions in a spirit of accommodation. Opposition leaders made a strong pitch for unity among "secular" forces, contending that it was the "need of the hour" in order to take on the ruling BJP juggernaut. The occasion that brought these leaders on the same platform was an event to mark the 95th birth anniversary of veteran socialist leader MadhuLimaye, as "unity of progressive forces". The leaders of many opposition parties, including the Congress, Janata Dal-United, NCP, CPI and CPI-M, came together on a single platform to stop "communal forces" and emphasised the need to elect a President with secular credentials in the upcoming presidential elections. The events assume significance as the opposition leaders advocate unity to "fight the challenge to the democratic and secular character of the Constitution by the Sangh Parivar."

Veteran historian Professor Irfan Habib, who was the main speaker at this event said, "Hindu Mahasabha, RSS and Muslim League were never part of the freedom movement". Putting the current political situation in perspective, he urged the participants to work towards a larger opposition unity. "Socialists and their inveterate opposition to the Congress led to a situation where right-wingers framed our Constitution, for the Socialists refused to be part of the Constituent Assembly," he added.

Very subtly, he told those on the dais that there is little choice before them.

Speaking on the occasion, Congress leader Digvijaya Singh said, "If we have to save the country from fascists and communal forces, the only way forward is the unity of progressive forces. They have to come together. The opposition parties should keep away their differences and come together. Unity of the progressive forces is need of the country. But at the same time, I would like to convey a word of caution. If you do not define the grand alliance properly, the fight will become Modi versus others. Hence, we will have to be alert. This is not a fight of personalities, but of ideologies." Digvijaya Singh in his speech indicated that the time has come to embrace the secularism as defined by Mahatma Gandhi, and jettison the secularism of Jawaharlal Nehru. He said the secularism of Gandhi and of Nehru were distinct. "Gandhian secularism is more relevant to India," Singh said, emphasizing that it was Gandhi's secularism that had stopped the advance of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. DigvijaySingh also insisted that the phase of "anti-Congressism" was over, and said that just two ideologies were relevant today: "The fascist, communal ideology versus the secular, democratic ideals". Stating that the country did not need "anti-Congressim", the senior Congress leader asked the parties to "offer a positive narrative to save democracy from the communal BJP." Interestingly MadhuLimaye had differed with his socialist leader Rammanohar Lohia's anti-

Congressism and in his last article published on the day he died in 1995, Limaye had again stressed on the importance of the Congress to India.

CPI(M) general secretary SitaramYechury called for forming such an alliance during the presidential polls to ensure "secular supervision" of the Constitution. "There are a lot of questions on the presidential election. The question is whether the new President will be able to uphold the dignity of his office. The question is whether the supervision from the Rashtrapati Bhavan will be secular or communal," Yechuri said. Do we want communal supervision or secular supervision? The result will have a bearing on the situation in the country. So, it is going to be an acid test. We appeal that all secular parties come together. "Not just communists or socialists but every secular force should come together," he said and appealed that they should come together to "choose a secular President".

CPI leader Atul Kumar Anjaan asked Prime Minister Narendra Modi to field a consensual candidate for the presidential polls. "Or else, the opposition parties will field common candidates for the presidential and vice presidential polls," he said. Atul Anjan warned that if "centre-to-left" people don't come together, India would be in grave danger, and called for fielding an opposition candidate for President if the government does not come up with a nominee acceptable to all. "We cannot accept a "Nagpur kinarangi

(Continued on Page 14)

Being at the same time Chief Minister of a State and a Member of Lok Sabha is illegal

Rajindar Sachar

The mysterious rise of Yogi Adityanath as a centre of power contenders amongst B.J.P./RSS leaders seems to baffle the public. It is a wrong assessment that he has been installed at the instance of Narendra Modi/Amit Shah. They are too politically astute not to create another power centre against themselves.

Though Yogi was no doubt a Thakur (Bollywood perpetual tormentor of the weak and ruthless in accomplishing his aim) – he was a Mahant for long time thus establishing easily his credential to Brahmanical family leadership of RSS. Yogi has proved this by openly announcing immediately his aim of Hindu Rashtra (against all sense of realism and which is a constitutional monstrosity) but is pleasing to Mohan Bhagwat and his coterie.

A win in 2019 could throw Modi beyond challenge and simultaneously weaken the hold of RSS. Modi has succeeded in creating an illusion of development man who by his oratory conceals his total communal stance and anti-minorityism. But Yogi on the other hand flaunts Hindu fanaticism and that is why RSS is keen to keep him as an alternative. It is a clear signal by Bhagwat and his coterie to Modi that an alternative is being created to him, if he is too neglectful to RSS bosses.

However there is a serious legal challenge to the continuance of existing position of Yogi as a Chief Minister and Member of Parliament

at the same time. This is a constitutional conundrum which ill befits a Chief Minister of biggest State in the country.

Article 164(4) permits a non-member of state legislature to remain a Minister for six months without getting elected. This anomaly is explained by historical necessity when in early periods institution of the Parliamentary system in U.K. was brought in and especially for colonies which were being given legislatures for the first time. It is a matter of fact that Ivor Jennings in his “Cabinet Government” has pointed out “that the House of Commons is however critical of such exceptions”.

Article 75(5) makes a similar provision for automatic vacation of a Central minister at the expiry of six months unless he is elected to parliament. This shows that these are two distinct bodies and separate provisions are applicable to each. This has no applicability for a situation like that of Yogi - how then is it possible for Yogi to continue as a Chief Minister of U.P. and Member of Parliament at the same time. And if someone argues for it, then it automatically means that he can simultaneously be a Chief Minister of U.P. and Prime Minister of India (by getting elected a MLA of U.P. Assembly as he is already a Member of Parliament. How ridiculous, and a constitutional monstrosity.

The suggestion if any that Yogi

can retain parliamentary seat for six months (seeking the analogy of six months from Article 75(5)) of being elected as a Chief Minister cannot stand scrutiny, because there is no such provision in law on the subject. Either the position in law can be that he cannot both be a Prime Minister and Chief Minister at the same time and thus ipso facto cannot be at the same time a Chief Minister of U.P. (may be by factually treating him as MLA under 164(5) of the Constitution;) but how does he save his position as member of the parliament at the same time, because there is no such provision to this effect under the Constitution. In my view Constitution does not permit a person to be a member of two legislatures of state and Central at the same time. The defence to Yogi is not available that he can continue Chief Minister after getting elected within six months and therefore can continue as a member of parliament for five years or at the minimum for six months. This is perverse logic and destroys the very spirit and purpose of responsible democratic government. If this argument of Yogi is to be accepted we can have a laughable queer mixture of the same person being a Chief Minister of a State and Prime Minister of India. Can any more quixotic illustration be imagined?

Under our constitutional scheme one can take advantage under either 164(5) or 75(5). You cannot invoke both, and therefore ipso facto once elected as a Chief Minister you cease to be a Member of Parliament.

Yogi is being asked to do this ill befitting role of keeping his Parliamentary seat so that he could vote for B.J.P. in the forthcoming presidential poll following Mr. Mukerjees term being over soon. It hardly befits the office of a Chief Minister of the largest state apart from the legality of holding both offices at the same time.

This argument is put forward by saying there is no specific prohibition against Yogi holding both State Assembly seat and parliamentary seat. To me this argument is totally destructive of what Dicey has pointed out in law and convention of the Constitution, namely, "That the conduct of the different parts of the legislature should be determined by

rules meant to secure harmony between the action of the legislative sovereign and the wishes of the political sovereign". This would mean that all laws must be to effectuate the will of the people who are sovereign under our constitutional set up. The conduct of the legislature should be regulated by understanding of which object is to secure the conformity of parliament to the will of the nation. That is why Dicey termed conventions as a strong law.

I am of the view that the moment Yogi became the Chief Minister his seat in parliament automatically stood vacated and his continuance as M.P. is therefore illegal. I feel that if Yogi does not resign his seat in parliament forthwith his right to Chief

Minister of U.P. would come to an end.

If however a lenient view is to be taken because of the somewhat uncertainty of law, the least that Yogi should do is to appear before Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and offer apology for having attended the sittings (after taking over as Chief Minister U.P.) wherein the Speaker, Chairperson, Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha may take a lenient view and only admonish him and impose a token fine of Rs. One, and thus close the matter. Will yogi take this graceful initiative and at the same time maintain prestige and dignity of the office of a Chief Minister and Member of Parliament.

(Continued from Page 12)

(a saffron from Nagpur as in an RSS candidate)."

The Janata Dal(United) leader SharadYadav has been votary of anti-Congressism, but he praised former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's foreign policy - for India's victory in the 1971 war under her leadership and for having engineered the merger of Sikkim in the Indian union in 1975. He criticised Modi government's foreign policy. Vowing for the unity of the opposition, JD-U Leader said that it should be strengthened outside Parliament too. "Opposition parties are together in the Parliament despite some differences but today's event is a step forward in the direction of a united opposition," he said. SharadYadav dwelt on Kashmir in detail and the setbacks suffered there in the recent past. "If Kashmir goes downhill, Jinnah will stand vindicated,". He also said there was

a need to aggressively push for "inclusive political ideologies" at a time when minorities across the country were feeling insecure.

Madhu Limaye's son, Anirudh Limaye, said Prime Minister Narendra Modi had become a "Teflon PM" on whom nothing seems to stick and he did not mince words in driving home the reality that the opposition was failing to inspire new blood. "Look around you? How many people here are under 30? You have to start afresh," he said, arguing for the need to build an organization to spearhead movements and then fight elections. He flagged the RSS, the BJP's ideological mentor, as an example with its variety of outfits to address different issues and wrapped up by urging the opposition to be prepared for a long haul. "This is going to be a long struggle over at least a decade; not just a few days," he said. Almost six decades ago, Madhu Limaye along with many

others fought in the Goa independence movement. He was sentenced to twelve years in prison for a public cause. Even at the peak of Nehru's popularity, socialist brigade built its own agenda, its own narrative.

Various trade union and Kisan leaders such as Harbhajan Singh Siddhu, President HMS, Ashok Singh, Vice-President, INTUC, Amarjeet Kaur of AITUC, Hannan Mollah of All India Kisan Sabha also spoke on this occasion.

The event was also attended by Socialist Party Chairman Dr. Prem Singh, LSP, President Raghu Thakur, JD(U) general secretary K C Tyagi, his NCP counterpart Prof. D P Tripathi, CPI national secretary D Raja and Amarjeet Kaur, BSP's Sudhindra Bhadoria, JD-S, Danish Ali, RLD's Tirlok Tyagi, Manju Mohan and many others.

—Qurban Ali

The Last Refuge

HasanGhias

"Politics is the last resort for the scoundrels" : George Bernard Shaw. "Religion is the last refuge of a scoundrel" : George Orwell. When combined together, they provide a feast for scoundrels!

Religion is about charity, love, peace, spirituality and understanding. It seeks to connect man with his Maker and give life a deeper meaning. The vast majority of those who populate the Indian subcontinent, be they Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Parsees or Sikhs, are deeply religious and religion resonates with their thoughts and lives. When practiced in its true essence, it produces men and women like Mahatma Gandhi, Mother Teresa, Abdul Sattar Edhi and the Dalai Lama. When exploited to promote enmity and hatred, it produces the worst kind of atrocities and horrors played out by the worst specimens of the human race.

Politics, said Charles de Gaulle, is too serious a matter to be left to the politicians. When endowed with ethics and integrity, it produces men like Nelson Mandela - a supreme example of sacrifice and selflessness, forgiveness and reconciliation. When exploited without scruples, you get examples too numerous to enumerate. Politics, as now prevalent in our region, is a magnet for a very dangerous breed of crooks, vicious criminals, moral degenerates and mental perverts. They are hungry for power and hungrier for wealth. They need a political cloak of respectability to conceal their nefarious pursuits and vile designs. Long gone are the days when inspired by the cause of freedom, educated, intellectual and

moral men and women joined the great political movement for India's independence. At that momentous midnight hour when our nation's soul found utterance and India awoke to life and freedom, our political leadership thought it fit to "take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity." It is wrenching to contemplate the descent from that pinnacle of moral purpose to the present depths of moral depravation.

The men who mislead India are enacting a dangerous drama of death and destruction, shamelessly misusing religious appeal and stoking emotions to fuel bigotry and hatred. Religion, the essence of which is sublime spirituality, is being dragged through the muck of politics to divide the nation for political gain and to grab the reins of power. Perversion of justice that is hard to fathom: life in prison for killing a cow and scot-free after committing genocide! Put to trial the family of the man murdered on suspicion of storing beef in his refrigerator, but not the killers who lynched him! An inclusive, pluralistic, secular democracy being replaced by brute majoritarianism, where fascist outfits dictate what you eat, what you say and what you sing, whom you love and who you marry.

A virulent strain of the communal virus has been injected, via politics,

into our academia, bureaucracy, police, media, social and religious organizations. Can our armed forces and judiciary remain immune from this epidemic? There is a very heavy price to pay for the reckless wrecking of the institutions of civil society, upon which rest the foundations of the modern nation state, and indeed of civilization itself. Other nations have travelled this path and are caught in a maelstrom of their own making, unable to find a way out. Shall we follow their example and expand the space for hell on earth, or shall we be guided by the wisdom of the founding fathers of modern India and steer clear of the rogues who are pushing us in that direction? From these scoundrels, O' Lord, provide refuge to my nation!

Janata Subscription

Annual Rs. : 260/-

Three Years : 750/-

Demand Draft / Cheque

on

Mumbai Bank
in favour of

JANATA TRUST

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,
Naushir Bharucha Marg,
Mumbai 400 007



GANNON DUNKERLEY & CO., LTD.

An infrastructure company established since 1924

REGD. OFFICE :

*New Excelsior Building, (3rd Floor),
A.K. Nayak Marg, Fort, Mumbai 400001.
Tel. : 022 2205 1231 Fax : 022-2205 1232*

Office : Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Mumbai & New Delhi