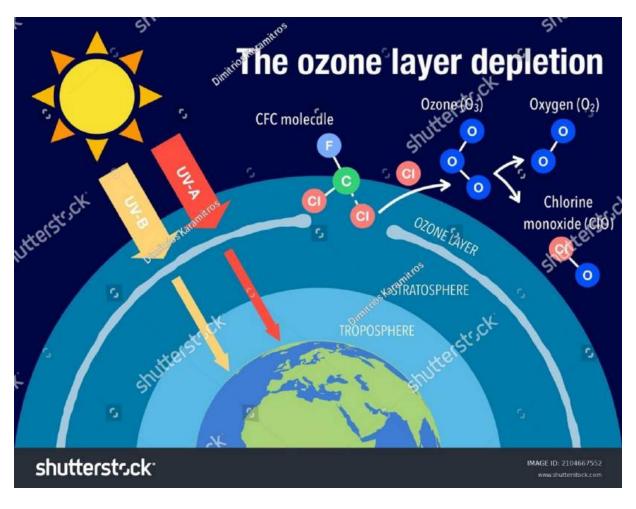
The Ozone Hole

Soil not Oil

Edited by Viren Lobo

An Especioza Trust Production



There are layers to this story needs to be looked at dynamically

Foreword

Different voices across the globe echoing that all is not quite right

A heartfelt cry on Pahalgam by Maj Mohammad Ali Shah (Retd), nephew of actor Nassirudin Shah

An Open Letter to the Terrorists Who Attacked Pahalgam

You bunch of spineless cowards.

It is well past midnight—infact the early hours of morning—and I just can't sleep. Not after hearing of your gruesome, senseless killing of innocent people in my motherland. You sick people.

I write to you as a furious, broken-hearted Indian Muslim. A man whose soul is torn between unimaginable grief and blazing rage. Because when you attacked civilians in Pahalgam, you didn't just target a place—you pierced through the heart of every Indian who still believes in unity, in peace, in justice.

And I speak not just as an individual, but as the son of a family that has lived and breathed service to this nation. Patriotism runs through my veins. My father, Lt. Gen. Zameer Uddin Shah, retired as the Deputy Chief of Army Staff and later became a voice for the Muslim intelligentsia as the Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University. His younger brother, the celebrated actor Naseeruddin Shah—a recipient of the Padma Shri and Padma Bhushan—and my father's elder brother, a respected IITian, have all been honoured by the President of India for their distinguished contributions to this great nation.

My family has always been treated with dignity, and I have always been a proud Indian before being anything else. It is from this legacy of honour, service, and nation-first values that I draw my strength—and it is exactly this legacy that makes your actions even more revolting to me.

So many of the films I've acted in—stories that celebrated love, sacrifice, and unity—were shot in the breathtaking valleys of Pahalgam and across Kashmir. National award-winning films like Haider, Bajrangi Bhaijaan, Mojhi, and even the web series Avrodh, where I portrayed a Para Commando, were born in these very lands you've tried to desecrate. I've walked those serene paths, felt the purity of the mountain air, and seen firsthand the harmony that lives in every fold of those hills. In my TEDx talks across the world, I've spoken of India's soul—its strength in diversity, its unmatched spiritual and cultural richness. And today, you have tried to rip that soul apart.

But let me tell you something: your bullets cannot silence beauty. Your hatred cannot erase harmony. Pahalgam is not just a location—it is a living memory of what India truly stands for. And by spilling blood on its soil, you've not weakened us. You've reminded us of what we must protect—with more resolve than ever before.

You claim to fight for something. For what? For Islam? For Kashmir? Don't insult our intelligence.

You are not freedom fighters. You are not warriors. You are cowards hiding behind guns, masks, and false slogans. You are butchers.

You didn't dare come close to an army base. You targeted simple civilians, tourists, children, mothers, pilgrims, newlyweds—unarmed, defenseless human beings. And you dare to call this Jihad?

No, this is not Jihad. Jihad means "struggle." What you did was gunah—sin, bloodshed, and a betrayal of both humanity and God. You've dragged the name of Allah through the blood-

soaked soil of Pahalgam. You've taken a religion of peace, twisted and misinterpreted it, and turned it into a weapon of terror. You shameful creatures—you will rot in hell.

I am ashamed that you and I were born into the same faith—because we are nothing alike. My religion is humanity. The Islam I know teaches me to protect the innocent. Yours glorifies slaughter. My Islam teaches me to serve my country. Yours tells you to tear it apart.

No matter how much I curse you in my heart, it will still be too little.

And because of you, I now carry a burden I never asked for. Every time someone hears a Muslim name or sees a skullcap, there's suspicion in their eyes. All because of you. Right-thinking, patriotic Muslims who love their motherland are forced to explain, defend, and apologize—for crimes they never committed and beliefs they never endorsed.

You've taken lives. But worse—you've tried to take away trust. You've tried to make it impossible for an Indian Muslim to love his country openly, freely, without being questioned. That is your real crime.

And guess what? You've failed.

You will always fail.

Because we—the real Muslims, the real Indians—are still standing. And we are furious. Not afraid—furious. We will not be pushed into corners. We will not be silenced by your bullets. We will not let you rewrite what it means to be one of us.

To the people of India—please do not confuse these monsters with your Muslim brothers and sisters. We are bleeding with you. We are angry with you. And we are not your enemy. We are just as victimised by these cowards as every other Indian.

To the terrorists—you are nothing but a stain, a blot, a rotting scar on the face of humanity. But this country, this unity, this idea of India—is eternal.

You tried to terrorize us. But you've only awakened us.

To the families in Pahalgam, I offer not just prayers, but a promise: We will not forget. We will not forgive. We will not rest until your loss echoes in the conscience of this country— and justice is served. Not just in the courts, but in the soul of this nation.

How dare you ask names and religions before killing? You are not Muslims. The Muslim community around the world disowns you. Bloody terrorists.

You didn't just attack Kashmir.

You attacked all of us.

And we will rise—as a nation, as Indians.

Jai Hind.

Major (Dr.) Mohommed Ali Shah (Veteran)

A Telling response to a dastardly act

Giving a sound message that terror will not be tolerated Military establishments spared With a warning A sense of glee at the punishment meted out A sense of gloom across the border For those that died Merely a token The dead cannot be revived Smarting with humiliation The breeding ground for the devil to work his play A temporary solution to the carnage found Retaliation to the humiliation initiated Thwarted at every step The propoganda factory highly active Attempts to provoke communal tension Will this escalate into a war? We do not know yet Keeping people divided the name of the game Who profits from this we all know.

Trumpy get trumped

As against Maga Canada unites Carnie does not have all the answers But a step back from today's plight The road ahead is long and ardous With revolt here and there on the cards A reverse flow to Canada has been promised If some reports on import of US doctors to Canada are to be believed Not the Brexit type of disaster As Trump already made that inevitable Will what comes in its place be more stable? Canadians thinking long and hard Some variations in the spiel discarded Unity in the face of adversity Longer terms issues put aside for the time being As for sovereignty they traded. Let us see what this respite brings Does not take long for the mood to swing.

Background

Call for a discussion on the Democratic response to the recent U Turn in Global politics US President Donald Trump's recent moves as President of the United States of America signals the beginning of the end of the Unipolar World that emerged after the collapse of the erstwhile Soviet Union. The prime reason for this is the pressing need for US to renege on its agreement with China, hammered out at the time of Nixon and Kissinger, a move that resulted in Capital flow to China and expanding its tentacle like grip on markets across the world. We are all painfully aware that despite the external trappings, China is not Socialist, the events leading up to Tainmen square and later make this very clear. Post 91, while India made a scramble to emulate China, slowly dismantling the Public Sector made with Tax payer's money, freeing controls on the pricing of petroleum products and consequently on Indian currency as well. The immediate price that India paid for Globalisation and Liberlisation was the halving of the value of the Indian Rupee. Taking advantage of the crisis that Russia is facing, the Indian Government is not responding to the US call to boycott Russia, rather has entred into a Rupee/ Rouble trade with Russia, to ensure the flow of cheap Oil into the country, the benefit of which has been passed down to the Indian public in a very limited way so that a semblance of all is well is maintained. Indian role in BRICS however is a very nuanced one, not wanting to antagonise Uncle Sam while taking advantage of the conditions created by China and Russia. Clearly Indian Capitalists see in all this an opportunity to make a killing in the face of US antagoinism to China and Russia. The global face of Capitalism has two sides. One an intensification of the loot an exploitation of the working class and struggling masses amassing unprecedented wealth. The Second being the ever increasing need to hoodwink the masses into psuedo solutions in the face of such blatant prosperity. Election after National election shows that Rationalism is put asunder as jingoism gets whipped up to rally the masses on any ideology (but a Scientific approach) that will capture their imagination. Given the intense crisis being faced by the people, they are amenable to opportunities that release the pressure valve. While the working class and struggling masses see the unbridled loot done by the Corporates clearly, in the absence of a clear anti Capitalist, Socialist stand by the Communist camp they are left with little or no alternative but to juggle between this or that Capitalist. Given this a show of strength achieved by majoritan politics, xenophobia provide answers which as events prove are very short lived. For the Military Industrial complex (driving Capitalism today) to survive, there is a need to create psuedo enemies that the people can see, touch and feel. This is the only way to ensure their authritarian rule right now. Events in India as elsewhere show that in the desperate bid to get out of the crisis, Monopoly Capitalism has made enemies, not all of the Capitalist class is happy with the way the menu has been served up, so there are sections who are gritting their teeth. In such a condition it is possible for the working class and struggling masses to find spaces for democratic movement, one's can could not be thought if Fascism had taken root as many fear it has. The Democratic response however cannot be the Capitlaist one, namely one size fits all (even capitalism has to keep options open to let the steam out from the pressure cooker). Engels once said that dialectics is that force that no bullet can cross, Mao pointed to letting a thousand flowwers bloom as its concrete expression. Is there a way for the working class and struggling masses to show unity in diversity and diversity in unity, one that the Capitalist cannot even dream of? We call on you to ponder on this with a free, open and critical mind and see if there is a way we can come together in ways we never imagined before. For a start we would like to you to deliberate on new insights into what has has transpired since the 1857 war of Independence. On behalf of ABMKSS, Tarun Kanti Bose has done a case study on Haryana to provide us with a glimpse of issues that can be looked at differently, issues that take into account the incomplete bourgeoise democratic

movement that leaves unresolved identity issues for Dalits, women, minorities and others. Tarun Kanti Bose, by unfolding the efforts of some groups working in Haryana also points to different way of looking at the local and global. Can this help us formulate questions that can help us look for answers, different from know it all postitions that different parties take ?

Viren Lobo On behalf of ABMKSS

Dedication

To the innocent slaughtered at Pahalgam

Translated from the Hindi Original

The valley of Pahalgam was soaked in blood, It echoed with screams, every breath became speechless. The blood of the innocents was scattered on the ground, Humanity was ashamed, every face was pale. They had come laughing and playing, with dreams in their minds, Who knew that death was waiting in ambush on their paths. Lives like flowers withered in a moment, Mothers' laps were empty, only sobs remained. What kind of darkness is this, what kind of terror is this, Why has this doom descended upon the innocent? Whose poison is this, that is spread in the air, Why is every passerby standing scared today? We will not tolerate this tyranny, this oppression, How long will the blood flow like this? Concrete steps are needed, this dark night should end, The culprits should be punished, there should be talk of justice. No more bloodshed, Save humanity, this is the demand now. Get up, raise your voice, do something, Never again should a Pahalgam meet such an end. Heartfelt tribute to our innocent family members

Dr Leena Gupta

Part I

Facets of an Ecosystem Approach to Sustainable Development



Sakhi Meeting

Concept note on Empowering Women and Girls for Sustainable Health & Ecological Democracy in Tribal regions of Udaipur

1. Introduction:

Considering women and children to be the worst affected by Ecological issues a programme that addresses SDG 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 puts women and children at the core of sustainable development. Well-being of tribal communities, and the sustainability of their environment, are inextricably linked to the status of women and girls. Addressing the systemic challenges that undermine their health, will help strengthen families, communities, and the ecosystem as a whole. Accordingly HHVS agreed that a study be done by Prerna Rana a PhD student from Wisconsin University

Study Findings:

- women have basic understanding of nutrition like the importance of diversified diet, clean water and non chemical ways of growing food,
- several villages face the problem of polluted land and water,
- Another problem is the inefficient delivery of government programs like PDS, meals at anganwadi etc.
- While women had a sharp understanding of how polluted natural resources affect nutrition they did not instantly connect government programs with nutrition. In other words, they do not understand the interconnectedness of systems.
- Women struggled to conceptualize collective and logical solutions to nutrition problems. For e.g. nutrition problem identified polluted land and water; solution suggested providing income generating work. They are also unable to think of ways in which SHGs, VOs or the federation can work collectively to address these issues.
- Based on the findings we can see that instead of focusing on programs/products, it is required to focus on process so that women collectively build their self efficacy, take ownership and understand the ways in which power works so that they can take action.

Identification of 6 pilot villages: Sakhi as well as Non Sakhi area. Chhapra, Vikarni, Karget, Sinhara, Thorya Magri (Bichhdi), Tulsidas ji ki Sarai.

Strengthening Health and Nutrition

- Improving Nutritional Status:
 - ✓ Providing healthy, locally sourced meals in Schools and aanganwadis.
 - ✓ Establishing kitchen gardens and promoting the cultivation of indigenous, nutrient-rich foods to enhance dietary diversity and combat malnutrition.

✓ Conducting nutrition education programs for women and girls, focusing on maternal nutrition, infant feeding practices, and the importance of a balanced diet.

• Enhancing Healthcare Access:

- ✓ Training traditional health practitioners, particularly women, to address common health issues faced by women and girls, integrating traditional knowledge with modern practices.
- ✓ Advocating for the inclusion of women and traditional health practitioners in Village Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Committees, Jan Arogya Samitis, and Rogi Kalyan Samitis, which are decision-making institutional mechanisms under the National Health Mission, to ensure that healthcare planning and resource allocation are responsive to their needs.
- ✓ Conducting regular health check-ups and providing essential healthcare services, including reproductive health services, in collaboration with local health centers.

• Addressing Specific Needs of Adolescent Girls:

- ✓ Providing comprehensive sexual and reproductive health education to adolescent girls, addressing issues like menstrual hygiene, prevention of early marriage, and adolescent pregnancy.
- ✓ Establishing girls' clubs and peer support groups to create safe spaces for girls to discuss health concerns and access accurate information.
- ✓ Providing mental health support and counseling services to address the unique challenges faced by adolescent girls, with specific attention to girls with mental challenges.

Empowering Women as Agents of Change

- Promoting Economic Empowerment:
 - ✓ Developing women's cooperatives focused on organic/natural farming, value addition, and marketing of local produce, increasing their income and decision-making power.
 - ✓ Providing vocational training and skills development to enhance women's economic opportunities.

• Strengthening Leadership and Participation:

✓ Establishing and strengthening community platforms, such as women's collectives, Children's Parliaments (with a focus on girls), Youth Sansads (focusing on adolescent girls and young women), and Mahila Parishads, to amplify women's voices in decision-making processes related to resource management and community development.

- ✓ Providing leadership training and capacity building to women, equipping them with the skills to advocate for their rights and needs.
- Enhancing Knowledge and Awareness:
 - ✓ Conducting awareness campaigns on women's rights, health, and environmental conservation, using culturally appropriate communication methods.
 - ✓ Promoting women's literacy and access to education, recognizing its crucial role in improving health outcomes.

Restoring Ecological Balance

- Promoting Sustainable Agriculture:
 - ✓ Training women in organic and natural farming practices to reduce reliance on harmful chemicals and protect the environment.
 - Conserving and promoting the use of indigenous seeds and traditional farming knowledge to enhance food security and resilience.
- Protecting and Restoring Ecosystems:
 - ✓ Supporting community-led initiatives for watershed management, forest conservation, and biodiversity preservation.
 - ✓ Promoting the sustainable use of natural resources to ensure the long-term health of the ecosystem.

Larger project Area: Mavli, Kurabad, Vallabhnagar blocks of Udaipur District

HANUMAN VAN VIKAS SAMITI, SAKRODA

Sr. No.	Block	Panchayat	Village	Total SHG	Total Members		
1	Girwa	Besada Kala	Besada Kala	16	199		
2	Mavli	Tulsi Das ki Saray	Tulsi Das ki Saray	12	164		
3	Mavli	Gudli	Odwadiya	10	129		
4	Mavli	Gudli	Gudli	12	161		
5	Girwa	Bhesda Khurd	Bhesda Khurd	12	146		
6	Mavli	Tulsi Das ki Saray	Gadwa	8	123		
7	Mavli	Dabok	Dabok	15	215		
8	Girwa	Debari	Singawto ka wada	9	122		
9	Girwa	Debari	Sutharwada	16	203		
10	Girwa	Debari	Hakdar	8	88		
11	Girwa	Lakadwas	Lakadwas	17	238		
12	Girwa	Khekhro ki Bhagal	Lakadwas	16	244		
13	Girwa	Matton	Teela kheda	10	141		
14	Girwa	Matton	panwadi	9	131		
15	Girwa	Matton	kamlod	13	175		
16	Girwa	Debari	Nalafala	13	183		
17	Girwa	Sakroda	Padakhadri	23	327		
18	Girwa	Bhalo ka Guda	Karget	15	217		
19	Girwa	Bhalo ka Guda	Godwa	14	210		
20	Girwa	Sakroda	Sakroda	16	271		
21	Girwa	Bhalo ka Guda	Bhalo ka Guda	32	416		
22	Girwa	Bhalo ka Guda	Sejo Ki Bhagal	13	232		
23	Girwa	Bichadi	Sinhada	23	284		
24	Girwa	Bichadi	Gairya Mangri	13	168		
25	Girwa	Bichadi	Nohra	14	185		
26	Girwa	Bichadi	Thoriya mangri	17	234		
27	Girwa	Bhalo ka Guda	Chota guda	18	212		
28	Mavli	Dabok	Ordi	14	172		
29	Mavli	Medta	Medta	10	126		
			Total	418	5716		

Sakhi Project SHG Detail Village Wise

Sr. No.	Block	Panchayat	Village	Total SHG	Total Members		
1		Lalaura	Bhalawato Ka Guda	2	40		
2		Lalpura	Devda	4	45		
3	Girwa	Shishavi	Onkar	12	95		
		SIIISIIAVI	Shishavi	4	56		
4		Kurabad	Kurabad	4	55		
5		Rakhyawal	Rakhyawal	18	278		
6		Sangwa	Sangwa	8	136		
7	Mavli	Namari	Namari	6	87		
8		Chandesara	Chandesara	2	25		
9		Salera Kala	Salera Kala	6	17		
10		Maaharaj Ki Khedi	Maharaj Ki Khedi	4	76		
11		Nandvel	Chhapara	14	92		
		Nandvei	Nandvel	3	45		
12		Tees Densiver	Mandesar	12	173		
13	Bhinder	Toos Dangiyan	Toos Dangiyan	4	76		
14		Karanpur	Bansaliya	3	52		
15		Batherda Khurd	Pindoliya	3	25		
		Batherda Kala	Amaba Vela	4	55		
16		Daroli	Daroli	16	228		
17		Vijanwas	Bikarni	12	209		
18	Mavli	Nauwa	Nauwa	1	16		
19		Sangwa	Gandoli	4	73		
20			Maal Ki toos	17	427		
21	Bhinder	Maal Ki toos	Falet	6	58		
22	Biinder	Ividal KI toos	Gowla	12	105		
23			Tank	12	113		
24			Aasna	3	56		
25	M1:	W 11.	Khemli	14	148		
26	Mavli	Khemli	Ranawato ka guda	0	38		
27			Junawas	1	48		
28	Kurabad	Ramaj	Kaliwali	2	25		
29		Naharmagra	Nandvel				
			Total	213	2972		

Non Sakhi Project Area

Part II

A Perspective on Ecology and Livelihood





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Man Animal Conflict: It's intimate relation with one Health Principles

Shortly after the initiation of the collaboration with Ashankur, the base study in Mandve indicated the presence of the leopard in sugarcane fields. The completion of the base line study of six pilot villages indicate that sugarcane fields, ginni grass and maize fields have become the habitat of the leopard feeding on dogs and small ruminants. Studies elsewhere have also corroborated that due to loss of forest habitat and resultant loss of wild prey, the leopard which is a highly adaptable species has increased its intake of domsticated animals.



Jawai Oran Location Map

Three studies of Jawai Conservation Reserve, Jhalana Dungri WLS and Baghdarra Nature Park done by IELA Deputy Managing Trustee Sunil Dubey indicate the need for examining leopard habitat beyond the confines of Nature Parks, Conservation reserves and Wildlife Sanctuaries. This finding is relevant for other species as well. The conditions of corridors and status of the forests indicate that the health of wildlife is related to the overall conditions prevalent in the ecossytem and connected pathways. In Baghdarra and Jawai the crocodile is an important species, its health is not just related to condition of the lake at Baghdarra or Jawai but also conditions of the corridors and links to other wetlands as well. In Jharkhand, we noticed how the closure of certain pathways for the elephant put pressure on the forests and corridors in Jharkhand.

The studies done by us in Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Jharkhand indicate that conditions relates to Human well being also relate to Wildlife as well. The increasing presence of invasive species, cost of cultivation and declining water tables as productivity is sought to be enhanced in agricultural fields on one hand wildlife to be conserved in Nature Parks, Conservation Reserves and Sanctuaries indicate the disconnect between the current development paradigmn and the needs of rural communities. Engagement with local communities in these three States indicate that the loss of traditional knowledge about the

biodiversity, nutrition and health practises very much related to the changing production scenario and market rather than consumption orientation resulting in a breakdown of the traditional nutrient and water cycles.

Fragmentation of the forests is one of the major reason for the breakdown of microrhysal populations and one the factors in the increase of vector borne diseases. The increased use of pesticide and fertilizer have also resulted in pollution of water bodies and declining soil health. It is not surprising therfore that the resultant increase in cost of cultivation and cost of living have rendered many farmers helpless and dependent on wage labour for survival.

This crisis of employment has resulted in an increased attack on wildlife through the unlikely path of eco-tourism as well. This was observed very sharply during our participation in a multi stakeholder Workshop to Save Jawai. Shortly after this workshop, a leopard made its first human kill in Jawai bring home sharply the need for a wholistic and balanced approach to sustainable development and livelhoods in eco-systems.

Part III

Spiritual/Ecological Connections & Our Common Home



Farewell Pope Francis: A Pope with a difference

Ten Years since Laudato Si

Ten years since Laudato Si A Journey which transformed Societal Connections being healed As mutual cooperation get sealed A spiritual connection with Mother Earth One crying out to us for help The response has been slow but sure But one that will surely endure Ecological democracy the mantra A recognition that Man just a part not the centre Learn what we can from the laws of Nature A journey through engagement with history The beginning and end to bigotry Evolution on its part shows That after a point in social interaction and not in the genes That knowledge is embedded A complex web to be unravelled The tools to do so have been evolved Layering of knowledge Like the making of Biryani Or the different peels of the Onion Nature its secrets unfolds One that does not favour just the bold Each have their own unique ways of survival Unity in diversity and diversity in unity it spells Incorporation of that which does not necessarily jell Separating the grain from the chaff And using the two is not new What is waste for one is fodder for another For both the hungry soil its nutrients replenished To Nature's cycles we turn Even as fuel we continue to burn The Oceans begin to churn Throwing up plastic Forming islands of different kind The Earth's ability for self healing Is one that can blow one's mind Yet the healing touch is what we require Nature of nurture and nurture of nature Is what we seek Blessed are those who are meek As Silence greets the terrible void Created by the death of Pope Francis His voice echoes with hope As our promise to him we keep In rest may he sleep Laudato si lives on Everytime a new life is born

Part IV Politics of different kinds



A brief on Tarun Kanti Bose's study

Following up on the question of value and its relation to the labour theory of value by Marx, it has been observed that there is a very strong connection between value of human being and value of nature. For the Capitalist both are to be exploited. Putting an end to devaluation of human beings and nature is therefore very much linked to putting an end to exploitation of both huamn beings and nature.

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Haryana was chosen to explore this linkage more carefully as the study of Tarun Kanti Bose highlighted how the 1857 war of Indepndence marked a qualitative shift in the nature of struggles till then. The common people of Haryana jimped wholeheartedly into the struggle.

That this development alarmed the British can be evidenced by what transpired later. a. The British took over the East India company and placed the rule of India squarely in the hands of the Crown.

b. Railways were contructed, criss crossing the country, both as a means to quickly transport the army as also to transport raw materials from this country to feed to growing hunger of the British textile and other industries.

c. The growing conflict with the feudal forces of this country was quelled and in its place the British offered to share power with the feudal lords in return for their loyalty to Biritsh Crown.

d. Barter system was replaced by a cash system that forced the landed classes to opt for cash crops like sugar cane, indogo, cotton while having the indirect impact of dismantling the then interdependence of the differents castes through the barter mechanism.

e. As a price to be paid to the Sikh Jats who help the British crush the mass uprising, the Land tenancy Act 1901, prevented Dalits from aquiring land in the State. It must be noted here that in 1818, the Mahar regiment defeated the Peshwas at Bhima Koregaon. This event was commemorated for 200 years till the fiasco in 2018 (marking 200 years since the event) where a concerted effort was made by the State to declare all those that commemorated this event as anti National.

That the 1857 war of Independence had a characteristically different flavour from the three defining battles at Panipat and the Prehistoric war at Kurushetra has been well brought out by Tarun Kanti Bose in his second Chapter on Haryana a summary of which will be carried here. Will this help explain why the Khap Panchayats (who had a glorious tradition of defending this country from invaders and even standing up to the oppresive rule of Aurangzeb) become rank reactionary and opressive for women, dalits and minority communities in the last twenty/thirty years ? For now it will suffice to say that the compromise between the industrial bourgeoisie and the rural bourgeoisie of Punjab, Haryana, Northern Rajasthan and Western part of UP is in the main responsible for this. Is it then surprising to note that both Punjab and Haryana have the worst female to male ratios in the country.

That despite this, women of Haryana have made a name for themselves not only on the sports field but in other arenas as well indicates the growing contradiction within. The crackdown on the farming community in the form of the farm laws pointed to cleavage between finance and industrial capital with the former striving to get hold of comapratively safer investments in food, health and education. This is not without repurcussions. Jats who formed the bulwark of the alliance between rural and manufacturing capital found themsleves in the cross fire. It is therefore not accidental that in pockets, the Jat dominated Khap Panchayats lent their support to the women wrestlers, Dalits and Muslims in recent years.

While the deep seated distrust of Jats and upper castes have its roots in the long history of repression faced by Dalits, there is still a ray pointing in a direction characteristically different from earlier. The report of Tarun Kanti Bose dealing with various facets of the Caste, Class and Identity question tries to uncover the thread that has been knotted up due a number of confusions as to what Marxist theory and practise is all about. For now let us just say that though material conditions are primary and thought revolves around this, as thought influences the material conditions as well, unravelling thought from the material conditions is not as simple as was once understood. Engels has pointed out that though thought and action is the product of concious human beings, it will follow the same laws as the material conditions do. To change thought, we need to change the conditions that gave birth to them (easier said than done).

The Economic, cultural, political and ecological backdrop of Haryana

Haryana is divided into five natural topographic divisions, which are:

The Bagar and the undulating sandy plains-the sand dunes and the tals(230-350 metres)
The Alluvial Plain or the Ghaggar-Yamuna Plain comprising Bangar, Khadar, Naili and Bet (below 300 metres).
The Aravali outliers (300-600 metres)

4. The Shivaliks-The hills (over 400 metres), and

5. The Foot Hill Zone-The piedmont plain (300-400 metres).

The description of each agro-ecological zone provided by Tarun Kanti Bose in the first chapter of his report is at variance with the administrative regions of the State. There have have been numerous factors why the economic development of Haryana has not followed the distinct ecological patterns in some other parts of the country, proximity to Delhi, impact of economic development of agriculture and allied activities in the gangetic plains and periodic historical turmoil from external north western invaders being some of them. Nevertheless, the imprint of distinct patterns related to agriculture and pastoralism can still be found agroecological region wise. That irrigated agriculture has led to the dominance of the Murrah Buffalo in milk production and Industrialisation in the Haryana part of the National Capital Region of Delhi have led to a puncturing of the traditional ties between nature and livelihoods most of which next to impossible to track meaningfully as of now. In the context of the increasing 'unprofitability' of Industrial based agriculture which has resulted in burgeoning costs of agricultural production the source of major aanxiety of farmers at the potentail removal of Minimum support price and the stable market that Government procurement provided, it is important to flag the different agro ecological regions of Haryana as providing a direction for rebuilding of the Nature people connection embedded in the cultural history, traditions knowledge and customs of each region. The separation of Haryana from Punjab while recongnising some of these differences in terms of language and culture mostly keep in mind proximity to Delhi as the economic fulcrum. The resultant dichotomy in the culture, traditions and economics provides much of the basis for the later Chapters written by Tarun Kanti as we shall see shortly. For now it will suffice to say that the emergence of the dalits as an economic power and the resultant repression they face is very much linked to this dichotomy.

Given this there is a section that would like to disown the relvance of land relations and consequently the relevance Jats as the dominant caste defining the politics of Haryana but a deeper examination as has been done by Tarun would reveal that Caste, Class and Identity questions are very much rooted in the changing equations relating to land and industry which blew up at the time of the nine month farmer struggle embracing a large part of North Western India.

The First War for Independence in 1857

In the sections: Flames of 1857 uprising spread over Districts of Haryana and Heroes of the 1857 unprising of the second Chapter of his report, Tarun Kanti Bose explains in detail how local leaders and the masses joined whoeheartedly in the uprising. The following are important quotes from his report.

Karl Marx was almost the very first to grasp the true nature of the 1857 Sepoy Uprising. On June 30, 1857, he made the crucial point that the Indian Army just so happened to be "*the first general centre of resistance which the Indian people were ever possessed of*" to explain why the sepoys were the first to rise. He quoted Disraeli's statement that "*the Indian disturbance is not a military mutiny, but a national revolt*" with approval on July 28, 1857. Marx claimed on July 31, 1857, that what John Bull regarded as a military rebellion "*is in truth a national revolt*"

There are many justifications for the conclusion in the letters. "Mussulmans and Hindus have combined against their common masters;—the mutiny has not been confined to a few localities;—the revolt has coincided with a general disaffection—on the part of the great Asiatic nations," Marx wrote on June 30, 1857. On July 31, 1857, he wrote that the supposedly unaffected areas were experiencing "a very queer sort of quiet," despite the fact that signs of discontent were still present there. "As to the talk about the apathy of the Hindus, or even their sympathy with British rule, it is all nonsense," he said (August 14, 1857).14 For, "the great difficulties the English meet with in obtaining supplies and transports—the principal cause of the slow concentration of the troops—do not witness to the good feelings of the peasants." Marx saw correctly (September 15, 1857) that the British posts were like 'insulated rocks amid a sea of revolution'.

Kaye was forthright in his conclusion that these were princes who helped the British in recapturing India after 1857 revolt. According to him, "It was one of the most curious characteristics of the mutiny-war, that although the English were supposed to be fighting against the native races, they were in reality sustained and supported by the Natives of the country, and could not have held their own for a day without the aid of those whom we hated as our national enemies," he added.

The above observation taken in tandem point to a characteristically different assessment of the first war of Independence than was possible for Marx and Engels to make at that time namely the emergence of a class characteristically different from Caste and religion forcing both the British and Feudal Lords to align with each other. It was not surprising therefore that as observed by Marx and Engels, this class was disorganised and failed to resort to sustained guerilla warfare during the summer respite and rains. How the peculiar conditions of struggle and compromise with the British imprint the entire period of British rule in India leaving in its wake the famous divide and rule policy of the British that even today impacts the politics of this country needs to be properly understood.

The Dalit Question with a twist

The case studies Dulina lynching, Gohana torching of houses belonging to Balmikis, Mirchpur and Bhagana violence referred to in Chapter 3 of Tarun Kanti Bose's report shows that the sharpening of the oppression against Dalits relate to the following a. Attack on the upward moving dalit communities be it due to them aquiring land, getting jobs and in general posing a challenge to the traditional Jat hegemony over politics in the State. Chamar and Balmikis are mong the major communites that have been targetted. *b*. While in general Dalit struggles have made use of the SC/ST atrocities act, the Dalit leadership has been found wanting in many cases. The fact that the the left too have generally not been able to engage on meaningfully on specific questions related to Dalit atrocities. Dalits have reported that the farmer's agitation was dominated by Jats and left little or no space for Dalits to articulate their concerns. Upper caste leadership in left parties has also been responsible for Dalit issues not getting the attention they deserved. An extract from Tarun Kanti Bose's report will suffice to explain the issue. The majority of SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities Act) 1989 case defaulters belong to Jat community. When there is a significant case involving the SC community, such as a murder, rape, or gangrape, the public becomes involved and puts pressure on the police to make an arrest because the evidence points to the perpetrators. However, scheduled caste officers are not even permitted to pursue the appropriate legal action; instead, other responsibilities are placed on them to keep them at bay. This applies to all officers in the SC community, including SPs, Deputy Commissioners, and SDMs. Instead, an attempt is made to reach a peaceful resolution so that the offenders are not punished and SC/ST Act is not made applicable.

The electoral process has thrown up a peculiar situation where the BJP came into power on an anti Jat platform. Given the nature of twist given to class struggles in the State (converting them into Caste based issues), the BJP is now having to woo the Jats to continue pursuing its anti people agenda in the State. Fed up with the double speak of this reactionary party, Jats in pockets have come out strongly in support of Dalits, women and Muslims in some pockets though general distrust of Jats remain due to historical antecedents, the distinct possibility of a new form of democratic/ anti Capitalist coalition exists.

Women, Slave, Concubine: Harking back to an era long forgotten

Tarun Kanti Bose's 4 chapter on Haryana, *Bride Trafficking or Marriage of Inconvenience turning women into Silent slaves* brings out the dark underside of Haryana which shot into the limelight with their sparkling performance in sports on the World stage. While there too, women have raised the # Me too slogan regarding sexual molestation in a still unfulfilled struggle for justice, the ramifications of the horrifying conditions facing women due to infanticide and other steps taken reflected in the lowest women to male sex ratio in the country brings back macabre image from a long forgotten era where women were traded/ objects of desire of conquering hordes.

In his third chapter on Dalits too, Tarun Kanti Bose has highlighted the plight facing economically upcoming Dalits women who have faced the wrath, been paraded naked by the upper classes primarily Jats for no fault of their own. However these very same Jats facing a shortage of women to marry within their own community have purchased brides primarily from the tribal regions of Jharkhand and North East. While fulfilling their duty towards carrying on the family name and tradition, their conditions are worse than slaves, being beaten, tortured and misused by all and sundry in the family.

The conditions facing these women reflect the dark underbelly of the beast within, one which modernisation has failed to correct. Considering the conditions leading to the farmer's struggle the reasons are not hard to find. With the upper class Jats facing an unprecedented economic crisis born from cultural restrictions (which restrict the type of employment avenues they can seek), refuge is sought in asserting dominance of the women members of the household as also similar treatment meted out to upcoming Dalit communities described by Tarun in his earlier chapter on Dalits.

That the Jats have lost faith in the traditional regressive leadership of the State is reflected in the electoral results where a new type of alignment seems to be emerging. Given the traditional history of repression, other communities are still wary but a sliver of hope has indeed emerged. How this can be carried to its logical conclusion remains to be seen.

Mewat Study debunks popular understanding related to Hindu Muslim Identity

The study of the recent communal violence in Nuh by Tarun Kanti Bose, debunks many popular beliefs, primary among them being forced conversions to Islam. The prevalance of

Hindu customs among Mulims in Mewat and the traditional close ties with the Jats in the region point a more volutary form of conversion process in the region. One that is even alien to the idea of a mini Pakistan. Why then are these actions being perpetrated will need closer eaxamination from a lens not used at present.

The stellar role played by The Meos of Mewat in the 1857 war of Independence, has also resulted in repression of this community since British time, not corrected even after Independence. The BJP took advantage of this situation to unleash an even fiercer form of repression using the communal card.

Tarun's study therefore helps us uncover many threads, even looking at the indigenous Rennaiscance period in India (predating British rule) which unlike Europe had a two religion flavour and reflected in the Sufi movement in this country. This lens helps us to put later observations on a more indigenous platform than the British educated reformists that only form a part of the larger process of change that was taking place in Indian society. ABMKSS will leave it to Tarun's study to identify the immediate tasks seeking our attention, this is mostly to unfold the larger indigenous backdrop in which to place the Historical development of India, distinctly different from the one currently portrayed.

Adding a new dimension to India's left Movement:

This chapter by Tarun Kanti Bose provides the turning point needed by ABMKSS to establish the principles of continuity and break. In this Chapter titled "*Gohana's Shanti Hospital : Building up Health Care Facilities for the Margialised and adding a new dimension to India's left Movement*", Tarun Kanti Bose tracks the contribution of Dr C D Sharma and his wife Sunita Tyaga to building up a significantly different type of left movement in Haryana. As a doctor with a difference and a professor dedicated to provided quality science education to her students, both Dr C D Sharma and his wife Sunita Tyagi practised what they preached I the true spirit of a 'service provider' and educationist in a somewhat remote corner of Haryana.

This essential character provided the impetus for the movements they initiated into the 21st century and provided the basis for a Marxist grounding with Indian uderpinnings by studying deeply the life and work of Shaheed Bhagat Singh. Having started with a relatively innocous but mass appeal programme relating to a clean Gohana, the house to house contact helped to raise deeper issues like the protest on the tripling of House (Chula) Tax through a Gohaa Bandh. Jan Chetna Manch and Samatamulak Mahila Sanghatan combined effectively to penetrate deep into the psyche of a conserative Harayana, bringing the women out into the streets to protest issues like rape, bride trafficking and other atrocities.

Attempts were made to discredit both of them but solid homework and mass support for the democratic issues ensured that all such attempts failed. Having deep knowledge of Sanskrit and the Shlokas, Dr C D Sharma has been able to provide an effective rational counter to communal and half baked, politically motivated attempts to distort Indian history. The commemoration of martyrs and narration of their contribution to the Independence struggle provides the historic roots for the struggles being taken up today.

Faridabad's Krantikari Mazdoor Morcha – Turning the Tide for collective Action

The chapter starts with an incident on Raksha Bandhan August 11th 2022. A 11 year old girl who went to defecate at night was found dead the next morning. In order to keep the Union Home Minister's statement that no open defecation is taking place intact, the community was asked to keep silent till after the Independence day celebrations. After a long struggle compensation was declared which could not be disbursed for technical reasons.

The next incident relates to the non deposit of PPF amount of 400 workers laid off from Lakhani Footwear Pvt Ltd. Here too after a long struggle PF of some of the workers were received, rest is expected shortly. Struggle for water supply in Azad Basti continues. The creation of Mahatma Jyotibha Phule and Fatima Shiekh Library has helped engage workers on non economic issues which helps to mobilise them economically as well. Such conciousness has helped them protest in solidarity on incidents like Nuh, Bellsonica Auto Componenet India Private Ltd and participate in women' wrestlers sit in dharna at Jantar Mantar and in the fact finding study on Nuh. Workers resolve disputes internally, organised campaign against drugs and criminals not supporting such practises. Police have realised that this is an organisation with a difference and now listen to them seriously.

Hospitals for the workers, to the workers and by the workers

Low income workers are cured and treated, and today 500 of their sons and daughters have become doctors serving in Faridabad's ESIC Medical College & Hospital, having previously enrolled in its Medical College. From the brink of closure of the Hospital in 2014 to pave way for an Ambani takeover to the creation of the Medical College with modern medical facilities has been a long struggle for the ESIC doctors.

Kurukshetra's Jan Sangharsh Manch's arduous struggle in getting rapist godman Ram Rahim arrested and its ongoing involvement with the toiling masses....

This chapter describes mass mobilisation work to get rapist godman Ram Rahim convicted, rights of MGNREGA workers and the need for a qualitatively different type of struggle to mobilise the masses distinguishing between economic struggles and mass issue based struggles.

The Way Forward

The tapestry above indicates the necessity for getting into the specifics of each struggle providing the necessary character and backbone to support communities engaging in such struggles. What they have in common is the need for a larger framework inspired by Marxist ethic and culture to knit them together. Yet.. the specifics require focus on the local and the relation between this and the general not always clear to the masses. While Jan Chetna Manch and Samtamoolak Mahila Sanghatan have clearly made that transition, others are at different levels even as they engage in deeper and sharper contradictions on the ground which are very commendable. Clearly there is no one size fits all. The character of the struggles defined by the people leading it. This is no garden of roses but certainly there are sparks that shine through lighting the way for others to follow.

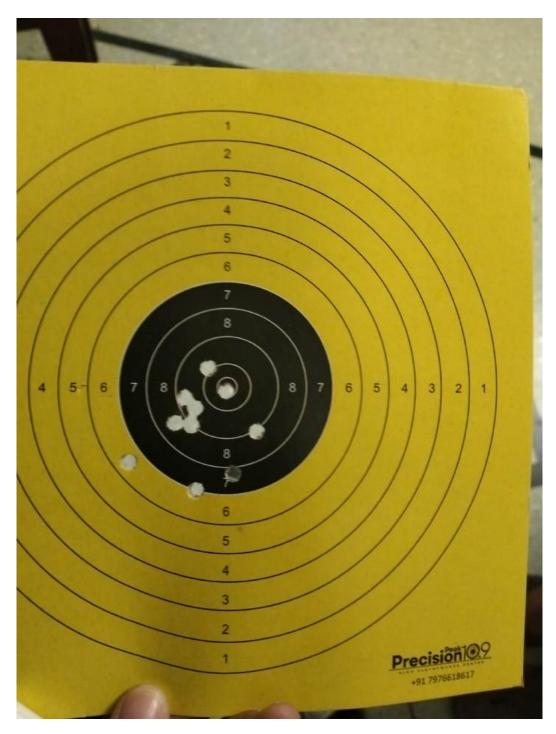
The Chapter describing the first war of Independence in 1857 provides us with an inkling of how the struggles then are related in some way to those we see now. Many unfinished tasks remain before the promised good days can be seen. The case studies however clearly indicate that the current regime has no intention of bringing those rather harking about the Good Old Days where caste differences were solidified.

The recent elections in Harayana point to a peculair consensus between the dominat Jat leadership, OBCs and Dalits in favour of the BJP. The question we ask is why when recent events pointed to a consensus on class based issues related to violence, rape and employment did such a consensus come about. All persons talked to, agree on the need for a qualitatively different movement to dispel the darkness gripping the working class and masses of the State. What the struggles point to is the need for diversity in unity and unity in diversity. Let a

thousand flowers bloom is our call to develop struggles dialectically in manner that authoritarianism and fascism cannot even begin to fathom.



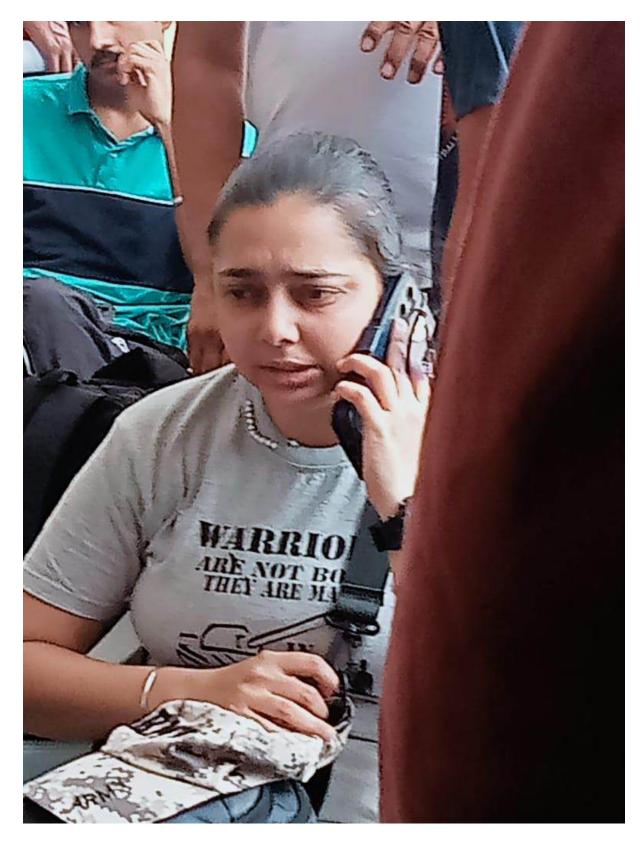
Health, Happiness and the Hope Gene



Genny experimenting at Rifle shooting



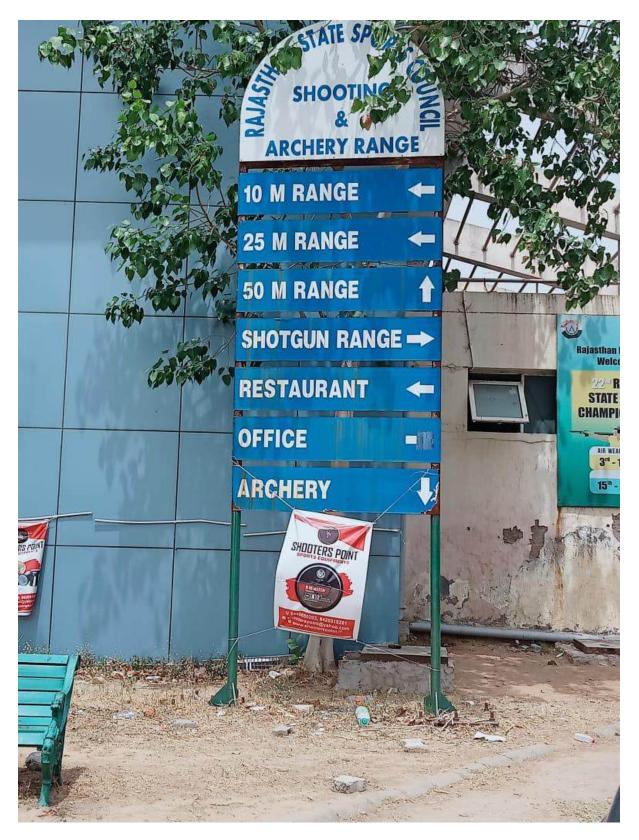
Pre State Competition



Genny Waiting for the pistol at the firing range



Participants waiting thier turn



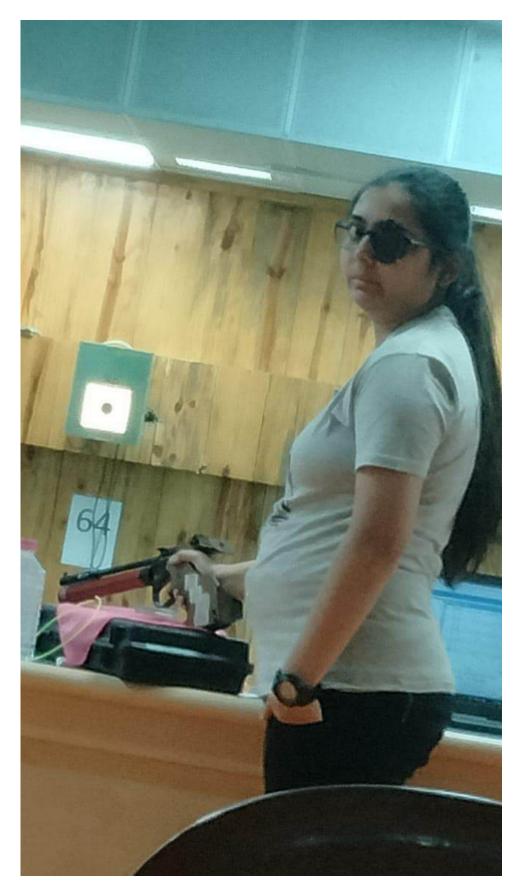
The Ten M Firing Range in the vicinity



Shooters point



The pistol at last



Camera Shot



Taking a shot at the competition

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Score sheet 286 (302.1)/400 (Qualified for the State Level Championship in July!)



Viren Lobo who was influenced by liberation theology during his college days did an MBA from Institute of Rural Management Anand. He has been working the development sector since he passed out from there in 1985. Employer, employee and other contradictions observed by him during his thirty year stint at Society for Promotion of Wastelands Development (SPWD) forced him to examine the relevance of Marxism as a way of looking at reality in relation to change he sought to bring. During the course of his work covering more than twenty States, he noticed a link between the livelihoods and ecology which he pursued strongly as Executive Director SPWD. The limitations of existing organisations to deal with the complex questions society posed motivated him to set up Institute of Ecology and Livelihood Action as the transition needed to address issues he was looking into at that time. The contradictions arising out of the a series of Bills that were passed during the last five years encouraged him to use the enforced sedentary life imposed on him to use his creativity to write plays. These were the first of a series which have helped serve the purpose of putting on paper the complex dilemma and diverse social opinions he came across.

About Especioza Trust:



Especioza Trust is named after my great, great grandmother who widowed at an early age brought up her only son Aogustinho (seated in centre). Shortly after a family reunion in December 2013, we got news that the family home at 84 Porvorim had been illegally sold to a builder. My aunt Marie stepped in and after getting the required mandate from the family not only got the family home back but the previous ancestral home of 85 Porvorim as well. Since then it became her project in memory of her widowed great grandmother till her death on her mother Amy Lobo's 117th birthday (25th July 2019). Since the informal trust set up by her could not achieve fruition I decided to keep the struggle and memories alive by carrying on her mission to bring unity within the family and dedicate the work of the Trust to all widows and single women of the world. My Aunt/Cousin Hazel Cardozo the daughter of Liban Pinto one of the two brothers born on my birthday (6th September) has helped me to give this project shape. The other brother Lucian in whose name the house was, also happened to be born on my birthday as well. The spiritual connection and the necessity for me to step in also come from a lot of other quarters which need not be documented here.

Viren Lobo