

# SACH

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This issue of SACH is being brought out at a time when newspaper headlines carry dozens of rape cases everyday. In such times naming such heinous acts as mere rape is not enough. Over the past few days most of the cases of rape are reported to be of small girls. Girls, 4-5 years old. Just yesterday, rape of a one and a half year old girl has been reported in Calcutta. Girls, who are unaware of why they are being tortured. What is in them that their bodies be battered like that? Not even knowing the role of various organs of her body. Pain, just that feeling of pain, knowing nothing else. These wounds are just like any other deep wounds on any other part of her body. Yes, those girls who survive the torture understand later in their life what happened to them. Torture and trauma starts anew that lasts a life time. Will this be life or just movement of body? From the time of birth we teach our children lessons of religion and community. When do we teach them to respect themselves, let alone respecting women? In fact, we teach exact opposite. We are responsible majorly, in moulding such minds. Revolting against such system, it is appropriate to assert ourselves with here is a poem by Maya Angelou, Still I Rise.



By *Maya Angelou*

## Still I Rise

You may write me down in history  
With your bitter, twisted lies,  
You may trod me in the very dirt  
But still, like dust, I'll rise.

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Does my sassiness upset you?  
Why are you beset with gloom?  
'Cause I walk like I've got oil wells  
Pumping in my living room.

Just like moons and like suns,  
With the certainty of tides,  
Just like hopes springing high,  
Still I'll rise.

Did you want to see me broken?  
Bowed head and lowered eyes?  
Shoulders falling down like teardrops,  
Weakened by my soulful cries?

Does my haughtiness offend you?  
Don't you take it awful hard  
'Cause I laugh like I've got gold mines  
Diggin' in my own backyard.

You may shoot me with your words,  
You may cut me with your eyes,  
You may kill me with your hatefulness,  
But still, like air, I'll rise.

Does my sexiness upset you?  
Does it come as a surprise  
That I dance like I've got diamonds  
At the meeting of my thighs?

Out of the huts of history's shame  
I rise  
Up from a past that's rooted in pain  
I rise  
I'm a black ocean, leaping and wide,  
Welling and swelling I bear in the tide.

Leaving behind nights of terror and fear  
I rise  
Into a daybreak that's wondrously clear  
I rise  
Bringing the gifts that my ancestors gave,  
I am the dream and the hope of the slave.  
I rise  
I rise  
I rise.

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# Rape : The Poverty of Language

*Khurshid Anwar*

INDIA

This is about the question of rape as such and other forms of sexual harassment. The question of how our society reacts to these incidents. The question of expression of masculinity and power and continuous suppression of women. But Damini's case has jolted the whole of South Asia and her martyrdom has brought the above questions in the mainstream discourse.

Sequence of events : On 16<sup>th</sup> of December 2012 Damini and her male friend boarded a bus from Munirka in South Delhi at 9.15 pm on Sunday after Ram Singh and his accomplices offered to take them to Dwarka. However, the men demanded to know from the victim's friend why he was travelling with her late at night. When he responded to the deliberate taunts, they thrashed him. The victim's attempt to intervene proved costly as the men raped her one by one. The accused then inserted part of jack meant to change tyres into her vagina. They went to the extent of pulling her intestines through vagina.

They were thrown out of bus after gruesome act and lay on road without clothes for hours while passer byes did not help them. Some people then gathered courage. Put their warm clothes on them and called police.

After battling for life in Delhi and in Singapore Damini died on 29<sup>th</sup> of December 2012.

Was the case with Damini just a case of rape and murder? Was jack of the case used to rape her. What do we call it? Words fall short. Dictionaries are silent. Rape is not just forcible penetration. Rape is done through words and statements. Rape is done through stares. Rape is done when "men" start visualizing sex after seeing a woman. What are "men" doing in their minds after seeing a woman and visualizing her in their bed? Without her knowledge. Yes, they are raping her. Molestations, sexual harassment, outraging modesty of women are now outdated. These are expressions created by men to bring down the degree of their crime. Laws support these expressions as law-makers are generally "men". This also has a lot to do with the degree of

punishment.

Today a woman may ask questions: when milkman touched her between her legs at a very tender age, was that rape? When a relative put his hand in her blouse when she was a child, was that rape? When her uncle made her sit in his lap and she felt his fingers running on her, was that rape? When her tutor kept putting his hand on her thighs time and again, was that rape?

Over the last few days, from top leader to police official and several others have said that woman invite rape by wearing short clothes. National Commission of Women chief Mamta Sharma, is supposed to be the voice of women. Look what she says : '(They) should be careful about the way they dress'. Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit advised women to dress properly when they come out of home. A Madhya Pradesh minister Vijayvargiya's comments, post the July gang molestation of a girl caught on camera as she came out of a bar in Dispur, Assam was also on similar lines. '...women are dressing provocatively which is leading to deviation in society...fashion, lifestyle and conduct should be in accordance with Indian culture'.

Liquor tycoon, whose yearly calendars carry bikini clad women on all leafs, blames women dressing style for rape.

These statements put the blame for rape squarely on women. "If you dress like this, you are inviting rape." Is it not direct support to the act of rape?

A girl aged 2 and a half was raped on 10<sup>th</sup> of January.

Seven year old girl was raped on 16<sup>th</sup> of January. What proper dress these girls should have worn?

We see every day on roads men without shirt. Does any woman gets provoked? A little glimpse of cleavage or legs leads to rape? After all no woman walks on the roads topless.

Again people raise a question time and again. Majority of the people asking women to be properly covered are women themselves. What innocent question. As if they are not aware why and how women do it. Who is responsible if a woman has patriarchal view? For centuries

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together men shaped the mentality of women according to their own wishes and convenience. Who stuffed that thinking process in women that even though things keep going against her but she remains the guardian and custodian of that mentality? To the extent of supporting Sati. The opposition leader in parliament, herself a woman preaches how a widow should lead her life? How could it happen? The family, the surroundings, toys, dresses, the phrases, stories etc. all tell her from childhood to behave in a manner that men wish to and patriarchal values get boosted. Above all get the stamp of religion over MAN-MADE values and practices and you have the license to make women behave exactly the same way you wished her to. Why dirty your hands now!!! Your job is being done by sufferer herself. Then shout from the rooftop that women themselves are enemy of women.

When we, male express our masculinity, it does reflect through our intellect or deeds. It reflects through our bodies and misdeeds. In a society where girls are leaving boys and men miles behind in every sphere of life, the male turns into "man" and paints the face of society and humanity black. When results of schools and colleges are announced, the father shows pride that his daughter excelled and same father on another occasion transforms himself into "man" and any unknown or known woman/ girl is crushed under his lust.

To prove his masculinity, man finds his only one place...between the legs of a woman...by using brute force...by using brute force between same legs from where they emerged to see the rising sun. And we use only one word...Rape..for every such deeds...NO..Now we need to invent new vocabulary..Rape takes place in billions of bedrooms everyday where men rape their wives without she being willing to have sex. And helpless woman sleeps with him motionless. Staring the roof in darkness. And then the walls of bedrooms hear the loud snoring of the "husband" and "wife" after being lost in nothingness finds solace in nightmares. The rapist shows her authority of being male partner shamelessly in the morning. "is tea and breakfast ready?" And moves out without any hint of remorse. After all she is his "wife" and he is her master!! Its his field and he has right to plough the field as and when he wishes to. He lives all his life with "dignity" without guilt or remorse.

Nobody brands him rapist..Billions of wives do not even know what is the pleasure of sex even after bearing children after children. They bring up these children with all their might and love. Out of these children many turn into "Men" and express their masculinity somewhere again between the legs of women.

And gang rape!!!! As a male, it should blow our minds. Male should ask themselves a question several times. How do these "men" get erection when they take turn to rape. One waiting for other to finish. How they get erection when a crowd surrounds the scene and clap while rape takes place, as happened in Gujarat in 2002.

No..it is not just rape that happens in speeding cars and buses. In some deserted corners of roads. Our dictions and vocabulary is still extremely poor. We coin words according to our convenience. We have words like whore, prostitute, flesh-trader, etc. for women but what is the word, even a single term for buyers of female body?

We use words like animals, monsters, beast for them. We actually defame beasts and animals. This is different specie on this earth which is yet to be named. After all language has limitations. After all languages are still developing..New words will come and this specie will be named. We will have a separate zoo then. This specie will be kept in enclosures and the signboard will not say "DO NOT DISTURB ANIMALS". It will say "DO NOT GO WITHOUT SPITTING ON THEM"

Who says Damini is dead. The fire of pyre on which the body of Damini, will run in our blood. The fire will burn in our hearts. Our eyes will be filled with that fire. Our breath will spit fire that we pick up from pyre. But it will be eyes of Damini as well. Our breath will be Damini's breath as well. Damini is not dead. Damini is blooming in all flowers and look the whole atmosphere is filled with scent of that flower. But her fire is also present in the hearts of every flower. Thousands of Damini are rising from the ashes of pyre. Thousands of hands are holding the hands of brothers and fathers. Her hands are around the necks of loving sisters and mothers. Her hands are reaching out to her tormenters, rapists and killers. Beware you rascals. You will drown in our tears. You will burn in the fire of Damini. Look at our eyes. They will pierce your hearts. O men look around your own house and surroundings. These beasts may be anywhere...

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# Birsa Munda – The tragedy of the lone Hero

*Suramya Smriti Kujur*

INDIA

A visionary and a great freedom fighter, Birsa Munda was a tribal leader and a hero, belonging to the Munda tribe who led the millenarian movement in the tribal belt of modern day Bihar and Jharkhand during the British Raj in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

His agitation was fuelled by the gross injustice he witnessed being meted out to his fellow adivasis. Forceful land-grabbing at the hands of the 'Zamindars' and the britishers; forcing the adivasis out of their land and wealth into bonded labour. Birsa motivated the adivasis to adhere to their rich culture and rituals and asked them not budge under any pressure. He motivated his fellow adivasis to raise voice against the imperial system and establish their own rule. His movement brought thousands of adivasis under a single umbrella and helped them in gaining their right on forest land, which had been used and tilled by their ancestors since ancient time.

His movement forced the Colonial Government for the promulgation of the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908. This act was the outcome of his dedicated struggle against the discrimination experienced by the tribals. Birsa Munda is named with great respect as one of the freedom fighters in the Indian struggle for independence against British colonialism. His achievements in the freedom struggle became even greater considering he accomplished this before his 25th year. His portrait hangs in the Central Hall of Indian Parliament, the only tribal leader to have been so honoured.

The above mentioned narration tells us a story of an extraordinary individual who had a deep sense of conviction about right and wrong and justice and injustice, and one who didn't hesitate to fight for what he believed in no matter what odds; no matter what sacrifice needed. Yes indeed Birsa Munda is a hero, a legend and to some even a God but somehow for me Birsa

Munda remains an extraordinary hero yes...but at the same time tragic; lone and overburdened.

Lone representative overburdened with responsibility.

One leader, one hero, one voice for a whole community who desperately needs to be lead out of obscurity, isn't that a huge responsibility on one shoulder...no matter how mighty it is?

'His portrait hangs in the Central Hall of Indian Parliament, the only tribal leader to have been so honoured.'

This sentence was meant to reiterate the great honour and respect bestowed upon Birsa Munda, but to me it represents the sad fact that a population of more than 835.80 lakhs has just one hero to talk about or to be honoured, everyone else remain obscure and invisible. Where are the rest of the adivasis? Do we have no other leaders, teachers, successful entrepreneurs, sportspersons, actors etc? Isn't this really alarming that we do not have any other adivasi idol to follow and celebrate?

The bigger tragedy is that not only does a whole community remains invisible and unknown, what little that the non-adivasis know about them is often absolutely warped and based on ignorance and stereotypes. It will probably be impossible for many to believe that this article is written by an adivasi woman who speaks 'proper' Hindi and English or who dresses in clothes other than leaves and rags. A popular website, whose name I will not mention here, describe the 'Munda' tribe as a tribe of 'man-eaters' quite a revelation for my Munda friends! Adivasis are still known and perceived as 'Junglee' i.e. wild, uncouth and uncultured. Even the so called preservers and protectors of the adivasis treat them as a species that need to be bottled up and preserved or put in a zoo so that people can watch and observe them from a distance.

They are seen as a class inferior from the others who deserve to be relegated to the outskirts of the society.

Tragedy of being an adivasi: Socially,

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economically, culturally and politically excluded, invisible and dispensable.

It is indeed a very sad state of affair if you are an adivasi, no one knows you or understands you; they in fact despise you and look down upon you, ignore you and at the most tolerate you.

Adivasis today lie in a precarious juncture; they are lost, displaced, disillusioned and dispensable. The social exclusion and alienation that they face at every walk of life is excruciatingly painful and daunting and has led the whole community to become one of the most socially, economically and politically backward and disadvantaged group. A pilot survey to identify the Below Poverty Line population has found that the Scheduled Castes and Tribes constitute half of the total “poor, deprived households”, thus proving the fact that social and economical deprivation depends upon social identity.

The erstwhile owners and protectors of land and resources are now being chased away from the very lands which they have cultivated with their sweat and blood. Obstacles on the way of ‘development’ they are conveniently tossed away and forgotten. Vedanta and POSCO in Odisha, ArcelorMittal in Jharkhand are just some examples of the threat the adivasis face. For an adivasi being displaced doesn’t just mean the loss of land, it means being up-rooted from their customs; traditions and way of life, it means a complete loss of their identity. Over centuries, the Adivasis have evolved an intricate convivial-custodial mode of living. Adivasis belong to their territories, which are the essence of their existence; the abode of the spirits and their dead and the source of their science, technology, way of life, their religion and culture. So to displace them and alienate them from their land, means sucking out from them their life blood, which will ultimately lead to the complete annihilation of the whole community. This knowledge has become a dangerous weapon in the hands of the land and mineral hungry that have their eyes on the mineral rich lands of the adivasis.

Politically the adivasis remain absolutely voiceless and powerless or at best they become pawns in the hand of politicians who see them as nothing more than vote banks. With negligible representation even in the reserved categories

the adivasis are barely able to make any dent in the political scene.

Socially and culturally as mentioned earlier the community remains the most misunderstood community of all. Their symbiotic relationship with nature is misunderstood as them being ‘junglees’, deterrents and obstacles to the so called development; their simple lifestyle is seen as them being dumb and imbecile; and their honest and trusting nature makes them easy prey to the people with vested interests.

## THE ROAD AHEAD

Well, we adivasis are not junglees or a species on the brink of extinction that need to be preserved in a time capsule. We are a dynamic, continuously evolving and growing community who has a very rich heritage to share. This is a fact that not only the non-adivasis but the adivasis themselves forget.

The Adivasis way of life which is casteless, classless and egalitarian in nature, community-based economic systems, symbiotic with nature, democratic according to the demands of the times, accommodative history and people-oriented art and literature has many lessons that should be understood and learnt in today’s fragmented and exploitative society. The significance of their sustainable subsistence economy in the midst of a profit oriented economy is not recognised in the political discourse, and the negative stereotyping of the sustainable subsistence economy of Adivasi societies is based on the wrong premise that the production of surplus is more progressive than the process of social reproduction in co-existence with nature. This flawed understanding needs to change and the inherent values of the adivasi way of life needs to be recognized and celebrated as perhaps the only hope for a better tomorrow.

This understanding needs to begin from within and then spread far and wide. We need more heroes, leaders, teachers, writers, entrepreneurs, statesmen and change makers. We need to awaken the Birsa Munda within each one of us and fight for justice and equality and herald a revolution that will rescue the adivasis from clutches of social exclusion, invisibility and dispensability.

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# Special Features of the Indus Civilisation

*D. D. Kosambi*

INDIA

The problem now is to make some reasonable guess about the methods by which the surplus was taken from those who grew it. To this end it is essential to note just what sets the Indus cities apart from developments in Egypt and Mesopotamia of the third millennium B.C. Explaining these differences would then be one method of reconstruction of the Indus society.

The first point has been mentioned: the lack of great changes. The twin cities seem to have sprung up fully planned. Both have the identical layout as far as can be ascertained. Neither changed till near the very end of the period. The pottery, the tool types, and the seals remained the same. The alphabet also was static; this is in strong contrast to India in the historical period, where the form of the letters varied so much from one century to the next that the script offers a fairly good method- sometimes the only known method- of dating manuscripts or inscriptions. The ground level of the cities rose steadily. At Mohenjo-daro the lower stories of a house might be filled up to rise above periodic floods; fresh stories were then raised on top. Some houses decayed naturally, to be rebuilt on top of the levelled debris. The street level also rose. Nevertheless, the street plan remained fixed, the houses were raised still higher on the same walls or the same room plan with very little change. The wells were built up so high on the original brick lining that they look like factory chimneys as the excavation goes to deeper levels. Only towards the end are there signs of decline and disorder. Some of the upper-level houses, crudely built of poorer materials, encroached upon the street plan; which means that the particular quarter of the city was then ruined. Pottery kilns appeared within city limits, as they never had at any earlier stage. Brick kilns have nowhere been found; the bricks during the cities' millennium of prosperity were made at a distance, wherever fuel was handy, and carted or floated down to the metropolis. The Umber came from the Himalayas, down the great rivers. The last houses

re-used some of this older material with unbaked mud bricks dried in the sun. During the Indus millennium, Egypt had a dozen complete dynasties; Sumer had been conquered by Akkad; Sargon the Great founded an empire which collapsed under his successors. Every Mesopotamian city showed significant variation in its structure during this period, as the Indian did not.

Secondly, the Indus cities have no public monuments or display in the sense of the two parallel cultures, with one possible exception. There is no great meeting-place, though a 70-metre-long hall at Mohenjo-daro with pillared aisle or portico may have been for public use. There are no known inscriptions, no obelisks or statues, no public decrees of any sort. Some of the richer houses have walls 7 feet thick, of well-burnt brick, which means that the houses rose to several stories. None dominates the rest as the palace or temple complex did in the other contemporary riparian civilisations. The street front as far as can be seen was of blank, undecorated walls. Mosaics, frescoes, glazed tiles, specially moulded bricks with figures, stucco work, and even decorated doorways were lacking. The entrance to the house was normally through a side lane, with door narrow enough to be easily secured. That is, the wealth within these houses was not connected with the great display one associates with temples or the vainglory of military conquests. At the same time, the accumulated treasures were not secure enough against unsocial elements or brigands. Whatever authority ruled the city had not reliable police arrangements.

This brings up the third special feature, the curiously weak mechanism of violence. The weapons found at Mohenjo-daro are weak as compared with the excellent tools. The spears are thin, with out a rib; the spearhead would have crumpled up at the first good thrust. There are no swords at all. The sturdy knives and celts are tools, not weapons. The archer becomes an ideogram symbol, but there were no bronze arrowheads, only stone. Whatever authority controlled the people did so without much force. At one side of each of the cities there appears a

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“citadel” mound, fortified at Harappa in later times. Earlier it was simply an unfortified building complex on a 10-metre-high artificial platform, with ramps leading up the sides that would make ceremonial uses easy, but ruin defence.

The lack of change on the Indus was not due to mere sloth or conservatism but to much deeper causes. It was a deliberate refusal to learn when innovation would have greatly improved matters. The merchants surely knew about canal irrigation in Babylon and Sumeria. No canals are discernible in any of the air photographs of the Indus region, apart from modern irrigation works. The simple open-cast bronze celt continued in use as a tool, though the axe and adze with a socket or a hole for the wooden shaft were certainly within the technical capacity of Indus craftsmen. The only specimens of the latter types are found in the top layers and belong unquestionably to invaders from the north-west whose graves (outside India) have such tools; so also with more efficient weapons such as swords, all foreign to the Indus culture.

The sudden completion, say within a century or so, of cities which had no predecessors, which began from a dead start, points to a stimulus that came from the outside. The enduring changeless stability shows that the form evolved was suitable to local conditions; the evolution itself was much too rapid for gradual rise out of the prehistoric villages whose ruins one finds in Baluchistan, to the west and north-west of the Indus region. Pottery of a type similar to the Baluch lies just below Harappa city, but not in the city. The immigrant city-builders did not invade in large numbers. The Indus construction and general technique is special and peculiarly characteristic, not borrowed from some other large-scale urban culture such as Sumeria. At the same time a couple of archaic (Gilgamesh-Enkidu) Sumerian types of seals made by local Indus technique have been noted above. For that matter the Sumerians were also not indigenous to the Tigris-Euphrates river banks; they came originally from some mountainous area. Their principal temples were erected on mud-brick platforms 70 feet or more high, called *ziggurats*, which were really artificial mountains. The primitive pottery found below the lowest Mesopotamian urban layers (Hassuna) sometimes goes back to the fifth-millennium

farmers of the Iranian plateau, say Jarmo. Similarly in Egypt. The first formation of strong Egyptian kingdoms seems also to have been due to people who came from outside. The extraordinary find of a prehistoric knife-handle in Egypt (Gebel-el-Arak) showing an athlete strangling two lions again resembles the Gilgamesh type. Though the period is very early in Nilotic urban development, there is a difference in that the lion-killer here is gowned as no Egyptians ever were. The Sumerian and the Indian lion-stranglers were stark naked. Such foreign motives in art are clear indications that the seeds of the great cultures came from outside. The three river-basin cultures we have compared nevertheless expanded into quite distinct civilisations because of favourable though totally different local conditions.

The best explanation would seem to be as follows. The people who touched off these mighty river cultures came from some restricted but developed locality or localities; restricted, in that there could have been no room in each case for expansion in the original, unknown homeland; developed, because each of the three great ancient civilisations shows knowledge of agriculture, brick-making, construction and proper grouping of houses, and some military technique. The last was needed for two reasons. Sometimes, access to water had to be fought for. In the great alluvial valleys of rivers flowing through a desert the mere presence of agriculture would not suffice to turn food-gatherers into farmer-peasants. This problem of conversion had to be faced repeatedly in later Indian stages, too. The food-producers would always breed much more rapidly than the gatherers and encroach upon more and more territory. This naturally led to armed conflict between the two. At some point the discovery was inevitably made that the need for more labour could be rapidly satisfied by force of arms, i.e. by taking slaves.

Possible origins, or at least prototypes of the seminal cultures are found at Catal Huyuk in Anatolia and Jericho in Palestine as early as the seventh millennium B.C. At the former site there was a small town, compactly put together with access barred to intruders by pulling up a series of ladders; pottery was just developing out of basketwork. Stone images were made and

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worshipped. Jericho had a remarkable fortified tower of stone blocks even in its pre-pottery microlithic days. This tower was necessary to defend its spring, the only source of water in an otherwise dry region. Neither of these two places need have been the immediate source of the Nilotic, Mesopotamian, or Indus civilisation. There is nothing so far to show any direct connection. The gap in time and space will take a long time to fill by archaeological methods. However, the existence of such early farming communities on a small scale in localities unsuitable for continued development into large city-states was the indispensable seed for later growth into the magnificent riparian cultures.

### THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Before trying to say something about the kind of society that inhabited the Indus cities, one more special feature common to both must be noted. Adjacent to the finest group of houses, but clearly separated from the rich dwellings on a 10-metre-high mud-brick platform, is the 'citadel' mound. The mound in each case is of the same size and rectangular shape. The Harappa mound has been ruined by use as a brick quarry in modern times, while part of the Mohenjo-daro complex is still covered by a Buddhist stupa monument of about the second century A.D. Assuming that the plan and layout was the same for the buildings on the mound, it is clear that the original use of the buildings was public, but not military. The fortifications came later. The Mohenjo-daro group still has a many-roomed and originally several-storied building around an open courtyard which contains a rectangular tank about 23 x 39 feet and 8 feet deep. The bricks are very well laid, with a waterproof intermediate layer of pitch in the tank wall. At each end a flight of steps originally covered by wooden planks leads to the bottom of the tank. A finely built drain allowed the water to be emptied, probably for cleaning the tank. The 'bath' was filled with water drawn laboriously from a well in one of the rooms adjoining the courtyard. The remaining rooms have doors that do not face each other; some have flights of steps leading to one or more upper stories. This "Great Bath" cannot have been for mere cleanliness, for every house had excellent bathrooms and good wells and the Indus flowed

past the citadel mound. The purpose was surely for some elaborate ritual considered vital by the inhabitants.

The original purpose can be ascertained fairly well by comparing references to ritual tanks in later though archaic Indian literature. The name in Sanskrit is pushkara, 'lotus-pond'. Such artificial ponds were built throughout the historic period: first independently, later to adjoin temples; they are so constructed even now. A natural lotus-pond would not serve, apparently. Apart from ritual baths and ritual purification, such pushkaras were needed in early times for consecration of Indian kings and priests. The Indian king was 'sprinkled', not 'anointed' as in Europe. Moreover, the steps (the modern Indian ghat) are characteristic of pilgrimage spots. The name tirtha for a place of pilgrimage implies that water had originally to be crossed by fording. These two features connect the Mohenjo-daro 'Great Bath' quite well with later Indian holy tanks. But in the very oldest references there is described a third function of the pushkara which associates it with primitive fertility rites. These lotus-ponds were generally the resort of a special class of water-deities or water-witches, the apsaras. The apsaras are described as irresistibly beautiful women who would entice men to consort with them and eventually lead the heroes to destruction. These bathing beauties were also accomplished in song and dance. The demigoddesses had individual names and each was associated with some particular locality. Several ancient Indian dynasties were supposed to have descended from the temporary union of some particular apsaras with a hero. The apsaras could not marry a husband and settle down to permanent, normal family life. This would explain the use of the peculiarly constructed rooms at the 'Great Bath'. It was part of the ritual for men not only to bathe in the sacred water but also to cohabit with the female attendant representatives of the mother goddess to whom the citadel complex belonged. This is not far-fetched. The temples of Ishtar in Sumer and Babylon had similar practices in which girls of the leading families had also to participate. The goddess Ishtar was herself eternal virgin and harlot at the same time, mother goddess but not wife to any god. She was also the goddess of the river. The citadel

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mound was, in fact, the Indus counterpart of the Mesopotamian ziggurat. Confirmation of the mother-goddess is furnished by small but terrifying terra-cotta figurines which show women wearing a heavy bird-mask that covers the head completely. These are found in the ruins of pre-Indus villages and of the two cities. They were not merely toys or dolls, but representations of some goddess who presided over birth and death. She needed no larger statues, because the hierodules performed all necessary ritual duties on her behalf without the image.

The situation in Egypt and Mesopotamia has now to be compared. The Egyptian Pharaoh was in theory a divine ruler, absolute master of the land. Actually he could reign only with the support of a numerous class of armed nobles and a still larger class of priests. His rule performed an essential function in the narrow river valley. All raw materials needed besides food had to be imported with a considerable and at times military effort: timber, ores or metal, and the like. After import they had to be apportioned. Individual villages would not have been able to do this, for the division of tasks and of materials had to be directed without dispute. The direction and allocation - and, when necessary, a war of aggression - was the Pharaoh's basic function. Hence the lavish scale on which everything connected with the Pharaoh's rule and memory was constructed, e.g. the pyramids. That there is nothing comparable in the Indus basin leads us to exclude the dynastic rule of divine warlords. It has already been remarked that no palace can be identified, while Indus weapons found were exceptionally few and feeble. No monuments to glorious conquerors exist at Mohenjo-daro or Harappa. The two great cities have been regarded by some distinguished British archaeologists as the northern and southern capitals of an empire; not only on the analogy of Egypt but perhaps because of the feeling that anything so advanced in India could have resulted only from strong imperial rule (like the British). This opinion needs no further comment.

Mesopotamian culture was closer to the Indus civilisation. Unlike the Egyptians, they had no need of foreign conquest for economic survival, nor was a strong central authority so

necessary for internal distribution. Trade played a more important part in Mesopotamian economy (both to the east and west, as well as along the African coast). However, whereas the Mesopotamian city had a number of temples, each owning land and participating in trade, the Indus city had only the one ziggurat mound, with no evidence of any other powerful or fashionable cult spot for the general public, whatever the nature of family or household cults. The Mesopotamian merchants were prominent, with ample property in land, slaves, animals, and goods; but their houses are not on the lavish Indus scale and had miserable sanitary arrangements. We know a good deal about their inheritance laws, contracts, debts, and mortgages. No Indus records have survived. Of course, it is a puzzle why the Indus merchants did not adopt writing upon clay tablets from the Iraq counterparts with whom they traded. Why did they not take over the better foreign tools? Why not use canal irrigation and deep ploughing for agriculture? Some of them must have seen the heavy crops thus yielded on the Euphrates. The answer would be that the Indus merchant would not profit from any of these improvements. It follows that the land as a whole must have been the property of and directly administered by the great temple and its priesthood. Once established, they would insist in the way of most ancient priesthoods upon preventing all innovation. For them, change was not necessary; for the merchants change was not profitable. In Mesopotamia there was a strong secular ruler, the *Ishakku*, who led the city's army in war and eventually became a divine or semi-divine king. He did not interfere too much with the temple administration of his own city, but he did whatever he liked in captured cities. In the Indus region there is no evidence for this type of king either. Kingship was not indispensable. The food surplus was yielded up by the primary producers without the use of much armed force. Religion, not prowess or violence, was the essential ideological force of the Indus society. This can be said repeatedly of Indian society at several later stages; the historical pattern was for peaceful religious stagnation to alternate with violent periods of war, invasion, conquest, or anarchy. On the Indus the

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stagnation was long and steady.

The merchants could pile up their wealth behind the massive walls of palatial houses, but there was no one house which can be taken as the palace proper, none that greatly exceeds all others in size and importance. This means that the Indus merchants' taxes were light and net profits decidedly heavier in comparison with Iraq. No king imposed himself upon them as a senior partner who grabbed most of the profit. On the other hand, they had inefficient police protection, or none, and so had individually to guard themselves and their treasures by the peculiarly depressing type of heavy, blank architecture we have noted. Even before the end, evidence of robbers or brigands operating inside the cities is available in the excavated ruins. The merchants' records might have been on cloth, palm-leaf, or some such perishable material; but with restricted local transactions, they did not need many records, because memory would serve. This, too, remained a feature of later Indian society, where contracts made by simple word of mouth were fully honoured, to the astonishment of foreign observers.

The grain would be collected and distributed by the great temple. The granaries belonged to the citadel mound, being part of the complex or close, to it. The work of processing the grain was done by people who lived in adjacent quarters built to a uniform but rather mean pattern. These might have been temple slaves, of the sort known in Mesopotamia as qallu(gallu). To what extent the temple participated in the processes of manufacture is not known, but the participation must have been full, to judge by foreign parallels. It is notable, however, that the merchants seals do not show any female deity. The totem animals are male without exception. The very few human figures, where identifiable, seem also to be male. One possible implication is that the traders developed their own secondary cults in which the mother goddess had no direct share. This would then be true of the profits of the trade as well, in contrast to revenue from the land.

This is about as far as we can go in the reconstruction. The system obviously did not expand. The Indus colonies in the north and on the coast are petty and few. The main urban population even decreased at the end of the

third millennium. How much of the Indus culture survived the final destruction of the cities is the logical question. Certainly, a great deal that was connected with craftsmanship and trade did survive. The later Indian standards of weight and apparently measure (this part is not so clear) often went back directly to those at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Certain myths and legends must have survived as well, as for example the Indian story of the flood, a universal deluge on the Sumerian-Babylonian and Biblical model. The story appears in later—not the earlier—Sanskrit records, and is one of the many symptoms of progressive assimilation of old and new, of Aryan and pre-Aryan, which sometimes reverses the expected sequence in Indian literature and legal practice. It is noticeable that dynasty after dynasty ruled in Egypt without any profound change in the basic fabric and pattern of Egyptian life. Such changes as are apparent only manifest themselves at the level of Pharaoh's court because of sudden access to new ores in foreign lands or control over a large number of foreign slaves taken prisoners in war. The life of the common people remained much the same. Some of the invaders even in Egypt were Aryans. The language and cults changed in Mesopotamia with successive invaders, but the cities remained. At most, the centre of gravity would go from one city to the other, whether Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, or Persian ruled. Only when the irrigation system was allowed to fall into disrepair did the civilisation ultimately collapse with reversion of food-producing land to desert. The complete ruin of the Indus cities could have been due to just one cause, the wiping out of their system of agriculture. Inasmuch as there were no canals, this means two things. First, the rivers may have changed course, as happened so often. This would ruin the city as a port and make the maintenance of a food supply difficult. Secondly, the conquerors were not primarily agriculturists. They shattered the dams by which flood irrigation was made to deposit silt on a wider expanse of land. This signalled the end of cereal production, and so of the cities which had already begun to decay from long stagnation. The really viable society had to grow again, as a combination of new and old.

*Courtesy—The Culture and Civilisation of  
Ancient India*

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# Remembering 1857 Through Folk Songs

P. C. Joshi

INDIA

## 1857 FLAG-SONG

*To us belongs our Hindustan  
And to none else  
Our sacred motherland  
Dearer than heaven  
The world is aglow  
with the light of her soul.  
How old, how new  
And unique of its kind  
To us belongs our Hindustan  
and to none else.*

*Ganga and Jamuna making  
Our lands fertile  
And overhead the snow-clad mountain  
our sentry towering.  
Beating against the coasts below  
the trumpets of the seas.  
And gold and diamonds from our mines  
Overflow.  
Our pomp and splendor evoking the  
envy of the world.  
And then came the Firangi  
And such magic spell he cast  
Pillaging and plundering our motherland  
He ruled.  
The martyrs call you, O countrymen  
Do you hear?  
Smash up the chains of slavery  
And pour out fire  
Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs-  
all of us brothers.  
Hail and Salute it,  
Here is our flag of freedom!*

Some eminent Indian historians have advanced the thesis that there was no national sentiment in India of 1857 and that the insurgents were not moved by patriotic ideas. The *Flag Song of 1857* is the best answer. It embodies most of the concepts and ideas that became the basis of the national liberation movement that won India its independence.

It is necessary to correctly evaluate the historical social set-up of the period before one can place and effectively use folk songs as source

material. In 1857 the feudal were not only the leading class in Indian society but the mass of the people themselves were under feudal ideological influence and this becomes clear from the outlook behind these folk songs. This is not all. These folk songs are worth a close study to see how patriotism is born and how it develops within a feudal society and its system of thought and ultimately bursts its bonds, both social and ideological.

There runs through all these folk songs a burning hatred of the Firangi, the foreign usurper, for his alien rule, for disrupting the traditional way of Indian life, and making daily life a misery for the common people. The hatred of the Firangi is passionate and undying.

The deed most glorified is fighting the Firangi. The virtues most admired are bravery, courage and self-sacrifice. The real shame is known to lie in passivity or submission.

Great confidence is derived from the unity of the various castes and communities that came into being during the struggle. This popular unity is also considered necessary for the success of the struggle. The experience of this national unity in the fire of struggle led India from feudal disunity towards popular unity and made the building of a modern national movement possible.

The Indian historians who deny the national popular character of the uprising and propound the view that it was a reactionary outburst which would have led to the revival of feudalism lay great stress on the fact that the insurgents were out to place the Mughal Bahadur Shah on the throne at Delhi and Nawab Wajid Ali Shah at Lucknow and so on.

The above fact is historically correct but it was based on the sound and healthy national sentiment that *our* ruler is better than any foreign ruler. Russell who widely travelled in India as the correspondent of *London Times* wrote in his Diary "The people of India have no confidence in our system." During the steam-rolling regime of Lord Dalhousie, Colonel Low, a member of his Council, wrote in his Minutes, "in all respects the natives of India are exactly like the inhabitants of all parts of the known world; they like their own habits and customs better than those of the

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foreigners” Munshi Mohanlal, who was an Indian reporter for the British during the uprising, observed “the people those (insurgent) territories were inclined to prefer Indians as their rulers to the British.”

In the historical conditions of the nineteenth century when the British conquest was proceeding by subjugating Indian kingdoms and principalities would it not be natural for the Indian people to rally behind their traditional rulers to defend and regain national sovereignty? In the conditions then prevailing these deposed rulers alone could serve as symbols of Indian sovereignty. The contemporary British chroniclers and authorities recognized the phenomenon as such and treated the 1857 uprising as a *national rebellion*.

Again though the insurgents placed the representatives of the Mughal dynasty on the throne at Delhi and of the Oudh dynasty at Lucknow they were far from reviving Indian feudalism or medieval autocracy. These traditional rulers were only treated as symbols while real power lay with the armed insurgent sepoys, drawn from the sturdy peasant stock of India. The papers concerning the Court of Mutineers, preserved in the National Archives, prove that it was the collective leadership of the insurgent sepoys which was the new organized revolutionary power created during the 1857 uprising. It was not only the supreme charge of the military operations against the British but also functioned as the Civil governance of the country. Bahadur Shah only signed its decrees and proclamations and functioned as a sort of constitutional monarch. It commandeered funds for the war from the rich leaving the poor alone. It proclaimed against the British imposed land revenue system and for land to the tiller. It introduced a new and plebian atmosphere inside the Red Fort with the soldiers marching with their army boots on into the *Diwan-E-Khas* and shaking Bahadur Shah with “*Arre Buddhe! Arre Badshah* (Oh you, old man! Oh you King!)” when this scion of the Mughals would hesitate or falter.

Such were the new political orientation and the revolutionary activities of the vanguard of the Indian people, the insurgent sepoys, were the common people of India, from whom sprang their folk songs. They had an unerringly sound assessment of the political forces as they were arraigned. So far the Indian feudal were regarded by the people as their traditional leaders. During

and after the 1857 uprising the Indian people began to differentiate between the various sections of the feudal.

They loyally followed but sang in honour of the Rani of Jhansi, Kunwar Singh of Bhojpur, Raja Gulab Singh and Rana Beni Madho of Oudh, all the chiefs who fought the British and played a patriotic role.

They also cursed those feudal chiefs who went against the national uprising and supported the British side, like the rajas of Dumraon, Tekari, Ramgarh etc, in the Kunwar Singh songs, or the Maharaja of Jodhpur, in songs glorifying the rebel Thakur of Auwa.

It speaks greatly of the political sagacity of the Indian people that even during the course of 1857 struggle or soon after it they were able to clearly differentiate, in their traditional ruling class, between those who played a patriotic role and those who were treacherous during this national uprising.

The 1857 struggle failed primarily because of the weak-kneed effort or treacherous role of the Indian feudal ruling class as a whole. This living national experience of the worth of the Indian feudal in the anti-British freedom struggle became the basis for the coming generation of Indian patriots to formulate the correct strategy for the victory of the Indian revolution, that is, that the Indian freedom struggle has to be not only anti-British but also anti-(Indian) feudal. The 1857 folk songs supply valuable historical documentaries to explain this transition.

In India the folk art forms have been the traditional media for approaching the masses. There is evidence to show that the organizers of the 1857 uprising planfully and effectively used this method of mass propaganda to stir the people to revolt. Kaye, the British historian of 1857<sup>1</sup> stated, “There were two subjects which the *Kathputleewallas* (puppeteers) extremely delighted to illustrate the degradation of the Mughal and the victories of the French over the English, the one intended to excite hatred, the other contempt in the minds of the spectators.” Traveyan, in *Kanpur* states that festivals and *tamashas* were used for revolutionary propaganda. “The dolls employed in theatres began to speak a strange language and to dance a dangerous dance. *Panwadas* (ballads) and *Lawaniya* (folk musical art-form that stir softer emotions) were sung near police stations. Ballad *Alha Udal* (a heroic ballad

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that stirs the blood) was also employed. From Calcutta to Punjab dangerous *tamashas* (folk drama) in the night were exhibited...Female gypsies were also used. *Bhishtis* (water-carriers) refused water, *ayas* (maid-servants) left service." This was a hundred years back and ever since these folk songs on 1857 have helped to nurse patriotism among the common people of India.

These folk songs on 1857 written by the talented folk poets of the participants in that great national uprising are in more ways than on a part of our rich national heritage. They are all most important source of historical material on the outlook and aspirations of the Indian people during the 1857 struggle and they are also a source material for studying how this tradition has lived and grown on among our people. Secondly they are, unfortunately enough, a little known part of our patriotic poetical heritage and their popularization would enrich our national literature. Finally they have been composed in a vast variety of musical art-forms in which our folk music abounds. Their heart-warming music stirs patriotic blood as nothing else can. Their popularization would thus help to enrich our national music. These folk songs though hitherto not widely known constitute a part of our national heritage of which we can be justly proud. To treasure, study and sing them is a simple way to pay our debt to our insurgent forefathers.

The 1857 struggle and its dramatic soul-stirring incidents and themes supply very good material for new inspiring creative works in our national literature and arts which will help us to fulfil our duties in an independent India. For us, the people of India, this is the best way to pay our homage and carry forward the heritage of the martyrs and fighters of 1857 and the remarkably talented but unknown folk poets who have left these noble folk songs behind.

### THE COMPANY'S FLAG

Modern Uttar Pradesh and the area outlying it was the main base of 1857 insurrection. The British moved in both from east and west. The eastern part was under the Nawab of Oudh and the western under the Marathas. A decisive campaign to break the power of the Scindia and seize the rich and strategic territory, with the important and historic cities of Agra and Delhi, was launched under Lord Lake in the beginning of the century.

In the folk song below we get a glimpse of what mass terror Lake's campaign meant for the people and what panic it spread. It is a sort of background song to the period preceding the 1857 uprising.

*Have you seen the company's Flag,  
my love?  
The brave Lake has conquered  
the whole land.  
The tough Jawans<sup>1</sup> are in red coats  
With blackstones<sup>2</sup> in their hands  
and Toshadan<sup>3</sup> on their backs.  
The infantry march in front  
And the cavalry behind  
The Hindus and Muslims are fleeing  
from the roar of their guns.  
Ten companies of Jawans  
Are captained by one Englishman  
They order: God Damn you! Fire!"  
It takes our breath away.*

### MEERUT

The earlier fear of the *Firangi* is gone, he was "bedeviled by fate impending" and "the terrible Goddess Kali" had after all decided to "engulf Vilayat" for had not the *Firangi* used the cow's and pig's lard in the cartridges meant for the Sipahes to defile their caste. At the time the British officials from the highest to the lowest indignantly denied that any such stuff which the Hindus and Muslims might consider impure was used. But the popular charge against the British authorities was correct and later they were forced to admit it.

Again when the "Angrez from Calcutta" is pictured as sneaking out it is not mere flight of the poet's fancy. The authoritative British historians themselves have graphically described the panic that seized the Europeans of Calcutta, They used to go inside the Fort to sleep at night, and the rest had shifted their belongings to the docks to be near the ships sailing home!

As is well-known the Sepoy regiments of Meerut started off the insurrection from Meerut. The song below describes in picturesque words the thorough beating given to the British when the sepoys revolted in Meerut. It breathes self-confidence. It is from the Brij area, a little to its south.

*Oh come and look!  
In the Bazar of Meerut,*

*The Firangi is waylaid and beaten!  
 The whiteman is waylaid and beaten!  
 In the open Bazar of Meerut  
 Look, oh look, (He is beaten).  
 His gun is snatched  
 His horse lies dead  
 His revolver is battered.  
 In the open Bazar  
 He is waylaid and beaten  
 Look, oh look!  
 The Firangi is waylaid and beaten  
 In the Bazar of Meerut  
 Look, oh look!\**

### SONGS OF MEERUT LOOTING

*Other folk amassed in the loot  
 Shawls, oh such shawls!  
 My love, he looted kerchiefs only  
 There's your Sadar Bazar<sup>1</sup> of Meerut!  
 Oh, my love's so inept  
 In this business of looting!  
 Other folk amassed in the loot  
 Such plates and bowls!  
 My love, he looted glasses only,  
 There's your Sadar Bazar of Meerut!  
 Oh, my love's so inept  
 In this business of looting!  
 Other folk amassed in the loot  
 Such dates and coconuts!  
 My love, he looted groundnuts only  
 There's your Sadar Bazaar of Meerut!  
 Oh, my love's so inept  
 In this business of looting!  
 Other folk amassed in the loot  
 Such coins of gold!  
 My love found copper chhadams<sup>2</sup> only!  
 There's your Sadar Bazaar of Meerut!  
 Oh, my love's so inept  
 In this business looting!*

### THE REBEL-WARRIOR

It is sad but easily understandable how the uprising became associated with looting in the mind of Gujar woman of peasant community. In these parts the revolt acquired a mass character but the leadership was in the hands of the feudal elements who had also lost their lands to the moneylenders and the officials under the pressure of the excessive land revenue demands etc and who were only interested in regaining their lands and destroying the symbols of British rule and after achieving this they diverted peasant energy towards looting to escape the problems of land

distribution etc.

This however does not mean that the peasantry participated in the insurrection only to loot. They primarily joined up to fight the hated *Firangi* and fought bravely and risked their all. Below is an old traditional songs from the Brij area in which the peasant *Bhabi* (sister-in-law) lovingly and admiringly described the bravery and the unwielding determination of her young, *Devar* (brother-in-law) to fight.

*The army has attacked the fort  
 My Devar<sup>1</sup> is facing the screaming bullets.  
 One 'Firangi', my darling has killed.  
 Two Firangies, my Devar has seized and thrown  
 inside the dungeon.  
 I reproached him and he was angered terribly.  
 There (on the other side)  
 An order was given,  
 And the Firangi armies-  
 Got ready and stormed the fort.  
 But see, my Devar  
 Still unperturbed,  
 Is fighting them as though it is mere play to him.  
 Oh, dear sister  
 Much, very much did I tell him  
 (but he doesn't listen)  
 Now, even the shells are finished.  
 (But) He says, "I will not yield"  
 And thus, he heeds not  
 Ah! My little Devar.*

Courtesy—1857 in Folk Songs

### 1857 FLAG-SONG

1. *Kaye. History of the Sepoy War in India. London. Vol. I. p246 .*

### THE COMPANY'S FLAG

1. *Literally the youth. A term generally used for soldiers.*
2. *Some instrument like the grenade.*
3. *Haver sack. Bag to carry food and other odd necessities.*

### MEERUT

\* *This well-known song on Meerut looting was collected from the Gujar (a peasant community) women of Saharanpur about the end of the last century by an Indian civilian William Crooke. Who used his rural contacts in the various regions to collect the folk songs on the Mutiny.*

### SONGS OF MEERUT LOOTING

1. *Main market in the Cantonment.*
2. *Copper-coin, one fourth of pice, lowest unit.*

### THE REBEL-WARRIOR

1. *Husband's younger brother. A relationship of great endearment and permissible social liberties.*

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# PEACE

*Katharina Schilling*

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## 1. PEACE – WHAT DOES PEACE MEAN?

One of the first reactions to the question “What is peace?” might be “the opposite of war”. This, in turn, leads to the question “What is war? This leaves the impression that it is almost impossible to define peace without using the term ‘war’. But is it fair to describe peace as the opposite or absence of war? What about other factors like security or the role of justice? Is it possible to have circumstances that are both peaceful and unjust? Given that politicians, scientists and political philosophers have deliberated on these questions for centuries, it is impossible to address these questions in depth in this book.

The ideas presented in this chapter might offer some answers, but the most important objective is to provide ideas to trigger people’s thinking processes, so that they may exchange and discuss with others the various issues surrounding peace and find their own way to deal with them.

### 1.1 Origins of the term peace

Peace in classical Judaism was seen as a necessary precondition for the preservation of the existence of humanity and also a requirement for its development. This means that peace was defined with an explicit reference to the internal working structures of a society : source, creator, supporter, multiplier and protector off all that is good in heaven and earth. In the Old Testament, the term *Salom* is used to define the conformity between God and man, and the condition for peace is the total defeat of the enemies of Israel. Peace is given through the power of the divine ruler, from whom the granting of internal justice is also dependent. “He shall judge between the nations, and shall decide for many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore,” Is 2.4. A radically opposite position is found in the New Testament with the call to love your enemy “You shall love your neighbor as yourself” Mt 22.39-40 or “But I say to you that hear, Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you. To him who strikes you on the cheek, offer the other also; and

from him who takes away your coat do not withhold even your shirt.” LK 6.27-29 Peace in the New Testament is understood as a worthwhile aim to be achieved “Let us then pursue what makes for peace and for mutual upbuilding.” Rom 14.19 and furthermore there are implications that happiness comes from working for peaceful relationship: “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God.” Mt 5.9.

Peace and striving for peace are at the heart of all major religions, even if groups of followers abuse their religion for violence and war.

The Muslim greeting “As-Salamu alaykum” translate to “Peace be upon you” – an indication of the fundamental desire for peace in Islam. The word Islam itself means “peace”. The task of the prophets that have been sent from God throughout the ages was to spread the message of love and friendship in every society. This includes that people must live their true nature, which is marked by compassion, tolerance, love and loyalty to each other because only then can societies be created where justice, well-being, security, peace and real brotherhood prevail. Peace in Islam is therefore an essential element for human development. The Koran commands to be kind to each other and to not act violently. The following order to establish peace might explain what this entails : “Whosoever killed a person-unless it be for killing a person or for creating disorder in the land-it shall be as if he had killed all mankind” (Al Mahida, CH 5:v. 33). This means that unlawful shedding of the blood of a single life is to be seen like killing the whole human race. Acting violently is therefore a sin, an act that violates peace. Peacemakers, according to the Koran, are agents of good and those who breach the peace are elements of sin (of which killing is one); peacemakers are people who advocate for a way of living together in society with peace and affection for each other.

At the beginning of the European Middle Ages (6<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century) and especially in modern times, an integrated understanding of peace has developed. Particularly under the influence of international law, peace was reduced to the relationships between societies, while the conditions for human development in the internal area of societies were ignored. During the development of the territorial state and the Absolutism period (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century), the

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conditions for human development played only a minor role. It wasn't until the Enlightenment period (around 1756) and finally the French Revolution (1789-1795) that the political significance of the living conditions of the populations was considered.

Concepts like prosperity (material distributive justice) and democracy (participatory distributive justice) were included, but the norm of peace was still reserved for relationships between societies. Peace as a norm began to overshadow the development of people's existence after WWII (1939-1945) as increasing interdependence began to close the gap between states.

### 1.2 Conceptions, definitions, thoughts and models of peace

Anyone who is asked if they want peace would answer "yes". This would be the answer of those who accept the need for coercive force (including violence) and those who take a totally non-violent stance, and the many others with views in between. But the ideas on what peace really is vary greatly. In this book we focus on peace in life on earth, not on eternal peace after death. Peace is always linked to human interaction, people's interests, the struggle for power and recognition; simply striving for justice leads to conflict—all these issues are thus related to peace and peace making.

Below is a list with a variety of thoughts and kinds of definitions about peace. Although this list is just a tiny selection, it highlights a variety of thoughts about the contents of peace.

- Peace is the absence of war.
- Peace is often defined in the negative as freedom from war. Peace, development and democracy form an interactive triangle. They are mutually reinforcing. Without democracy, fair distribution of economic progress and wealth is unlikely. Without sustainable development the disparities become marked and can be a cause for unrest, and without peace, developmental gains are quickly destroyed.
- Peace is not the absence of war. Peace is a virtue, an attitude, a tendency to good, trust and justice. (Spinoza 1632-1677).
- Peace means the absence of violence in all forms.
- Peace is a natural social condition, whereas war is not.
- Peace is a process, a many-sided and never-ending struggle to transform violence.
- Peace is often compared to health, in that it is more easily recognized by its absence.
- Peace is a prime force in human behavior

(pacifism).

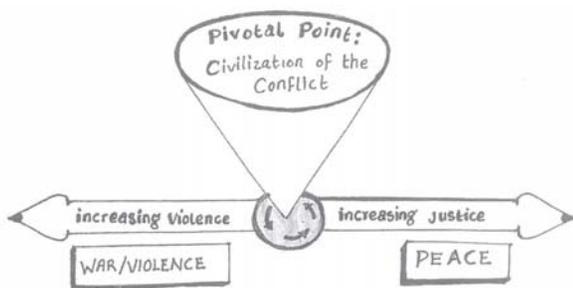
- Peace describes the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way—it does not mean the total absence of conflict. Peace therefore exists where people interact non-violently and manage their conflict positively, with respectful attention to the legitimate needs and interest of all concerned. Peace can be considered as well-managed social conflict.
- Peace means a balanced, fair, just and calm states of affairs, where all concerned know and enjoy their due rights and protection.
- Peace is an interweaving of relationships between individuals, groups and institutions that value diversity and foster the full development of human potential.
- Sustainable peace is characterized by the absence of physical and structural violence, the elimination of discrimination and self-sustainability.
- Preventing war over the long-term means replacing it with non-warlike conflict solution methods. When this has been achieved, there's peace. It is not identical with the avoidance of war over certain periods, but actually excludes its preparation based on the acceptance and readiness for war. Peace in this sense describes a process in the international system that is characterized by the non-violent discharging of the conflicts arising within it. In this sense, peace exists when conflicts in the international system are being resolved in a way that is overwhelmingly free from military force.
- Peace has generally been defined as the safety from fear and want and the absence of war or violence. Peace is sometimes structured in three stages. The first stage is *durable peace* (positive peace) marked by a high level of cooperation and understanding amongst parties based on shared values and goals; the second stage is *stable peace* which is higher in its degree of tension that the precedent and marked by limited cooperation and trust despite the relative national stability; the last stage is the *unstable peace* which comes as a result of unresolved differences leading to rising tensions. Here tension and mistrust run very high and the possibilities of resorting to a crisis are equally very high. It is sometimes characterized at intrastate level by sporadic violence and government repression of opposition. If situations persist in this direction, the peace may move to the level of a crisis marked by direct confrontations between opposing parties. Such a conflict may move from a crisis level to

an open and fully-fledged war.

### 1.3 Where does peace begin?

As the list above makes obvious, it is almost impossible to define peace without using the terms 'violence', 'conflict' and 'war'. The illustration of the continuum provides an impression of the relationship between these terms and peace and how they are connected to each other.

The continuum is divided into two halves with the civilization of the conflict forming the focal point (pivot). Conflict, as a fundamental part of life, forms the (invisible) background of the continuum. The critical question is whether these conflicts can be resolved by the use of violence or not. War and peace represent the two extremes. The decisive factor is the degree to which violence exists: if a great deal of violence is present, it's war. If non-violence is the main characteristic, it's peace. Actual and structural violence on the left-hand side are opposed by cooperation and integration on the right-hand side.



The point at which peace begins is contested. It implies the question "What does it actually mean when somebody says that there has been an end to violence?" Within the framework of this book\*, this question concerns the distinction between positive and negative peace, and direct, structural and cultural violence. Johan Galtung's framework on these issues is the most widely used today; it also serves as a reference in this book. He distinguishes, for example, between positive and negative peace as summarized below:

#### Negative peace

...refers to the absence of war, fear, direct violence and conflict at individual, national, regional and international levels. It requires institutional reforms to prevent acts of direct physical violence committed by individuals or groups. Negative perception of a former enemy of conflicting party is neutralized or shifted after a violent conflict is settled. In this scenario, there may be little or no hostility but the conflicting parties may be skeptical to engage in positive interactions that might lead to building trust.

During the period of negative peace, there is no emphasis on dealing with the causes of violence or conflict. Rather, it is limited to addressing the manifestation of factors that led and lead to violence.

#### Positive peace

...refers to the absence of indirect and structural violence, the absence of unjust structures and unequal relationships; it refers to peace on different levels like behavioural, attitudes or structures. Positive peace is filled with positive contents such as the restoration of relationships, the constructive resolution of conflict and the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population. Positive peace encompasses all aspects of a good society that one might envisage for one self : universal rights, economic well-being, ecological balance and other core values. It describes a situation where justice and fairness reign, it seeks to promote and improve the quality of life.

Positive peace is the concept that most peace and conflict researchers adopt to describe peace, in this sense peace provides for :

- Conditions able to respond to underlying cause of conflict that can lead to violence.
- Possibilities towards building bridges between conflicting parties (for example by common grounds in fighting non-human enemies like hunger, diseases or corruption),
- Initiatives towards bridge building between victims and perpetrators,
- Structures working towards co-operation and integration among groups or social institutions,
- Situations where there are no winners and losers-all are considered winners.
- Available institutions for the consolidation of peace like independent democratic institutions, peace research institutes or peace studies centres.

#### 1.4 Creating a culture of peace

*"There has never been a good war or a bad peace."*

*"A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, have the skills to resolve conflicts and struggle for justice non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other."*

Based on the assumption that the ultimate aim of peace is a world in which the rich diversity lives together in an atmosphere marked by

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intercultural understanding, tolerance and solidarity; it doesn't matter if we talk about global peace or peace at the micro-level of a family or community. Peace is not a one-person show; it is not something that once achieved will never fade away. It might be helpful to look at building and maintaining peace as a 'culture of peace'. A culture of peace is like a river that is fed from diverse streams—from every tradition, culture, language, religion, and political perspective. It consists of values, attitudes, behaviours and ways of life based on non-violence and respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of every person.

In a culture of peace, power grows not by force (e.g.: guns, inherited status) but from participation, dialogue and cooperation. It rejects violence in all of its forms, including war and the culture of war. In place of domination and exploitation by the strong over the weak, the culture of peace respects the rights of everyone, economic as well as political. It represents a caring society which protects the rights of those who are weak, such as children, the handicapped, the elderly and the socially disadvantaged.

In a culture of peace, people assume a global human identity that does not replace, but is built upon other identities such as gender, family, community, ethnic group or nationality. It rejects all hatred, xenophobia, racism and the designation of others as enemies. A culture of peace is a process that grows out of the beliefs and actions of the people themselves and develops differently in each country and region, depending upon its history, culture and traditions. It cannot be imposed from outside.

Building peace can be compared with building a house. Even when the construction of the house is finalized, it requires permanent maintenance; otherwise the house will collapse due to influences like weather conditions or daily use by the people living in it. The task of achieving peace and creating a culture of peace will also never be concluded once and for all because circumstances, people and their relationships are changing all the time.

### **1.5 Strategies for peace**

*Mahatma Gandhi said*

*"There is no way to peace. Peace is the way...Concentrate on the means and the purpose will take care of itself. (8.5.1937)."*

His perception of peace represents a pragmatic understanding of peace. It means that the process towards achieving peace cannot culminate in a final state which, once it has been

achieved, never fades away. Additionally, as far as Gandhi was concerned, it is the means (the non-violent actions) that are important rather than concentrating on the purpose (the search/fight for peace that might be reached sometime in the distant future).

The fundamental condition for all subsequent objectives in building peace is the absence of war. Therefore to prevent war is the first and foremost important task of peace politics. Furthermore, when developing strategies to achieve this aim of 'peace', we should begin by considering the causes of war. These causes can be identified across three levels: the individual, the societal and international level. For each of the three levels that are obviously interwoven, strategies to build peace can be developed. The following are important issues in peacebuilding strategies:

#### **Individual**

Improving education is the most decisive factor as far as the individual level is concerned. "...since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". This statement highlights the important role of education in building peace, for both men and women.

Besides acquiring formal general knowledge as provided in formal institutions like schools or universities, peace education includes, for example, repairing the 'peace deficits' of individuals such as prejudices and intolerance. Peace education also covers the provision of insights into people's relationships and their conflict resolution mechanisms as well as how society and the international system work (political, economic, social systems; national and international laws).

#### **Society**

Although democracies do proxy wars between each other and even fight their wars on foreign soils, it seems that democratization in its varieties—in comparison to authoritarian regimes or dictatorships—tends to seek peaceful ways of settling conflicts. The classic argument is as follows: "when the citizens rather than kings are left to decide whether war should be entered into or not, the decision for war is far less likely. This is because it is the citizens who are affected and bear the suffering of war."

Poverty and the unjust distribution of wealth are important causes of war. Therefore one strategy to achieve sustainable peace is to increase prosperity, as those who have more, have more to lose by war. One of the most important

factors in increasing prosperity is free and fair trade. Trade also means exchange, which might lead to more understanding of differences (of people, structures, and cultures). This idea is buttressed by the undisputed fact that exchange coupled with close and fair trading relationships promote peace.

Several religions have and still prophesy that their divinity would produce eternal peace in the future. The most famous idea on how to reach peace comes from the book of Isaiah 2:4 and is carved into a wall in Ralph Bunche Park opposite the UN Headquarters in New York: "...and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore."

### **International**

The level of international systems is a central point for peace and conflict research. The fundamental problem associated with this level is that there is no such things as a world state as a highest authority. No single institution therefore has the legitimate power to force nations to abide by the law in the way a national state is able to do with its citizens. Peace theory has always addressed and discussed problems related to this issue.

Two proposed solutions were:

- 1) International law and especially international organizations were developed to have a direct influence on the interaction between political systems (e.g. the United Nations, Human Rights). Peace politics include developing these institutions further, to strengthen their security-giving influence on interaction and thereby eradicate the need for military force caused by the structure of the system.
- 2) The concepts of international organizations explicitly target the elimination or restriction of violence. The idea behind this is to replace the use of force with diplomacy (compromise, negotiation and mediation) and even jurisdiction (e.g. International criminal courts).

Human rights have been laid down in a large number of human rights instruments since after WWII. Some examples of the most important human rights instruments are :

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
- African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Banjul Charter)

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
- First and Second Optional Protocols to the ICCPR
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination
- Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhumane of Degrading Treatment
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
- Convention of the Rights of the Child
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
- Convention relating to the Status of Refugees
- Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees

### **Charter of the United Nations**

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security..."

"The purpose of the United Nations is : 1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;"

### **Statute of the International Courts of Justice**

"The International Court of Justice established by the Charter of the United Nations as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute."

"The Court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are juris-consults or recognized competence in international law."

"Only states may be parties in cases before the court."

*\* This portion from referred book.*

*Courtesy—Peacebuilding & conflict transformation*

## The Death of Mythology

*Christopher Caudwell*

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...Continued from previous issue

### I

We have reached the birth of religions. This collective phantasy of poetry which passes into the individual life of each because it is secreted in the web of society, again emerges (as that web is differentiated out by division of labour) in the form of an elaborate outgrowth, a world of religion separate from the material world of terrestrial life.

Poetry is the nascent self-consciousness of man, not as an individual but as sharer with others of a whole world of common emotion. This emotion, because it is common, has for each individual an objective, and therefore pseudoexternal existence. This social objectivity is confused by primitive man with material objectivity, so that the phantastic world, because it is presented to the individual 'from outside' by outside manipulation, is confused with the material world against which he bumps himself. Other men confirm by their actions the objectivity of a material world; similarly they seem to confirm a like reality for the phantastic world whose sanctions they recognise.

Man's emotions are fluid and confusing. They are projected into the outside world in animism, orondism and mana at his primitive stage of culture, not because he is one with his environment, but because he has consciously separated himself from it in order to seek his desires in it by hunting or crop-gathering. Because the environment is already something consciously distinct from himself, he is concerned with locating 'things' out there or in himself. Because these collective emotions, unlike a pain or a wound but like a sunset or a thunder-storm, are manifestly experienced by all, they gain the sanction of objectivity and therefore of material reality and are located 'out there', in the object which arouses them. Man enters into nature: nature becomes 'animated'-endowed with man's subjective soul.

What in fact is this emotional complex of tribal poetry? Is it material reality or completely

ideal illusion? It is neither. It is a *social reality*. It expresses the social relation of man's instincts to the ungathered fruit. These instincts have generated these emotions just because they have not blindly followed the necessities of the germ plasm, but have been moulded by the objective necessities of collective action to a common economic end. The phantasy of poetry is a social image.

Therefore the phantastic world of poetic ritual, myth or drama expresses a social truth, a truth about the instincts of man as they fare, not in biological or individual experience, but in associated experience. Such truths are necessarily phrased therefore in the language of the emotions. A pianola roll is pierced with holes. Those holes are real concrete entities. But they are not the music. The music is what happens when it is played. The poem is what happens when it is read.

Hence tribal poetry, and that part of religion from which it is at first indistinguishable, is man's confused knowledge of society and of his relation to it.

And magic? Man, conscious of his personal emotions locates the irregularity in the object which stimulates them, because such conscious affects as terror and desire are due to the common experience of a tribe, are impressions common to all individuals of the tribe in relation to certain things. The emotion then seems located in these things and, because of its immediate vividness, seems the soul, the essential reality of these, force, the kin-aesthetic sensation of muscular effort, even up to a late date dominated the thought of science, and yet express this primitive animistic way of regarding nature.

Man's emotions are also in him. They therefore seem under his control. They therefore seem to be the means whereby he can dominate reality—through the emotional essence of things. He, the individual, can dominate reality by his will. By evoking—through charms, ceremonies and sympathetic magic—the emotions proper to the achieved act, he believes the act accomplished. It seems to him that he can control outer reality by returning into himself. So indeed he can, but only if this thought is scientific thought and, acting as a guide to action, returns out again to

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grapple with reality.

Because society stands as *environment* to individual man, and as *associated men* to the environment, magic and religion overlap, and blend more closely in a primitive economy, where society is only slightly developed and is therefore a thin blanket between the individual and outer reality.

Magic gives birth to science, for magic commands outer reality to conform to certain laws, and reality refuses, so that knowledge of the stubborn nature of reality is impressed on the magician. He does not try to walk upon the water with spells, or if he does, the spells fail. Rainmakers are not found in the desert, but in regions where rain sometimes comes. No magician makes spells for a winter harvest. Thus certain stubbornnesses in reality for which stronger spells are needed are gradually recognized; and so it becomes accepted that certain laws can only be overridden by mighty forces—by gods, by Fate, and eventually Fate dissolves into that very decree that these forces may not be overborne by anyone. Even Jove is subject to Fate. Fate is law. Magic has turned into its opposite, scientific determinism.

In proportion as man, by the development of economics, discovers more and more of the nature of reality, magic sets itself bolder and more elaborate tasks, and more and more is corrected by experience. It proposes to man phantastic possibilities, which man realizes. But he does not realize them by magic. Without the absurd ambitions of the *shaman* and the impossible hopes of the alchemist, the modern chemistry which fulfils them would not be. Always the magician is defeated by 'fate', by the inexorable determinism of things, and it is precisely when he has become conscious of that determinism, and magic has turned into science, that he is able to do in reality the things magic only feigned. Illusion thus plays into the hands of reality. Magic, promising freedom by a blind pressure of the affects, is realized when the emotional content vanishes, when the magician's eyes are opened, and he becomes conscious of the passionless causality of reality.

Magic can only exist, as a confused perception of outer reality, because man is himself confused about his relations with it. He has not distinguished himself from his environment—subjective affects are confused with objective qualities. How does he clear up this confusion? Not by mere contemplation, refusing to handle the pitch lest he become soiled. He separates himself consciously from his environment by

struggling with it and actively interpenetrating it, in the course of the development of economic life. When man has grasped the nature of outer reality by his constant struggle with it in economic production, then he understands clearly the distinction between environment and self, because he understands their unity. He learns that man as a machine, is subject also to necessity, and that the universe, as a process, is the theatre of free development.

## II

How can we separate religion from poetry in the childhood of the race? Both have an economic function and a social content.

We can distinguish them because we find in poetry, in all ages, a characteristic we do not find in religion the more and more clearly it emerges as 'true' religion. Poetry is productive and changeful. The poetry of one age does not satisfy the next age, but each new generation (while appreciating the old poetry) demands poems which more peculiarly and specially express its own problems and aspirations. Thus we have the constant generation of a mass of songs, stories, myths, epics, novels, as a peculiarity of poetic life, which reveals arts as something organic and changeful, a flower on the social plant developing and growing with the plant as a whole, because it sucks the same sap, and performs an office that benefits the whole plant.

This incessant change of poetic art is only possible because the appreciator accepts the illusion as illusory. He accepts the phantasy as expressing objective reality while immersed in the phantasy, but, once the phantasy is over, he does not demand that it be still treated as part of the real world. He does not demand a correspondence of all stories and all poetic statements as he demands a correspondence between the experiences of what he calls his real life.

The world may be fairyland in one story, hell in another. Helen may be seized by Paris in one epic, in another she may elude him and die an honoured death in Egypt. Because of this the poet and his hearer are not faced with the problem of integrating the mock worlds of poetry with the real world of everyday existence on the basis of the logical laws of thought—which by no means implies that no integration of any kind takes place. But the poem or novel is accepted as an illusion. We give to the statements of poetic art only a qualified assent, and therefore reality has no vested interest in them. Because of this there is

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no barrier to the fluent production which is the life of art in all ages.

This too is the characteristic of religion, but only in the early stage, when it is still merged with poetry. Religion is then mythology and shows all the spontaneous inventiveness and recklessness of self-contradiction which is characteristic of mythology.

Why does mythology show this organic characteristic? Because it is organic. Because it is still organically connected with society, penetrating every pore. Native races who see an aeroplane presently have a great white bird figuring in their mythology. Early Christianity shows the same insurgent proliferation of mythology so characteristic of art.

A new form of religion begins when the mythologising era ends. The mythology is taken over, but it ossifies. Religion has become 'true' religion.

It is plain that mythology, because of the contradictions it contains, can gain only a special kind of consent from the primitive. It demands from him assent to the illogical. So far Levy-Bruhl is correct. But this same illogical assent is given by twentieth-century man to the productions of poetry and literary art. Hamlet lives for him. So do the Furies. So does the Inferno. Yet he does not believe in an after-existence in hell or in personal agents of retribution.

True, the assent is not of the same strength with twentieth-century man. The gods live for the primitive in the collective festival and the collective emotion. Because so little division of labour exists, because society is still so undifferentiated, the collective world of emotion in which the gods live penetrates every hour of the individual's life. Not so with the world of the theatre or the novel, which segregate themselves from the more complex social life of men. The world of twentieth-century art is more withdrawn—so much so that philosophers continually conceive of it as entirely separate, and advance 'purely' aesthetic criteria—art for art's sake.

But though the strength of the assent differs, the quality is the same. The world of literary art is the world of tribal mythology become sophisticated and complex and self-conscious because man, in his struggle with Nature, has drawn away from her, and laid bare her mechanism and his own by a mutual reflexive action. Mythology with its ritual, and art with its performances, have similar functions—the

adaptation of man's emotions to the necessities of social cooperation. Both embody a confused perception of society, but an accurate feeling of society. Mythology, it is true, has other functions. But we are concerned here with the poetic content of mythology, which afterwards separates itself out as a distinct sphere.

Because mythology so interpenetrates the daily life of the primitive, it demands no overt, formal assent. No Holy Inquisition rams it down people's throats, because in the collective festival it rises vividly from their hearts. Therefore it is flexible. It yields and changes as the tribe's relation to the environment or itself changes. The incursion of an aeroplane or a conqueror produces a corresponding adaptation of the collective mind by a recasting of the always fluid mythology. Hence mythology has a 'self-righting' tendency; it remains on the whole true; it reflects accurately the collective emotional life of the tribe in its relations with the environment to the degree in which the tribe's own interpenetration of its environment in economic production makes accuracy possible.

Why does the age of mythology as a real organic growth give place to the age of dogma and 'true' religion when, because the mythology must now be accepted as true, it ceases to reflect the continual movement of reality and tends to become ossified and dead? Mythology ceases to grow and change and contradict itself, and is set up as something rigid and absolutely true. Faith, a virtue unknown to the primitive, is necessary for its acceptance. Faith was not necessary to the primitive because of his simple direct experience in the world of collective emotion. Faith is not necessary to the novel-reader, because of his immediate direct experience in the world of art. Faith becomes necessary when mythology ossifies into 'true' religion. Faith and dogma are the signs of lack of faith and suspicion of doctrine. They show that mythology has in some way separated itself from society. How has this come about? Only because society has separated itself from itself; because the matrix of religion has become only a part of society, standing in antagonism to the rest of society. Because of this, religion becomes isolated from the rest of society. 'True' religion marks the emergence of economic classes in society. The end of mythology as a developing thing is the end of undifferentiated tribal life.

*To be Continued...*  
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