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These lines of Bulleh Shah are as relevant today as they were in his life time. Bulleh Shah, Baba Farid, Shah Abdul Latif Bhatai, Waris Shah, Abdul Wahad known as Sanchal Sarmast, Mir Taki Mir, Amir Khusro, Fakir Lalon Shah, Kabir and many more poets of Sufi tradition have preached about love, compassion, humanity. These values are our shared heritage. This very Sufi tradition is our composite heritage. Those forces who want to spread hatred are scared of this shared heritage. Their fear reflects in their violence and theory of revenge.

Neither Hindu nor Muslim

by **BULLEH SHAH**

Neither Hindu nor Muslim,
Sacrificing pride, let us sit together.
Neither Sunni nor Shia,
Let us walk the road of peace.
We are neither hungry nor replete,
Neither naked nor covered up.
Neither weeping nor laughing,
Neither ruined nor settled,
We are not sinners or pure and virtuous,
What is sin and what is virtue, this I do not know.
Says Bulhe Shah, one who attaches his self with the lord.
Gives up both hindu and muslim.

.....

Bullah is neither Rafzi nor Sunni, nor learned
nor an intellectual nor a Jaini.
I have learnt the lesson of love of God alone.
People say: Bulleh is an Infidel (Kafar)
and an idol-worshipper.
But in the Lord's court, both the Momin and Kafar
(Believer and un-believer) are treated alike.

.....

Here was Ramdas [a Hindu] and there
Fateh Muhammad [a Muslim]
What an ancient noise between them
But now their quarrel has vanished
And something new has emerged!

Composite Heritage and its Importance for the Indigenous Peoples of Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh

Nyohla Mong

BACKGROUND

The concept of Composite Heritage was introduced in the development sector around 2003 by late Dr. Khurshid Anwar, the Founder and Director of Institute for Social Democracy. As a part of familiarising the concept among different actors in South Asia, the Institute for Social Democracy has been organizing orientation and Training of Trainers' workshops as well as several grassroots initiatives with like-minded organizations and individuals for more than a decade now. This approach of peace building puts the shared cultural heritage of different communities in the centre of discourse. What is our shared/composite heritage? How this shared/common heritage works as a uniting factor across identities, despite deep rooted conflicts? What brings peoples together, even during conflict? Who creates conflicts? These and many more questions are explored with the help of this tool.

OUR COMPOSITE HERITAGE

Literature suggests that there are 11 Indigenous Communities in Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. However, the number of Indigenous Communities will increase if Santhal, Ahomia and Nepali-Gurkha are also considered (Baer 2011). Due to political calculations Santhal and others always remain excluded by the Chittagong Hill Tracts Indigenous Community. These 11 Indigenous communities have been unique as they do not have any major visible conflict yet. They live peacefully together under the common political platform. Nowadays in the world it is rare that such a number of different groups of peoples living together without violent conflict. It might be an example for the current conflicts in the world.

There are a number of factors that led peoples to work and live peacefully. These can

be called Composite Heritage of Indigenous Peoples of Chittagong Hill Tracts. Firstly, they have shared experiences of being victims of Kaptai Dam. They were evicted from their ancestral land for different types of political programmes such as Kaptai Dam, Transmigration programme, Militarization programme, the so called Government Development Programme like Rubber plantation, Upland settlement programme, Road construction programme and Tourism Programme etc. Similarly, several instances of massacres throughout the hill districts for instance, Kawkhali on 25 March 1980, Panchari and Matiranga, Khagrachari on 1 May 1986, Longudu on 4 May 1989, Bhushanchara-Harina on 31 May 1984, Naniarchar on 19 November 1993, Logang, Panchari on 10 April 1992 and many more (for more details read the series of 'Life is Not Ours' report by The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission). They have been oppressed in many other ways. So their pains are almost same bringing them together as they know each other's feelings and demands.

Secondly, most of the community groups follow the same religion. Chakma, Marma, Tanchangya, Khyang and Chak religion is Buddhism/Buddhist. Some Tripura also follow Buddhism as well (Chai 2016). There are also some other Indigenous Peoples who are greatly influenced by Buddhism such as Mru and Khumi (Adnan 2004:11; Chakma 2011:62 respectively). Religion worked as one of the main factors of connection among them.

Thirdly, their food pattern and habits are not very different. Even their food items are the same. The only differences are in their names. Almost all Indigenous communities have some same favourite food items such as boiled green vegetables along with green chilli paste. They love pork dishes. In each and every social programme most of the Indigenous groups keep

pork dishes. Without pork item they can not think any public gathering, almost all Indigenous communities of Chittagong Hill Tracts rear pig and it is commonly seen everywhere throughout the Chittagong Hill Tracts. During the day of weekly market most of the families try to buy at least one meal quantity of pork meat. Moreover, Nappi paste is also one of the essential food ingredients for the Chittagong Hill Tracts indigenous peoples and is very popular among them. It has been observed that when indigenous peoples go abroad for couple of days, they must carry a certain amount of this paste with them so that they do not miss it there. For many Indigenous Peoples without Nappi paste life is unthinkable. We love to eat hot food everyday.

One of the typical IP cuisine is to cook in a green bamboo pipe. Bamboo shoot, small fish, chicken etc. tastes extremely delicious when cooked in a bamboo pipe. When there was enough supply of bamboo in the jungle, peoples used to cook this dish frequently. However, it has become a very much sought after dish these days. Unfortunately, this typical indigenous cuisine is rarely prepared in the face of scarcity of bamboo in the neighbourhood following its indiscriminate commercial extraction and the rodent crisis during 2007-8. The dramatic reduction of Village Common Forest (VCF) throughout the CHTs is also adversely affecting the regeneration of flora and fauna which is depleting for reasons mentioned above. However, that is not the only factor. The multitudinous increase of population in the CHT following the politically motivated settlement of Bengalis from the plains land in the 1980s created excessive stress on land and natural resources. This has caused rapid deforestation leading to the drying of streams, springs and other water bodies, which in turn caused the depletion of fish resources.

The Indigenous Peoples share their festivals such as Boisabi. They celebrate Boisabi in same week of the same month while each and every community can have the access to celebration or can take part every community's programme though the styles of celebration slightly differ from community to community. For example, Chakma community cooks Pajon (a special

vegetable dish) during the time of Boisabi. Marma, Chakma, Tripura and Tanchangya peoples cook Pajon with different names but same ingredients. On the day of Boisabi they also visit each other's houses and none expect any special or separate invitation for that. They believe that to visit and meet friends and neighbours is part of their rituals and customs. Not only the Indigenous Peoples but also many non-Indigenous Peoples and settlers visit houses of Indigenous Peoples. They do not differentiate any one on that day.

Chittagong Hill Tracts peoples's way of life is mainly based on Jum or shifting cultivation. Jum is their source of livelihood. Jum has become a symbol of the Indigenous peoples. Still a number of villagers cultivate jum and bring their produce to the market in every weekly market (at district and sub district levels there are two market days in a week). Jum agricultural produce always remains high in demand among the consumers as it tastes better from any other agricultural produces in Bangladesh. The culture of Indigenous Peoples is also very jum centred. Their songs, dances, folk art, even literature are based on the Jum. Old aged peoples wait for fresh jum vegetables and other food items. Jum farmers always share the first harvest with their close relatives and parents. For ensuring good jum many jumia shift their houses to their jum field and stay there till the harvesting is done.

As above mentioned, their struggles are also same in nature. They are struggling to cultivate jum as government has been trying to discourage jum cultivation since 1960 by the establishment of Jum Control Division in the name of protecting deforestation and so on (Tripura and Harun 2003:32,38). They are struggling for their land rights because government has imposed bar on registration for a few decades. Therefore, their one of the major demands of enjoyment of customary laws is still far from them. Peoples are facing identity crisis as well. The Government of Bangladesh has termed the Indigenous Peoples in many ways, like Tribes (Upajati), Minor Races (Khudro Jatishaotta), Ethnic Sects and Communities (Nrigostthi o Shomprodai) etc (Letter to the Prime Minister by Chittagong Hill Tracts

Commission, 12 July, 2011). By amendment of 15th Bangladesh Constitution, Indigenous Peoples also shall be known as Bangalees as a Nation (Letter to the Prime Minister by Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission, 12 July, 2011). This is despite the fact that the ruling government had termed Indigenous Peoples as Indigenous Peoples in their election manifesto in 2008. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord implementation process remains pending for about two decades. While the government agencies claim that they have been implementing almost all conditions of the Chittagong Hill Tracts accords, it is the Indigenous Peoples who know the reality. These are the some of major demands and struggles of 11 indigenous peoples.

On the other hand, they face same threats. Their dreams and fears are the same. Indirectly this makes connectivity among the group of Chittagong Hill Tracts Indigenous Peoples. They always remain in fear of eviction from their ancestral lands. Without any reasons, in any condition they can be forcefully evicted from their forefather's lands. They can be evicted in the name of expansion of military camps, for the implementation of government development project, can be evicted for the so called communal conflicts, they can be removed or killed by the companies like Destiny group (Samakal 26 and 27 August, 2009). Women and girls always live under the threat of rape by the settlers or any agencies, individuals or groups, who are never filed under any case by the police nor any positive medical reports is provided by the medical officers so far (Chakma M. K. 2010:71-73). Every year there are number of rape cases happen in the region but not a single victim has received justice.

Last but not the least presence of settlers and army everywhere is the biggest threat for the Indigenous Peoples of this region. They are inseparable, in my eyes settlers are the VVIP of the Chittagong Hill Tracts as they get full time security and always remain surrounded by the security agencies. Reports of any international agencies such as Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission, Amnesty International, UN Reports, prove this claim.

Indigenous values are one of the most

important factors that play connecting role among them. This is also one of the characteristics of the indigenous peoples. Their culture is based on sharing, caring and love. They share their produce not only with human but also with nature like tree and river. They respect elders, care for children and love the nature and live with nature and protect the nature. That is why wherever there are Indigenous Peoples in the world there are forests and natural resources. It is their way of life which brings them together and helps them to understand each other. Same lifestyle, livelihoods and believes bring them under one umbrella. During market day indigenous peoples distribute free drinking water, especially during the heat wave and keep drinking water by the road for pedestrians (see a photo published in the daily star on 03 July 16). Preserving of Mouza forest for common use by all villagers, preserving and planting big trees like Bot (banyan tree) is a common practice.

Village Common Forest (VCF) is another most significant and shared heritage of the Indigenous Peoples in this region. A good number of VCF still exist throughout the Chittagong Hill Tracts regions (UNDP-Chittagong Hill Tracts DF 2005). From VCF any one can collect any item, if it is not for commercial purpose. It is not only a pitch of forest but also symbol of unity of the peoples. Villagers can collect things such as bamboo and trees for their own as well as for different types of collective works (Maleya) as well. By protecting VCF they not only benefit villagers, even wild animals get survival sources from it. These practices contribute in peace and harmony within the community as well as inter and community relationship building.

The above mentioned beliefs, practices and shared experiences led to a collective living although there are many differences. It is this composite heritage among the indigenous communities which is their strength and source of unity.

Threats to the Composite Heritage of Indigenous Peoples

The opportunist forces understand this very well and have been trying to destroy this composite heritage of peoples here for a long

time. It started by construction of Kaptai Dam in 1957 which damaged the composite heritage of the peoples of this region. It was followed by establishing Jum Control Division in 1960 which still exists and controls composite heritage of Indigenous Peoples here. In the name of development an institution was also established called Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board (Chittagong Hill Tracts DB) in 1978. If we closely observe the activity of institution, we find most of its activities are against Composite Heritage. Its major programmes like rubber plantation, integrated jhumia rehabilitation and afforestation, orange gardening etc. directly affect composite heritage. Instead of jum cultivation rubber plantation is imposed which has relocated indigenous peoples to different places in the name of livelihood, development and permanent settlement etc. But we all know what has been achieved by this so called development board projects. Later a project came to divide another strong composite heritage that is formation of community based organizations through which few major leading communities got individual organization called Marma Unnayan Sangsath (MUS), Tripura Unnayan Sangsath (TUS) etc. By that organization respective community got some artificial leaders to lead their community. I do not know much about Tripura Unnayan Sangsath but as a marma I can tell you what multiplier impact of the so called Marma Unnayan Sangsath on particular Marma Community as this community is divided into many groups. They have number of organizations now such as Marma Sangathon Uykya Parishad, Marma Kalyan Parishad and Marma Juba Kalayan Sangsath etc. Not only the community, students are also divided by the separate organizations for example Marma Student Council, Marma Uykya Chhatra Parishad and Pragatisil Marma Chhatra Samaj etc (Mong 2014: 155-161).

Even during the biggest festival Sangrain which is also a key composite heritage here, rallies and events are organised separately (Mong 2014:155-161). In this case the divisive forces have been successful in damaging the Composite Heritage of Marma community as well as of the Chittagong Hill Tracts region. These are burning examples of threat to the composite heritage

generated by the state actors.

Similarly, there are many other factors that are coming to the light. There are many common practices to which peoples have a feeling of common ownership. However, nowadays some people knowingly or unknowingly have started demanding for a particular community's ownership and practices of the Composite Heritage. People have started patronizing their own community practice. This is a huge threat to the composite heritage of the indigenous peoples. We can further understand this with the help of some examples. In food, there are some dishes that are prepared and celebrated in same way. The only difference is in their name, as mentioned earlier. But it has now become a trend to claim ownership of that food items by individual community by their presentation, in literature and other way of communications. This is done by the educated representatives from indigenous community. However at community level such practices are not seen as they do not think and differentiate in that way. They always believe in collective ownership. They say our Jumma food, its culture of Jumma peoples or they say 'Pahari own' (hill peoples), 'Ama Jumma own'(our Jummia Peoples) etc. The issue is that the educated, indigenous researcher scholars, NGOs workers are publishing their papers by terming them as Chakma Jum Cultivation, Chakma food, Chakma culture etc. Similarly, Marma and Tripura are also trying to do the same to present the Marma Jum Cultivation, Marma Food or Tripura Baisuk etc. No articles or papers say that it is our commonness or shared culture or composite heritage. Nowadays, in market some jummia also sell their jum or shifting cultivation produce by terming Chakma 'Morich' (green chili), Chakma 'Begun' (jum eggplant) etc. Moreover, we are also separating our biggest cultural composite heritage of Boisabi of Indigenous Peoples. Now our popular Pajon (a sort of special vegetable dish) is also divided into many parts. We say Chakma pajon 'torkari', Tripura pajon 'torkari' or Marma 'pashyong' etc. Some literature started claiming that it is practice of only Chakma and Tripura community. However, it may be remembered that the Marmas keep one day

exclusively reserved for cooking and eating 'pashyong'. Some people from the CHT while contributing to national dailies misleadingly mention 'pajon' as 'Chakma food'.

This individualism is now reflected not just in food but even in our demonstrations against any sort of unwanted cases. In Chittagong Hill Tracts rape cases have become common phenomena as perpetrators have impunity. In such cases, if Marma women or girls became victim only Marma led organizations organize protest rally. Similarly, if any Tripura women or girls became victim only Tripura led organizations arrange protest rally or show immediate reactions. The shared feeling is gradually decreasing among the young generations. They are diverting more to individual community development approach. Likewise, Chakma peoples sing Chakma song, Marma peoples sing Marma song and Tripura peoples sing Tripura song. Tripura singer does not sing Marma song, Chakma singer does not sing Tripura song and Marma singer does not sing Chakma song willingly or seen learning with due interest. If at all a singer is seen singing song of other community, then it is definitely very planned/arranged/decorated. Very few cases may be found where singer is learning or practising other neighbour community song. But there are many cases where indigenous peoples cultural group sing and perform in local Chittagonian, Bangla or Hindi well. Moreover, we also do not learn other indigenous languages. Two major indigenous groups namely Marma and Chakma always impose their language on others. In Bandarban district, many indigenous groups can speak and communicate in Marma but few Marma can speak more than one language. In same way, Chakma peoples are very reluctant to learn Marma or other languages. They do not consider whether other person can understand Chakma language or not, they like to start communicate in Chakma.

OUR WAY AHEAD

Current trend of development work and focal areas are land rights, indigenous rights, mother tongue education, water and sanitation, gender based discrimination, implementation of Chittagong Hill Tracts accord and human rights violation etc. There is no doubt that indirectly

these are addressing the issues of Composite Heritage of Chittagong Hill Tracts peoples but if we want to resolve the issue of intra grouping within the indigenous communities, there is urgent need to introduce the concept or tool of Composite Heritage. Chittagong Hill Tracts development actors including local political actors also need to work on Composite Heritage of this region. Our commonness, compositeness, shared values, shared culture, shared experiences are gradually disappearing from us. Gradually, individual community identity is gripping these communities while all are diverting from indigenous values to individual presence or superiority.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Indigenous Peoples development actors need to realise and understand the importance of composite heritage. There should not be any doubt that it will strengthen our communal harmony among the Chittagong Hill Tracts Indigenous Peoples. It will contribute to strengthen the common platform, which will in turn make it easier to fulfil Indigenous peoples's rights. By promoting Composite Heritage Indigenous values will be promoted automatically. And practice of indigenous values means to protect natural forest and environment as well. There is a stronger possibility of resolving hidden conflicts among the Indigenous Peoples. By practicing composite heritage peoples will realise the importance of collectiveness and possibly reduce individual community level practices or understanding. By encouraging the young generation, there are stronger chances to get back the unity of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Indigenous Peoples.

NGO actors of the Chittagong Hill Tracts may claim lack of budget/resources for the promotion of composite heritage. Here I would like to say that we do not even need budget for the promotion of composite heritage rather we can start by discouraging the thoughts of our friends if their thoughts are based on a particular community only. We should avoid using particular community term of the common things i.e. Chakma Morich, Chakma Torkari (see photos of Jumma Rajib Chakma posted on facebook). We can start learning more than one language of Chittagong Hill Tracts Indigenous Peoples.

NGO workers may know and should try to learn other community languages for better and effective promotion of composite heritage.

There are already some good examples in Chittagong Hill Tracts. Firstly, Jum Aesthetic Council (JAC), a cultural organization based in Rangamati. Every year, they have been publishing books. Interestingly, title of each and every book is adopted from the different communities of Chittagong Hill Tracts. They use meaningful words of Chak, Marma, Bawm, Pangkhua, Mro (for example the issue of AMANG, adopted from Mro, which means vision, published in April 2003) Khumi (for instance, issue of Kawaang, adopted from Khumi, means light, published in April 2004) or Khyang. Not only that they also encourage and publish write ups from small groups of indigenous writers. Last but not the least, in Moanghar, an orphanage, many Chak, Mro, Khumi community students got a chance to continue their higher education. These types of organizations are now very rare in Chittagong Hill Tracts where all indigenous communities feel homely.

Our pain, our culture, our experiences and believes, our strength, our threats and our weaknesses are same. We should work together, we should think alike, we should move towards same destination. It is our land, our culture and our Composite Heritage. We should not forget our collectiveness. Only collective efforts can fulfil our Indigenous rights. And for that we should start working on Composite Heritage first.

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The Lost Soul : Qawwali's Journey from Ecstasy to Entertainment

Nabeel Jafri

Mainstream qawwali is markedly different – both artistically and spiritually – from the qawwali that is performed at shrines, even as the performers stay the same in some cases.

Earlier this month, Abida Parveen performed in front of a crowd in Toronto. It is likely that a portion of her performance, by popular request, was devoted to the singing of qawwalis. She, however, will not be the first or the last of the many globally recognisable performers to sing qawwali for an audience that pays significant sums of money to listen to them. In Toronto alone, for example, Rahat Fateh Ali Khan has become a regular attraction for the members of Pakistani and Indian diaspora. The Aga Khan Museum in the same city hosted Fareed Ayaz and Abu Muhammad Qawwal within two weeks of opening its doors to the public in September 2014. The demand for these performances coupled with the costs associated with bringing the performers to North America means that organisers are able to price tickets with relative freedom. This commodification of qawwali, though, is not an exclusively diaspora phenomenon. It is simply that such performances in the diaspora are decidedly easier to keep up with than the innumerable ones within South Asia.

The commodification of qawwali goes hand in hand with the commercialisation of qawwali. For those interested in the Pakistan Super League (PSL), it is hard to miss the catchy Lahore Qalandars team anthem, released a couple of months ago. The anthem creatively adapts the musical form commonly associated with qawwali – retaining the *laal qalandar* refrain – which generates easy identification with the Lahore Qalandars cricket ensemble, besides alluding to the tribute paid regularly to Sufi Laal Shahbaz Qalandar at qawwali gatherings.

What do these changes mean for qawwali? Are these a recent phenomenon or have they been around for a while? Are such changes consistent with what other forms of religious and devotional musical genres have experienced? Has the essence of qawwali changed or is it only being positioned differently?

Commercialisation and bifurcation

Qawwali is best defined as classical, devotional music in South Asia that transcends religious categorisation. Though its origins are attributed to Sufi schools of thought within Islam, it has built up a steady and popular following of people with varying religious affiliations. Sufism maintains that *ishq*, or devotion, is humanity's only path to God — or to any ultimate truth or salvation, for that matter. In making this claim, Sufis often express disdain for the beliefs, rituals and rites associated with organised, institutionalised religion. This idea of doctrine-free devotion has been instrumental in positing qawwali – and/or any Sufi music – as accessible to everyone, regardless of religious affiliation.

Up until the early 20th century, qawwali performances were largely restricted to Sufi shrines. These gatherings were male-only, were arranged on a Thursday night and followed a rather well-defined agenda in terms of what to recite and when. Qawwali relied on the synchronised use of percussion instruments as well as the metaphorical use of imagery in its lyrics to induce a state of ecstasy within the listeners. Qawwals, often coming from the same gharana (or family), were hereditary singers associated with a particular Sufi shrine. In most cases, they traced their lineage to that particular Sufi. Though the lyrics of qawwali were largely based on the works of Sufi saints of the past – Amir Khusrau's corpus of work was and continues to be regularly employed in these performances – the singers would not hesitate to include their own verses in their

performances as a means of both individual creative expression or as competitive differentiation from other gharanas.

The explosion of access to and information about qawwali in the early 20th century resulted in lifting this rather esoteric music genre from the private, secluded sphere of the

three qawwals. The shift from studio recordings to radio followed shortly afterwards. The programming schedule of BBC Delhi for January 30, 1936 (shown below) – as published in *Times of India* – shows a dedicated time slot for a qawwali performance:

It is interesting to note the type of

Delhi

VUD 340.136 m.

THURSDAY, January 30.

5-30 p.m. Hamir Kalean by I. B. S. Orchestra. 5-45 p.m. Qawwali. 6-30 p.m. Classical Music. 7-0 p.m. Classification of Ragnis. 7-15 p.m. Pahari Songs. 7-30 p.m. Thumri. 7-45 p.m. Sarangi and Jaltarang Duet. 8-0 p.m. Bhajans. 8-20 p.m. Ghazal. 8-30 p.m. Punjabi Songs. 8-45 p.m. News in Hindustani. 9-0 p.m. News in English. 9-15 p.m. Birds of Northern India.—a talk. 9-20 p.m. The Band of the 4th. Bn. Prince of Wales Own 8th. Punjab Regiment. 10-30 p.m. Close down.

shrine to the public, open sphere of the marketplace. Qawwali began to emerge in areligious gatherings, concerts and musical recordings. In her 1992-1993 article, “*Muslim Devotional*”: *Popular Religious Music and Muslim Identity under British, Indian and Pakistani Hegemony*, Canadian academic Regula Qureshi cites G.M. Joshi’s 1977 study to show that one of the very first recordings made in the early 1900s of religious music in the Indian subcontinent included performance by at least

qawwali that became commercialised was not the metaphorically ambiguous one sung at shrines late into the night. It was a new type of qawwali not meant to send men into ecstatic frenzy and, therefore, did not indulge in extravagant musical and poetic devices as the traditional qawwali did. This new qawwali was mass produced with the explicit intention of treating it as a commodity. A good example of this type of qawwali, as documented by Qureshi, is *Madine Ka Musafir Hoon* (*I’m a*

Traveller towards Medina) by Pearu Qawwal circa 1920s. Such a qawwali does not leave much room for musical and literary imagination because it explicitly, and literally, states the qawwal's objectives in a rigidly set composition. We can contrast this qawwali with Khusrau's cheeky *Mun qiblah raast kardam janib-e kaj kulahi* (*I turn in worship towards the one whose cap is awry*) that never made it into the mainstream in spite of its continued popularity at shrines because of its literary ambiguity and extravagant manifestation of love and devotion.

The preference for the format over frenzy, as illustrated in the example above, is reflective of the type of religiosity preferred by the exclusively urban and often well-to-do group of populace that the early radio and television companies sought to cater to. This group of people preferred organisation over chaos, control over ecstasy and ritual over unrestrained spirituality. The introduction of a literalist religious vocabulary into the mix turned qawwali into an Islamic genre rather than a spiritual one that was accessible and appealed to people from all faiths and beliefs. This went against not only the universally inclusive claims of earlier qawwali, but would also impact the many debates over the use of romantic phraseology and Sufi terminology by qawwals.

Commercialisation, thus, led to the bifurcation of qawwali. Broadly, the new mainstream qawwali began to – in both form and content – differentiate itself from the traditional qawwali performed at Sufi shrines. In terms of form, mainstream qawwali became easily accessible through phonographs and cassettes that, in turn, determined that each qawwali would be of a specific duration compared to the traditional qawwali, which could go on for a whole night.

Additionally, qawwali could be enjoyed from within the comfort of the home instead of having to visit a shrine on a particular day to listen to it. The popularity of qawwali when compressed into recordings easily available to everyone created new and attractive career opportunities for many singers trained in the classical tradition; they began incorporating

qawwali within their performative repertoire.

Change in content

In terms of content, as Qureshi points out, the mainstream qawwalis were predominantly in simple Urdu, instead of being in Persian, stylised Urdu or devotional Hindi — the languages used in the traditional qawwalis performed at shrines. While Persian refrains have continued to stick around, stylised Urdu as well as devotional Hindi idioms have almost disappeared from mainstream qawwali. There has been a corresponding shift in the meaning of key words – such as 'wine' and 'intoxication' – that have been the staple of qawwali singing for centuries. The mainstream qawwals and their audiences would like to believe that references to drinking are ornamental rather than essential to the language of qawwali and, therefore, do not pertain to the act of consuming wine and getting intoxicated, but to some metaphysical and divine activity. Any suggestions to the contrary are immediately frowned upon and dismissed.

Impact on hereditary singers

This change posed serious challenges to the hereditary singers of qawwali. They faced competition from the mainstream qawwals who began to enjoy the financial benefits of their commercial endeavours. Legislation such as the West Pakistan Waqf Properties Ordinance in 1959 (superseded in 1961 by an ordinance of the same name) and the Auqaf (Federal Control) Act in 1976 – which extended the writ and control of the state over shrines – would also hack down the familial orders associated with Sufis and thus endanger the survival of many traditional qawwal gharanas. Equally important would be attempts – both by the state and many parts of the society – to promote a literalist version of Islam that often makes Sufi shrines and the activities therein the first target of criticism and hostility.

All these factors together resulted in the dwindling popularity of shrines as well the emergence of a public attitude which looked down upon anything related to Sufism. Many traditional qawwal gharanas, attached to shrines, were to disappear soon without a trace. Of course, some of the mainstream qawwals do

come from hereditary families and, therefore, continue to perform to this day at shrines with regular frequency. Others, who could not (or did not) make the transition to mainstream qawwali, have been restricted to performing the traditional fare to progressively declining audiences with drastically reduced frequencies.

The new qawwali

The mainstream qawwali today is universally accessible through digital media. This has deprived it of the mystical character of traditional qawwali that relied, in large part, on the spatial-temporal atmosphere within which it was sung — the sounds and smells of the shrine, the aura of spiritual indulgence and emotional abandon, the emphasis on audience participation. The new qawwali, at best, leads to a mere appreciation of the transcendent experiences of love and devotion but it seldom, if at all, helps the audience to actively partake in those experiences. The mainstream qawwali's audience today — whether at home or at concerts and public gatherings — does not seek to achieve a state of ecstasy. Most listeners are drawn to qawwali by its musical rhythm, mystical verse and its cultural significance as a traditional way of religious expression. The modern audience remains rather detached from any spiritual experiences that qawwali performers might claim to be having or creating.

The traditional qawwali, as mentioned earlier, was predicated on inducing in its audience a spiritual trance. It focused on a complete submersion of one's self in the mystical experience. This continues to be a feature of performances at shrines where participants actively seek to generate in themselves a state of ecstasy. Access to such gatherings, especially in far-off rural areas, poses serious challenges to those interested in attending, but none that cannot be overcome. Yet, easier access to mainstream qawwali through recordings often means that many people will forego physical attendance. Modern religious sensibilities, as argued earlier, are also oriented towards the organised and predetermined format of mainstream qawwali rather than the chaotic ecstasy of traditional performances.

The explicit juxtaposition of the mainstream and traditional qawwali — as well as the nostalgic preference for the latter over the former — raises many interesting questions about tradition and modernity, about idealised notions of the past and a lament for the present, about authenticity and the challenges to it and, above all, about the idea of change.

The problem with romanticising qawwali's past

It is important to begin by acknowledging that any discussion of a historical phenomenon is likely to turn that phenomenon into a romanticised version of it. Biases — conscious or subconscious — can prevent both the writer and reader from accepting what a phenomenon it actually has been. We, therefore, must discuss qawwali based on not just what we see in it but also based on the historical origins of shrines it was performed at, the personalities it was written and sung by and the audiences that attended its performances. Equally important is that we should focus on what it is that we do not find in those sources but see in the discussions today. The central idea behind this approach is to argue for an objective assessment of history instead of taking recourse to historical subjectivity.

A romanticised understanding of what qawwali was prior to its commercialisation can take different forms. Firstly, it can manifest itself as a defence by the current practitioners — both mainstream and hereditary — that posits qawwali as a purely religious performance, devoid of any features that might blemish its sacred character. Practising and listening to qawwali is only permissible if you have attained a certain level of religiosity; for all others, it is an experience that they should not indulge in because it is beyond their religious and spiritual capacity to handle. Evident within such a defence is the rigid definition of religiosity and spirituality. It is as much about what counts as correct behaviour as it is about what does not. Such defence is suspect because it carries a strong orthodox tone which bears little to no resemblance to the earliest qawwali texts that openly defy orthodoxy.

Another defence criticises — and dismisses — the very idea of change in qawwali. What has

changed is the world around qawwali, the exponents of this viewpoint argue. This defence, too, is weak because it ignores the fact that qawwali has evolved in constant dialogue with and against the society it is performed in. Take the example of Sabri Brother's famous qawwali *O Sharabi Chor De Peena* (*Oh Addict, Quit Drinking*) that attacks Aziz Mian's *Mein Sharabi* (*I, the Addict*). Without having to agree on what Sabri Brothers may or may not have meant in their verses, what is clear is their insistence that Aziz Mian is mistaken about the path he has proudly chosen for himself. Their qawwali, thus, assumes a tone of pettiness and personal rivalry.

Of course, no qawwal – mainstream or hereditary – would ever agree that qawwali and its performance could be petty or worldly because such an agreement would undermine their claim that qawwali transcends the mundane, that it has a rarefied atmosphere of self-abnegating spirituality about it. What everyone will agree on is that the format of *O Sharabi Chor De Peena* – as well as that of *Mein Sharabi* – is still that of qawwali. Both of these, thus, can be classified as mainstream qawwalis. This amply shows how qawwali as a mainstream musical genre both influences and is influenced by the world around it.

Insofar that qawwali does not have a pristine, immaculate past or a static existence throughout its history, it may serve as an illustration of the debate on tradition — or more accurately the lack thereof. Under the category of religious devotional music in Pakistan, for example, we can include *na'at* and *nauha* for comparative purposes. The former is a hymn sung in the praise of the Prophet of Islam and the latter is an elegy over the massacre of his offspring. Technology has significantly altered both the form and content of these genres. It has become hard at times to distinguish whether it is a *na'at* that is being played at full volume in a passing car or whether it is a new Bollywood tune. Harder still is to understand what kind of mourning a *nauha* is marking when it transforms into a eulogy for the Shia Ayatollahs. The transformation signified by the extremely creative video depictions that accompany both the genres – and that can be freely played on

online platforms – is even more evident than the changes mentioned earlier. The older generation is often seen lamenting that the good, old classical works have been ruined by their newer versions; the younger generation, on the other hand, is seldom drawn to what is regarded as the most authentic form of *na'at* and *nauha* by their elders. By extension, this line of argument may suggest that what is original and authentic for a particular generation may not be so for a preceding or succeeding generation.

Debates about authenticity

The argument over what kind of qawwali is authentic, therefore, tells us more about ourselves than it does about qawwali. Consider again the contrasting aesthetic choices of Sabri Brothers and Aziz Mian. The former appeared well behaved and were well-groomed in the musical and poetic traditions associated with qawwali. The latter, in contrast, wore bright colours and cared little about the formal requirements of music and performances. To dismiss one or the other as inauthentic on the basis of their accent and tone would be naive. To argue that their looks are reflective of the quality of their works would be foolish. Such a dismissive will, however, tell us about our own preferences and what we can and cannot stand to listen. It is possible that our parameters of qawwali's authenticity are derived from our own worldview on such subjects as the nature and the history of the state, religion and society we reside in.

It is not just our preferences that we see reflected in the type of qawwali we endorse. It is also the consumerist culture we are part of that determines what we will like and what we will not. Mainstream qawwali has been successful because it does not need a physical participation by the listener in its performance. This freedom from physical involvement means qawwali can continue to be played in the background even as the listener engages in worldly activities such as working at an office or driving for work or pleasure.

The fact that people in South Asia remain a largely religious crowd allows the manufacturers of goods and providers of services to rope in religion to peddle their wares. It makes

perfect sense in such an atmosphere that qawwali has also begun to surface as a means of product endorsement. Such endorsements manifest themselves in various forms. In one particular instance, a milk manufacturer invokes a qawwali catchphrase to bind the singer, his fans, milk consumers in general and the producers all in one seamless universal community of faith. In another example, we have a radically altered form of qawwali being used to sell nationalism in adverts by a sports television channel promoting its coverage of Pakistan-India cricket matches.

The influence of *Coke Studio*

No mention of commercialisation of qawwali will be complete without a reference to *Coke Studio*. The versions of qawwalis rendered by the singers of *Coke Studio* are motivated by an appreciation of the art and the artist; they do not seek to use art as a means for a spiritual experience. The show encourages innovation and improvisation and is willing to challenge the very concept of what counts as “traditional”.

Importantly, however, *Coke Studio* has been remarkably successful in generating an interest in its work as well as in attracting and sustaining a dedicated viewership. Yet, it must be remembered that its very name is a ceaseless promotion of its corporate sponsors. The show is as much an investment in brand promotion as it is an initiative for the propagation of the arts. One can, therefore, ask what it means for qawwali to have become dependent on corporate sponsorship. It is highly likely that commercial motivation of the sponsors working together with aesthetic motivations behind the production of new forms of qawwali will create unforeseen results. That the former may trump the latter is an outcome that seems highly probable.

Even outside *Coke Studio*, it is clear that commercial motivations of mainstream qawwali affect its production in terms of content and form which have to conform to the cultural and religious tastes, and choices of its consumers. The crucial question, however, is whether the commercialisation of mainstream qawwali confers a moral advantage on the traditional qawwali. It does not.

The idea of paying for a qawwali performance is no different from how we are willing to pay for consumer brands in, for instance, fashion. Why listen to Faiz Ali Faiz Qawwal, who most readers would not have heard of before, when one can afford to pay for the concert of a more recognisable qawwal? Who we listen to is more important than what we listen to. Equally important is who we go with to a qawwali performance and where. In all of these preferences, qawwali itself becomes almost a secondary choice. Compare this with the motivation for attending a qawwali at a Sufi shrine where attendees are motivated by nothing other than devotion. This is the key difference between traditional and mainstream qawwali. This distinction, however, should not be seen as providing either of the two types of qawwali a moral advantage over the other.

A qawwali sung in a mainstream public arena will not be artistically better or worse than a qawwali recited without fanfare at a Sufi shrine. The two will only differ in how they are performed and how they are received. The dominant type of qawwali also does not tell us anything about the spirituality, or the lack thereof, in the contemporary world. It is, however, reflective of the society that we live in and the choices that we continuously make as members of such a society.

The only objective conclusion that can be drawn from all the discussion above is that mainstream qawwali is markedly different – both artistically and spiritually – from the one that continues to be performed at shrines, even as the performers stay the same in some cases. Any other conclusion will be delving into the realm of subjectivity.

The romantic proposition that traditional qawwali will one day become dominant is also delusional given that the world we live in is driven by consumerist preferences and a money-oriented outlook. As long as this worldview does not change, it is unlikely that qawwali will change. Traditional qawwali, however, will exist at Sufi shrines as long as these shrines continue to exist — though it is a matter of debate how long that will be.

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The State of Coastal Tamil Nadu in the Post-Independence India

Dr. M. Solomon Bernard Shaw

INTRODUCTION

The power and prosperity and strength and stability of a country are largely dependent on the sea and coast, ports and harbours, hinterland and man power and above all the policy of the state. Mighty nations like France and Russia could not become world powers because they lacked access to seas whereas tiny nations like Great Britain, Spain and Portugal could emerge as great colonial powers because of their access to seas and maritime supremacy. "Warm water policy" of Modern Russia and "Blue water policy" of Portuguese indicate the importance attached to seas. India, besides its enormous natural richness, is blessed with a long coast, to the magnitude of 8000kms with 11 major ports, many minor ports, harbours, most fertile hinterland and rich manpower. Tamil Nadu is bestowed with a lengthy coast with ports, harbours and hinterland. Korkai, Puhar, Tondi and Kaveripoompatinam were the busy ports of the Tamils in ancient days. Lemuria continent, then Madurai, Kapadapuram and Danuskodi were cities swallowed by seas in Tamil Nadu. Many Tamil rulers commanded mighty naval force and they had conquered faraway lands. Rajendra Chola reduced Bay of Bengal as a Chola Lake and defected Ceylon and Kadaram. Many other Tamil kings including Pandyas had commercial and cultural contact with Roman Empire and far eastern countries which are evident from archaeological sources. There were many communities who were busy in maritime trade and amassed wealth. Such a blessing was turned a disguise in the post independence era. The 'development' became detrimental and it made devastating effects on the environment and ecology on one side and the innocent people and their future on the other side. This paper aims to analyse and assess the changing face of the coastal Tamil Nadu through empirical study and bring to light the subaltern protest attempts and awaken the civil society.

A BIRDS EYE VIEW OF TAMIL NADU COAST

The ancient Tamils divided the land into five viz., Kurunji, Mullai, Marutham, Neithal and

Palai of them Neithal was the sea and the coast, that formed an integral part of Tamil culture. The coastal areas were very rich in terms of emerald green mangrove forests that are mentioned as Alaithi (tide breakers) in Tamil traditions. Besides, the creeks, coral reefs, coastal forests, sand dunes, palm groves, etc., remained as bio-shield. Fishermen, commonly called paravas and uppliers- the salt makers, besides many other communities, inhabited the coastal areas. Fish and toddy were the favorite items of those people who lived a peaceful life in the coast.

In the beginning of the 16th century the Arabs and Portuguese busied themselves in commercial and missionary activities respectively. The fishermen – Arabs encounter forced the paravas to opt for conversion to secure protection of Portuguese. Fr. Fernandes, the Portuguese missionary converted the entire parava community and there after all the paravas became firm believers of Christ and Mother Mary. Even under the exploitative alien rule the fishermen, had comparatively smooth sailing. The access to sea emboldened V.O. Chidambaram to launch Swadeshi Navigation Company against British and C. Rajagopalachari to lead Salt Satyagraha in Vedaranyam in line with M.K.Gandhi.

The free India carved out the present Tamil Nadu as a state. Tamil Nadu has got a lengthy coast line to the tune of 1076 kms spreading in 13 districts. It forms 17% of the total coastal line of India. It is 355 kms in Bay of Bengal, 275 kms in Palk strait and 315 kms in Gulf of Mannar and 65 kms in Arabian ocean. Forty six rivers bring rain waters to sea and 26 cities and towns and 2390 villages are situated in the coastal areas. More than 120 million people are living in the coastal areas and the density is 682 per sq. km as against 468 per sq. km in inland.

OCEAN - THE SOURCE OF LIFE

The ocean is the lungs of the globe as almost half of the oxygen in the terrestrial atmosphere is produced biosynthetically by phytoplankton in the ocean. Oceans keep countless wealth. Besides salt, also dissolved in the oceans tons of uranium, lithium, magnesium, potassium, bromine, etc. in addition to these there is gold, platinum, copper,

silver, oil, gas, coal, etc. scientists state positively that one hectare of sea has a better prospect of contributing to our food resources than to same area of land. The shallow water and the coastal land are very important than the deep waters as many species of aqua fauna and flora generate there. The rich coral reefs, the cradle of many varieties of fishes, grow only in shallow waters. The Food and Agricultural Organization stated that the sea food is very rich in protein and it raises nutrition level tremendously. Above all for the fishermen and other communities who live in coast for generations, ocean is 'Mother' and 'Home' and relationship with sea is inseparable. They make their entire livelihood only from sea. Seas grossly control the climate of the land.

THE POST INDEPENDENCE SCENARIO

The free India had the responsibility to lead the nation to progress and prosperity but unfortunately the successive governments lacked political will, vision and commitment and their unscrupulousness had its reflections in every sphere. The government and dominant groups became 'development maniac' and knowingly and unknowingly gambled on the lives of coastal communities destroyed the coastal serenity and richness in collaboration with mega companies-nationals and multinationals. In the name of development; cleared mangroves, coastal forests and terribly disturbed bio-diversity. The mangrove cover has been reduced to 1/3 of its original, in the last three decades. Between 1963 and 1977 more than 72% of mangroves were cleared and they remained as small patches in Pitchavaram, Muthupet etc. the mega companies and contractors mindlessly quarried sand and granite on the coast inviting intrusion of sea. The restless dredging killed all corals- the womb of aqua fauna and thereby deprived the fishing communities their daily bread.

DEVELOPMENT- THE GREATEST CHALLENGE

The successive census reports suggest that the population get doubled in 35 years. The areas designated for development of construction double every fifteen years. The government establishments like Kalpakkam, Ennore, Kudankulam, private industries like sterlite, hospitality industries like golden beach, dams, manmade reservoirs, ports the proposed Sethu Samuthram Project, housing, East Coast Road etc. have made serious inroads in the eco-system and lives of the people in coastal areas. The serene

atmosphere needed for breeding of many species is lost and the mindless encroachment has pushed them out of life. The hospitality industry brings huge crowds on shore, consequently a little foreign exchange is earned at the cost of lives of millions both men and marine species. Many hotels, spas, resorts and palatial buildings have come up in the place of mangroves and coastal forests. The water surfing, scuba diving and boating have terribly disturbed the coral reefs, turtles, prawns and other rare varieties of marine fauna. This makes a chain effect and in the season, the fishermen go home empty handed. The banks, funding agencies and other organizations helped fishermen giving up country boats and have given them mechanized boats. These have affected the serenity of the beaches.

The Ministry of Environment Forests issued 'Environment Guidelines for Development of Beaches' in 1983 and advised states to prepare master plans for the development of coastal stretches. The document proposed Environment Impact Assessment procedures to gauge the effects of activities that have a direct impact on the coastal land- sea interface area and its hinterland. These measures instead of mitigating the problems simply aggravated them. In 1991 the Ministry issued notification under Environment (protection) Act, 1986 declaring coastal stretches as the Coastal Regulation Zone and regulating activities within their area. the Environment (protection) Act, 1986, an umbrella legislation for environmental protection, was enacted as a result of the decisions taken at the UN conferences on Human Environment, held in Stockholm, in June 1972, in which India participated. The Coastal Regulation Zone makes it mandatory that every building must be 500 meters away from the sea but this has been grossly violated everywhere that was evident from the mega devastation brought forth by Tsunami 2004.

POLLUTION- THE BARBAROUS ACT OF 'CIVILIZATION'

Tamil Nadu is emerging as an industrial state with about 23,000 industries. Atleast 63% of the industries are situated on seashore, for the 'reasons best known', and they have drilled deep bore wells for their day-to-day consumptions. As the ground water is mindlessly depleted the seawater intrudes into water table, making the water and the land salty. The industrial waste, mostly hazardous chemicals, pollute sea water, atmosphere, land and ground water causing

untold miseries to plants, animals, insects and humans. Lack of political wills, corruption, malpractice, nepotism, jingoism and proverbial, red tapism have made the policy makers and the big officials insensitive and indifferent. The deforestation aggravates the problem. The first world countries have made oceans of third world as 'dumping bin'. The industrial and nuclear wastes are dumped into Deep Ocean spoiling the entire oceanic region. The ship wrecking unit in Vallinokkam is doing much harm- competing with sterlite in Tuticorin and other industries in Chennai coast. The atomic wastes of thermal power projects and oil emissions of ships in seas make the marine life hellish.

RAPE AND RUN INDUSTRY – A SERIOUS MENACE

In the days of globalization 'shrimp culture' has gained currency. Originally the shrimp farming- the Blue Revolution was launched in 1980s. It involves good investment and makes big profit. It is said that a shrimp farm in one acre gives profit in a year to the tune of 10 lakhs. The farm needs 60% fresh water and 40% salt water, huge quantity of synthetic feed and pesticides, recycling of water once a month. The pond is six feet deep and the size is varying. The farm could be used for 4-5 years. After the said period the entire land becomes wasteland and marshy and the farm owner abandons the land and goes for new land. Because of this the Food and Agricultural Organization of UNO has stated it as Rape and Run Industry. Mega companies like Acqua Fauna, Fox Farm, Bismi, Magna Food, Pranaax, Tata, Golden Harvest, Spencer Ramkrishna, Sriram etc. made alliance with 'land mafia' and purchased lands in large scale from small land holders rendering them landless in their own native land. They have invested crores of money and made rich harvest. These farms have stolen the grazing land of animals and pushed the village communities and fishermen out.

To feed the rich people in USA, Europe, Japan and other First world countries the mega companies compete with each other to produce more and more shrimp- the 'living dollars'. In 1990 Asian countries produced 556,500 metric tons of shrimp which is 80% of prawn production in the world. Shrimp consumption in North America, Japan and West Europe has increased 300 percent in the last decade. This demand has triggered a mad rush. Even the government is

trying to compete with such companies. The estimated economic loss due to shrimp farms is approximately five times the potential earnings. Leave alone the economic profit and loss but mind the irreparable loss done to bio-diversity and human population. The Integrated Coastal Area Management, Coastal Zone Management Plan, etc. help only mega companies and multinational corporations.

GLOBALIZATION – THE CONSPIRACY

The Union Government, yielding to GATT has allowed multi-nationals to fish in the deep Indian waters. They are permitted to use nets at the length of 15 kms and cranes. As a result of this they catch fish that could be done by 1000 fishermen in a year, besides damaging corals and contaminating shallow waters. It is stated that 800 mega trawlers are operating in Tamil Nadu Coast, putting at bay the basic human rights of millions of fishermen on coast who have no other means.

RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGE

The callousness of the industries and insensitivity of the successive government have made the lives of native precarious. These have terribly affected every segment of the deprived society and provoked response. In Thennampattinam in Nagapattinam district in 1994, Kelamonar villagers taluk, Taruvaikulam people in Tuticorin and in Rameswaram there was opposition against shrimp farming. It is gaining momentum and 'shrimp culture' is losing ground.

CONCLUSION

The Tamil Nadu coasts in the free India have been experiencing large scale governments have been demonstrating total disregard for the well being of marginalized sections. The 1076 km long coast has become the ground for exploitation by the rich, dominant and the multinationals. The shrimp farms have effected large scale transformation of land holding and rendered the vast multitude landless, voiceless and meaningless. The moneyed people with the support of government have pushed the traditional fishing communities back. The industries, tourism, atomic power plants have further aggravated the problem. Tsunami 2004 has exposed so much like the inertia of the state, violations of coastal regulations zones, pathos of the people, bad effects of deforestation and globalization, depletion of mangroves, sand quarrying etc. and has also indicated that it is still time to rethink and act.

Ground Level Initiatives on Composite Heritage in Tamil Nadu From Illiterate to Literate Folks – Identical Cultural Minds

Mugilan Perumal

In Tamil Nadu, there were three ground level workshops on Composite Heritage (CH) conducted in Jun-July months in 2016. The workshops were organized in different places for different communities (Tribal & non-tribal, Nursing, Medical cum Community Social Workers, Social Work Lecturers and MSW students) on one concept of composite heritage. All of them were very eager to share about their culture from birth to death rituals and ceremonies. This is their first time that they were asked to talk about their culture and its importance to bring peace among them.

TRIBAL AND NON-TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN MANGALAMKOMBU, KODAIKANAL IN TAMIL NADU :

First workshop in this series was with three communities such as Paliyar (tribes), Pulaiyar (non-tribes) and Dalits (Paraiyar and Arundadhiyar) from Mangalamkombu area. Through detailed discussions all of them realized about their education, each community's uniqueness of their culture and commonness of all the communities.

Education : Paliyar community is the only ethnic community which is still practicing their traditions, however their low literacy level makes them feel inferior to others. The Pulaiyar community also follows the traditional practices but many of them are educated and feel superior.

CULTURAL UNIQUENESS OF THE COMMUNITY :

Dalit Community : they speak Tamil, Telugu and Kanada. Their traditional musical instrument is called 'Parai' and they use this during marriage, death and other festivals. There is a tradition of keeping two names (one God name and another name will be given by the

astrologer) for the new born child. They worship god, especially Kaliyamman. Worship of god before performing the death rituals is part of their culture and traditions.

Paliyar Community : Hunting is their traditional occupation. One of the traditional musical instruments is called 'Bambai and Udukkai', used for festivals only. They follow paddy astrology especially for pregnant women, depicting when, where and how delivery of the baby will happen. They worship stone as god and in case of death of anyone in the community no one would go for the work.

Pulaiyar Community : They live in group and share whatever they hunt from the forest. They are nature worshipers - trees, sun, moon, etc. as their god. Women are highly respected but their rights like decision making are not given to them, reflecting patriarchal influence on the adivasi community.

Commonalities among different communities : they have same events like re-marriage, marriage, beginning of puberty ceremonies and ear piercing ceremonies. Reduction in child marriages is seen in all communities. Preference for male child is seen and practice of dowry system is prevalent. They have similar rituals in case of death related to burning and burying of the dead bodies.

NURSING STUDENTS IN VILLUPURAM, TAMIL NADU :

The second workshop in this series was with the nursing students who feel attached more with their caste based culture. Cultural background of communities such as the Schedule Caste, Most Backward Community and Backward Community shows a shift from agriculture to construction work.

Education : educational institutions are an important medium that brings all the nursing students from rural areas, together on one

platform irrespective of the religions/castes/regions. If a girl lives in rural area, she would never be able to interact with other community peer groups. Such situations every rural girl faces and institutions like these give them an opportunity to mingle with each other leading to cross cultural interaction and participation in each other's festivals and celebrations.

Traditional Medicine : They still follow Siddha medicine and Patti Vaidhiyam (Grandma's Medicine) in some parts of Villupuram and Madurai districts in Tamil Nadu. Some of the medical social workers and nursing students are following these medicines and also advising the patients to follow these instead of allopathic medicines. The Grandma's medicine is seen as playing double roles. On one hand, it is a medium that cures many diseases and on the other hand, it is used for female infanticide by feeding paddy or extracted milk of cactus plant.

**MSW (MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK)
STUDENTS IN TRICHY, TAMIL NADU :**

Third workshop in this series was with students, lecturers and social workers from five different colleges in Trichy. There were some social workers doing community based projects and this workshop helped them to understand the concept of composite heritage in their working areas.

Social Work Profession : There are different specializations like community development, medical & psychiatric, human resource development, etc. in social work but there is not much emphasis on culture in any of the social work subjects. The social work professors use many tools among the communities to deal with conflict theoretically and practically but never used culture as a tool to build peace in conflict ridden area. This workshop gave an idea to all social work professionals to make use of this tool to address conflict situations in the communities.

Session on exploring different forms of composite heritage and documentary on formation of Indian identity by Sohail Hashmi, made them realize that there is no single identity but collective identities in the world. They stated that "we need to enrich our culture as well as respect others' culture because we are indirectly

or directly picking something from others. We have to start sharing with different communities in order to feel connected".

**VOICES DURING AND AFTER
COMPOSITE HERITAGE WORKSHOPS:**

"I was limited to my life within my community and even in the school I used to interact with my own community friends. My parents also restricted me to interact with other community people. This program gave me a platform to feel connected with Paliyar and Dalit community. I will try to come out from the discriminatory mindset".

-MR. VIJAY,
Pulaiyar Community

"In my grandparents' generation, the marriage can be done if you have only 03 or 04 sacks of rice. But now, the dowry has become a routine thing and a social burden as well. That is the reason why I haven't married yet and I will never marry if anyone asks dowry".

-MS. DURGA,
*Nursing Assistant,
Villupuram Government Hospital*

"The concept of Composite Heritage was new to me and out of my curiosity I attended the first day training program and I understood that the Composite Heritage is all about bringing peace among the communities irrespective of their cultural differences like caste, religion, geographic location etc. They shared some of their real time experiences of how they promoted community participation in the issues related to culture".

-DR. SUGUNA,
*Sri Manakula Vinayagar
Medical College and Hospital*

"The Composite Heritage workshop included lot of group activities which kept the participants in the active

learning mode. The lessons learnt by our medical cum community social workers showed that they got to know some practical tips to deal with cultural issues in our field practice areas”.

-MS. PADMA PRIYA,
*Sri Manakula Vinayagar
Medical College and Hospital*

“In Sri Lanka, we celebrate Pongal festival every January month and even Sinhala people join in the festival. They come to our place not to celebrate Pongal but to see the girls/women who wear Saree. In our culture, Saree is our traditional dress but it is a sexy dress for them”.

-MS. POONGODAI
*(from Sri Lanka),
PhD Scholar from Bharadhidasan University.*

“I am working to promote organic farming in nearly thirty villages of Trichy district. I never realized that I was indirectly encouraging hybrid products. The threats to Composite Heritage session made me realize how organic farming is under threat and

needs more attention in order to spread it across the region”.

-MR. ANTONY SUSAIRAJ,
Organic Farming Project

“When I participated to perform Kandiya Nadanam (Sri Lankan’s traditional dance mixed with Yoga), it inspired me to take this dance forward to everyone around me. Although it is not my traditional dance but felt like I am somewhere attached with the dance”.

-MR. PRAKASH,
Social Worker

CONCLUSION

Different groups participated to understand the concept of the composite heritage to bring everyone under the umbrella of peace. It will take a long time to change the negative aspects of composite heritage in their particular regions but they decided to change themselves to avoid caste, gender and religion related conflicts. The social workers who work in different fields like Sri Lankan Refugee Camp, Promoting Organic Farming, Manual Scavengers Projects, etc like to apply Composite Heritage tool to control or minimize atrocities and emotional pains in them.



CHAPTER VI
ENGLISH POETS
(III. THE DECLINE OF CAPITALISM)

Christopher Caudwell

...Continued from previous issue

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This movement into the world of “art for art’s sake” – i.e. “art for my sake” – of course is well marked in England with Rossetti, Morris before he became a socialist, Wilde and to a certain extent Hopkins. But in this epoch of the final stage of capitalism the movement becomes most rapid in other countries. England, the quickest to develop methods of capitalist production, is slowest to decline. The final movement in bourgeois art is accomplished most fully in other countries.

The movement is seen in its purity in France. Baudelaire begins it: “Il ne peut être du progrès (vrai, c'est à dire moral) que dans l'individu et par l'individu lui-même.” Verlaine and Rimbaud continue it, though Rimbaud, allying himself with the Commune, passes from poetry with the collapse of the first proletarian dictatorship.

From then on the movement develops via the Parnassians, through the symbolists, to its climax in the *surréalistes*. With the Parnassians the word is valued for its marmoreal craft qualities; with the symbolists for the vogue penumbra of emotional associations lying beyond the word – that is, for its extra-social associations –; with the *surréalistes* directly for its private unconscious significance. The transition from Heredia via Laforgue to Apollinaire is surprisingly rapid and clear.

In England poetry at first seems exhausted. The universal movement of the bourgeois economy which is debasing all art, or making it move to *surréalisme*, is halted in England by little “pockets” or sheltered occupations, representing the reserves of England’s long bourgeois summer, The country – preserved and protected by the rich industrial capitalist who finds it better to exploit ruthlessly the colonial “country” for raw material and keep

some vestige of idyllic relations around him – is one such pocket; it gives us Hardy and a succession of less gnarled country poets such as Thomas and Davies. Oxford and Cambridge are other such pockets; they give us Housman, Flecker, Brooke and various other “Georgian” poets. The war closes this period. In 1929 the final economic crisis of capitalism affects even England, and English poetry too moves rapidly towards symbolism and the most logically consistent expression of poetic craft revolt – *surréalisme*.

The *surréaliste* is somewhat equivalent to the craftsman who makes trifling models and toys in his spare time to exercise his skill. This is the way he expresses his revolt and secures some free outlet for his craft, by deliberately making something of its nature useless and therefore opposed to the sordid craftlessness of mass-production. We will deal later with the aesthetic theory of *surréalisme* and the importance it attaches to the Unconscious, when we have had time to consider the real function of the instincts and of the Unconscious in art. At the moment we need only point out that, so far from the free association which is the basis of surrealist technique being really free, it is far more compulsive than ordinary rational association, as Freud, Jung and MacCurdy have clearly shown. In rational association images are controlled by a social experience of reality – the consciousness of necessity. In free association the images are controlled by the iron hand of the unconscious instincts – and it is therefore no more free than the “thinking” of the ant. Man becomes free not by realising himself in opposition to society but by realising himself through society, and the character of the association in itself imposes certain common forms and conventions which are the badge of his freedom. But because the *surréaliste* is a bourgeois and has lost control of his social relationships, he believes freedom to consist in revolting against these forms whereby freedom has been realised in the past. Social activity, the

means of freedom, is – because its products are appropriated more completely by individuals the more social the activity becomes – opposed by a resolutely non-social activity which is felt to constitute freedom because its products are useless to society and therefore cannot be appropriated by individuals. Of course this is an outside view of the process. Subjectively the artist believes himself to be realising an ideal freedom derived from the “magic” qualities of art works and the unique features of the artist’s mind.

At each stage the bourgeois contradiction by unfolding itself revolutionises its own base and secures a fresh development of technical resources. Hence the movement from “art for art’s sake” to *surréalisme* secures a development of the technique of poetry, of which in England Eliot is the best example owing to the already-mentioned lag. But it cannot continue indefinitely. The conflict between technical resources and content reaches a limit where it explodes and begins to turn into its opposite. A revolution of content, as opposed to a mere movement of technique, now begins, corresponding in the social sphere to a change in productive relations as opposed to a mere improvement in productive forces. As a result the social associations of words will all be re-cast, and the whole subject-matter of poetry will become different, because language itself is now generated in a different society. There will be a really revolutionary movement from the categories of bourgeois poetry to the categories of communist poetry.

The *surréaliste* therefore is the last bourgeois revolutionary. To pass beyond him – beyond Milton, beyond Godwin, beyond Pater, beyond finally Dada and Dali, is to pass beyond the categories of bourgeois thought. What politically is this final bourgeois revolutionary? He is an anarchist.

The anarchist is a bourgeois so disgusted with the development of bourgeois society that he asserts the bourgeois creed in the most essential way: complete “personal” freedom, complete

destruction of all social relations. The anarchist is yet revolutionary because he represents the destructive element and the complete negation of all bourgeois society. But he cannot really pass beyond bourgeois society, because he remains caught in its toils. In the anarchic organisation of bourgeois economy certain laws of organisation still assert themselves, and therefore can only be shattered by a higher organisation, that of a new ruling class.

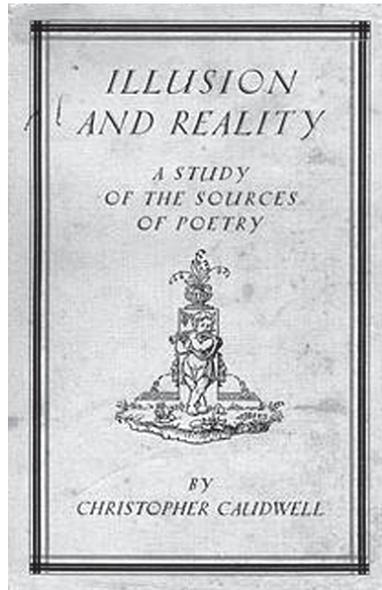
The anarchist is the typical revolutionary product of the country where industrial capitalism has developed late under “hot-house” conditions and has resulted in the rapid proletarianisation of a large number of artisans or petty bourgeois craftsmen. It is a petty bourgeois creed. Hence its strength in “late” capitalist countries like Italy, Spain, Russia and France – precisely the countries

where the surrealist tendency in all is also most marked.

But it is also the character of *surréalisme*, as it is the character of anarchy as a political philosophy, that it negates itself in practice. The difference between communism and anarchy as a political philosophy is that communism believes that bourgeois rule can only be successfully overthrown by an organised movement. This organisation, expressed in soviets and trade unions, is a direct outcome of the organisation forced on the proletariat by the general conditions of capitalist

economy. The anarchist, however, has recently been a petty bourgeois, a peasant or an artisan. He has not been organised for long in an industrial and political struggle against the capitalist class. He therefore sees revolution as an individual destruction of authority which would suffice to restore the conditions in which he enjoyed the fruit of his own labour.

But in practice the anarchist discovers that the mere destruction of an outworn society, let alone the building of a new, requires organisation. The mere necessities of the task drive him first into trade unions and then into the creation of soviets. This was seen in the Russian Revolution, when the sincere Social Revolutionaries were



mostly forced, by the logic of events, to the Bolshevik standpoint, and again in Spain, when in Barcelona the anarchists have had to support a strong Central Government, help in the organisation of defence and supplies, and in every way negate their own creed. Hence the truth of the old joke as to the anarchist's code:

"Para. 1. There shall be no order at all.

"Para. 2. No one shall be obliged to comply with the preceding paragraph,"

and the significance of the newspaper report after the Fascist revolt in Spain: "The anarchists are keeping order in Barcelona."

In the same way, as a revolutionary situation develops, the *surréaliste* poets either retreat to reaction and Fascism (as many in Italy) or are thrown into the ranks of the proletariat, like Aragorn in France.

In a country such as England, the final revolt of the craftsman usually takes a different form. The craftsman is not there an independent artisan or petty bourgeois whose first taste of proletarianisation gives him a hatred of "organisation." The proletarianisation of the artisan took place in the late eighteenth century in England, and because the possibilities of revolution were more hopeless, his rebellion took the form of Ludditism – the smashing of the machines which expropriated them. The next great proletarianisation of the craftsman was marked by the rise of the general labourers' unions in the face of the opposition of the craft unions, and the struggle then was a struggle between a developing proletariat and the capitalists, with the craft unions standing aside.

Thus the final crisis in England found the craftsman a man who, as the result of the long springtime of English capitalist development, occupied a privileged position in production. He formed the famous labour aristocracy who made it seem as if England, not content with a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois monarchy, aimed also at a bourgeois proletariat. In the final crisis it soon became apparent that this favoured position was only the expression of the temporary supremacy of England in world capitalism and vanished with the growth of competition and tariffs. Unemployment, insecurity, wage-cuts and dismissals as the result of rationalisation, from 1929 to 1936, ravaged all the ranks of the "craft" and "professional" elements of England just as,

at a somewhat earlier date, they had those of Germany. So far, however, from proletarianisation in all cases producing an anarchic frame of mind in these types, it has an opposite effect in those who are "key" men rooted in the heart of industry everywhere – in the tool-room of the factory, as supervisors, foremen, technicians, specialists, managers and consultants. In these positions they find that their skill is wasted, not by the organisation of men into factories, but because the progress of this organisation – its logical conclusion in an immensely increased human productivity – is defeated by the characteristic anarchy of capitalist production – the individual ownership and mutual competition of the various factories.

Hence their revolution against the system which is crippling them is not reactionary in content, like the artisan's, but genuinely progressive, in that it demands greater organisation – the extension of the organisation already obtaining in the factories to production as a whole.

But though progressive in content, it by no means follows that this demand will find an outcome in a progressive act. Even at this revolutionary stage the craftsman halts at two paths. One leads up to the bourgeoisie., with whom his responsible position and higher salary have always associated him – indeed the doctor, architect, and artist, owing to the "ideal" content of their work, have actually been a genuine part of the bourgeoisie. The other path leads downward to the proletariat, from whom his privileged Position has always sundered him – for proletarianisation, because it has involved worsened living conditions, has been something to be avoided at all costs. Hence he has an ingrained repulsion from alliance with the proletariat. In the pass he has measured his success and freedom by the distance he has climbed up from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie – the famous petty bourgeois snobbery and exclusiveness which is only the cold reflection of man's constant desire for freedom.

If he chooses the upward path, he chooses organisation imposed from above by the bourgeoisie – in other words, Fascism. Of course this organisation is a mere sham – it is a cloak for further rationalisation, and the consolidating of the power of the most reactionary section of the

capitalist class. It results, not in the increased organisation of production but in greater anarchy and more bitter competition. Rationalisation is in fact irrationalisation. It leads to an increase in anarchy outside and inside – internally by a profound disturbance in economy resulting from the growth of armament and luxury industry at the expense of necessities and a general lowering of wages, and externally by an increase in tariffs and imperialism and a general drive towards war. The only real organisation consists in the counter-revolutionary regimentation of the proletariat and petty bourgeois classes and the smashing of working-class organisations.

But equally the craftsman may choose the downward path, and he is the more likely to do so as the development of the industrial crisis and the objective examples of Fascism abroad reveal the inevitability of this move. This path consists of allying himself with the proletariat and extending the organisation of the workers within the factories to the organisation of production as a whole by liquidating those rights which stand in the way – individual ownership of the means of production. Since this right is the real power of existing society, this means the substitution of workers' power for capitalists' power. When he makes this choice, the craftsman, because of his key position in production, his privileged income (giving him more leisure and cultural opportunities), and his experience of responsibility, becomes a natural leader of the proletariat, instead of their most treacherous enemy, as he is when he is allied with the bourgeoisie.

It is for this reason that the last three years in England have been marked by the development of a revolutionary outlook among those very craft and petty bourgeois types – the “labour aristocracy” – who formerly displayed all the reactionary qualities that made a craft union notorious in this country and made many of their spokesmen in Germany actual supporters of the Fascist régime. Anyone familiar with trade union affairs is aware that just as the craft unions and those industrial unions with a strong craft competition formerly opposed the general labourer's unions as being too militant and “socialist,” it is now the craft and semi-professional unions like the A.E.U., E.T.U., A.S.L.E. & F., N.A.U.S.W. & C. and N.U.C. who at the Trades Union Congress and through their

branches and Metropolitan Councils or District Committees press for militant action and are reproached by the general unions for being too extreme and communist. In the same way those craftsman whose ideal theoretical content has given them a special position among the bourgeoisie itself – doctors, scientists, architects and teachers – are now moving Left and entering the Communist Party in considerable numbers, passing straight from Liberalism without an intermediate sojourn in the Labour Party.

The same final movement of the bourgeois illusion is reflected in the growth of the People's Front, where all the liberal elements, representing the craft content of modern society, put themselves under the leadership of the proletariat in a formal written alliance limiting the scope of that leadership.

In English poetry this is reflected in the fact that English poets, without ever moving completely into *surréaliste* anarchy, change from a position near *surréalisme* into its opposite – a communist revolutionary position, such as that adopted by Auden, Lewis, Spender and Lehmann. How far this is genuinely communist and what level of art it represents, is a consideration which will be deferred to our final chapter, for with this movement the bourgeois contradiction passes into its synthesis. It now starts to revolutionise, not merely its productive forces but its own categories, which now impossibly restrict those productive forces which its tension has generated. This movement is farther advanced in France, with Gide, Rolland, Malraux and Aragon wearing the uniform at which all once sneered. Here it has only begun.

We have surveyed briefly the most important general determining forces influencing bourgeois English poetry. It is now necessary to change from a consideration of the social and historical movement which determines the poet's attitude and produces that very tension which can only be resolved by poetry, to a consideration of the movement of individual creation – the specific way in which the individual responds to this outward pressure and by a dialectic process imparts to it an impulsion from his own instinctive energy. Before we can do so, we must survey the general technical characteristics of poetry which condition his task.

to be continued...

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