SACH

SOUTH ASIAN COMPOSITE HERITAGE

In previous issues of SACH, poems focusing on feminism have featured. Along with Maya Angelou many other great poetess have been presented. Poems of Maya Angelou cut across the boundaries of time and space. Suffocation that women feel surrounds us all the time while we keep ignoring it. Often women who bear this suffocation are unable to express themselves or accept it as life itself. Most poems of Maya Angelou talk not just about women but about men, their attitude, their greed, their lifestyle which become cause of this suffocation, their suffering. Maya has no hesitation in expressing sexuality of women. Various phases of womanhood from a young girl to an aged woman, experiences of various ups and downs and how she tries to suppresses them, all these reflect in poems of Maya Angelou. This poem 'Man', though addresses men but the focus is on woman. A young 15 year old girl, hands that approach her and the mixed feelings of pleasure and anger. Sweet and bitter. A strong slap on the male oriented thoughts.

Men

By **Maya Angelou**

When I was young, I used to
Watch behind the curtains
As men walked up and down the street. Wino men, old men.
Young men sharp as mustard.
See them. Men are always
Going somewhere.

They knew I was there. Fifteen
Years old and starving for them.
Under my window, they would pauses,
Their shoulders high like the
Breasts of a young girl,
Jacket tails slapping over
Those behinds,
Men.

One day they hold you in the
Palms of their hands, gentle, as if you
Were the last raw egg in the world. Then
They tighten up. Just a little. The
First squeeze is nice. A quick hug.
Soft into your defenselessness. A little
More. The hurt begins. Wrench out a
Smile that slides around the fear. When the
Air disappears,
Your mind pops, exploding fiercely, briefly,
Like the head of a kitchen match. Shattered.
It is your juice
That runs down their legs. Staining their shoes.
When the earth rights itself again,
And taste tries to return to the tongue,
Your body has slammed shut. Forever.
No keys exist.

Then the window draws full upon
Your mind. There, just beyond
The sway of curtains, men walk.
Knowing something.
Going someplace.
But this time, I will simply
Stand and watch.

Maybe.

Bodhgaya Bomb Blasts :
Moving Beyond the 'Usual Suspects'

Subhash Gatade

INDIA

I.

Encore !

Mr. Praveen Swamy has 'discovered' the 'usual suspects' once again.

Narrating '[t]he same old, depressing story of incompetence and apathy' behind the Bodh Gaya bombings he has shared with the readers how "[I]ndia's police and intelligence services knew there were plots to attack the temple." and how ".. jihadists quite publicly announced they intended to attack Buddhist targets. ..From January, government sources have told Firstpost, the Intelligence Bureau had issued several warnings pointing to heightened risks to Buddhist religious targets in India, as a consequence of anti-Muslim violence in Myanmar." (http://www. firstpost.com/india/bodh-gaya-bombings-why-were-so-many-warnings-ignored-935233.html).

Of course, after giving enough hints about who the perpetrators could be, he has been careful enough to add - supposedly to maintain objectivity of his profession that

"It's too early to come to conclusions on who the perpetrators might have been—unlike Internet conspiracy theorists, who'll be blaming everyone from Islamists to the intelligence services themselves in coming hours. Criminal investigators need evidence, not guesses about motives. There are some pieces of evidence already available, though."

Readers of his erstwhile employer namely 'The Hindu' group of publications can vouch that it is not for the first time that he has done it. They have been witness to his similar write ups, providing enough juicy details of the cross-border connections of these terrorists, after every such terror attack. It is a different matter that later it turned out that many of these write ups were pure work of fiction as it was discovered that the actual perpetrators were Hindutva terrorists only. e.g. any independent reader can see for herself/himself what Praveen Swamy had written about say Mecca Masjid blasts, Ajmer Sharief blasts and Samjhauta Express bomb blasts (all in the Year 2007) and what were the conclusions of the investigators later.

Any cursory glance at the media scene in this country can make it clear that Praveen Swami is not an exception.

It is important to remember this fact because with the bomb blast at Bodh Gaya, the place where Gautama Buddha is said to have obtained Enlightenment and which is the most important of the main four pilgrimage sites related to the life of Gautama Buddha - the remaining being Lumbini, Sarnath and Kushinagar - the whole debate around terrorism has entered a much difficult terrain.

II

One expects added caution on part of any of the experts/commentators for another important reason as well. It has been widely reported how in two of our neighbouring countries - namely Burma and Sri Lanka - Buddhist extremists have unleashed a wave of terror against the hapless Muslims. And any such news without proper confirmation that Bodh Gaya, has come under attack of Jihadi terrorists, can make matters more difficult for the minority Muslims there.

According to conservative estimates more than ten thousand people - mostly Muslims have died in Burma where a campaign of ethnic cleansing is underway since 2012 (http:// www.hrw.org/news/2013/04/22/burma-end-ethnic-cleansing-rohingya-muslims). The 153-page report brought out by Human Rights Watch , "All You Can Do is Pray': Crimes Against Humanity and Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Burma's Arakan State," describes the role of the Burmese government and local authorities in the forcible displacement of more than 125,000 Rohingya and other Muslims and the ongoing humanitarian crisis. Burmese officials, community leaders, and Buddhist monks organized and encouraged ethnic Arakanese backed by state security forces to conduct coordinated attacks on Muslim neighborhoods and villages in October 2012 to terrorize and forcibly relocate the population. The tens of thousands of displaced have been denied access to humanitarian aid and been unable to return home.

A newspaper like 'Guardian' had done a story on ' Buddhist monk uses racism and rumours

to spread hatred in Burma' (18 April 2013, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/apr/18/buddhist-monk-spreads-hatred-burma).

> "His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the "Burmese Bin Laden" and he is a Buddhist monk who is stoking religious hatred across Burma.
>
> The saffron-robed 45-year-old regularly shares his hate-filled rants through DVD and social media, in which he warns against Muslims who "target innocent young Burmese girls and rape them", and "indulge in cronyism"..."

...

"Rising to prominence in 2001, when he created a nationalist campaign to boycott Muslim businesses, Wirathu was jailed for 25 years in 2003 for inciting anti-Muslim hatred but freed in 2010 under a general amnesty.

Since his release, Wirathu has gone back to preaching hate. Many believe his words inspired the fighting last June between Buddhists and ethnic Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine state, where 200 people were killed and more than 100,000 displaced."

Or look at Sri Lanka, emboldened by the suppression of the Tamil nationality struggle more than three years back, the Sinhala Buddhist extremists, who happen to be the main pillar of President Mahinda Rajapaksa, have begun to persecute country's Muslim minority. An outfit named Bodu Bala Sena (BBS - 'the Army of Buddhist Power'), formed last July in Colombo, is engaged in systematically demonising Muslims, accusing them of eroding Sri Lanka's Buddhist heritage. And as one witnesses violence has been promised unto the Muslims. The stray examples described below are an indicator in which directions winds are blowing. Way back in January, right wing Sinhala groups stormed a Law College in Colombo, claiming that its examination results were doctored to favour Muslims.

> They have called for mosques and dargahs to be razed, ostensibly for being situated too close to Buddhist temples; in the ancient capital of Anuradhapura, during one of these demolition drives, a photographer captured a monk burning a green Islamic pennant that he had pulled out of a dargah's rubble. The Bodu Bala Sena has closed down Muslim-owned butcheries, attacked a popular

Muslim-owned clothing store in Colombo, and forced the government to ban the certification of halal meat; other groups have painted pigs on the walls of mosques. In the town of Dambulla last year, when the chief priest of a local Buddhist temple led a protest to "relocate" a mosque, he warned in the process: "Today we came with a Buddhist flag in hand. But the next time, it will be different."

(See more at: http://caravanmagazine.in/perspectives/spoils-victory).

III.

A point worth consideration is to look at this particular blast in a more detached way and see for oneself who 'gains' from a 'blast' at this juncture.

Let us take a trip down memory lane and see for oneself what one wants to convey. The Samjhauta Express bomb blast occurred in February 2007 which killed more than 67 people, mostly Pakistanis and which was initially blamed on Islamic terrorists and which was later discovered to be the handiwork of Hindutva terrorists. One may recall that foreign secretary of Pakistan was to reach India merely two days after the tragic blasts and there were news in the paper that the peace process between India and Pakistan would get a new boost with this visit. As expected this bomb blast and the consequent blame game, had a very negative impact on the peace overtures. Thus we can infer that those forces who were opposed to normalisation of relations between the two countries were to 'benefit' from this incident.

Coming to the present juncture, one can see that the saffron camp, despite appointment of its 'most successful Chief Minister' as campaign committee chief, finds itself on the defensive on various fronts.

Forget the Rambo act of 'rescuing' 15,000 Gujaratis from Uttarakhand which added enough egg on their face, or their internal infighting evident to everyone with one of its topmost leaders sending his resignation from different posts as he found himself marginalised in the party; at political level, it stands further isolated because of Nitish Kumar's exit from NDA and the BJP led alliance getting reduced to merely a three party alliance, with no new entrants ready to join this faltering ship. Perhaps the big news is the ongoing investigation in the Ishrat Jahan encounter case under the supervision of the Gujarat highcourt, which has led to the unprecedented situation where many

IPS level officers of the Gujarat cadre have been chargesheeted and one amongst them is found to be absconding and the possibility that in its supplementary chargsheet few of the political leaders involved in the case getting targeted. One of the accused DIG Vanzara, who is lodged in jail since 2007 for his role in Sohrabuddin encounter case, is reported to have said that he has talked to Safed Dhadi (white beard supposedly referring to Narendra Modi) and black Dhadi (black beard supposedly referring to his close confidant Amit Shah) about this particular 'operation'. In fact, one of the witnesses to the case, who happens to be a police officer himself in his statement before a magistrate under article 164 which is admissible as evidence is reported to have made such a statement.

To summarise while 24 7 journos have finally 'declared' that the perpetrators are 'Jihadis' just on the basis of few statements made by Al Qaeda or Hafiz Saeed or some IB alerts (which itself has come under cloud because of the inputs provided for Ishrat encounter), an alternate reading of the whole act looks more plausible. Look at the various terror acts since last few years and see how they could dramatically change the discourse. And with planners and masterminds of the Hindutva terror still roaming free, it seems possible that some such Hindutva terrorists or some rogue *Pracharak* (wholetimer) from the RSS fraternity who have gathered enough experience in the last decade by their involvement in various terror acts, could have put his expertise to use in this particular case with due help rendered by some similar rogue elements from the IB, which also finds itself on the defensive in the Ishrat Jahan case.

Perhaps a news item which appeared in mainstream media could be pointer to the unfolding conspiracy.

A day after serial blasts rocked the Mahabodhi temple complex in Bihar's Gaya district, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) on Monday interrogated one person detained in connection with the incident. A team of the central agency arrived in Gaya to investigate the case. Based on a bag found in the temple premises, the police detained Vinod Mistri, resident of the Barachatti block in Gaya. "Vinod was picked up based on certain information. His photo identity card was found in the temple premises," Abhayanand, Director General of Police, told reporters here. Deputy Inspector General of Police Nayyar Hasnain Khan told The Hindu that Vinod is a carpenter who makes small furniture.

The bag found contained a monk's robe, a piece of paper with some mobile numbers, medical papers and a voter identity card belonging to Vinod. "He is not a monk. So the NIA is investigating why he was carrying the robe," a police source told The Hindu...

(NIA questions man for Bodh Gaya blasts, Patna, 8 July 2013, http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/nia-questions-man-for-bodh-gaya-blasts/article4894131.ece)

The press statement released by 'Rihai Manch' - a forum for the Release of Innocent Muslims Imprisoned in the name of Terrorism, which is on Dharna (sit in) in front of UP assembly for the last fifty days to bring Khalid Mujahid's killers to justice - who was killed in police custody - tries to join the dots and points to a conspiracy hatched by the 'Hindutva brigade in association with IB' to wriggle itself out of the mess in which it finds itself.

According to their press release "the manner in which one finds mention of a name called Vinod Mistry in this case and the way in which we are finding that clothes normally worn by Buddhist monks were discovered from his possession and the manner in which letters in Urdu were discovered from the temple, it rather vindicates that it was an attempt to stage 'Malegaon' in Bodhgaya where fake beard was found out and where due to wrong/biased inputs many innocent Muslims were lodged in jail for quite sometime till real culprits belonging to RSS were discovered."

Posing a question 'why Hindutva terror groups were kept out of this investigation', it pointed out the duplicity of IB in no uncertain terms. According to them while investigating agencies have no qualms in stigmatising 'Girls Islamic Organisation' active in Maharashtra as a 'terrorist organisation' and are later forced to eat their words but turn a blind eye to the 'open arms training undertaken by Durga Vahini, an affiliated organisation of RSS, many of whose activists have been found to be involved in terror acts and are languishing in jail.'

Would it be asking for too much that a thorough investigation be done in this case and not only the pawns involved in the case but their patrons are also apprehended.

Pabnava to Natham :
Whatever Happened to the Struggle for Annihilation of Caste !

Subhash Gatade

INDIA

...the world owes much to rebels who would dare to argue in the face of the pontiff and insist that he is not infallible. I do not care about the credit which every progressive society must give to its rebels. I shall be satisfied if I make the Hindus realize that they are the sick men of India, and that their sickness is causing danger to the health and happiness of other Indians.

B. R. AMBEDKAR, Annihilation of Caste,

I
Pabnava : Not Just the Name of a Village

Dalit residents of Pabnava, district Kaithal, Haryana would never be able to forget this year's birth anniversary of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar. The intervening nights of April 13 and 14 would forever remain itched on their minds. They still shiver when they remember how a four hundred strong mob of the local landowning community called Ror Marathas, armed with spears, batons and other sharp edged weapons, attacked the basti and ransacked more than 200 houses and left 6 dalits injured. It was supposedly to avenge the 'dishonour' wrought on them by a dalit youth who had dared to marry one of 'their girls'.

To quote Raji, one of the victims, '..they came like a tornado'.

One could easily notice simmering tension in the village since a few days, as news had come in that Meena (21) daughter of an influential Ror Maratha from the village called Pirthi Singh had married a dalit boy Suryakant s/o Mahendra Pal and had eloped with him. They had married on 9th April in the high court of Punjab and Haryna and had sought protection from the administration. As per the instructions of the court they were staying in the district protection home, Kaithal. The news that the couple was staying at Kaithal reached the village on 12th April. The very next day the Rors held a community Panchayat to deliberate on the matter.

For the 5,000 strong Ror Marathas, with control over most of the landholdings in the area, it was 'unpardonable' that one amongst the 300 Chamar families who mostly depended upon the Rors for their regular livelihood, had dared to marry one of their daughters. And to avenge this insult they had given an ultimatum to the dalits to return the girl within two days or face the consequences. Apart from the Rors and Chamars, the village has 200 Balmiki families, around 200 OBC households and a few Brahmin households.

The attack was organised the very night when the caste Panchayat (council) realised that neither Meena would return to her parents house nor would Suryakant be ready to rethink on the matter. The connivance of a section of the local police in precipitating violence against Dalits was also noted by the Chairman of the SC Commission, when he visited the village. He was told how the police had released a local goon under the pressure from the mob who further helped fuel violence.

A fact finding team - comprising of members of PUCL, NCDHR, HRLN and others representing different civil society groups which visited the village has made several recommendations (http://www.epw.in/web-exclusives/atrocities-against-dalits-pabnava-

incident.html) to ameliorate the situation and punish the guilty. Demanding that relevant sub-section of SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, be invoked in the FIR and calling for arrest of the remaining 27 culprits who have been roaming freely in the village, they have also proposed that the properties of the accused should be attached under and that the accused should be excommunicated from the village as per the provisions of the same Act. Apart from imposing collective fine on them for aiding and abetting the violence, they have also demanded that the deputy superintendent of police Taken Raj be booked under section 4 of the SC/ST (PoA) Act, 1989 for his willful negligence in not providing protection to the dalits before the incident.

Close watchers of the unfolding human rights situation in Haryana would vouch that developments in Pabnava are no exception. In fact, since one and half decades the state has been always in the news for growing atrocities against dalits and other marginalised sections of society.

May it be the case of Duleena (Jhajjar) where five dalits were lynched for the 'crime' of carrying corpse of a dead cow in the presence of police and other government officials (2002) or the manner in which dalits in Harsoula (Kaithal) were forced to leave the village by the dominant caste people (2003) for their growing assertion or the burning of hundreds of dalit houses in Gohana (Sonepat) supposedly to avenge the death of Jat boy in scuffle with boys or the gruesome attack on Dalits in Mirchpur - where 17 year old dalit girl and her sixty year old father - and looting and arson of their houses, one can record n number of incidents where one can see how perpetrators keep evading the arms of law - thanks to the active or tacit connivance of law enforcement authorities.

The marriage of Meena and Suryakant - which precipitated an attack by the dominant Ror Marathas - reminds one of a similar but rather more organised attack on dalit hamlets deep south, around five months before Pabnava.

The big difference between Pabnava and Natham was not only in the scale of attack and social-political formations involved in it but also the fact that it continues to reverberate even today.

II

As a recap of the events one can underline that it occurred on November 7, 2012 when three dalit colonies of Natham, Kondampatti and Annanagar in Naikkankottai, Dharmapuri district, Tamil Nadu faced organised attack at the hands of Vanniars. Of the 500 houses in the three colonies, over 268 were damaged/burnt. The mob, armed with deadly weapons and petrol bombs, indulged in a four-hour-long rampage. They broke cupboards, stole gold jewellery and cash before setting the houses on fire. It need be noted here as well that it was not a spontaneous outburst of anger, but a planned attack.

Much like Pabnava tensions had been mounting in the region for a number of months, and the marriage of Divya, the Vanniar daughter of G. Nagarajan, with E. Illavarasan, 23, who belonged to the Natham dalit colony, became a pretext to 'teach the dalits a lesson'. A kangaroo court consisting of members of the Vanniar community instructed the dalits to send back the girl. Divya firmly refused to return to her parents' house. Nagarajan committed suicide over this 'humiliation', enraging around 2,000 members of the said community who then attacked the dalit colonies.

All reports on the mayhem pointed to a single fact. Apart from giving verbal assurances and holding out promises, the police took no preventive action.

We know that events have moved in a 'fast forward' mode during the intervening period.

Vanniar Sangham - caste organisation of Vanniars coupled with PMK, (Pattali Makkal Katchi) the political outfit launched by Ramadoss took the issue of this particular marriage in a big way and tried to weave an anti dalit coalition of backward castes in the area claiming how dalit youth are weaning

away our 'daughters'. They also demanded dilution of SC-ST Prevention of Atrocities Act (1989) calling that it is 'misused' by the state. It was their own way of fighting political irrelevance in the state politics.

Coming under tremendous community pressure Divya - and perhaps with a guilt feeling that she has been a cause of her father's suicide - has finally returned to her mother and Ilavarsan who was hoping against hope that his love would ultimately triumph has died an unnatural death.

His body was found on a railway track few days back and as of now the focus of the debate is whether it was a 'suicide' as claimed by the police or a 'murder' which has been dressed up as suicide.

As of now after his cremation which took place after his second autopsy ordered by the court, one thing can be said with certainty that the theory about his 'death by suicide' looks more and more unreliable. While circumstantial evidence pointed towards something 'fishy' in the matter many related facts about his unnatural death have also come to the fore. Neither the driver of Kurla Express under which Ilavarsan has supposedly committed suicide informed the next station about it nor did driver of any other train which passed on the same route do it. In the railway manual it is mandatory for the drivers to do it.

It was not for nothing that the first autopsy was rejected by the high courts itself. A video recording of his first autopsy also makes it clear that there was deliberate negligence on part of the people who matter and in this manner crucial evidence has been lost. Although the Tamil Nadu Forensic Science Laboratory has 'confirmed that the handwriting in the suicide note is that of Ilavarasan only' the story of the recovery of the said suicide note is itself unreliable which according to police was 'taken away from the body by a resident who was at the scene before the Railway Police could reach there' which was delivered to the police after four days of Ilavarasan's death. Can anyone believe the story that the said note was found

with a stranger. To believe the police version, we will have to imagine a resident- with whom the alleged suicide note was found - when sees a dead body of a stranger, first searches for his pockets, takes out the 'suicide note' and either 'disappears' or at best 'forgets about it'.

It is a different matter that officially it will always be maintained - for a long time at least - that he committed suicide. Despite enough indications that there are holes in this theory, an alternate narrative about his demise would never be told. Powers that be would rather prefer to appease the 'feelings/emotions' of dominant Vanniars rather than inviting further trouble from them. Now when Ilavarsan is no more and 'their girl' back to her mother, they are feeling vindicated and the government would not like to deprive them of their sense of 'victory'. Sick people.

Undoubtedly, Tamil Nadu, a state which prides itself on its more than hundred year old history of anti caste struggle and social reform, and which seemed pioneer in very many ways, today appears a pale shadow of itself. What happened to its long history of anti-Brahminical struggle, espousal of atheism by a section of its leadership and the painstaking efforts put in by a battery of social reformers. Why the continuing marginalisation of Dalits in a state that has always played up its social reforms legacy. e.g. The legendary Jyothee Thass, writer, journalist, social reformer, Buddhist Scholar and Sidha Physician who was born in 1845 in a Paraiyar family is considered a pioneer of not only the anti-Brahmin movement but Dravid movement as well. And we have Rettamalai Srinivasan, who went to Round Table Conference in the early 30s, M.C. Raja, Periyar Naicker and several others.

One of India's most industrialised states, which had taken lead in implementation of reservation policy quite earlier, dalits, accounting for a fifth of the over 7 crore population, still find assimilation into mainstream society a struggle.

C. Lakshmanan, assistant professor at the Madras Institute of Development Studies, who

had recently organised a seminar to look at the history of various commissions which were set up to look into cases of dalit atrocities points out a very startling fact. According to him not a single person has been punished for atrocities against Dalits in the last 70 years, though a dozen or so enquiry commissions have been set up. To top it all, not even one member of these commissions has been a Dalit.

One can look at other studies to see ongoing discrimination in day to day life faced by the dalits.. According to an NGO Evidence still no entry of dalits in temples in 12 districts, n number of cases of dalit panchayat leaders not allowed to function or 460 tea shops in Madurai still following two-tumbler system (one for non-Dalits and another for Dalits).

Perhaps the deep rooted caste prejudices prevalent in the populace were best underlined at the time of Tsunami when dalits were discriminated against by the backward castes - while both the communities had found themselves in similar situation. A newspaper had reported :

'Tsunami can't wash this away : hatred for Dalits : In Ground Zero, Dalits thrown out of relief camps, cut out of food, water supplies, toilets, …'.The main news in one of the leading newspapers revealed it all. The centuries old prejudice against the 'lower communities' was perfectly intact despite an unprecedented tragedy called Tsunami. The report had details of the way Nagapattinam, one of the worst affected district in Tamilnadu, was coping with the changed situation. (Indian Express, 7th January 2005)

III

Pabnava of Haryana and Natham of Tamilnadu, separated from each other by hundreds of kilometers, peopled by communities speaking different languages and cultures, is it possible to connect one with the other. Should one claim that they are examples of India's much celebrated 'Unity in Diversity'?

Coming to Haryana, incidents like Pabnava reflecting growing atrocities on dalits are explained as an outcome of a society which perpetuates material deprivation of a large section of the dalits and the structural asymmetries inherent the system. An added explanation is also offered which underlines the fact that the region does not have a strong tradition of anti-caste movement or struggle for empowerment of women. To buttress one's point it is also argued how the state has emerged as a centre of what is popularly known as 'honour killings - where parents and other near and dear ones with due support from the community engage in extreme form of violence against their own supposedly for exercising their right to choice and choose their life partner which is understood as an act bringing dishonour to the family, community. Criminalisation of love happens not only in the case of a relation between dominant and dominated caste but even within caste or gotra as well.

If someone were to extend the same logic to Natham/Dharampuri or Tamil Nadu, this argument about 'absence of any history of radical egalitarian movement 'does not hold good at all. As already mentioned it has galaxy of leaders - who were engaged in plethora of activities, campaigns, publications, movements - to awaken the masses from deep slumber and who were active since later half of 19th century. If Haryana without a strong tradition of social-cultural movements or Tamil Nadu with a enviable tradition of radical movements challenging caste, patriarchy and even religion seem to imitate each other as regards situation of dalits or when it comes to the issue of choice exercised by a girl in choosing her life partner, we definitely need to go beyond the existing explanations.

Just when the issue of Vanniar girl Divya's marriage to a Paraiyar boy Ilavarsan was discussed and the vehement reaction by the dominant Vanniars was making headlines, came the news about a Paraiyar girls's Gokila's marriage to a Arunthatiyar boy Karthikeyan. Incensed over this marriage by a Paraiyar girl to a 'lower' caste, parents of Gokila tried to convince her but when she refused to do so, she was herself brutally killed by her parents.

It may be mentioned here that Paraiyars are those who beat drum and Arunthahtiyars are leather workers, who are also sweepers/ scavengers in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka. Pallars and Paraiyars in Tamil Nadu look down upon Arunthathiyars. It was worth noting that none of the Dalit formations - apart from those representing the interests of the Arunthathiyars raised questions about this death or condemned the act. The village where this incident said to have happened has a strong presence of Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK) cadres and they kept silence over the issue.

In a comment on a blog a writer while condemning the death of Illavarsan (Paraiyar) posed questions about this :

In Tamil Nadu there are so many places, where there are untouchability between dalit castes, and since Arunthathiyar's are sweepers/ scavengers, they are even more treated badly by the dalit castes, Paraiyar and Pallars.

My entire point here, is to ask, if people say its a caste violence, then why they are not seeing Gokila's murder as caste murder. Sadly arunthathiyar's issue never get into any debates.

How much different Paraiyars are, comparing with caste Hindus, ..sincerely if all of you support inter-caste marriage then come forward and say we will not oppose or at least we would support paraiyar girls marrying arunthathiyars.

(http://kafila.org/2013/07/05/after- falling-in-love-i-saw-the-reality-of-caste-e- ilavarasan/)

Deliberating on the issue Ravi Chandran adds "Dalit movement and intellectuals keep on saying that Dharmapuri is an example of caste violence, but they fail to see the gender violence behind the tragedy which had transformed into caste violence. Certainly every community seems to want to control its population numbers and they see women (marrying outside the community) as a threat and also as easy targets for their male chauvinism. There are many such incidents where Arunthathiyar men marrying Paraiyar women were murdered or their sisters

were sexually assaulted.

(http://roundtableindia.co.in/ index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id= 6001:the-murder-of-a-dalit-girl-and-the-silence- over-it&catid=119)

The manner in which dalits 'copy' their oppressor/dominant castes is visible also from areas which are infamous for medieval sounding decisions of the caste/community councils. Take Haryana again, which remains in the news for its Khap Panchayats of the Jats, has also witnessed 'judgements' by the community councils of the dalit castes (Balmiki, Ravidas etc.) which have 'punished' couples marrying of their own will with other dalit castes..

While organisations like Vanniar Sangham or PMK should be condemned for the frenzy they created in the state and appropriate action be taken against them, it is also a time for introspection for the dalit formations as well as over the state of affairs. One feels that it is time they revisit their approach which is key to usher us into a casteless society.

In its editorial 'Fighting Caste Fighting Patriarchy' Economic and Political Weekly, (Vol - XLVIII No. 29, July 20, 2013) has raised two important points. According to it "The limiting of social justice to identity assertion has seen the continuation of age-old caste antagonisms, rather than their gradual erosion. It is tragic and ironic to witness the revival of such fatal casteism in a state which pioneered powerful anti-caste movements in south Asia." Secondly "Ilavarasan's tragic death is an indication that progressive forces need to come out more forcefully against the intermeshing of caste and patriarchy. Whether it is the middle class families of India's growing cities, or the Khap panchayats of rural north India or criminal politicians, it is becoming clear that caste cannot be fought without fighting patriarchy."

One feels that while fighting for justice for Ilavarsan and for justice in Pabnava case, it is high time that we deliberate on all these and related issues which are of key importance for the further evolution of the dalit movement.

PEACEBUILDING

Katharina Schilling

The term peacebuilding came into widespread use after the than United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali-announced his Agenda for Peace in 1992. Since then, peacebuilding has become a broadly used but often ill-defined term implying activities that go beyond crisis intervention, such as long-term development, building of governance structures and institutions or building the capacity of non-governmental organizations (including religious institutions) for peacemaking and peacebuilding. The United Nations distinguished between several different kinds of interventon to bring about peace. In addition to humanitarian aid or emergency assistance, designed to provide the immediate means of survival for populations at risk, the main categories of intervention are:

Peace-making...implies interventions designed to end hostilities and bring aobut an agreement using diplomatic, political and military means as necessary. The focus lies in the diplomatic effort to end the violence between the conflicting parties, to move them towards nonviolent dialogue and eventually reach a pace agreement.

Peace-keeping...means monitoring and enforcing an agreement-even by using force as necessary. Peacekeeping operations not only provide security, but also facilitate other non-military initiatives. It may include :

a) assisting parties to transform from violent conflict to peace by separating the fighting parties and keeping them apart,

b) verifying whether agreements are being kept,

c) supervising agreed confidence-building activities,

d) managing through third-party intervention (often, but not always done by military forces).

Peace building... are programs designed to address the causes of conflict, the grievances of the past and to promote long-term stability and justice. Often it is understood as the phase of the peace process that *takes place after peacemaking and peacekeeping*. On the other hand, peacebuilding is an umbrella concept that encompasses not only long-term transformative efforts, but also peace-making and peacekeeping. In this view, peacebuilding includes early warning and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements and the establishment of peace zones.

There is a great deal of human suffering related to violent conflicts, political instability or unjust policies and practices. While short-term humanitarian relief and crisis intervention are most important to reduce the immediate sufferings in violent conflicts, they are not enough in fragile states or post-conflict societies. There must be additional initiatives for post-conflict reconcilitation, for the development of capacity for conflict transformation and for the building of sustainable peace. Meanwhile there is increasing awareness of the need to increase the capacities for nonviolent conflict transformation everywhere, even before open violence has occurred.

2.1 WHAT IS PEACEBUILDING?

As you may expect, the term "peacebuilding" is not clearly defined and is used in a variety of areas. It is most often used to describe work that has peace-enhancing outcomes, and it attaches great importance to how things happen. It involves a full range of approaches, processes and stages needed to transform towards more sustainable and peaceful relationships, just governance modes and fair structures. The list below might give a glimpse of the current state of understanding and discussion :

➤ Peacebuilding is the set of **initiatives** by diverse actors in government and civil society to address the root causes of violence and protect civilians before, during, and after violent conflict. Peacebuilders use communication, negotiation, and mediation instead of belligerence and violence to resolve conflicts. Effective peacebuilding is multi-faceted and adapted to each conflict environment. There is no one path to peace, but pathways are available in every conflict environment. Peacebuilders help belligerents find a path that will enable them to resolve their differences without bloodshed. The ultimate objective of

peacebuilding is to reduce and eliminate the frequency and severity of violent conflict.

➢ Peacebuilding consists of a wide range of **activities** associated with capacity building, reconciliation and societal transformation. Peacebuilding is a long-term process that occurs after the violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. In a narrower sense, peacebuilding is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing the root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building and political as well as economic transformation. This consists of a set of physical, social and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.

➢ Peacebuilding includes building legal and human rights institutions as well as fair and effective governance and dispute resolution processes and systems. To be effective, peacebuilding activities require careful preparation and participatory planning, coordination among various efforts, and sustained commitments by local partners and external institutions. According to Lederach, peacebuilding involves a **long-term commitment to a process** that includes investment, gathering of resources and materials, architecture and planning, coordination of resources and labour, laying solid foundations, construction of walls and roofs, finishing work and ongoing maintenance. He emphasizes that peacebuilding centrally involves the **tranformation of relationships.**

➢ Peacebuilding is not primarily concerned with conflict behaviour but looks at the **underlying context and attitude** that give rise to violence, such as unequal access to employment, discrimination, unacknowledged and unforgiven responsibility for past crimes, prejudice, mistrust, fear or hostility between groups. It is therefore applicable work that can continue through all stages of a conflict. But it is likely to be stronger either in earlier stages before any open violence has occurred or in later stages following a settlement and a reduction in violent behaviour.

➢ Peacebuilding is a complex and lengthy process that requires the establishment of a climate of tolerance and respect for the truth. It encompasses a wide range of political, developmental, humanitarian and human rights **programs and mechanisms** (e.g.: reintegration of refugees, de-mining and removal of war debris, emergency relief, the repair of roads and infrastructure, economic and social rehabilitation).

➢ It is an overall **concept** that includes conflict transformation, restorative justice, trauma-healing, reconciliation, development and leadership-underlain by spirituality and religion. Peace-building is therefore included in concepts like:

✧ Re-integration of former combatants into civilian society

✧ Security sector reform

✧ Strengthening the rule of law

✧ Re-building of social institutions, strengthening participation of people in finding solutions for economic and social needs

✧ Improving the enforcement of human right

✧ Promoting conflict resolution and reconciliation techniques

2.2 PRINCIPLES FOR PEACEBUILDING

The central task of peacebuilding is to **create positive peace**, a social environment in which new disputes do not escalate into violence and war. Sustainable peace is characterized by self-sustainability, the absence of physical and structural violence and the elimination of discrimination. Moving towards this sort of environment goes beyond problem solving or conflict management. Peacebuilding initiatives try to fix the core problems that underlie the conflict and change the patterns of interaction of the involved parties. They aim to move a given population from a condition of extreme vulnerability and dependency to one of self-sufficiency and well-being. To achieve this, the main principles listed below should be taken into account.

Comprehensive

Comprehensive means having the ability to see the overall picture in order to effect change within it. Lasting peace can be achieved by addressing the multiple sources of conflict at various levels of society. This means ientifying the needs of those involved, developing a vision of what should be worked towards, creating actions that might lead to achieving this goal, and constructing a plan that functions as a guide. To do this, one has to step back from the immediate day-to-day events and situate the actions within

a broader vision and purpose.

Interdependent

No one person, activity or level of society is able to design and deliver 'peace' on its own. Peacebuiding involves a variety of actors and roles, interconnected people, systems and activities. All things are linked and mutually affect one another. People are at the heart of peacebuilding, therefore peacebuilding is very closely connected to the nature and quality of relationships. It builds and supports the interdependent relationships necessary to affect and sustain the desired changes.

Sustainable

Peacebuilding is a long term prospect. Conflicts often span generations and flare up periodically into violent actions. To achieve sustainable peace, one therefore needs to pay attention to where the activities and energies are leading. This means not just thinking about and working on immediate and effective responses to issues and crises, but creating ongoing capacities within the context to transform recurring cycles of conflict and crisis. This means identifying and strengthening resources in the context of the conflict.

Strategic

Being strategic implies putting specific scheduled actions in place, responding pro-actively to emerging social situations and meeting immediate and specific concerns and needs. At the same time a larger and longer term change process must be reinforced. The design of peacebuilding actions should therefore be related to immediate needs and desired ideas for future changes (including the what, where and how of activities).

Infrastructure

Infrastructure is required to provide the necessary logistical mechanisms, social space and institutions that support the peacebuilding processes and effect the envisaged changes. Peacebuilding infrastructure can be compared to the foundations and pillars that hold up a house: while people and their relations are the foundations, the pillars symbolize the social spaces. Both need to transform from violence to increased respect and interdependence, increased involvement and the acceptance of inividual responsibility for building peace.

2.3 PEACEBUILDING DIMENSIONS

Peacebuilding measures involve all levels of society, target all aspects of the state structure and require a wide variety of agents for their implementation. While external agents can facilitate and support peacebuilding, it must be driven by internal forces; it cannot be imposed from outside. Peacebuilding aims at creating an environment conducive to self-sustaining and durable peace, and to prevent conflict from re-emerging. Therefore parties must replace the spiral of violence and destruction with a spiral of peace and development. The creation of such an environment has the following three central dimensions. Each of these dimensions relies on different strategies and techniques.

The structural dimension

The structural dimension of peacebuilding focuses on the social, economic, political and cultural conditions that foster violent conflicts. These root causes are typically complex and can include unfair land distribution, environmental degradation or unequal political representation. If these social, economic, political and cultural foundations that should serve to satisfy the needs of the population are not addressed, there can be no lasting peace. Therefore the parties must analyze the structural causes of the conflict and initiate social structural change.

The relational dimension

The relational dimension centres on reconciliation, forgiveness, trust building and future vision. Its focus lies in reducing the negative effects of conflicts (violence, war) through repairing and transforming damaged relationships.

One of the essential requirements for this transformation is *effective communication.* Through dialogue on all levels, parties can increase their awareness of their own role in the conflict, develop a more accurate perception of their own and the other group's identify and may eventually understand each other better. If supportive communication systems are in place, relations between the parties can improve, trust can be built and any peace agreements reached will more likely be sustainable. A crucial component of such bridge-building dialogue is future imaging, whereby parties create a vision of the commonly shared future they are trying to build. Often the parties have more in common in terms of their visions of the future than they do about their shared and violent past. If they know where they would like to go, it will, be easier to get there. In addition to looking towards the future, parties must deal with their painful

past. Reconciliation means recognizing both a common future, and the past wrongdoing. Therefore, what has happened should be dealt with and possibly forgiven if the parties are to renew their relationship and build an interdependent future.

The personal dimension

The personal dimension focuses on desired changes at the individual level. If individuals are not able to undergo a healing process, there may be social, political, and economic repercussions. The social fabric that has been destroyed by conflict must be repaired and trauma must be dealt with.

Building peace must pay attention to the psychological and emotional layers of the conflict. After an experience of violence, an individual is likely to feel vulnerable, helpless and out of control in an unpredictable context. If the psychological aspects of experienced violence and its consequence are ignored, victims are at risk for becoming perpetrators of future violence. Victim empowerment can help to break this cycle. Peacebuilding initiatives should therefore provide or support appropriate programs for different levels and areas of the society (e.g.: one-to-one counseling. Rebuilding community structures, performing rituals or ceremonies, constructing memorials to commemorate pain and suffering, building mental health infrastructure and establishing professional training).

2.4 PEACEBUILDING AGENTS

The roles and possibilities of intervention are different for those in elite leadership positions, religious leaders or the masses and their local leaders at grassroots level. Peacebuilding measures should therefore integrate civil society in all efforts and include all levels of society to play their specific roles in building a lasting peace. While top-down approaches are important, peace must also be built up from the bottom. We believe that the greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is rooted in the local people and their culture. This belief is buttressed by the following quotes, taken from the CPS position paper of AGEH and EED "Christian peace work stresses the necessity of taking a holistic approach. This involves changes to people and institutions at personal and interpersonal level as well as at community and society level. Accordingly, we are required again and again to strike the correct balance and the right combination of internal efforts to improve social justice and efforts to

resolve conflicts without resorting to violence…the work of the AGEH and EED within the CPS is based on the firm belief that peace can only grow from within a society. Peace, justice and the preservation of creation are not a goal that can be attained independently of one another. For this reason, many of our partner organizations tend to view CPS projects as part of their comprehensive work relating to social and development policy rather than as isolated peace projects…Peace cannot come from outside but rather must grow from within. It is consciously not used as an intervention instrument for foreign policy or as compensation for military operations."

➢ Various **internal actors** play an integral role in peacebuilding and reconstruction efforts. The government of the respective country is at the same time the object and the subject of peacebuilding. While peacebuilding aims to transform various government structures, the government typically oversees and engages itself in this reconstruction process.

➢ A variety of local specialists including lawyers, economists, scholars, educators and teachers contribute their expertise to help carry peacebuilding projects. A society's religious networks can play an important role in establishing social and moral norms.

➢ **External agents** can facilitate and support peacebuilding. International actors assist through economic development aid and financial support to humanitarian relief, but also in the restoration of institutions and structures. There are different actors with specific roles, in general :

✧ International institutions are the largest donors.

✧ Private foundations contribute mainly through project-based financing.

✧ NGOs very greatly in their range of activity. Often they carry out small-scale projects to support and strengthen initiatives at the grassroot level. At times they are engaged in political advocacy as well.

✧ The business and academic community and various grassroots organizations work to further these peacebuilding efforts.

3. PEACE EDUCATION

Peace education finds its motivation in peace utopias and in the visions of people who have shown that hopes and dreams are not necessarily individualistic, but can be combined with political commitment. In this sense many

individuals serve as important role models in peace education; for example the vision of Martin Luther King Jr. that he spelled out in his *"I have a dream"* speech, or Mahatma Ganhi's concept of *"satyagraha"* (persisting, holding firm to the truth). The ideas and visions they described became meaningful because they took specific steps towards freedom from violence and justice for everybody. Peace education is one step, one part of the process towards more justice and peace in the world.

UNESCO is regarded as one of the most important organizations for peace education. The following quote on 'Education for a Culture of Peace' underlines UNESCO's commitment to peace education "The development of a holistic approach, based on participatory methods and taking into account the various dimensions of education for a culture of peace (peace and non-violence, human rights, democracy, tolerance, international and intercultural understanding, cultural and linguistic diversity) is its main objective."

Much is *possible if there is the will to make a difference.*

3.1 WHAT IS PEACE EDUCATION?

Peace education is built mainly on two pillars :

➢ Recipient-oriented practice which involves teaching peace in the classroom and beyond.

The foundation for all peace education work is the belief in the learning and educational ability of people. It therefore focuses on acquiring capacities, skills, values and knowledge that contribute to the establishment of a global and sustainable culture of peace. Peace education concerns all the stages of the individual and social lives of human beings.

It is, of course, correct to believe that human beings are capable of learning and that mankind can live peacefully together. On the other hand it is also correct to say that we humans are responsible for violence and war, and that we could-if we wanted to and were capable of it-end and prevent them. No doubt these issues underlie the phrase from the preamble of the 1945 UNESCO constitution "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

However, the transition from changing the attitudes of individuals to changing social and international power structures is a long, difficult and exhausting road. Still, peace education makes

sense and is one way to pre pare towards achieving a culture of peace on the premises that no one is violent by nature and people want to live in peace and harmony. But the limitations of peace education have to be taken into account to avoid illusions concerning the effectiveness of its measures. Peace education can neither solve basic social problems, or unjustly distributed material resources, nor balance out the neglect of education.

The starting point for all forms of peace education is to recognize the following facts:

1) The existence of various conflicts between people, societies and states,
2) The existence of power structures on all levels of societies, and
✧ The prejudices and stereotypes used to maintain unjust power structures,
✧ The use of power structures to manipulate and exploit individuals towards readiness for and contribution to the outbreak of violence.

This clearly shows that it is necessary to analyse and understand social power structures and the interests and needs of the various parties at all levels and to find nonviolent ways of transforming conflict. For peace education in general it is not enough to concentrate solely on changes in individual attitudes, but it is necessary to include the social, economic and political environment. Education and upbringing that favours humanitarian values tend to lead the individual to reject violence, to search for nonviolent means of expressing conflict and to engage socially and politically. These values are based on mutual and fair relationships; they cannot be acquired by only lecturing, but must be made an integral part of daily life. Peace education is therefore oriented towards educating people to take more responsibility for their own actions, and also to show more scepticism towards authority.

Conflicts can be influenced and steps to peace and justice can be achieved, bearing in mind that HOW you work is as important as WHAT you do.

3.2 THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE EDUCATION WORK

Peace education does not take place in a social no-man's land, but is always concerned with openly expressed or hidden conflicts. Some argue that dealing with conflicts is the central objective of peace education. Peace education makes an attempt to visualize matters of conflict

and provide potential for nonviolent confrontation. In this way, peace education can help to influence the course of conflicts positively and sometimes even provide solutions. In any case, peace education aims to contribute towards making conflicts less violent.

Peace education always exists in contrast to a reality devoid of peace. It deals with initiating social and political learning processes aimed at developing favourable social behavior and the ability to participate in politics. Like every other pedagogic effort, peace education is oriented towards long-term processes and changes. It is therefore only a limitedly suitable means of crisis intervention in the sense of a 'pedagogical fire brigade'.

Peace Education is founded on the following principles:

Openness
Openness is the starting point for initiating any learning process. It means to be open, ready and able to evaluate oneself. It includes assessing personal contributions to interaction with others and being ready to change own behaviours. To be open also includes listening carefully to others and their contributions to interactions.

Correspondence
Correspondence in this context means that the aims, educational content and learning methods must be compatible with each another. If peace is both-the destination and the journey-then what we teach and how we teach it must not be separated when we make preparations to work with people.

Nonviolence
Nonviolence means that force may not be used or instigated during the educational process, whether in a concrete conflict situation or for the purpose of organizing the learning process.

Verifiability
Verifiability in peace education suggests that the measures taken must be oriented towards the needs and problems of the respective audiences. The learning content and methods should be connected with the relative state of research.

Independence
Peace education must retain its independence at all times. The aim of peace education must never be to communicate specific moral values or even political judgments, neither in crisis situations nor in the face of growing pressure relating to a problem. The aims and contents of peace education therefore have to be identified and spelled out clearly. Peace educators nonetheless have to be aware that there is a danger of exploitation against the background of party-political interests and ideological differences.

Partiality
Partiality in this context means that peace education must unquestionably advocate for the interests of the victims of violence and war. Bear in mind that those who perpetrate violence are often victims themselves, for instance child soldiers.

3.3 THE CORE ELEMENTS OF PEACE EDUCATION

Gandhi said: 'we must BE the change we wish to SEE in the world.'

The basis of peace education is to have a critical approach to conflict and violence. This includes :

➢ Being aware of violence in all its historically and socially changing forms. Violence is understood here as the destructive dynamics of conflict.
➢ Learning a constructive approach to conflict at all levels.
➢ Taking a preventative approach to violence.
➢ Preventing the negative dynamics of conflict escalation.

The following is dedicated to the main tasks and aims of peace education, which can be structured into three core elements, all of which are closely related.

Communicating the capacity for peace
This means understanding interrelation-ships, classifying developments and developing independent analyses and strategies to confront violence (& war). Peace education is carried out by people and is therefore a matter of personal capacity that involves awareness and knowledge concerning :

➢ Individual requirements for peace skills,
➢ The individuals potential and capabilities,
➢ The causes of force and war, and
➢ The social and international determining factors relating to these.

It is not possible to do responsible peace education work without these capacities. At the same time, acquiring these personal capacities is not sufficient, but further knowledge and skills must be attained.

MASTERING THE ART OF PEACE
The most difficult task of peace education

is to provide palpable and easily understandable instructions for personal capacity building. It requires the development of self-awareness and civil courage to master the art of peace. The most important precondition is to know and understand oneself, one's personal potentials and abilities. This encompasses a variety of issues :

➢ The *skill of self-reflection* is an important item for mastering the art of peace. It includes gaining a wide-ranging and deep knowledge of oneself and a better understanding of one's own reactions. The ability for self-reflection is also necessary to recognize problems areas and obstacles as and when they occur. Another aim of *honest self*-reflection is to change one's own image of being a victim, and thereby gain self-respect as a political subject.

➢ The ability to identify and correct one's own *prejudices.* This means having a knowledge of the individual prejudices and understanding them as a pre-conceived opinion about something, someone or a group. This also covers being aware of how these prejudices developed and being open and ready to correct them.

➢ The *moral standard* required for personal action need to be valued higher than an opportunistic 'moving with the masses'. This might require learning how to put distance between oneself and the pressure to conform to the existing standards. Or it could require developing intolerance towards violence on a personal, social and cultural level.

➢ Becoming aware of one's personal *fears.* This covers not only the awareness of personal fears, but also finding ways to deal with them. This might include the fear of the one's personal potential for violence and what it requires to develop alternatives.

➢ Acquiring *cooperative* and *social skills* means acquiring the ability to live and survive in a given social environment. This involves working in and with groups and being aware of the effects of one's own actions towards others and the surrounding environment.

➢ Acquiring the ability to *express one's own opinion.* Voicing one's own thoughts and ideas is not restricted to the space of family or friends, but extends to openly expressing one's opinion in the community, in the street and even to the authorities.

➢ Civil courage is inconceivable without taking *personal responsibility* for one's own actions, its effects and consequences towards oneself and others. It might be that the individual's actions have negative effects on other people and result in personal disadvantages. This has to be taken into account and consciously risked. This could also mean disobedience or refusing to delegate responsibility to the authorities. Civil courage should not be understood as rudeness, but as an expression of growing independence and the readiness to confront authority in a nonviolent manner.

Ability for peace activity

An inseparable part of peace education is to become active, to use the knowledge and skills acquired and transform them into nonviolent actions. Peace education has the task of encouraging the political commitment of citizens with the aim of positively influencing political decisions and development at community, state and international levels towards a more just society.

This being the case, peace activity in everyday life must try to give opportunities to as many people as possible and can therefore take various forms at the different levels of societies. The kind of intervention must be carefully selected to fit the context, level and content. This might range from passive acts of civil disobedience, like refusing to vote, to active methods, for instance public speeches, blockading, striking or refusal to pay taxes. It may involve gathering information on a specific issue or multiplying the peace education acquired amongst family, groups, associations or religious groups; it could mean organizing public prayer or peaceful demonstrations against an unjust system; it could be the indentifying of unjust structures or prejudices at church, at school or in the workplace, or be demonstrated by opposing violent acts whoever the perpetrator.

3.4 PEACE EDUCATION CHALLENGES

Peace, lifestyle, conflict and war are closely related, especially in today's global world. Conflict is often about securing prosperity and the need for security on the one side; it is about the disadvantages and destructive events of applied violence on the other side. For sure it is possible to put a brief end to personal conflicts by applying violence. On an international level, invading countries militarily are clear demonstrations of violent actions (even is this

perhaps appeases those occupied in the short term). But these actions neither solve conflicts on the individual level nor lead to countries being managed more fairly or regions being stabilized. The recent examples of war and destruction in Afghanistan or Iraq serve as clear indicators of the fact that violence only creates more violence. The following two statements support this :

> *"…if a village is bombed to kill one terrorist, then you have killed one terrorist and created one hundred new ones."*

> *"Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hatred and bitterness can never cure the disease of fear; only love can do that."*

For a long time, peace and conflict researchers have been pointing out that conflict can no longer be solved with force (military) in a modern world. Neither on the personal nor on the international levels, where war is without a doubt a particularly brutal form of collective acting out of violence. According to many advocates for peace, violence and war could be surmounted if this was desired.

Taking these thoughts into consideration, the question we-especially those living in the northern hemisphere-must ask ourselves, is about the price we are prepare to pay to satisfy our own needs for security and prosperity and maintain or improve our individual lifestyles.

Dealing with conflicts constructively is always a challenge, but may be the most important key to developing a culture of peace. At the beginning of such an approach there should be readiness to develop empathy with ourselves, our close and our distant neighbours.

Attitudes that work towards achieving peace

➢ Think positively-the aim is to develop positive mindsets in one's context.
➢ Be compassionate and do no harm-these are empathetic qualities like kindness and friendliness.
➢ Discover inner peace-this means finding ways to deal with one's own psychological conflicts.
➢ Learn to live together, against the polarization of human beings.
➢ Respect human dignity, based on human rights, duties and justice.
➢ Be your true self-this means acquiring the strength of character to be honest, direct in expressing one's needs, feelings and thoughts without letting others down.
➢ Develop critical thinking-this is an essential skill for creative problem solving.
➢ Resolve conflicts non-violently-this is an essential intellectual skill necessary for sustainable conflict transformation including areas like analysis, active listening, mediation, creative problem solving and alternative solution seeking.
➢ Care for the planet-take part in the global education for the masses.

4. PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES

Peace studies is an interdisciplinary effort aimed at the prevention, de-escalation and transformation of conflicts by peaceful means, thereby seeking 'victory' for all parties involved in the conflict.

Peace and Conflict Studies is a social science field that identifies and analyses violent and nonviolent behaviours as well as structural mechanisms for social conflicts, with a view to understanding the processes that lead to more desirable human living conditions. It is therefore :

…a pedagogical activity, through which educators transmit knowledge to students,

…a research activity, through which researchers create new knowledge about sources of conflict.

Peace and Conflict Studies can be classified as :

➢ Multidisciplinary-encompassing elements of politics and international relations, sociology, psychology, anthropology and economics.
➢ Multilevel-peace studies examine intrapersonal peace, peace between individuals, neighbours, ethnic groups, states and societies.
➢ Multicultural-true multiculturalism remains an aspiration, as most peace studies centers are still located in the West.
➢ Both analytic (using logical methods of thinking to understand) and normative (describing rules, settings or standards). As a normative discipline, peace studies involves value judgments, such as "better" and "bad".
➢ Both theoretical and applied.

Courtesy—Peacebuilding & conflict transformation

The Death of Mythology

Christopher Caudwell

...Continued from previous issue

IV

Poetry, then, cannot be separated from the society whose specifically human activity secretes it. Human acivity is based on the instinctive. But those forms of human acivity which are most changeful and least dependent on instinct are highest and most human. These activities, because they are based on the inheritance from generation to generation of developing forms and systems which are real and material and yet are not environmental in the biological sense, mould in a different way each new generation, which is not however mere clay, for its own inner activity drives on the movement of the external system. This contradiction between individual or natural man, and associated or civilized man, is what makes poetry necessary, and gives it its meaning and its truth. Poetry is a productive or economic activity of man. To separate it from this foundation makes its development impossible to understand.

How far do men's own estimates of the function of poetry at various times agree with our analysis? It has been generally realized by poets such as Milton, Keats, Shelley or Wordsworth that the poet as 'seer', 'prophet' or 'teacher' had a social function of importance. This was not expressed precisely but in a metaphorical way, a poetic way, in which the resounding magnitude of the claims concealed a certain vagueness and poverty of social insight. Indeed the conditions of bourgeois economy-under which poetry tends, like everything else hitherto thought sacred, to become a commodity, and the poet, hitherto thought inspired, tends to become a producer for the anonymous free market-these conditions make it almost impossible for any critic who remains within the categories of bourgeois thought to penetrate the idealistic veils with which poetry in the modern era has concealed her commercialized shame.

Yet it is impossible to appeal to primitive self-appraisement, for literary criticism cannot exist among the unselfconscious primitives-the undifferentiated state of their society makes it unnecessary. The criticism is direct and dumb and efficacious-the valuation of the poet is expressed by the place he is voluntarily accorded in tribal society, the valuation of the poems by their repetition and survival.

In Athens of the fifth century B.C. a society had emerged which, although it was still sufficiently near to primitive society to be conscious of the social function of poetry, was also sufficiently differentiated to be able to separate poetry off as a distinct 'sphere' of culture. Poet as producer is not yet a trade, because Athens is not a capitalistic town engaged chiefly in commodity production. It is a port, a centre of exchange. The vending of poems is therefore a trade-the trade of rhapsodist or paid recite.

It is a society in ferment, in *revolution.* The developing commerce of the Aegean is producing a class of merchants and slave-owners who are displacing the old land-owning aristocracy. In Athens already the qualifications for rule have ceased to be based on land, and are now based on money income; and this brings it in sharp opposition to Sparta. Form a market town and residence of nobles which was a mere appendage of the estates of Attica, Athens has become a town in its own right, a centre of merchants and artisans. This is regarded by the Hellenes as a change from an 'oligarchy' to a 'democracy'. As in later transitions of the same kind, it has taken place through a transitional period of strong, centralized government or 'tyranny' like the Tudor monarchy. The 'democracy' of course is extremely qualified-it is a democracy of men of property. The proletariat has no franchise.

Unlike a somewhat similar stage in medieval economy-the transition from feudalism to capitalism-this is not a class struggle which ends with the clear victory of the revolutionary class, but rather with the 'mutual ruin of the contending classes'. The struggle between the oligarchs and the democrats, between Athens and Sparta, tears Greece to fragments. It is a struggle between town and country, between slave latifundia and slave-town. Because it remains within the categories of

slave-owning, it is incapable of a final solution. No decisive stroke is possible such as the freeing of the tied serfs which provides the basis of the bourgeois revolution. Neither class can completely undermine the foundations of the other, for both are based on slavery, and slavery of a similar character.

Culture is still sufficiently undifferentiated for one man to survey the whole, and Plato and Aristotle stand out as philosophers surveying the whole field of culture, including that of literary art. Both were fortunate in that they were born before the class struggle was reaching its final sterile issue in Greece. There has recently been an alliance between the classes against the common enemy, Persia, and the alliance was still dynamic and creative. Plato, spokesman of the oligarchic class, reacts creatively upon Aristotle, who voices the aims and aspirations of the newer class, more tough-minded, more practical, more in touch with reality. It was no accident that Aristotle of Stagira had been so closely allied with Philip and Alexander, for if at last his class were to score a more solid triumph, and to emerge somewhere as conquerors, it was only by bursting the confines of the city and ruling beyond the bounds of Greece in the Hellenistic empires of Alexander's heirs.

Aristotle clearly sees the primitive distinction between private and public speech, between non-rhythmical and rhythmical language, between individual persuasion and collective emotion. Indeed to a Greek of that time the distinction appeared so self-evident and practical that it needed no explanation. On the one hand was the great instrument of Rhetoric whereby an individual swayed his fellow men; on the other hand the world of Poetics wherein men were collectively moved to emotion. Aristotle writes about both like a man writing a text-book on a useful and important human activity.

Aristotle's view of Rhetoric is simply this- the art of Persuasion. But he makes it clear that he was chiefly in mind the obvious and impressive public occasions where the art of persuasion is needed- in the law courts and the political assemblies. This conception of Rhetoric as individual speech used for formal 'public' occasions must be distinguished from the publicity of poetry. It is the publicity of State occasions where State is distinguished from society. Both are one in primitive life, but the class development of Athens has already separated the city from men. The occasions when men use the State machinery and State occasions to persuade others are by Aristotle considered as separate from the occasions when one man speaks to others to persuade them about the normal incidents of daily life. The development of classes has made the city a 'tamer of men', something already towering above society as a structure separate and imposed on it, a view which was to reach its zenith with the Hegelian conception of the absolute State. But it is already implicit in Socrates' refusal to flee the city's judgment of death. In this refusal, Socrates forecasts that the class struggle was doomed to destroy Greece, because the city could not generate a class or even one man able to look beyond the city.

Aristotle's treatment of Poetics requires a more detailed consideration. He deals with a primitive poetry already in process of differentiation in odes, dramas, epics and love poetry, and already distinct from rhetoric; and he therefore looks for a characteristic common to poetic creations which will distinguish them as a species from the non-poetic. An obvious characteristic of poetry to the Greeks was that it told some sort of story. It made some statement about the ways of gods or men or the emotions of the poet which, even though it was not true, seemed true. The epic is a false history, and the drama a feigned action. Even in love poetry the poet may justly say 'I die for love of Chloe' when no Chloe exists. The essence of poetry therefore seemed to the Greeks to be illusion, a conscious illusion.

To Plato this feature of the poet's art appeared so deplorable that he would not admit poets to his Republic, or at least only if their productions were strictly censored. Such reactionary or Fascist philosophies as Plato's are always accompanied by a denial of culture, particularly contemporary culture, and Plato's contemporary culture was pre-eminently poetic. He therefore hates poetry as a philosopher even though he is charmed by it as a man. In a revolutionary period culture expresses the aspirations of the revolution or the doubts of the dispossessed. The philosophers of the dispossessed regard both the aspirations and the doubts as 'dangerous', or 'corrupt', and want a culture which shores up their rottenness. Such a culture idealises the past in which they were strong. This ideal past does not bear much likeness to the real past, for it is one carefully arranged so that, unlike the real past, it will not again generate the present.

For Plato this past is idealized in his Republic, ruled by aristocrats and practicing a primitive communism which is the way Plato hopes to undermine the trade by which the rival class has come to power.

The Greeks reasoned that poetry was designed to create an illusion. Evidently than the poet made something which created the illusion, even if the something was fabulous. He made stories actually visible on the stage or, as in the Homeric cycle, a history more real than the transactions of the market-place, the reallest thing in the collective life of the Hellenes. This creation the Greeks took to be the special mark of the poet. The very name etymologically was derived from 'making', just as was the Anglo-Saxon word for poet-*makar* :

To build from matter is sublimely great.

But only gods and poets can create.

However, the Greeks did not suppose that a poet could create something out of nothing by words, which are only symbols of reality. They considered the poet created an artificial imitation of reality, *mimesis.* For Plato the poet is essentially a man who mimics the creations of life in order to deceive his hearers with a shadow-world. In this the poet is like the Demiurge, who mocks human dwellers in the cavern of life with shadows of reality.

This theory of mimesis gives Aristotle the specific mark to differentiate between the class of rhetoric and the class of poetry. Though it is, to our modern minds, imperfect as a distinction, owing to the differentiation which has taken place in literature since then, it was an adequate distinction in 'Aristotle's day.

We separate poetry from the novel and drama; he did not. But the categories of literature are not eternal, any more than the classifications of systematic biology; both must change, as the objects of systematization evolve and alter in the number and characteristics of their species. Culture changes faster than species, and cultural criticism must be correspondingly flexible. Aristotle's theory of mimesis, as our analysis will show, so far from being superficial, is fundamental for an understanding of the function and method of art.

Aristotle, with his extraverted mind turned firmly on the object, was more interested in the created thing, e.g. the play-than in the man who was influenced by it or who produced it. Thus his angle of attack is aesthetically correct; he does not approach literature like a psychologist or a psycho-analyst.

Plato, with the more intuitive, introverted mind, is interested in the poet and in his hearer rather than the composition itself. His conception of the productive and receptive states of the poetic mind is primitive, corresponding to the more reactionary character of Plato's thought, but behind the barbarity is a cultured snigger which is characteristically Platonic. The barbarity rather than the culture makes Plato to some extent a spokesman of the primitive view of the poet's role, at a time when poetry is passing, as a result of the invention of writing, from a collective to a private phase.

Plato, belonging to the older world of Athens, is not aware of the change. He does not see that the development of Hellenic economy makes the poem an object of exchange between cities and people, like Athenian vases. The poem is no longer, as in old Athenian tragedy, rooted in a collective festival where actors and audience are simultaneously plunged into an associated world of art. Nietzsche's passage from the Dionysian to the Apollonian in art has already taken place as a result of the passage of Athens from the primitive to the sophisticated, i.e. the differentiated. Poems are now separate from the body of society, to be enjoyed by individuals or groups separate from society. And the invention of writing, made necessary by the development of economy to a stage where records and messages were essential because records were no longer the collective memory of the tribe and men no longer lived in common, led to written poems, not simply because writing was invented, but because the needs that demanded writing also demanded that poetry be detached from the collective festival and be enjoyed by men alone. With Euripides even drama becomes a closet art. Plato, however, was only conscious of this in a general way, as expressed in his condemnation of books and the art of writing. Plato's criticisms are like D.H. Lawrence's, they reach back to the past, to the time of an undifferentiated society and collective emotion. They are correct but useless because the critic is unaware that what he condemns is a product of a class differentiation rooted in economy. He does not therefore reach forward to a solution of present difficulties, but backwards to a time before those difficulties arose. But one cannot put back the clock of history.

Plato is the most charming, humane and

civilized of Fascist philosophers, corresponding to a time before the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War had made reaction murderously bitter. In this respect he is an Athenian Hegel. No reactionary philosopher of today could attain Plato's urbanity or charm. This is Plato's conception of the poet:

Socrates in speaking to Ion, a rhapsodist :

It is a divine influence which moves you. Like that which resides in the stone called Magnet by Euripides, and Heraclea by the people. For not only does this stone possess the power of attracting iron rings, but it can communicate to them the power of attracting other rings; so that you may see sometimes a long chain of rings and other iron substances, attached and suspended one to the other by this influence. And as the power of the stone circulates through all the links of the series, and attaches each to each, so the Muse, communicating through those whom she has first inspired, to all others capable of that first enthusiasm, creates a chain and a succession. For the authors of those great poems which we admire, do not attain to excellence through the rules of any art, but they utter their beautiful melodies of verse in a state of inspiration, and, as it were, possessed by a spirit not their own. Thus the composers of lyrical poetry create those admired songs of theirs in a state of divine insanity, like the Corybantes, who lose all control of their reason in the enthusiasm of the sacred dance; and, during this supernatural possession, are excited to the rhythm and harmony which they communicate to men. Like the Bacchantes who, when possessed by the god, draw honey and milk from the rivers, in which, when they come to their senses, they find nothing but simple water. For the souls of the poets, as poets tell us, have this peculiar ministration on the world. They tell us that these souls, flying like bees from flower to flower, and wondering over the gardens and the meadows and the honey-flowing fountains of the Muses, return to us laden with the sweetness of the melody; and, arrayed as they are in the plumes of rapid imagination, they speak truth. For a poet is indeed a thing ethereally light, winged and sacred, nor can he compose anything worth calling poetry until he becomes inspired, and, as it were, mad, or whilst any reason remains in him. For whilst a man retains any portion of the thing called reason, he is utterly incompetent to produce poetry or to vaticinate. Every rhapsodist or poet, whether dithyrambic, encomiastic, choral, epic, or iambic, is excellent in proportion to the extent of his participation in the divine influence, and the degree in which the Muse itself has descended upon him. In other respects, poets may be sufficiently ignorant and incapable. For they do not compose according to any art which they have acquired, but from the impulse of the divinity within them; for did they know any rules of criticism according to which they could compose beautiful verses upon any one subject, they would be able to exert the same faculty in respect to all or any other. The god seems purposely to have deprived all poets, prophets, and soothsayers of every particle to reason and understanding, the better to adapt them to their employment as his ministers and interpreters; and that we, their auditors, may acknowledge that those who write so beautifully, are possessed, and address us inspired by the god.

Here Plato shows poetry to be something different in kind from conscious rhetoric, the art of persuasion, which, according to Greek views, could be reduced to rule and learned. But poetry can never be learned, for according to Plato it is not a conscious function, with rules of criticism, but an inpouring of the god, and he is sufficiently near to primitive culture to place the poet beside the prophet and the soothsayer. Moreover, according to Plato's view this inspiration is not only essential for the poet, but for his reader. The rhapsodist who declaims him, and the auditor who is affected by him, must also be inspired by the god. In other words, not only the writing but also the appreciation of poetry is an unconscious (or irrational) function. To Plato all deception is a form of enchantment. Poets are wizards wielding quasi-religious powers Plato's symbol of the magnetized rings well expresses the collective character of primitive poetry. In contrast to Aristotle, Plato the idealist is concerned with the enjoyment rather than the function of poetry.

Aristotle, however, is uninterested in the poet's mind, and does not concern himself with whether or not the creation and appreciation of poetry is a conscious function. He judges it by results, by poems. He systematizes them, analyses them, and reduces them to rule. He finds that mimesis is the distinguishing features of Poetics, and he investigates the rules for producing a convincing and successful mimesis.

Unlike Plato, he goes further. As befits a philosopher who studied the constitutions of existing states, he asks: what is the social function

of tragedy?

His answer is well known. Its effect is *cathartic*-purging. The answer is somewhat enigmatic, once one attempts to go behind it. It is tempting to give to the expression a modern interpretation. It has been sugested, for example, that this is merely the basic therapy of Freudism-therapy by abreaction-in a Greek dress. This is on the one hand an over-refinement of Aristotle, and on the other hand a misunderstanding of what therapy by abreaction actually is. Poetic creations, like other phantasies, may be the vehicle of neurotic conflicts or complexes. But a phantasy is the cloak whereby the 'censor' hides the unconscious complex. So far from this process being cathartic, it is the opposite according to Freud's own principles. To cure the basic complex by abreaction the phantasy must be stripped of its disguise and the infantile and archaic kernel laid are.

Thus the poetic construct, according to Freud's own empirical discoveries, cannot represent an abreactive therapy even for the poet. But Aristotle visualizes tragedy as cathartic for the *spectators.* Even if the poetic phantasy did have an abreactive effect on the poet, it is impossible that every spectator should have, not only the same complex as the poet, but the same associations, which analysis shows are generally highly personal.

Hence followers of Freud who, suggest that Aristotle's *catharsis* is the equivalent of Freud's *therapy by abreaction,* not only misunderstand Aristotle, but also are imperfectly acquainted with the impirical discoveries on which psychoanalysis rests.

It is best, in fact, not to go behind Aristotle's simple conception, until we ourselves are clear as to the function of poetry, and can compare Aristotle's ideas with our own. How Aristotle arrived at his definition is fairly clear. On the one hand he saw tragedy arousing unpleasant emotions in the spectator-fear and anxiety and grief. On the other hand these same spectators went away feeling the better for it, so much so that they returned for more. The emotions, though unpleasant, had done them good. In the same way unpleasant medicaments do people good, and perhaps Aristotle went further, and visualized the tragedy concentrating and driving out of the mind the unpleasant emotions, just as a purge concentrates and drives out of the body the pleasant humours. This highly practical attitude towards tragedy is not only, as it seems to me,

healthy, and good literary criticism, but essentially Greek. If the tragedy did not make the Athenians feel better, in spite of its tragedy, it was bad. The tragic poet who made them week bitterly at the fate of their fellow Hellenes in Persia was fined. A similar imposition suggests itself for our own purely sentimental war literature.

This, then, was the intelligent Greek view of literature as the differentiation, carried so far in our own culture, had just begun. On the one hand Rhetoric, the art of persuasion, exercised consciously and appreciated consciously, an art which was simply ordinary conversation hypostatised by the hypostasis of the city-state. On the other hand Poetics, a mimesis whose success in imitating reality can be judged by the poignancy of the emotions roused, just as if the auditors were really concerned in it. Both Plato and Aristotle agree here. But in Plato's view no rules can be laid down for achieving that poignancy, for both creation and appreciation come from outside the conscious mind. Plato, moreover, sees no social justification for poetry. "The emotions aroused', retorts Aristotle, 'serve a social end, that of *catharsis'.*

Such a definition of poetry is insufficient in literature today, not because the Greeks were wrong but because literature, like society, has changed. If he were systematising literature today, Aristotle would see that the criterion of mimesis was insufficient to distinguish the existing species of literature, not because of any weakness in the original definition, but simply because in the course of social evolution new forms of literature had arisen. Mimesis is characteristic also of the modern novel and prose play. What we nowadays agree to call poetry is something apart from both play and novel, for which fresh specific differences must be sought. Our next task is to find them.

But Aristotle's definition reminds us that we cannot, in studying the sources of poetry, ignore the study of other forms of literature, because there is a time when all literature is poetry. A materialistic approach to culture avoids any such error. We have already seen that there is a time when all religion as well as all literature is poetry. Yet as moderns, as men living in the age of capitalism, our concern must be principally with bourgeois poetry. Our next section therefore will be devoted to a general historical study of the development of modern poetry.

To be Continued...
Courtesy—Illusion and Reality

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