

Reclaiming Radicalized Youth in India



Transformation of Radicalization, Militancy through Nonviolence, Reconciliation, Social-Communal Harmony and Peace-Building

INTRODUCTION:

Kashmir and Maoism affected tribal areas are testing our inner corrective resources and growth of democratic culture. From the stand point of violence prevention both these issues have a common challenge; namely, stopping the youth from turning to radicalization and violent militancy, the foundation of extremism. In other words, it is a challenge of nonviolent transformation of violence and conflict. The new generation, for no fault of theirs, is hardly aware of the Gandhian movement and the tradition and methods of nonviolent intervention. Swaraj Peeth therefore extended its experiment to include Kashmir and some part of Maoism affected area in Bihar, Twin aspects of one challenge are explained in the following

Jammu and Kashmir

Summary of ongoing engagement : Through sustained intra and inter-region youth dialogues on radicalization, violence and nonviolence; Kashmiri-Muslim-Pandit dialogues for rapprochement; building nonviolent peace-keeping cadres for communal/social harmony and defense of plural culture (Valley, 2 Districts; Jammu, 4); inter-region and inter-community peace dialogues and CBMs; dialogue on violence and women: widows and half-widows; Peace intervention in conflicts; and, flood-relief 2014, we have created cross-group networks and alliances, including chapters in Srinagar, Jammu and Chenab region of bright, active youth leaders capable of surviving intermittent conflicts, created a much demanded nonpartisan civil society platform and forums for sustainable process

of nonviolent transformation of violence, communal harmony; inter-region, inter-community CBMs, peace-keeping and security.

THE PROJECT

The project is an outcome of a long term nonviolent intervention in the conflict region of Jammu and Kashmir since past five years with a view to find a way out of the problem of fundamentalist religious radicalization of the youth that legitimizes and feeds violent militancy; religious-communal polarization and social divide within a famed plural society that synthesized Islam and Hinduism (and Buddhism). People in conflict with the State and within themselves may find redresses for HR violations, social-political violence and repression, economic and political grievances and disputes etc. through mundane, repetitious, tiresome politics of struggle; but, redress of the basic cause of aggression, religious-political radicalization, fanaticism, extremism and violence cannot be had unless they are brought face-to-face with society's inner cultural-social-intellectual-spiritual resources by identifying them and then removing the blockages that have caused the discontinuity in the transfer to the present generation of their inheritance of the treasure of plural culture which is the authentic form of social-religious life of Muslim, Hindus and Buddhist.

The Problem and the Premise: Two forces are at work in the making of a violent, aggressive situation in Jammu and Kashmir: One, overt, the forces that seek sense of self assertion, power and identity in religious extremism and in communalism; the other, covert, which, seeing religion based politics breeding fundamentalism and its extreme dreadful forms; and, communalism and social divide, find it unacceptable. They are in search of their Kashmiri Identity and dignity. Religion being central to their life, an authentic Kashmiri Islam is their ideal religious –social anchorage, and intellectual-spiritual soul's dwelling. But this is disrupted due to two factors: One, the change in the religious-communal demography of Kashmir due to mass exodus of the community of Kashmiri Pandits in 1990 at the height of insurgency in Kashmir that left Kashmir society mono-religion mono-community society. Second, related with the first is disconnect of the post-1990 generation, the present generation of the youth, from the tradition of plural society, their disinheritance from their cultural treasure. They have grown up amidst reigning environment fear, terror, violence, atrocities and death. These disoriented, traumatized mass of youth provide recruits to the path of violent militancy.

Religious radicalization has relevance to the question of identity. It has two aspects: one, orientation towards false, corrupted religiosity of politics of religion, fundamentalism and extremism as affirmation of religiosity. Here the identity is "entirely at the mercy of casual incidents, - a wholly contingent identity where you quite literally could not call your soul your own" as Ernest Galner puts it; and two, orientation towards pure religiosity as source of identity. Gandhi's struggles testify this. An average Muslim youth comparatively more bound by religion, is also comparatively more conscious of religious morality and ethics and open to Islam's uncommon Kashmiri form; and, similarly, a Hindu, also Buddhists, too are more open and in tune with Kashmir's syncretism.

Thus , to find one's identity in Kashmiri form of social-religious life, its famed tradition inherited by their ancestors almost up un till their grandparents and parents, is for a Kashmiri youth - Muslim, Hindu and Buddhists - a matter of dignified self-affirmation as worthy sons and daughters of the land of Kashmir. It is an altar at which the question of disinheritance and loss of identity can be resolved, and so of aggression, fundamentalism and violent militancy, if discourse could be reformed.

Political History of Jammu & Kashmir The Kashmir dispute dates from 1947. On the northern tip of India it has Pakistan on one and China on the other side. Partition of the Indian sub-continent along religious lines led to the formation of India and Pakistan, while Kashmir, in spite of its majority Muslim population rejected Two Nation theory and joined India. Famously quoted, Mahatma Gandhi said "I see a Ray of Hope in Kashmir." Taking India and Kashmir unawares Pakistan sent in floods Muslim tribesmen to attack Kashmir in October 1947 who almost reached the capital Srinagar. The King who had till then not joined either Pakistan or India frantically asked India for help, army was flown and he signed the Instrument of Accession, ceding Kashmir to India on October 26.

India, having taken the issue to the UN, was confident of winning a plebiscite, since the most influential Kashmiri mass leader, Sheikh Abdullah, was firmly on its side. An emergency government was formed on October 30, 1948 with Sheikh Abdullah as the Prime Minister of Jammu&Kashmir.

Pakistan ignored the UN mandate and continued fighting, holding on to the portion of Kashmir under its control. Line of Control remains the de facto border between the two countries.

In 1957, Kashmir was formally incorporated into the Indian Union. It was granted a special status under Article 370 of India's constitution, which ensures, among other things, that non-Kashmiri Indians cannot buy property there.

But politics took its own toll. 1965 pro-freedom militancy started a new chapter. Pakistan fished in the troubled waters by appealing to religious

sentiments. Kashmir Valley is 98% Muslims, 2% Hindu population out of about 12 million. After rigged election in Kashmir in 1989, a full-fledged reign of pro-freedom militancy swept the state. 1990 saw a mass exodus of Hindus (Kashmir Pandits) from the Valley India-Pakistan border saw continuous firing and infiltration of terrorists from Pakistan side.

Kashmir has lost to militancy more than 100,000 of its sons and daughters. Thousands have 'disappeared whose wives have a new name:' Half-widows' of Kashmir', anything said to be between 10 to 40 thousand. Traumatized, alienated generation of youth has 70% drug addicts.

India and Pakistan both **tested nuclear devices in May 1998**, and then in April 1999 test-fired missiles in efforts to perfect delivery systems for their nuclear weapons. Pakistan **tested its Ghauri II missile** (a range of about 3,000 km.) four days after India's testing of its long-range (1,250 km) Agni II.

However, more potent than any bombs or any imotive divisive slogans of other-ness and militancy remains Kashmir's most unique syncretic culture which developed a unique Islam, and unique Hindu -buddhist sybthesis, where you, even today can not identify who is who, and which is still refred to , cherished by the silent majority.

Society and Culture: An international conflict area since 1947, with rise of armed militancy in 1989 has seen worst violence, HR violations and is a highly traumatized and militarized zone. It has been a play ground of international terror organizations and terrorists from beyond the common border between India and Pakistan and rated as one of the nuclear flash points in South Asia. The exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley in 1990 left relationships among two major communities of the State bitter, with spill over in rest of the country. (Out of 6.9 mil pop of Kashmir valley 97% are Muslims, roughly 2% Kashmiri Pandits and 1% Sikh; while in 5.3 mil population of Jammu division about 30% are Muslims, 65 % Hindus, 3 % Sikhs and 2 others). The politics of Jammu area and that of the Valley are diametrically opposite, Valley being heart of Separatist movement, while Jammu being nationalist. However, the Muslim population of the state, including in Kashmir Valley has been participating overwhelmingly in national democratic elections and electing their state Govt and representatives to the national parliament through the ballot. It will be a fallacy however to take this as final measure of democratization or final eclipse of separatist movement. Separatist movement heavily draws from the idea of Islamic State and appeal to religious excluvisim. Violence is often legitimized for the cause of religion. Fear thus keeps many aspirations suppressed. Similarly anti-insurgency and special power to armed forces curtails normal democratic freedom. Those youth in the Valley away from militancy feel suffocated. Space for nonviolence can only give their voice and

aspirations articulation. Radicalization among the youth has entered a new phase post 2008 and 2010. The unresolved issue of the return of Pandits to their homes in the Valley and religious radicalization of the youth keep the fire on. However, There is another side to Kashmir, - of its very rich social-religious and intellectual-spiritual resources, another realm of inner turmoil of far-reaching, deeper consequences.

Kashmir has been a unique experiment in human history, at least in the history of this region, of a successful synthesis between Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. That syncretism gives Kashmiri a unique strength and identity that has transcended religious-communal otherness and evolved into a social-religious and intellectual-spiritual culture so unparalleled. Its worldly, societal form is symbiotic merger into a one Kashmiri identity, while being in one's own religion.

Youths' vision is circumscribed by their post-1990 experience of militancy and suffering, while the older generations place them in a larger cycle of history, the history and tradition they have inherited, but the post 1990- generation has not. In a society with cultural and spiritual depth, the life of its people and related phenomena manifest in multiple forms of expressions, experiences and interpretations. This complexity is both the cause of its despair and anchor of its hope. The disconnect of the post-1990 generation from the tradition of a plural socio-religious culture is a cause of its despair; while the elder generation's nostalgia of the past that they have lived is a justification for hope, for it can become the anchor if cause of interruption in transference of the inheritance is removed. Past is not *passé* yet.

Out of four years of consistent efforts at reaching out to the grass-roots, community leaders, youth, sufferers of conflict and violence, activists, intellectuals, ideologues, concerned citizens and variously responsible and senior public people; and, understanding them, developing a dialogue on nonviolence; forming, on their demand, SP groups of youths and citizens in Srinagar and Jammu, conducting mediation and intervention, SP has gained credibility, trust and confidence. People and youth from various sections and sides are asking SP for an enhanced level of involvement, action and organization for peace-building and peace-keeping with regard to addressing following central areas of their concern that matter the most for internal, external and geo-political harmony, security and peace. The problem areas and action plan are given below in brief.

Action Plan

1. Built up sustained dialogue with the youth of Kashmir and Jammu- activists, journalists, writers, scholars, lawyers and teachers, man and women- on nonviolence;

2. Joint dialogues between the youth of both the estranged area, hailed as unique who came up with a joint Statement of Shared Concerns, only one of its kind;
3. SP is perhaps the only one which has a Kashmir and a Jammu Chapters comprising activists, social workers, journalists, writers, scholars, layers and teachers, both man and women.
4. Kashmir group involved in multi-level dialogue to create a constituency of dialogue, peace, goodwill, betterment of mutual understanding and issues of internal social-cultural reforms, like violence on women.
5. Building community based Gandhi Shanti Sena in the Chenab Valley to address communal polarization which people fear more than militancy
6. SP chapters are forums where the youth and likeminded people meet, identify and associate with nonviolent Gandhian initiative. As public interface for dialogue on nonviolence and action for peace intervention, it builds bridges between the youth of three estranged regions; develops common programmes as the SP groups in Jammu and Srinagar have done. See Reports on Home Stay Experiment; and Common Statement on Shared Concerns by the Youths of Kashmir and Jammu, Sept 2012;
7. Dialogue and interactions with ideologues, community leaders and eminent people..

Related directly to radicalization are two issues special to Kashmir situation:

1. **Communalisation:** Communal polarization and social divide is, comparatively a recent phenomena feared more than militancy as it creates space for cross-border infiltration and feeds militancy, having a snowball effect .

***Action Plan:* Building a trained community-based Gandhi Shanti Sena, nonviolent peace-monitors-keepers-builders as defenders of social harmony and plural culture.** Recruitment, training and deployment of ten Shanti Sainiks, Nonviolent Peace –Keepers in each of the 10 districts of Jammu division and two each in ten districts of Kashmir division (total 120) will be able to effectively monitor and neutralize communal/social tensions and build harmony and peace. (See Kishtwar Report, Sept 2013; Report on Formation o GSS.) First

phase includes Kishtwar, Doda, Bhadrwah, Ramban dist. of Chenab Valley with an overwhelming popular support and participation.

- 2) **Dialogue between Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits for rapprochement: *An experiment and dialogues show light under the bushel*** :After several dialogues with Jammu Pandits and senior Muslim youth in Srinagar , a group of youth, including three women, stayed 3 nights and three days the homes of leading Pandits in Jammu and learnt what they had never known of the famed Pandit-Muslim relationship pre 1989. The journalists and writers among them wrote articles about an unexpected revelation of bonding, mutual reservoir of love and misconceptions. They told the Pandits “ you must come back, we will protect you, we are your family”

A group of senior educated Muslims of Anantnag (South Kashmir) told after an intense dialogue with SwarajPeeth group to mediate communication and relationship-building with Pandits who fled Anantnag in 1989-90. Prof Ruheed Gul said “ today, due to you, we talked something top at our minds, though we meet every day since years, you must mediate between us and the Pandit who had to leave their homes and us ...”, and Prof ... said “ please tell our Pandit brothers and sisters that you are part of our being, *hamare jisme ke tukde ho*; we cannot be at peace with ourselves when part of our body is severed ...”

(see SP Reports on; Anantnag Dialogue of Nov. 2013, Kashtwar Intervention, Sept 2013; Home Stay Experiment; and Common Statement on Shared Concerns by the youths of Kashmir and Jammu, Sept 2012; and meetings with prominent citizens and Kashmiri Pandits in Jammu, Oct 2010, Feb 2011 on www.swarajpeeth.org)

COMMUNITY BASED PEACE-KEEPING AND PEACE-BUILDING ACTION PLAN

Scheme for building a body of trained community based nonviolent peace Builders as defenders of social harmony and plural culture for neutralizing Radicalization at its root:

- Train phase wise at least 10 nonviolent peace keepers in each of the 10 Districts of Jammu division and two each in 10 districts of Kashmir Valley, and Laddakh. 20 in 2015.
- Peace Keepers would come from their respective districts, towns, villages;
- They will be located mainly in areas where there is fear of communal spill-over of political, developmental and social issues;
- Peace keepers would
 - Acquaint themselves with each and every house hold and locality of their region; each of the leaders of the region, journalist and officials;
 - keep alert on any possibility, apprehension and fear of violence; provide early warning;
 - contain rumours and bring out positive stories; verify rumours, bring right facts to the notice of the concerned authorities, citizen and use them in a way to contain rumours, mistrust, doubt and fear;
 - Organize citizens' group for constructive thinking and collective action;
 - Identify prospective peace keepers and recruit them for education and training in nonviolence and social harmony;
 - Work as peace keeper in the time of strife and violence and fulfil those duties as stipulated in the Gandhi Shanti Sainik Mannual of Swaraj Peeth - before, during and in post-tension/strife/violence situation;
 - Peace keepers will organize and involve people in activities that enhance confidence-building across religious, social, regional and ethnic lines;
 - Community Peace and Harmony Keepers from all the sides will meet regularly in order to learn from each other and enhance their perspective, will deliberate on issues, concerns and needs;
 - On the basis of their experience, their training needs will be identified and training will be so designed and arranged by SwrajPeeth Trust;
 - The 'Dos' and 'Don'ts will be worked out in joint sessions of Community Peace and Harmony Keepers.

ACTIVITIES

1. Nonviolence Education -understanding Nonviolence- Workshops on Gandhi's Root-Text Hind Swaraj; one in Kashmir, One in Jammu
2. Inter-region-Inter-Community Confidence Building youth Dialogues/ Home-Stay Experiment, Youth from Kashmir to Jammu , and *vice a versa for three nights – three days*
3. Inter-Community (Hindu-Muslim and Kashmiri Pandit-Kashmiri Muslim dialogue
4. Grass-roots Nonviolence Campaign among youth (school, colleges, University included) for Communal Peace – Keeping cadre-Building
5. Nonviolent Peace-Monitoring, Peace-Keeping, Peace-Building Training
6. Grassroots Nonviolent Peace-Keeper deployment/action
7. Emergency Rapid Peace –Action fund
8. human Rights Defence, Legal Aid
9. Advocacy
10. IEC Material

For further reference see: (some of the selected reports and write-ups on www.swarajpeeth.org)

- 1) *Swaraj Peeth Statement on Gandhian Initiative in J&K;*
- 2) *SP Statement On Violence on Women in J&K;*
- 3) *Report of Delhi Consultation ;*
- 4) *Joint Statement on Shared Concerns by the Youth of Jammu and of Srinagar ;*
- 5) *An Answer to Nonviolence of the Weak: An Experiment in Home Stay: Muslim Youths in Pandit Families in Jammu*
- 6) *Reports on various dialogues with the youth in Srinagar and in Jammu*
- 7) *“Take Me to that Heaven of Freedom”;*
- 8) *“Kate Hue Jisma Ko Chain Kahan: Report of Anantnag Dialogue - Muslim-Pandit Rapproachment;*
- 9) *Kishtwar Riot Report- Overlapping Cycles of Historical Memories;*
- 10) *Jammu Report : Demand for Building Civil Society ;*
- 11) *“Is There A Peace Constituency ?”- Report of meetings with some important ideologues; Report on In Defence of Plurality: Raising Trained Community Based Nonviolent Peace-Keepers, Defenders of Social Harmony and Plural Culture in J&K: Gandhi Shanti Mitra*

RADICALIZATION OF TRIBAL YOUTH IN BIHAR STATE OF INDIA

YOUTH WANT A WAY OUT

A number of Radicalized tribal youth and their leaders in Banka district (Notified Moist area) converted to Gandhi Shanti Mitra (GSM) have taken to resolving disputes, conflicts, rivalries that invariably turn violent, through nonviolent methods of dialogue, mediation, intervention. Environment of fear receding in 5 blocks covered by Hind Swaraj-GSM campaign domino effect has officials, teachers, *gramsewaks*, visiting destitute but feared villages; GSMs connecting with local administration for welfare/development schemes - livelihood, health, education, water, sanitation. Moral-cultural-social empowering experience brings-forth right leadership. In 8 districts 60+ trained GSMs; prevented caste/ communal/land clashes turning riots; successful girls', SC/ST education campaign. People's nonviolent awareness makes administration and community mutually responsive and accountable.

Background:

Right from Nepal down to India's eastern states down to the south of India a huge Maoist corridor has developed. From one district of Belgaol in 1969 now Maoism (Named as Naxalism as it started from Naxalbari District of Bengal) today officially more than 80 districts comprising Tribal belt out of 675 districts of India are notified Maoists district.

In past three five Swaraj Peeth's efforts in the Banka dist of Bihar, declared Maoist area, has shown noticeable results in terms of increasing participation of youth from militancy affected villages in Nonviolence dialogues and teachings; and, taking up of issues through nonviolent means by them. Besides in 9 districts of Bihar Swaraj Peeth Gandhi Peace-builders are active with their group of volunteers dousing communal, caste and land disputes and tensions, when unresolved and unattended breed radicalization of one or the other type; i.e religious, caste-based (in Bihar and Jharkhand state there are dreaded caste based rival armed organizations) and political/ideological.

Issues and Action Plan

Since no one from the outside world goes to them with a cultural understanding and appreciation for their history and traditions, tries to help them stand up and empower them in real sense of the term, the frustration and anger takes a violent path among the most vulnerable and spirited. Development and modernization have brought to them uprooting,

decimation of their cultural identity which is strongest among the tribal communities. They have a memory of their struggles for selfhood and protection of their habitat and domain, within which only they find their life as a life of self-hood and dignity. This is the reason why anything that makes their life difficult, poses danger to its sustenance is seen as aggression worth a fight. When it is not heard it turns into revolt.

An approach to the problem of violence lies, according to our understanding and experience, in being with them, stand by them, visit them, mobilization of social affection for them and providing a way of thinking and action that gives them a sense of identity- both the temporal and the transcendent- and dignity. Hind Swaraj (Gandhi's core philosophy) and Nonviolence campaign in these areas thus involve a four dimensional approach with four points mentioned below and the fourth being mobilization of social affection needs to be developed.

- 1) Regular visits, meetings, Hind Swaraj (Gandhi's Manifesto) and Nonviolence camps.
- 2) issue based training. Learn to make fact-sheet of governance that has reached them and in the manner and form it has reached them. Guidance and training for handling their issues at appropriate levels of administration and institutions through methods of representation and dialogue; and if needed, nonviolent, democratic and peaceful action.
- 3) Such capacity building becomes empowering when the process involves internal cleansing of social evils, bad practices, and social disharmony. Thus the third but most primary is constructive actions for internal social reform and social-communal harmony and unity. **Development of Community Based Peace-Building Programme in the Following non-tribal areas:**

Basmatiya, Dist Arariya: Support and development of girls' education campaign; education for Dalit children; peace-education among the youth and communal harmony (Hindu-Muslim) campaign and actions

Saharsa; Madhepura, Pirpainty(Bhagalpur),Madhubani; Darbhanga; Deoghar; Dumka and Godda: Social harmony (addressing caste violence and social polarization along caste lines) and peace-education, civil society

mobilization for communal and social harmony; and, mobilization of social affection and assistance for the alienated tribal.

- 4) Regional/district level Nonviolence campaigns.
- 5) Literature

IMPACT OF NONVIOLENCE DIALOGUE

When five years back for the first time Rajiv Vora entered this jungle area of Banka-Jamui he was warned : “ do you know where are you going? Don't you love your life?” Today he feels more safe and secure than in 'smart' mega city Gurgaon. They watched and tested. We have gone to those areas where no outsider dares to enter, no teacher, govt servant, doctor goes. If snake bites a young man he has to die without reaching a doctor. He has to be carried physically on shoulders to cross hills and jungle to reach nearest small town. We have not only gone there we have stayed in those villages, conducted camps and meetings among the radicalized youth, consistently and regularly. Thus they turned to us, now many, many are joining nonviolence campaign. There are three senior former functionaries, Area and Zonal Commanders who have joined the nonviolence campaign along with their numerous followers.

Ever increasing number of youth from insurgency area is turning up to nonviolence camps held in their area as if something people were waiting for; as if some spell has broken without challenging anyone; taking every one with love and compassion, dignity, equality and inclusiveness. Insurgency areas have a large grey area – the youth vulnerable to the attraction of violent militancy against exploitation; and, those who want to get out of the cycle of violence and counter-violence but do not want to face the loss of self-honor. Such youth find Swaraj Peeth experiment respectable, dignified and above all empowering way of freedom from violence unlike 'surrender' which is seen as disreputable and disempowering.

Gandhian vision of Swaraj- cultural freedom- is an answer to the inner urge for Self-awareness; confirmation of moral and rational image of their social-cultural inheritance; a wholesome way of understanding the reality without dichotomizing on the one hand between individual and society; and, on the other between the religious-spiritual and the socio-political or the material life. Gandhiji, his vision of Swaraj resonates positively with their traditionally inherited idea of right living.

WHAT THEY EXPERIENCE

- Leaving their former radical-self behind many have become part of the Swaraj Peeth Team. 'Master Sahib', a former Zonal Commander made a perceptive comment: "Being with Swaraj Peeth now, our voice will not be silenced in the manner and for the reasons it used to beWe will not be branded and hounded or feared..."
- A police officer stopped Bhuvaneshwar Turi, a former Area Commander whom he used to chase, on his way to tell him: " तुम्हारा अच्छा नाम होने लगा है !अब तुम बहुत ही अच्छा काम करने लगे हो !गॉंधी जी के कामों को करना बड़ी बात है ! मैंने पेपर में भी तुम्हारे कामों की चर्चा देखी है! (" *you are becoming famous for good reason now. You have got involved in very good work. It is not a small matter to work on Gandhiji's line. I have also seen your name in papers these days..*") This bright and popular dalit tribal leader once had lamented in a Hind Swaraj camp in Delhi " When I wielded the gun, I had the feel of power". Power now meant respect without fear.
- Bhola Prasad Yadav, a bright soft-spoken young man of high reputation for his no-nonsense, honest and truthful nature, leader with a following, Area Commander till recently, converted as a result of appeal of Hind Swaraj. organized with his followers at the Block HQ a peaceful nonviolent action early January 2014 for settling public grievances. A peaceful *dharna* by the youth from this area was neither usual nor expected. Only a month back Police force with armored van had descended at a camp site hearing that youth were collecting deep in this jungle, where in fact a Hind Swaraj camp was being held. Bhola's action suggested reversal of methods known here. It was new for the participants who came because of his clout and following. He told the gathering how he got convinced about Gandhiji's idea of Swaraj; and, about his experience of participation in Hind Swaraj and Nonviolence Study camps of SP, after which he told a friend " I got what I was searching for."
- *Nonviolent Conflict Resolution* : Late evening of 17th March of 2013 three volunteers, namely Bhuvaneshwar Turi, Bhola Prasad Yadav and Sudam Besra from Chandan block of Banka resolved a typically contentious issue of village common land. They intervened when tension rose; people got divided and the District

Panchayat leader fled the place. The three changed the discourse, prevented animosity, tension and possible violence between two parties by according to them “ putting in practice what we learnt in recent Hind Swaraj Nonviolence training camp in Delhi (8-11 March 2013) about Swaraj (Self-rule) and nonviolence” they said. The issue was settled, the village gave away land for common road. Since then Bhola Prasad and his team have been busy mediating almost evry day in one village or the other: long drawn land disputes, group rivalries, theft of electricity or common resources, harassment of the weak... list goes on.

Mobilization of Social Affection for the Marginalized

- Civil society groups are created through one-day Swaraj Samvad have shown willingness and initiative for relating with the socially alienated tribal. As a result of arousing social affection, citizens of Deoghar, the neighboring town saw to it that no one dies due to cold winter in these villages where winter-death toll was 4 the previous year. One of the beneficiary villages was ‘Tilaka Nagar’, settled by Maoists for the ostracized Dalits about two decades back.

BUDGET

Jammu & Kashmir Programme

1): 4-Day Nonviolence Education Workshop on Gandhi’s vision and methods

Costs:

- | | | |
|---|----|----------|
| • Air Travel to & fro Srinagar..... | Rs | 11,000.0 |
| USD 170.0 | | |
| • L&B 4 nights Rs 4000x4 | Rs | 16,000.0 |
| USD 246.0 | | |
| • Travel Expenses for 10 out-station
Participants 1000 X 10 | Rs | 10,000.0 |
| USD 155.0 | | |
| • Accommodation for 10 out-station
Participants Rs 1000.0 x 10 x 4 | Rs | 40,000.0 |
| USD 615.0 | | |

@ Rs 500 (USD 8.0)x 60	Rs 30,000/-	USD 460.0
• Local transportation	Rs 5000/-	USD 78.0
• Meeting Hall rental		
Rs 8000.0 (USD 125 Approx) x 2 days	Rs 16000/-	USD 250.0
• Incidentals	Rs 3500/-	USD 50.0

Total cost	Rs 2,05,000/-	USD 3100.0 (2)

3: Kashmiri Pandit - Kashmiri Muslim Dialogue for Reconciliation and Rapprochement:

Phase one: Two-day dialogue / meeting in Jammu

- Travel of 10 KMs from Anantnag to Jammu and back by car Rs 25000/-
USD 385.0
- Travel of 10 KMs from Srinagar to Jammu by car Rs 20,000/-
USD 307.0
- Meeting place rental @3000/perday, for 2 days Rs 6,000/-
USD 92.0
- Lunch, tea&snaks Rs 500 x 45 x 2 Rs 45,000/-
USD 692.0
- Travel of two people from SP to and fro Jammu Rs 20,000/-
USD 307.0
- L&B for 3 nights 4 days 4000 x 3 x2 Rs 24,000/-
USD 370.0
- One day car rental in Jammu Rs 2,500/-
USD 38.0
- A Joint press conference by KM-KP
Press-club hire charges and tea&snaks Rs 6,000/-
USD 92.0
- Local organizational/logistical assistance
Including his communication and travel expenses Rs 10,000/-
USD.153.0
- Documentation Rs 10,000/-
USD 153.0

- Incidental and Misc Rs 5,000/-
- USD 176.0**
- Total Rs 1,73,500/-**
- USD 2669.0**

Phase Two: Dist level Anantnag dialogue

- Travel of 20 KP leaders from Jammu to Anantnag and back by car **USD 538.0**
- Travel of 15 KMs from Srinagar to Anantnag by car 2500 x 3 **USD 115.0**
- Meeting place rental @ 6000 /per day, for 1 days **USD 92.0**
- Lunch, tea&snaks Rs 500 x 60 people x 2 **USD 920.0**

- Travel of two people from SP, to&fro Delhi-Srinagar(by Air) Srinagar-Anantnag (by car) **USD 346.0**
- L&B for 3 nights 4 days 4000 x 3 x2 **USD 370.0**
- One day car rental in Srinagar **USD 38.0**
- A Joint press conference by KM-KP Press-club hire charges and tea&snaks **USD 92.0**
- Local organizational/logistical assistance Including his communication and travel expenses **USD 153.0**
- Documentation **USD 153.0**
- Incidental and Misc **USD 76.0**
- Total USD 2907.0**

Total of Phase 1 and 2 = USD 5,576/- (3)

4) Grass-roots Nonviolence Campaign among youth (school, colleges, University included) for Communal Peace -Keeping cadre-Building

This will be conducted by Local Swaraj Peeth Chapters in Jammu, Srinagar and other four districts, comprising mainly of meetings with citizens, students in hostels and in schools plus general youth to be spent by the local coordinators and the team.

Monthly Meetings in one district (12 total meetings)

- tea&snacks for USD 2

X 20 persons X 12 meetings = USD 480.0

- Communications UDS 150.0
- Local travel USD 150.0
- Incidentals USD 100.0

Total for one district USD 880.0

Total for 6 districts USD 880.0 x 6 = USD 5300.0 Approx. (4)

(B) Bihar Programme

I) BNonviolence Transformation and Campaign in Insurgency Affected Tribal Area and youth Nonviolence Rally: District Banka, Bihar State.

1) Local Nonviolence Campaign marches covering in each marc 20 to 25 villages in one week by a team of 15 local Nonviolent Gandhi Volnteers

- Preparation meeting USD 200.0
- Local travel for rout preparation USD 150.0
- Tempo for carrying personal/luggage USD 200.0
- Food Expenses @USD 5 x 15x 8days USD 600.0
- Pamphlet, Posters etc USD 600.0

- Youth Nonviolence Rally on the concluding day of the week long March
300 youth

- Stage, Sound System , chairs etc USD 350.0
- Food for 300 participants 300x USD 4 USD 1200.0

Total cost of one campaign USD 3200.0 (5)

2) Two Three-day camps in Tribal block for 60 local participants

- Local travel for preparation USD 200.0
- Lodging and Boarding for 60 youth @ USD 7 x 3 days x 60 participants USD 1,260.0

Total USD 1,460.0

Cost of two Nonviolence Camps (6) USD 2900.0 -

3) Banka district local core team (15 members), monthly meetings

- Travel @ USD 7 X 15 USD 100.0
 - Food/tea etc 7 x 15 USD 100.0
 - Misc 25.0
- Cost of one meeting USD 225.0

Cost of Total 8 meetings in a year $225 \times 8 = \underline{\text{USD 1800.0}}$ (7)

Other 8 Districts of the state of Bihar and Jharkhand : Gandhi Peace-Keepers' Nonviolent Conflict interventions, Nonviolence Campaigns and Nonviolence Training

- 4) Local programme/campaign development expenses for all 8 units of community based

Peace-keepers Lump-sum grant to each @ USD 500 X 8 = USD 4,000.0 (8)

5) 5 –day Nonviolence Education and Training Workshop for 40 Gandhi Peace –volunteers, in Delhi

- Travel from various places of the state of Bihar to Delhi @ USD 90 x 40 USD 3,600.0
- Lodging & Boarding USD 20 x 40 x 5 USD 4,000.0
- Hall rental @ USD 125 x 5 USD 625.0
- Workshop Material USD 300.0
- 4 Resource persons travel , L&B @ 300 x 4 USD 1,200.0

- Misc. USD 75.0
- Total Cost of workshop** USD 9,800.0 (9)

6) Salaries : Staff

Salary:

- Project Director's Salary USD 1000 pm x 12
12,000.0
- Programme Coordinator USD 700 pm x 12
8,400.0
- Office assistance USD 300 pm x 12
3,600.0
- Part Accountant USD 200 pm x 12 2,400.0-
- 3 regional coordinators
@ USD 100X 3x12 USD 3,600.0

Total of salaries USD 30,000.0 (10)

- 7) Documentation USD 2,000.0 (11)
- 8) Publication of Report USD 600.0 (12)
- 9) **IEC Material in Hindi for Bihar** USD 1,000.0 (13)

10) Rajiv Vora's Travel to Bihar and L&B
3 visits in a year

1. Travel from Delhi to Bihar and Back USD 180 x 3 = USD 540.0
2. L&B in Patna for 3 days every trip USD 60 x 9 days = USD 540.0
3. Local travel(car rental) in Bihar districts 5days every trip 3
@ USD 40 x 5 x 3 = USD 600.0
- 4 L&B in districts of Bihar total days 15 x USD 50 = USD 750.0

Total USD 2,430.0 (14)

Grand Total of 14 items = USD 74866.0 APROX USD 75,000.0

USD SEVENTY FIVE THOUSADN ONLY

Rajiv Vora

Chairman,Swaraj Peeth Trust