

0509. Coolie Sangha Formalisation (Oct 1988)

Theoretical paper on the 2nd 3 year phase of our involvement to build the Coolie Sangha – explains the theory, manifestations and the strategy for formalising village CSUs built up by the NGO

I. THE THEORY

In the intervention strategy developed by ADATS, Coolie Sangha Formalisation is the 2nd 3 year phase which we envisaged in our 9 year matrix for involvement. A description of the 1st 3 year phase of Coolie Sangha Formation was rather detailed in its listing of activities to be carried out and it could even be broken down into quarter wise projection of specific activities which needed to be implemented in order to set up strong village level CSUs, club them into cluster level bodies and integrate them into a taluk level apex co-ordinating body - the BAGEPALLI COOLIE SANGHA. This gave a single and united thrust and purpose to the Coolies' efforts which was able to transcend individual interests without losing sight of the person status of each Coolie member.

To arrive at a similar definition of the 2nd 3 year phase of involvement - Coolie Sangha Formalisation - is not quite as easy. It is much more than a series of measurable actions which need to be implemented in a preordained manner. Any listing of foreseeable actions will therefore sound like a repetition, but without the same time and target oriented intensity which described the previous phase. In order to describe this next phase of our involvement in the Chelur Expansion Programme (CEP) area, it is necessary to go back a little into the socio-cultural, psychological and aspiration existence of Coolies in village society and attempt to properly place our intervention within this framework.

The 1st 3 year involvement phase was chiefly characterised with the introduction of external values which we development workers upheld as desirable. There was an element of imposition, capitalising on the Coolies' utter destitution and deprivation in a milieu where they had no option but to accept this imposition of ours.

In these 1st 3 years, we could not afford the largess of recognising the plurality and complexity in situations. We had to necessarily be uni-linear in our approach, using all our arguments to pit the Coolies against the *Ryots*. Our efforts had to be characterised with a confidence which bordered on arrogance. Our achievements had to be time targeted, on schedule and spectacular.

At that time it was the pitting of our beliefs in equality, justice and the inalienable human dignity of all against repressive, exploitative, dehumanising feudo-capitalistic values and practices which prevailed in the middle peasant political economy.

We were determined to effect a larger unification of an enlarged poor, cutting across parochial caste and communal lines. Our actions were loud, our accomplishments were louder. Our denunciations and condemnations left no room for manoeuvring. Our condemnation had to be unambiguous and total, refusing to see nuances of the positive. Such super confidence, such arrogance, did not betray any immaturity in us or any disability to perceive in a more balanced manner. It was merely the strategic necessity of the moment. It was necessary to be that way and in the first years of NGO involvement in a new area, when we have to do it all over again, we will do it the same way.

Because until that moment the Coolies had led an undisciplined life which was, moreover, dictated by the whims, fancies and interests of the *Ryots*. In practically every aspect of their

private matters as well as in inter Coolie relations, within and outside their homes, it was *Ryot* biased dictums which determined behaviour patterns, attitudes and world views.

The 1st 3 year phase of ADATS involvement in order to build Coolie Sanghas was to forcibly rectify this internalised dependency with an input from outside. Weekly meetings were introduced at the village, cluster and taluk level. There was an insistence on a quorum of 2/3rd for these meetings, minutes of the deliberations were written and Coolies were held accountable for what they said. Monitoring practices were introduced, whereby the previous week's deliberations were not treated non seriously, but as words and declarations which the Coolies were bound by. All these did a lot to **force or instil from outside** a certain discipline which we interventionists/promoters felt was necessary for the Coolies to obtain a recognition as human beings and be able to forcefully project as an identity onto village society.

But how much of this was a reflection of our petty bourgeois conceptualisation? Did Coolies really have only a dependent status of non-existence and non-identity in the village? Was theirs an identity which was solely and only determined by and thereby subservient to, the *Ryots*? Or do the Coolies have something of their own which exists parallel and is intrinsically hidden within the precinct of this feudo-capitalistic way of living? Does the prevailing feudo-capitalistic value therefore have to be dialectically understood as being a perpetuator of both, feudal oppression as well as the Coolies' own keenly developed survival strategies? These are serious questions for which answers can be found only through our conscious and articulate involvement in this, the 2nd 3 year phase of involvement.

In an over simplified manner of speaking, this next 3 year phase of Coolie Sangha Formalisation is when we will make efforts to ensure that the externally imposed values and practices introduced in the 1st phase establish themselves as a natural and accepted holistic way of Coolie living. But such simplification will not only spell non accomplishment, but is also fraught with danger. It betrays an ignorance of the complexity of Coolie existence and is guaranteed to make all accomplishments temporary, lasting only as long as the external impetus which we instil is there. No trace will be left of the gains obtained in human status and dignity in the Coolies and ours will be a wasted effort.

What the Coolie Sangha Formalisation phase will really attempt at is to facilitate our beliefs (which are based on an intervention philosophy and strategy motivated by external concerns) to dialectically merge with the Coolies' own native wisdom and survival strategy (which they developed in order to be able to survive on the margins of the prevailing middle peasants political economy.) Due to a deliberate withdrawal of key ADATS staff from the villages, every action will be determined by Coolie perception and Coolie appreciation of Coolie problems. Indeed, the Coolies will not act at all unless they themselves are deeply motivated to do so by their own intuitive recognition of the need to.

This 2nd 3 year phase of NGO involvement, which we have termed as Coolie Sangha Formalisation, should therefore not be seen as a mere repetitious reinforcing, with greater intensity, of the preceding 3 years' efforts. In the 1st 3 year phase of our involvement, there were only the prevailing feudo-capitalistic values and our interventionist values as the only 2 forces at play in village society. This 2nd phase has to be carried out with a different recognition on an altered reality.

A true and complete depiction of the altered reality in this 2nd phase of our involvement has to take into account the added influence of the dominant societal trend of capitalism which, in some ways, has gained an entry precisely because of our anti feudal work. This is a very serious countervailing force because while it stands counter to the prevailing feudal value, offering a very attractive alternate to it, it is not, at the same time, compatible to our change oriented philosophy which rebels against both, the existing feudo-capitalistic philosophies as well as against the capitalisation process. For strategic reasons and on a very temporary basis,

we are sometimes forced to forge temporary alliances with liberal elements of this same capitalisation process. Thus we play with a fire which we cannot control. The dominant development ideology seeks, just as we do, to opportunise and capitalise on every opening it gets to establish itself in a very settled manner in the countryside, in the lives and day to day living practices of the Coolies. The altered reality now seems to be one where we are pitted against capitalism itself.

This now is closer to a complete description of the active forces which characterise the milieu during the Coolie Sangha Formalisation phase of NGO involvement. A time when, though the prevailing feudo-capitalistic values have weakened, it would be very short sighted and self defeatist to allow the Coolies' survival philosophies and strategies which are parallel and intrinsically hidden in the totality of these same values to die along with this overall weakening. A time when the values which we development workers represent are a newly etched, but equally powerful, influence in present reality due to the solid credibility establishing work put in the preceding 3 years. A time when we attempt to both, further our philosophy with an incorporation of the native wisdom of the Coolies on the one hand and at the same time establish it as the only one with the teeth of effectivity. A time when the overriding bourgeois ideology is also seeking to establish itself with equal vehemence and a far superior position of strength endowed on it by virtue of it being the dominant one which the state supports and declares as its own.

In a word, the Coolie Sangha Formalisation phase of our involvement is a time to safeguard the mass organisation from co-option. We are fairly clear in identifying the danger to be avoided as the mainstreamisation process which will subvert all our work and convert it into the laying of a sound basis for the furthering of capitalistic relations. But what alternatives do we opt into? It is in the seeking, stating and furthering of this viable alternative which the Coolies and we will be jointly involved in this coming 3 year phase. Here lies the real challenge in our work. For while the dominant ideology offers answers which are readily seen as viable options in an overriding bourgeois environment, we have no easy packages to offer. This challenge will be before us in every aspect of our work - be it political, analytical, organisational, economic or other - and it is in the facing of it which our mettle as well as our effectivity will be resolved.

2 questions still remain. First, what happened in the older villages? And second, will this finding/discovering/unfolding process foreseen for the coming 3 years in the CEP area help arrive at a more activity defined description of the Coolie Sangha Formalisation phase, applicable to other areas, at a later date?

The answer to the 1st question is, quite honestly, that the older villages where ADATS has worked in for the past eleven years did not go through a clearly defined and identified Coolie Sangha Formalisation phase because the implementation technology had not been sufficiently developed at that time. We stumbled through, somehow survived and even grew. But consequently, we unearthed nothing of value which was applicable or replicable by way of strategic principles to guide the Formalisation phase.

And rephrasing of the 2nd question would read, will each NGO effort in every new area have to be characterised with this conceptually clear but activity wise vague period of involvement, or will applicable lessons be learnt? We believe that our experiences of the coming 3 years in CEP area is definitely going to contribute to the further developing of the implementation technology, providing us with wider hints to find answers to larger questions pertaining to capitalisation and mainstreamisation. Questions which haunt us continually, provoking doubts on the very validity of our work.

II. MANIFESTATIONS

In the 1st 3 year phase of our involvement, we have made some tentative achievements. They are tentative because the Coolies have to make them more lasting and sustained in the next 3 year phase of our work. As emphasised in the 1st part of this paper, this cannot be done by a mere re-emphasising, even if with a greater intensity, of the previous 3 years' effort.

The most important of these tentative achievements are the breaking of a fatalistic apathy in the Coolies, the effecting of a larger unification of an enlarged rural poor and the disturbing of the political equation in the taluk whereby a position of vantage has been obtained by the Coolies.

The middle peasant exploitative value system was rudely shocked and challenged when we suddenly entered the CEP area 3 years back and declared that the Coolies had a right to live with dignity in their own villages, that their voices had to be heard and that they can sustain this dignity only by demanding their just economic dues from the peasant cultivation economy - be it in the form of higher wages, or the redemption of lands unjustly lost, or a fair share in village amenities, or a stop to corrupt expropriation in the form of bribes, cuts and shares knocked off from anti poverty programmes.

The *Ryots*, who had hitherto enjoyed unquestioned prerogatives to appropriate all lucrative assets, suddenly found their unchallenged positions threatened. After an initial resistance they, by and large, capitulated.

All this was achieved in an orchestrated manner with village level key ADATS staff manning clusters of 5 to 6 villages as Community Workers and training hand picked Coolie youth from each of 60 villages as VLWs, VHWs and Teachers. A very high degree of organisational and personal discipline was introduced. And this concerted effort was well supported by highly visible economic projects which provided alternate credit, alternate employment, alternate learning opportunities for adults and children. These economic projects were deliberately kept subservient to the overt political emphasis placed on the strengthening of the Coolies.

It was not just the *Ryots*, but also the Coolies who were taken by storm. The need to continue subservient practice and a cowed down way of living suddenly disappeared. Survival strategies could be abandoned. They dared to rebel and shatter all the subtle lines of survival which they had, over the years, establishing with the *Ryots* under socially humiliating and economically crushing terms. A way of living which they had helplessly come to accept as an inevitability was suddenly no more necessary.

To interpret the impact as only a consequence of Coolie struggle will fail to recognise the very particular type of ADATS intervention which was invested; a manner of intervention which was deliberately chosen for a limited, time bound phase. Though the main actors on the real life stage of 60 villages in the CEP area were the Coolies, there never was a doubt of the cast being directed by ADATS. Whether this was in the form of encouragement to try out their own solutions or a more direct involvement in the form of specific advice, it was our liberal, anti feudal value system which was always being projected to the forefront, influencing, encouraging, supporting fostering and furthering this release and liberation.

This was a deliberate choice, though at the same time it stemmed from an almost spontaneous and emotionally motivated reaction of ours to a stark and humiliating subjugation which the Coolies fatalistically suffered. We justified this somewhat unilateral intervention by telling ourselves that unless the Coolies intuitively felt an inner recognition of their own aspiration being met, they would not respond in such an enthusiastic and effective manner. That we did not have any State apparatus in our hands to force compliance. That we were at all times and

instances acutely sensitive to the need for a decentralised and participatory politics and process.

To translate this concern into effectivity, we developed an internally evolved management system that, in its own way conferred a uniformity and thereby a strength on our effort, making it total, nonexclusive and able to embrace hundreds of locale specific Coolie struggles into one single thrust. This single push and the logic of united purpose which flowed from it, was too large for any single Coolie or even group of Coolies in a village or cluster to resist. In this way, we made it impossible for the Coolies to feel helpless any more. In spite of themselves and their years of conditioning, they were forced to hope and aspire once again.

We insisted on the monthly BCS Meetings of all the Representatives from 135 villages being held. We backed and supported the annual May Day *Coolie Pandaga* where over 10,000 Coolies assembled for a mutual drawing of strength from each other. Even the weekly Cluster Meets contributed to the creating of a myth of strength in the perception of both, *Ryots* as well as Coolies. A myth which became a reality the moment its consequences were accepted. For a majority of the *Ryots*, this reality meant an acceptance of what they thought was a temporary defeat since they did not believe that the phenomenon would be sustained. For the Coolies, it spelt Coolie Sangha.

This is the first tentative achievement we made in the 1st 3 year Coolie Sangha Formation phase of our involvement in the CEP area.

In a situation where caste divisions were hitherto opportunistically used by the peasant leadership to keep the poor divided, ADATS' insistence on a class approach succeeded in effecting a larger unification of an enlarged poor, cutting across parochial caste and communal lines. This was not done at the expense of steamrolling everyone into a standard conformity by conferring on them the title of class. Instead, each ethnic group, when shedding their exclusive sectarian identity, also gained a protection of specific positive religio-cultural and heritage rights in the process. In some ways, the Coolies transcended their isolated existence as different caste groups, merged and created new inter cultural celebrations of a unified heritage.

Save in a few villages, this was not achieved in the face of any resistance. In fact, caste feelings and the casteist attitudes of a few Coolies was more ridiculed and condemned as individual aberrations of particular bigots, than sympathetically seen as any expression of a normal sentiment. Even a threat of excommunication pompously meted out by a particular religious authority was largely ignored by the Coolies as non consequential, exposing the hollowness of the browbeating attempt. Castelessness was seen as a natural part of a larger logic whereby being split and splintered was somehow not seen as being compatible to a larger unity which was recognised as an essential precondition to continue any form of decent existence.

In part, this was because of a rationality imbibed by the poor due to the 30 year old public utterances of the Left in the taluk. A liberal petty bourgeois value which even accommodates atheism and non-believers has been drilled into the population, though the local unit of the CPI(M) itself does not practice a caste free politics, ostensibly for pragmatic reasons.

But this historic political background of the taluk is not, we believe, the only factor which has contributed to the effecting of a larger unification of the rural poor. There is, we are convinced, a more important contributor and which is a very personal one which we interventionists have made by the faith of our conviction and deeply held beliefs.

We have been repeatedly accused of naiveté by many a zealous defender of ethnic identity and autonomy. That we are blind to the personal and specific contributions made by caste to the creation of individual identities. That, by not supporting the effort to preserve ethnic iden-

tities of minorities, we are somehow being “foreign” in our native land, using “western” simplification to wrongly understand an indigenous reality.

We are therefore tempted to make a counter provocative tongue-in-the-cheek statement which we suspect is not far from the real truth. That if ours is really a serious objective to unify the poor, caste is not an impediment; that if we are really convinced and willing to face all and every, work as well as personal consequence of organising the poor, they are quite willing to give up parochialism in every form and manifestation; that the continuation of an isolated ethnic identity in preference to an enlarged and unified grouping is more in the interest of the ethnic elite than the people themselves. But this will have very fundamental consequences in the interventionists’ own very private and personal lifestyles, which we will have to face with neither dichotomy nor ostentation. We have to practice a redefined tolerance from meaning an aloof indifference to an involved participation in each other’s religio-cultural practices.

All this does not mean that caste based friction do not arise at all in the Coolies. Nor does it mean that the fragile unity achieved by the Coolies cannot be threatened by the play of the caste factor. We only say that caste has not been an insurmountable impediment to the Coolies getting together. Caste based friction are less of a problem than, for example, silly/serious fights within Coolie families. No single caste dominates or is poorly represented in the Coolie Sangha.

	Particulars	Representatives	All Members
1.	Landholding		
1.1.	Landless	8.4%	20.0%
1.2.	0.1 to 1 acre	7.4%	4.7%
1.3.	1.1 to 2 acres	16.5%	15.8%
1.4.	2.1 to 3 acres	16.5%	18.9%
1.5.	3.1 to 4 acres	18.3%	14.4%
1.6.	4.1 to 5 acres	5.6%	6.7%
2.	Caste		
2.1.	Harijans	34.7%	41.4%
2.2.	Tribals	10.8%	11.4%
2.3.	Stone cutters	13.4%	11.2%
2.4.	Intermediary castes (Dhobis, Barbers, Weavers Blacksmiths, Shepherds, etc.)	28.7%	20.2%
2.5.	Upper castes	9.7%	14.1%
2.6.	Muslims	2.7%	1.7%

This is the 2nd major tentative achievements we have made in this 1st 3 year phase of our involvement in the CEP area.

At a wider level, political equations in the taluk as a whole have also been particularly effected. This is partly due to the sheer weight of ADATS’ 11 year presence in the 27 older vil-lages and also because of the very concentrated effort put in the 60 villages of the CEP area these past 3 years. Without in any way refuting the fact of or mitigating the truth in the assertion of the economy being central to all other formations, it is sometimes necessary to make a sectarian analysis of the contemporary electoral political forces at play. When doing so, 3 developments stand out.

Firstly, the 2 leading bourgeois forces – the Congress-I and the Janata Party are not alone in the fray of political decision making. That they have, along with them, the local unit of the CPI(M) which has been reduced to an unenviable position of being a third contending bour-

geois party with priorities, analysis and practices no different or deeper from that of the other two.

Secondly, the Coolie Sangha has emerged as a decision giving effective minority which can swing the electoral fortunes of the 3 parties in any particular direction, thereby gaining a tremendous vantage position. And thirdly, the poor as a whole are prepared to evolve alternative electoral expression and use non party political formations to express their aspirations at a local civic body level.

At the moment, this expression and the consequent bargaining power is by and large confined to a temporary election mood. They do not seem to pursue it with an equal interest in following the logic through to an effective and continued check on the performance of their successful candidates. It is also important to note that decisions of the Coolie Sangha have hitherto been more or less synonymous to a directional thrust given by ADATS. This is an inevitable consequence of and in general consonance with the overt role which we have played these past 3 years. This situation could be radically altered when ADATS ceases, by conscious choice, to play this overtly influencing role in the coming 3 year phase of Coolie Sangha Formalisation.

At that time, will the Coolies continue to be convinced of the need to remain non allied and non committed, carefully gauging each situation before deciding on their support, in order to further their collective interest? Will they develop appropriate checks and controls to continue unique political culture which we have tried to inculcate in them to ensure that their representatives remain accountable for the full term of their elected office? Or will they capitulate to the dominant political trends and choose to make a permanent alliance? These are questions which arise at one level, once again emphasising on the tentative nature of our achievements.

Another set of more practical questions also arise:

Will the Coolies continue to attend their weekly and monthly meetings with the same regularity which the Community Workers ensured? Will they be just as enthusiastic about spontaneously arranging all those public meetings? How much of that spontaneity was a result of the Community Worker's hard work?

With all matters concerning the Coolies' lives continue to be brought up for unsparing criticism, discussion and change? Will the Coolies continue to monitor their various ADATS related programmes and activities with the same diligence and efficiency? Will they continue to contribute a fixed share of their earnings to their respective Sangha Funds? And, the most dreaded question: Not will they be able to, but will they be interested in preserving the newly gained independence from *Ryot* biased interference and manipulations.

Hints at answers to these questions have already started coming in since it is over 2 months since the last of the Community Workers were withdrawn from the CEP area. Most feedback is positive. That the Coolies do wish to continue further building upon the positive gains they have obtained. The next part of this paper will devote itself to some of the broader strategic principles which our response to this new situation should comprise of if we are serious in our intention to not just stamp reinforcement, but genuinely want a decentralised and positive plurality to develop.

III. THE STRATEGY

We have, in the preceding 2 parts of this paper, elucidated a theory which explains unilateral effort put in by the NGO in the 1st 3 year phase of Coolie Sangha building and then listed tentative achievements gained as a result of this concentrated intervention. ADATS evidently does not intend that these gains made by the Coolies revert back to a pre Coolie Sangha stage.

This 2nd phase of our involvement is not an apology for the intensity of our involvement in the 1st phase.

We realise that we have to act in a very responsible manner in order to ensure that the Coolies build upon what they have already achieved. We know that any footloose attitude will invite a middle peasant backlash which will place the Coolies in a decidedly worse off situation than where they previously were.

The pluralism which we will consciously develop in order to foster decentralisation is an essential precondition for full Coolie participation in this 2nd phase should not be used as license for liberalism. We cannot justify a laxity with the blaming it all on the Coolies for not having capitalised on the chances they got.

While ADATS is mature enough to realise that the interventionists' presence cannot and should not be for ever, at the same time we realise that a withdrawal of our concentrated presence, even if in a phased manner, will have certain consequences which can will be anticipated. These foreseeable developments have to be guided and seen through by ADATS.

The result of the phased withdrawal of Community Workers cannot be countered with a merely multiplied intensification of the efforts of the Field Assistant and Field Workers. Indeed, it should not be. We are not talking about an exercise that only translates itself into a transfer of skills and responsibilities. The withdrawal of Community Workers is not just a matter of handing over of identical or near similar tasks and functions to the newly created post of elected Cluster Secretaries.

Instead it is, on the one hand, a gauging of not just the effectivity but also the usefulness of the roles performed by the erstwhile Community Workers in the perception of the Coolies themselves. On the other hand, it is the engendering of a process by which the Coolies themselves take the building of the Coolie Sangha into their own hands. In this process, not only will they prioritise and choose on emphasis and importance, but they will also actualise the options they make in the type of persons they elect and the control mechanisms they develop to exercise a continuing hold over them, making them accountable to these Coolie chosen options.

All this will not happen immediately, automatically or smoothly. The mere withdrawal of ADATS appointed Community Workers with Coolie Sangha elected Cluster Secretaries will not engender a process leading to the decentralised democratic participation by all the member Coolies. On the other hand, it will at first only mean a nominal change of title since the 1st generation Cluster Secretaries will try to emulate their predecessors, the Community Workers. The Coolies too will interpret the post similarly and the net result will only be a drop in overall efficiency and performances levels. At that time, if ADATS reacts to the temporary situation in an ad hoc manner, not recognising it as a foreseeable stage in the transfer of responsibilities, we will end up training a new batch of Community Workers with different names, faces and titles.

This is the reason for this rather elaborate and lengthy paper on the Coolie Sangha Formalisation phase of NGO involvement in building up Coolie Sanghas, attempting to develop an applicable theory which can be effectively used to formulate strategies for the total handing over of responsibilities to the Coolies themselves in more than just a formal sense, without at the same time permitting any let in the gains they have actualised these past years in an overall hostile environment.

As early as in 1986, when laying the basis for spelling out the strategic principles for Coolie Sangha Formation, we said, "this participation has to be forced to be participatory if it is to be prevented from degenerating into a bourgeois democratic sham". That warning holds valid

even today and can serve as a guide to steer ADATS through this 2nd 3 year phase of Coolie Sangha Formalisation.

Ours should not be a superficial exercise to pretend a transfer of functions and responsibilities to the Coolies themselves. It should, in a very real way, enable the Coolies to identify and state priorities, create their own strategies and realise these objectives in a truly participatory and decentralised manner. This requires a centralised determination which now vests with ADATS. It needs a will to denounce the continuance of dependency and not replace it with another form of it.

ADATS has had the resilience to not replace the Coolies' dependency on the *Ryots* and landlords with a new one on itself, even when playing a very intense leadership providing role with such an extent of passionate involvement. Now with that same efficiency, we must continue to ensure that the functionaries of the Coolie Sangha do not themselves become yokes of burden on the member Coolies.

As a result of a very intense and critical retrospection on what happened these past 3 years in the CEP area, senior ADATS staff have come up with a 10 point programme of action oriented objectives which need to be implemented in the next 3 year Coolie Sangha Formalisation phase of our involvement. The full and detailed sharing of this paper with the entire staff of ADATS at every level and also with the newly elected Cluster Secretaries, CSU Representatives and Member Coolie families is the riding precondition for attempting the implementation of these 10 points. Paramount is the need for maintaining a transparency in all matters, including a total and uninhibited sharing of objectives and intentions, whereby the Coolies are convinced that there are no power political or other hidden agenda.

- To immediately integrate the Coolie Members, CSU Representatives and Cluster Secretaries of the CEP area as full fledged and accredited members of the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha with full voting rights.
- To effect the withdrawal of the Community Workers from the central villages of the CEP area and to strengthen the existing ADATS practice of participatory management, so as to ensure that the newly elected Cluster Secretaries, VLWs and CSU Representatives will plan, monitor, review and further the material as well as nonmaterial aspects of Coolie Sangha building activities.
- To introduce, through intensified cadre training, meetings, debates and enhanced adult literacy, a richer diversity in the village level CSUs with the total and grass root participation of all the Member Coolie families in this managing and furthering process.
- To continue to reinforce a positive discrimination for Coolie women and to set up weekly Mahila Meetings for them to separately discuss matters.
- To attempt to develop the Coolies as an effective minority through the continued effecting of a larger unification of an enlarged poor and the realising of an alliance between the Coolies as a whole and Ryot women, with the leadership for the resultant joint actions and struggles which ensue clearly staying within the Coolie Sangha.
- To positively influence village society by projecting values which are particular to the Coolie class through their entry into local level civic bodies and the redefining of concepts of power and leadership.
- To consolidate the Clusters by gap filling in order to increase coverage and benefit them by encouraging the Coolies to themselves reach out to the odd villages of the CEP area which have been left uncovered in the 1st 3 year phase.
- To intensify the campaign whereby the Coolies save for the posterity of their mass organisation by contributing 10% of their earnings to their respective Sangha Funds with a clear self financing objective.

- To continue imbibing management skills so that the Coolies are equipped to themselves run their politically subservient alternate credit structure by the end of this 3 year phase.
- To withdraw the 60 VLWs at the end of this 3 year phase so that there are no ADATS paid workers in the villages of the CEP area where elected Coolie Sangha functionaries will be guided and accompanied by the area Field Assistant and 2 Field Workers.