



THIRD WAY



DATTOPANT THENGADI

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By

DATTOPANT THENGADI

Founder

**Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh
Bharatiya Kisan Sangh
Swadeshi Jagaran Manch**

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**At the lotus feet of Shri Guruji M.S. Golwalkar
(Second Sarsanghchalak of RSS) who gave vision to
millions to live and die for our Motherland**

"The World State of our concept will evolve out of a federation of autonomous and self-contained nations under a common centre linking them all.... It is the grand world-unifying thought of Hindus alone that can supply the abiding basis for human brotherhood, that knowledge of the Inner Spirit which will charge the human mind with the sublime urge to toil for the happiness of mankind, while opening out foil and free scope for every small life-speciality on the face of the earth to grow to its foil stature. Verily this is the one real practical world-mission, if ever there was one."

— Shri Guruji

PUBLISHERS¹ NOTE

Sahitya Sindhu Prakashana is proud to be able to bring out this edition of *Third Way*. The first edition brought out in May 1995 by Janaki Prakashan of New Delhi had drawn critical acclaim. Copies have not been available for the last two years. In view of the topicality and seminal nature of the book, we desired to bring out a revised edition, to meet the continued demand from discerning readers in the country and abroad. We are grateful to Shri Dattopant Thengadi and Janaki Prakashan for permitting re-publication of this work.

We are beholden to Prof. M.P. Kendurkar of Mumbai who was kind enough to effect the editorial changes needed in the text.

Our thanks are due to Srinidhi Graphics for typesetting, to Unknown Creations for cover design, and to Rashtrotthana Mudranalaya for elegant execution of printing.

Bahudhanya Samvatsara
Chaitra Bahula Ashtami
20th April 1998
Sahitya Sindhu
Prakashana

AUTHORS PREFACE

(Second edition)

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to all the readers who have welcomed *Third Way* enthusiastically.

There was churning of thought on the subject in a number of seminars organised at different places in the country. We wanted to initiate a public debate on 'Third Way', without claiming that it was the last word of wisdom. I am happy to state that this purpose has been served within a short time to a satisfactory extent.

But during this intervening period it came to our notice that the book suffered from pardonable as well as unpardonable printing mistakes and also that it was necessary to restructure the contents in view of the current requirements. On account of my preoccupations, it was impossible for me to undertake this much-needed revision. Fortunately at such a juncture Prof. M.P. alias Bapu Kendurkar came to my rescue and accomplished this Herculean task in a very satisfactory manner. I am thankful to him as well as to M/s. Sahitya Sindhu Prakashana, Bangalore, for bringing out the second edition of the book, the first edition of which was published by M/s. Janaki Prakashan, New Delhi.

I have requested Prof. Kendurkar to state in brief the idea behind this restructuring.

I feel confident that patriotic readers will receive this edition with the same enthusiasm.

D. B. Thengadi

COMPILERS INTRODUCTION

(First edition)

It is a great pleasure for me to associate myself with the publication of this collection of articles and speeches by Shri Dattopant Thengadi on various aspects of national reconstruction.

It is now obvious that the existing institutional framework is inadequate to deal effectively with the current complex problems which could not be comprehended by the learned members of the Constituent Assembly. It is generally felt that the constitution of a new Constituent Assembly is the need of the hour. This is not to devalue the competence or brilliance of those stalwarts

who framed the Constitution. But, as Jefferson said, "Each generation has a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive to its own happiness." Evidently, by 'the form of government' he meant the entire social order.

Shri Thengadi is of the view that it is neither advisable nor practicable to think in terms of a blueprint. Practical thinkers like M.N. Roy, Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya, Swatantryaveer Savarkar, Marx or Lenin refused to present any Utopia, because, according to them, it was an exercise in futility. A blueprint may be evolved in course of actual implementation in the light of the broad guiding principles of the basic ideologies, and that too by a trial-and-error method. Before reaching the stage of implementation, what can and should be offered is a general guideline of the new socio-economic order, and such guidelines have already been furnished by every ideology.

Since communism has failed and capitalism is on the way out, the search for a 'Third Way' is already on in the western countries including the United States. Peter Drucker, Samuelson and others have foreseen the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism, though their public expressions are sufficiently guarded. This should not give rise, Shri Thengadi cautions, to any euphoria in the minds of those who had condemned both these thought-systems all these years. Any attempt to evolve a new model must be preceded by adequate homework on the subject, he thinks.

Shri Thengadi wants each one of us to give serious thought to the problem of the future social set-up. What he seeks to bring about is a national debate on this issue with a view to building up some sort of national consensus. This publication is intended as an aid to the process of such creative thinking.

The publishers will feel amply rewarded if the publication of this work succeeds in initiating the much-needed national debate on the shape of arrangements to be created for the future.

This is not a thesis. Since this is a compilation of articles and speeches written or delivered on different occasions, a few repetitions are unavoidable, and should be overlooked.

Shri Thengadi was very reluctant to grant permission for the publication of this book. I am indeed honoured that on my repeated insistence he gave consent to this project. It is a token of his affection for me.

It is my duty to thank Shri Ramdas Pande for providing the material for this book and Shri Yogendra Pahwa of Siyaram Printers for undertaking the printing of the book and Shri Atul Rawat who helped a lot by going through the proofs.

Varsha Pratipada Samvat
2052 Vikrami 1 April
1995
Bhanu Pratap Shukla

A NOTE ON THE SECOND EDITION

I am very happy to present this second edition of *Third Way* - a collection of articles and speeches by respected Shri Dattopant Thengadi, on some of the important aspects of national reconstruction.

The first edition was well received and copies were exhausted within a period of some months. In his editorial note - "Why?" of the first edition, Shri Bhanu Pratap Shukla - an esteemed and devout follower of Hindu thought-system, as enunciated by and reflected in the writings of Shri Thengadiji, and who had the privilege of having edited quite a few earlier volumes by Shri Thengadiji - has rightly observed that the entire exercise in this book was meant to bring about a national debate on these issues of national reconstruction with a view to building up some sort of national consensus.

Being a committed activist throughout his life, right from the days of post-adolescent age, - thought an ideologue of the first rank - Shri Thengadiji is a practical idealist and as such his theorisation for the search of truth is a search for "warranted assertibility" - a phrase substituting for 'truth', which he quotes from Dewey in his writings and therefore, without being dogmatic he puts forth a '*Yuganukool*' approach to national reconstruction with a conviction in the eternal principles which have evolved into the ethos of the Hindu society, from the days unknown even to history. Being conscious of the ever-expanding horizons of the revelation of truth, he modestly claims to advocate the 'third way', which as a matter of fact is the 'only way' to save humanity from catastrophe in these days of cultural anarchy, after the collapse of communism and fast decay of capitalism. What he intends further by his writings is to initiate the process of elaborating the details of *Yuganukool* or practical implementation of these eternal principles, in various fields of national life through national debate. As such it seems quite natural to expect that the second edition of *Third Way* would enhance this process of creative thinking, which is already started by seminars at many places, as mentioned by Shri Thengadiji in his prefatory words here. That there was a pressing demand for the second edition of *Third Way* so soon, is itself an indication that the purpose of this entire exercise of Shri Thengadiji is being served satisfactorily.

Although the major part of the first edition is retained in this second edition, the latter is not a mere reprint of the first one. For example, two articles in the first edition - (i) 'Anti-Communalism X-rayed' and (ii) 'On a Hindu Ideologue' - have been dropped in this edition as they are not in any way - not even remotely - in tune with the overall import of this collection. The essay 'On Revolution' is given in the Appendix and not in the body of the book.

It was surely creditable for the editors of the first edition to group under four heads so many articles and speeches, coming close to one another in contents - which are spread well over twenty years. Just to add to their endeavour in pointing out the common thread of import of the contents in these groups, more homogeneously, some changes in the grouping of articles and speeches are effected.

'Bharatiya Vichar' of part IV in the first edition is placed at its logical position in the second part 'The Hindu View'. 'Parties Based on Economic Ideologies' in part III of the first edition is now included in part III 'Thoughts on Constitutional and Legal System'. Similarly 'The Hindu Concept of World Order' in the first part of the first edition is shifted to part III of the second edition. 'South-South Co-operation' of part IV of the first edition is shifted to the present part IV - 'Swadeshi'. The entire matter is divided into five parts instead of four parts in the first edition, with Part I 'The Hindu Approach' serving as a sort of prefatory part and part V 'Reach for Param Vaibhavam' as the concluding part.

With the intention of having a more appropriate order of thought content, the sequence of articles in part I - 'The Hindu View' - is slightly changed bringing all economic thinking together in a consecutive order.

Similarly placements of section III 'Whither' and section IV 'Dharma - Our Point of Reference' in the first paper 'The Hindu Approach' are interchanged with a view to making the contents and the import of the same more meaningful and logically more consistent.

With the same intention, some paragraphs in other articles are also rearranged and the sequence of some words and phrases is changed in the same.

A word or two are added occasionally to make the meaning more explicit. An effort has been made to the maximum extent to maintain uniformity in giving quotations, names of the authors,

thinkers, etc.; names of the books, works etc.; use of Devanagari script in case of Sanskrit quotations, conceptual terms, sayings, proverbial usages, etc.

On instructions from the author,

- a) one quotation from Pt. Nehru about the essential objective of development and progress - from his preface, written just two days before his death, i.e. on 25th May 1964, to a book by Shri Shriman Narayan is incorporated in Part III - 'Dharma - Our Point of Reference' in the first essay (p.21);
- b) a note on historical development of the British democratic system and the British democratic ethos, dictated to me by Shri Thengadiji, is incorporated in the article 'Our Constitution' in Part III.

I felt myself elated and honoured when Shri Thengadiji obliged me by giving his consent to my taking up this singular responsibility of editing one of his most esteemed works for the second edition. I am more than grateful to him for the same. Similarly I must thank M/s. Janaki Prakashan, the publishers of the first edition, for granting permission to bring out this second edition with the help of M/s Sahitya Sindhu Prakashana of Bangalore, who are known for their meticulous handling of any publishing project. I thank Shri S. R. Ramaswamy of Rashtrarthana Parishat for facilitating the work of this edition by taking into account and carrying out my suggestions.

I am also grateful to Shri Ravindra Mahajan, All-India Co-convenor, Swadeshi Jagaran Manch, who gave me some valuable suggestions regarding the nicer essentials of the editing process.

I also thank Shri Girish M. Kulkarni of M/s Kulkarni Commercial Centre, Mumbai, for carrying out the initial typesetting in the preliminary stage.

I feel contented, without meaning to be complacent, that I could complete this challenging task entrusted to me, with my humble mite. It is now for the judicious readers to assess the worth of this exercise from the point of view of the purpose behind bringing out the second edition of the book.

Bapu Kendurkar

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PART I THE HINDU

APPROACH

CHAPTER 1

The Hindu Approach

i

PREREQUISITES OF AN APPROACH PAPER

It is not as if an approach paper can be profitably presented at any time and under any circumstance. All decks must be cleared first. Even as waters cannot receive clear reflection of the moon and the stars until they are clean, calm and steady, the public mind will have no receptivity for an approach paper until it is free of all the cobwebs - intellectual as well as psychological. A common man has neither the time nor the mind to study in depth the thought-content of any ideology. He is, therefore, satisfied with and willingly carried away by the slogans, phrases, jargons and catchwords.

Again, a number of myths and fictions have been planted deliberately, mischievously and systematically in the popular mind by our erstwhile foreign rulers and their *deshi* disciples with the object of de-Hinduisation. And the minds carrying the legacy of these myths and fictions will not be in a position even to grasp the plain dictionary meaning, much less understand its implications.

Each one of them may seem to possess limited capacity for mischief, but all of them put together have succeeded in creating the worst state of confusion in the Hindu mind. It is necessary to attack and demolish all such false theories before undertaking to circulate the approach paper. This is the mission of institutions specially raised for this purpose. *Baba Saheb Apte Itihas Sankalan Samiti* is taking rapid strides in this direction. Exploding the myth of the Aryan Invasion Theory is a must. But it is not within the legitimate jurisdiction of any approach paper.

For purposeful dialogue or debate it is necessary that the terms used should convey the same sense to all the participants, that every term should have the same connotation in the minds of all the participants. If the same term creates different mental images in different minds operating on different wave-lengths, the dialogue or debate would be a sheer waste of time and energy. Voltaire said, "If you

*** This paper was circulated and discussed among intellectuals in October 1992.**

want to talk to me define your terms". General education of the masses about the relevant terms is, therefore, the first condition-precedent. No doubt, it takes time. But it is worth while. The game is worth the candle. In its absence, further steps cannot be taken.

With the exception of three countries, the world communism has virtually collapsed. But this need not generate euphoria. Apart from the weight of its own internal self-contradictions a number of contributory factors have been responsible for its downfall. These have not yet been properly evaluated. Capitalism is on the decline. But its demise is being delayed. Knowledgeable circles have started their search for a third alternative. It should first be found out why they are not attaining even the smallest measure of success in their efforts.

Even before the retreat of communism was in sight, scholars from Islamic world had started systematic efforts to evolve Islamic Economics as an alternative system. Jeddah in Saudi Arabia, Islamabad, Leicester, and Delhi have been some of their important centres. That they cannot furnish a complete and comprehensive response to meet the challenge is obvious. But some of their tenets, particularly that of the interest-free economy, will have to be studied thoroughly by those who desire to create new systems. Their literature has not been taken cognisance of in our country. About these tenets there has been no public debate so far.

For many decades in the past, Christianity has been fighting and at the same time often making compromises with communism. In the process Christianity had to adopt a new role of all-embracing system of thought. Hence evolved the terms 'Christian Science', 'Christian Art', etc. There has been an attempt to evolve Christian economic thinking, if not "Christian Economics". No doubt, whatever economic thinking would be thus evolved will be ultimately a part of the "Hindu Economics". But the efforts of the Vatican City in this direction are not yet sufficiently known in this country.

So far there was no urge for receiving or producing the Hindu approach paper. This urge is noticeable in different quarters after a period of sixty-five years. It means that the time for the Hindu paper has come. And Victor Hugo has said,

"There is nothing so terrible as the birth of an idea whose time has come."

Apart from the known Hindu Nationalists, there are here as well as abroad many like-minded individuals, groups and institutions actively interested in the evolution of the Hindu approach paper. Prior consultations with them would be helpful.

The pioneers of this project should themselves be psychologically well equipped. Whenever the approach paper is circulated we may expect to come across sceptics or cynics who would argue that this scheme is impracticable on account of certain scientific and logical reasons. To those who argued by strict scientific logic that his engine on rails could not and should not move, Stephenson replied,

"Your difficulty is solved by its moving."

Today the self-proclaimed, 'professional' intellectuals are fearlessly conducting their business of smuggling intellectual goods from the West and selling them in our country under their own name and brand. Because of our increasing intellectual activities on different fronts, they should be made to realise, before we enter the final phase of ideological warfare, that their game is over and that their long-cultivated audacity and arrogance can no longer be a profitable proposition. Circulation of the Approach Paper would be the beginning of the end of the ideological warfare. It would deal a fatal blow to prevalent myths and legends created to mislead the Hindu mind.

First Things First

In the materialist West, it was believed that matter is basic and the mind is only a superstructure on it. Consequently, socio-economic order was basic. Once an appropriate order is established, corresponding psychological changes in popular mind would follow automatically. That this belief was not correct has been proved now beyond doubt.

And therefore, though an approach paper should deal with the socio-economic order and its institutional framework, viz., the Constitution, more important than all these is the psychology of the people. Dr. Ambedkar found that the democratic set-up in Great Britain depended for its safety more on the spirit of constitutional morality among the British people rather than upon the Constitution itself. Subsequently, while dealing with the problem of the protection of the rights of the minorities Dr. Ambedkar said : *"Rights are protected not by law, but by the social and moral conscience of society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognise the rights which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no law, no parliament, no judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word."*

In this context Abraham Lincoln says :

"With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

As the experience of the United Nations has been,

"In spite of all these, it is generally realised that a real guarantee for the preservation of human rights, civil liberties and fundamental freedoms lies in the level of consciousness of the common man, and in people-to-people relationship on the sound basis of international understanding."

John Kleinig who is one of the authorities on the problem of Human Rights observes :

"Unless there is love, care and concern for others as individuals, in addition to the recognition of rights, there remains a moral lack in international relationships. There is something morally inadequate in doing something for another, because it is the other's due. Actions motivated simply by the rights of others remain anonymous or impersonal, whereas if motivated by love, care or concern for the other, their focus is on the other's particularity. Only relations of the latter kind are morally adequate. They are person-specific, whereas rights are species-specific."

Thus the real guarantee of successful implementation of any Constitution lies not in the institutional framework or the law of the land, but in the level of consciousness of the common man.

Historian Will Durant says,

"After all, when one tries to change institutions without having changed the nature of men, that unchanged nature will soon resurrect those institutions."

The raised level of national consciousness would remind us of the Bharatiya traditional values of life which were distinct from and superior to the current western values. They were capable of revolutionising the inner self of a man by convincing him that the material and the non-material are the two faces of the same coin and the lopsided emphasis on the material aspect would create imbalance in the individual as well as social life. The Renaissance of Hindu Culture and *Dharma* is necessary not only for expediting the process of our national reconstruction but also for bringing peace, harmony and happiness to the tormented mankind. The maladies of humanity in general and India in particular could be remedied only on the strength of Hindu Culture. Is it possible for the West to reconcile individual liberty with social discipline? In the materialistic West liberty soon degenerates into licentiousness, and

discipline into regimentation. The West could never conceive of basic organic unity in the midst of apparent diversities, for it mistook uniformity for unity. It could never appreciate the merit of Bharatiya socio-economic order, for it mistook our stability for stagnation and its own adventurism for dynamism. No western thinker could conceive of the unitary form of government with maximum decentralisation of administrative authority, because it is beyond their comprehension that there can be central state authority coexisting with the regional, industrial and civil self-governments, which has been the special characteristic of Bharatiya social order. The West considered national self-reliance as incompatible with the spirit of international co-operation. In the West, nationalism can degenerate into imperialism and internationalism into disloyalty to one's own nation. The 'Integral Humanism' of Bharat has exposed the inadequacies, lopsidedness, imbalance and futility of the compartmentalised thought-systems of the West. This system of integralism enabled us to visualise the emergence of the world state enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures, and evolution of *Manava Dharma* enhanced by the virtues of all the religions including "materialism".

The Bharatiya culture evolved a co-ordinated system of materialistic as well as non-materialistic values of life which together served as an incentive for individual development. As is well known, the *artha* and *kama* constituted the materialistic values which were blended finely with non-materialistic values of *dharma* and *moksha*. The material aspect was neither ignored nor glorified. Consequently, the incentive was also of two types - materialistic as well as non-materialistic; material gains and enjoyment, and social status and recognition based on the non-materialistic values. Everyone was free to follow either of the two with the proviso that the sphere of enjoyment and that of social status would invariably be in inverse ratio. The higher the social status, the narrower would be the sphere of enjoyment; the wider the sphere of enjoyment, the lower would be the social status. There was perfect equality in society in that the total quota of enjoyment and social status put together would always be the same for every individual, though the ingredients of the quota would differ from man to man depending entirely on one's own voluntary choice.

Bringing home to all minds the import and significance of the special characteristics of Hindu Culture is the first step in any effort for national reconstruction. We forgot that subjective (inner) revolution must necessarily precede the objective revolution. So far we have put the cart before the horse. We have started with symposia, seminars, papers, discussions, committees, formal planning, programmes, schemes, institutions, constructive work etc. But

we have not cared to do the first thing first, that is, to build a builder. As revered Shri Guruji put it:

"Our real national regeneration should, therefore, start with the moulding of 'man' instilling in him the strength to overcome human frailties and stand up as a shining symbol of Hindu manhood embodying within himself all our traditional virtues of love, self-restraint, sacrifice, service and character. We should unfailingly keep this vision, this real essence of our glorious nationhood before our eyes, so that we can again rise to our original pedestal of world preceptor."

We have, therefore, to change our order of priorities, give highest priority to man-moulding programme, initiate and expand conventional 'constructive works' only to the extent to which such 'moulded men' become available, refrain from indecent haste, and follow the dictum of revered Shri Guruji - "Hasten Slowly."

Why 'Ism' lessness

The drafting of an approach paper is easiest for those who follow some 'ism'. But Hindus do not have that advantage.

Why do we refuse to subscribe to any 'ism' ?

The common man is always after some 'ism' or the other, because it gives him a sense of certainty, while doubt is necessarily a mental torture.

Great thinkers have an unquenchable thirst for knowledge which is always relative. They think that doubt is not a very agreeable state, but then certainty is a ridiculous one. They, therefore, cannot be votaries of any 'ism' which is, by its very nature, a closed book of thought. Voltaire tells a story of "The Good Brahmin". He narrates: The Good Brahmin said, " I wish I had never been born!"

"Why so?" said I.

"Because", he replied, "I have been studying these forty years, and I find that it has been so much time lost.... I believe that I am composed of matter, but I have never been able to satisfy myself what it is that produces thought. I am even ignorant whether my understanding is a simple faculty like that of walking or digesting, or if I think with my head in the same manner as I take hold of a thing with my hands.... I talk a great deal, and when I have done speaking I remain confounded and ashamed of what I have said."

"The same day," Voltaire narrates further, "I had a conversation with an old woman, his neighbour. I asked her if she had ever been unhappy for not

understanding how her soul was made. She did not even comprehend my question. She had not, for the briefest moment in her life, had a thought about these subjects with which the good Brahmin had so tormented himself. She believed from the core of her heart in the metamorphoses of Vishnu, and provided she could get some of the sacred water of the Ganges in which to make her ablutions, she thought herself the happiest of women. Struck with the happiness of this poor creature, I returned to my philosopher, whom I thus addressed :

"Are you not ashamed to be thus miserable when, not fifty yards from you, there is an old automaton who thinks of nothing and lives contented?"

"You are right," he replied. "I have said to myself a thousand times that I should be happy if I were but as ignorant as my old neighbour; and yet it is a happiness which I do not desire."

Voltaire continues:

"This reply of the Brahmin made a greater impression on me than anything that had passed."

Followers of all 'isms' are as happy, self-contented (or conceited?), and self-confident as the old woman in this story.

II

Whence

What is the starting-point of the process of our national reconstruction? We have already seen that the Bharatiya culture evolved a co-ordinated system of materialistic as well as non-materialistic values of life together bringing out the individual development. And therefore, though promoting and instilling in the minds of all, the import and significance of the special characteristics of Hindu culture is the first step for national reconstruction, material aspects - especially social and economic ones also need to be given serious consideration.

We have in our midst illiterate tribals some of whom do not know that water is to be used after the nature's call. Our villagers are generally not conscious of general cleanliness and public hygiene. No care is taken to destroy the breeding-grounds of mosquitoes. Sense of cleanliness and clean habits are absent even in urban areas. Even many local self-government bodies cannot boast of efficient drainage system, public toilets and sewage treatment and disposal. General civic sense is lacking even in urban areas. Spitting or

throwing waste in public places is a common practice. Voluntary observance of traffic rules, guiding and assisting a stranded traveller, helping the old and the disabled in crossing the road, preventing a child from being crushed by a vehicle, getting down from man-driven rickshaw while climbing a gradient; switching off lights and fans while leaving a room or alighting from a train; moral sense to refrain from damaging public property and preventing others from doing so; sense of social responsibility while using or occupying night shelters, choultries, restaurants, lodges, hospitals, hostels, school-buildings, maternity homes, libraries, public halls, parks, stadiums, playing-grounds or cremation or burial grounds, public transport; rushing to the rescue of the victims of goondaism or accident in the Nafar Kundu spirit* - all such gestures are generally missing.

At the other end, there are some problems that are common to all third world countries, - floods, droughts, epidemics, famines, bad harvests, earthquakes and other natural calamities. Some problems are common to all the countries, developed as well as developing, such as,

See Appendix II population explosion, global urbanisation, environmental pollution, technological unemployment, consumerism, boredom, students' unrest, workers' agitations, growing criminality, the impact, to a greater or lesser degree, of 'the crisis of saturation', recession, stagnation-inflation (stagflation), stockpiling of waste products as well as of unconventional weapons - nuclear, chemical and biological.

We were, till recently, free from the Latin American maladies of wars, revolutions, terrorism and instability. But during the last decade we had a very heavy dose of terrorism, family feuds, caste wars, linguistic and regional conflicts, communal riots, road-accidents, dowry-deaths, and misuse of leisure and commercial recreations.

For more than a century we followed the western pattern of industrialisation. Like in the West, in our country too, people are flooding to the urban areas. This has given rise to social situations unprecedented in our history, viz., disintegration of family and village commonwealth under the pressure of urbanisation; absence of wholesome community life in industrial areas; bad and inadequate housing; slums; paucity of clean drinking-water, industrial accidents, illiteracy; self-alienation of individuals who have shifted from the rural to the urban areas; individualisation of industrial life; lack of social and moral values on the part of villagers psychologically uprooted from

and torn off their natural social environment; inability to adjust the strains of new life-style under the impact of western civilisation; imbalance in sex ratio; lack of balance between the material and non-material advancement. All these new factors pose a challenge to our national genius.

To be sure, some problems confronting our society are more social than economic in character. For example, the problems of deviants, vagabonds, perverts, hedonists, neurotics, psychotics, etc. Juvenile delinquency, juvenile vagrancy and truancy are also generally caused more by social, rather than by economic factors. We have not yet assessed the magnitude of the problems of nervous and mental disorders and derangements and individual disorganisation or the disintegration of personality leading to mental disequilibrium, the extreme form of which is suicide. The rate of growth of suicides is now practically double the rate of growth of population. The number of psychiatrists and mental hospitals is woefully inadequate to meet the requirements in this respect. This psychological factor contributes substantially to the growth of crime which is fast out-stepping the increase in population.

We have not yet formulated a National Social Policy; the data, the statistics required are also not available. We are not in possession of all the relevant information about the incidence of dreadful diseases like leprosy or venereal diseases. No realistic national socio-economic survey has been so far conducted about the number of the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the crippled, the handicapped, the disabled. Similarly there is no data about the delinquents, the destitutes, the criminals and also about the beggars and the children kidnapped, maimed and used by professional goondas for begging. We have not adopted any scientific approach about the extent of desertions and divorces and the children of divorced persons. No systematic thinking has been conducted about the problems of alcoholism, drug addiction and white-collar criminality, undertrial prisoners etc. Adequate attention has not been paid to the category wise problems of bonded labour, child labour, rural landless workers, small and marginal peasants, casual workers, apprentices, women workers, legally unprotected labour, working housewives. Certain socio-economic classes are also neglected, e.g., Vanavasis, de-notified ex-criminal tribes, and other nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes; similarly categories of women like *Devadasis*, women forced into prostitution. Callous attitude is betrayed about the refugees from outside as well as from within, the displaced, un-rehabilitated persons. Even the common consumers are not given their due.

Consequently the common man is disheartened on account of our failure on this social as well as socio-economic front. But the most important and urgent problems facing the country are poverty, unemployment and underemployment, mass illiteracy, etc.

To those who are worried about more serious problems such as, balance of payment (BoP) position, foreign policy, Centre-State relationship or the superpower status, all this may appear to be too childish a narration. But this in fact is the starting-point of our Herculean efforts to improve the material aspect of life.

But the impact of all the factors enumerated above is further aggravated on account of decay in religious and educational institutions, unsuitability of existing social institutions resulting in the erosion of traditional, cultural values without simultaneous creation of new compensating values of life, domination of superstitions - modern as well as ancient, erosion of religious freedom, lack of national consciousness, self-alienation of de-Hinduised elite. This in turn gives rise to lack of Swadeshi feeling or determination for national self-reliance and the stranglehold of foreign economic imperialism.

This degeneration in non-materialistic aspect of life has its inevitable toll in the material aspect of life - social as well as economic one. The most distressing fact of our public life is ever-growing corruption.

The menace of corruption grew out of all proportion particularly after Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru declared that it was a global phenomenon and that on account of corruption money did not go outside the country. In its widest connotation, corruption is supposed to include improper exercise of power and influence attached to a public office or to a special position one occupies in public life. As defined by Robert C. Brooks,

*"Political corruption is a wilful failure to perform a specified duty in order to receive some personal gain; such corruption involves an unlawful act performed for some tangible or intangible **quid pro quo**."*

And agians as Elliot and F.E. Merrill have said,

"Corrupt business practice, corruption in politics and organised crime constitute a formidable interlocking directorate of Community Disorganisation. All are interested in the same goal - reward without effort."

The Committee on Prevention of Corruption (Santhanam Committee) observed that corruption increased during the Second World War and much more after Independence. There has been extension of governmental jurisdiction with many regulations, controls, licences, permits, discretionary powers, the spoils system of democratic government, unholy alliance between politicians and business on the one hand and politicians and criminals on the other. Now we are heading towards large-scale criminalisation of politics. Of late there has been a tremendous rise in economic offences, such as, tax evasion, sharepushing, malpractices in the share market and the administration of companies, sub-standard performance of contracts on construction and supply. Because of political pressures organised crimes go unpunished. For example, racketeering, illegal prostitution in hotels, supply of liquor in prohibited areas, counterfeiting, dacoities, robberies, housebreaking, gambling, bootlegging, kidnapping, abduction, political and other murders.

Apart from these big and small offenders, it seems the rulers are the biggest economic offenders. There is reason to believe that they are prepared to mortgage or sell economic freedom of the country to foreign interests. This has harmed our national self-respect and compromised our national sovereignty. The logical consequence of their *Jehad* against the poor millions is inevitably the end of our economic independence.

Along with all other things mentioned till now, we are pledged to pay immediate attention to urgent problems like Punjab, Article 370, Pakistani intrigues, Common Civil Code, Assam, LTTE, cow protection, missionary menace, infiltration, Naxalism, pseudosecularism, secessionism, and bureaucratic authoritarianism in the administration. At the same time, as we are all aware, to restore our national honour by liberating Ayodhya, Mathura and Kashi is the first item on our agenda.

For, even if we mean to undertake to set right these things, we must keep in mind that the root cause of all the social, economic, political, administrative, cultural menace is the lack of sublime national consciousness of Hindu society at large ! And as mentioned in the earlier part, the subjective revolution must necessarily precede the objective one. The only starting-point of our national reconstruction could be the regeneration and rejuvenation of Hindu Culture and *Sanatana Dharma*.

This is the starting-point, the 'Whence' of any national approach paper.

Our Major Convictions

Before we proceed further it would be proper to state in brief our major convictions regarding this subject :-

1. We do not subscribe to the view that western paradigm is the universal model of progress and development. We do not think that modernisation is westernisation.
2. European thinkers and their Indian disciples have presumed that any and every society in the world has to, or will have to, pass through the same stages of development as were experienced by European societies. Their experience of historical development is supposed to be universal in nature. But this is far from true. Different societies have flourished in the past and will have to follow in future different courses of development in keeping with their past heritage, traditions and peculiar conditions in the present. Therefore, it is wrong to presume that remedies that were probably effective in curing western maladies will be equally effective in non-western countries, though it is doubtful whether this particular remedy, i.e., socialism has been successful in solving the European socio-economic problems. Blind imitation of the so-called advanced countries will be of no use. Gurudev Tagore used to observe that God has given different question-papers to different countries.
3. Even as we do not think that anything western should be adopted simply because it is western, we also do not think that anything western should be rejected simply because of its origin. Knowledge and truth are universal in character. Truth knows no class, caste or nation. We are, therefore, in favour of assimilating knowledge from all peoples. Of course, we must scrutinise it in the light of our past traditions and present requirements, and then decide how much of it is to be adopted, how much adapted, and how much rejected. This holds good particularly in case of western science and technology. We are not in favour of wholesale transplantation of the same to our country, since its blessings are not proved to be unmingled even for western societies. Nevertheless, what is valid in the field of science and technology cannot be accepted as equally valid in the field of philosophy, religion, ethics and ideology. In these fields white nations are too young. If anyone proposes that India should seriously consider the historical experience of a country like China while formulating its future course of action in these fields, such a proposal would be well-deserved, though China is not exactly as ancient as India and the special characteristic of Chinese national personality is imperial state while that

of India is culture. But the experience of western countries cannot be of much help in the field of philosophy and ideology; they being new-born nations, their thinking and approach is immature. Blind imitation of the West would only indicate bankruptcy of our native genius or acute inferiority complex.

4. It is a psychological fact that one cannot import any foreign ideological term without all its mental associations. In case of the term 'socialism', it is felt that the associations are neither happy nor helpful to our society. Instead of sowing seeds of social harmony and integration, these mental associations give rise to the feelings of social disharmony and disintegration. So far as opposition to injustice, inequality and exploitation is concerned, it is also a part of our cultural heritage and it can be expressed suitably through our own traditional technical terms, incorporating this negative aspect of opposition in the positive, traditional aspect of integration.

5. It is well known that western philosophers and social scientists entrusted the work of production, productivity and prosperity to capitalism and conceived of socialism only after capitalism had fulfilled its historic role. The pioneers of socialist movements did not foresee the advent of socialism in poor countries. Even Marx has categorically stated that the talk of socialism is irrelevant for societies that are not affluent. All the third world countries are in this category. Socialism in these countries would only mean equal distribution of poverty. Let it be noted that we do not subscribe to this view of the socialist pioneers; we are definitely of the opinion that socio-economic conditions obtaining in the third world countries are not similar, parallel or analogous to those obtaining in European countries in the last or the present century, and that these countries must or will have to find out their own respective paths to prosperity in the light of their respective traditions, conditions and requirements.

6. We have deep faith in the efficacy of our own culture in solving problems of humanity in different spheres. Today it may appear to be preposterous to claim that the Hindu Culture can furnish remedies for all human maladies. But with all modesty it can certainly be claimed that this culture is quite capable of curing national maladies. We do not rule out the possibility that in not-too-distant future all nations of the world will turn to *Sanatana Dharma* and Hindu Culture for seeking guidance to solve their problems.

7. Pandit Deendayalji has rendered signal service to humanity by coining the term and elucidating the concept of Integral Humanism. He was not in

favour of the term '*ism*' since it indicates a closed book of thought. He also would not use the word Humanism in its current western sense. In the West, Humanism is, more often than not, homocentric and anti-God. Nevertheless Panditji had to strike a compromise with the current level of understanding of westernised intellectuals. Hence the term Integral Humanism, which stands in fact for 'ismlessness'. This term is only a modern manifestation of *Sanatana Dharma*. Its implications in the present national context are to be worked out. We have full faith in the capacity of our own national genius in evolving a socio-economic order which would meet our requirements. We do not think it necessary for this purpose to sit at the feet of western prophets.

8. Similarly in an ancient country like India having a rich cultural heritage, it will be shameful to borrow any western term to describe its ultimate national goal. Our languages including Sanskrit are rich and powerful enough to convey any meaning. That we should be required to borrow a foreign term for this purpose would imply poverty of our national languages.

All these convictions are rooted not only in the correct understanding of our national heritage but also in the up-to-date information about the experiments in other developing countries.

One such example should suffice to illustrate the point.

Every culture has its own model. The model of development brought over from another cultural setting, or imposed by alien vested interests, can be disastrous. Ivan Illich, the famous author of *Towards a History of Needs*, *Medical Nemesis*, *Tools for Conviviality* and *De-schooling Society*, narrates his Mexican experience of 'The Development Myth'. He looks at what development has meant to Mexico - not from the summit where plans of development are prepared, and where implementation is reviewed, nor from the statistics and theoretical indices that the bureaucracy and the technicians offer as evidence of development, but from the ground level. He sees the effect that 'development' has had on the life of the poor in the rural areas and slums - erosion of means of subsistence and traditional skills, loss of self-reliance and dignity and solidarity of communities, spoliation of nature, displacement from traditional environments, unemployment, bulldozing traditional self-reliant communities into the cash economy, cultural rootlessness, and corruption in politics. He asks whether this is development. This is the price that is being paid for a blueprint

of development that has no relation to the condition and goals of the communities that are described as the beneficiaries of development.

2

Sarcastically, he observes :

"Development is an oozy term that is currently used for a housing project, for the logical sequence of thought, for the awakening of a child's mind, or the budding of a teenager's breasts. But 'development' always connotes at least one thing: a person's ability to escape from a vague, unspeakable, undignified condition called 'sub-desarollo' or underdevelopment, invented by Harry Truman on 10 January 1949.

Seldom has a term been accepted all around the world, like this word, on the day it was coined. It became a term to spawn irrepressible bureaucracies."

And, again,

"Development means to have started on a road that others know better, to be on the way towards a goal that others have reached, to race up a one-way street. Development means the sacrifice of environments, solidarities, traditional interpretations and customs, to ever-changing expert-advice. Development promises enrichment; and for the overwhelming majority, has always meant the progressive modernisation of their poverty."

In conclusion Ivan Illich says,

"The time has come to recognise development itself as the malignant myth whose pursuit threatens those among whom I live in Mexico. The 'crisis' in Mexico enables us to dismantle development as a goal."

III

Dharma - Our Point of Reference

For every meaningful discussion, an appropriate point of reference is necessary. For the present one, it must be *Dharma*.

We need not give up the practice of accepting *Dharma* as a point of reference simply because some people mistake it for religion and consider it as the antithesis of secularism.

The concept of *Dharma* is characteristically a Bharatiya phenomenon. Recently, the intellectuals are gradually realising that *Dharma* is different from religion. Religion is belief in, recognition of or an awakened sense of a higher

unseen controlling power or powers, with the emotion and morality connected therewith, rites of worship, any system of such belief or worship. In his '*Legal and Constitutional History of India*' Justice M. Rama Jois says:

"Dharma is a Sanskrit expression of the widest import. There is no corresponding word in any other language. It would also be futile to attempt to give any definition of that word. It can only 'be explained. It has wide varieties of meanings. A few of them would enable us to understand the width of that expression. For instance, the word 'Dharma' is used to mean justice (Nyaya), what is right in a given circumstance, moral, religious, pious or righteous conduct, being helpful to living beings, giving charity or alms, natural qualities or characteristics or properties of living beings and things, duty, law and usage or custom having the force of law, and also a valid Raja-Shasana (royal edict). In Mahabharata, Bhishma says, it is most difficult to define Dharma, Dharma has been explained to be that which helps the upliftment of living beings. Therefore, that which ensures welfare (of beings) is surely Dharma. The learned rishis have declared that that which sustains is Dharma."

Rama Jois further observes that when *Dharma* is used in the context of duties and powers of the king, it means constitutional law (*Raja-Dharma*). Likewise when it is said that *Dharma-rajya* is necessary for the peace and prosperity of the people and for establishing an egalitarian society, the word *Dharma* in the context of the word *Rajya* only means Law, and *Dharma-rajya* means Rule of Law and not rule of religion or a theocratic state.

Gajendragadkar, former Chief Justice of India, observes:

"Unlike other religions in the world, the Hindu religion does not claim any one prophet. It does not worship any one God. It does not subscribe to any one philosophic concept; it does not follow any one set of religious rites or performances; in fact it does not appear to satisfy the narrow traditional features of any religion or creed. It may be described as a way of life and nothing more. The history of Indian thought emphatically brings out the fact that the development of Hindu Religion has always been inspired by an endless quest of the mind for Truth, based on the consciousness that truth has many facets. Truth is one, but wise men describe it differently."

C.K.N. Raja in his *Acquitted by History* remarks that

"Dharma in ancient Indian jurisprudence cannot be considered a synonym for the Anglican word Law since the former has a wide connotation and application. However, in the absence of an exact equivalent for the word in English, LAW can be accepted as coming close to Dharma."

*By the term **Dharma**, what is implied here is not Religion but Law which is closer to **Dharma**. In determining the institutional framework for future India the point of reference has necessarily to be the universal principles of **Dharma**."*

It should be borne in mind that the evolution of the institutional framework of future India must be kept aloof from the influence of religion. It should be conducted in the light of the universal laws of *Sanatana Dharma*. As Dr. Ambedkar put it, religion is a strictly personal affair, *Dharma*, a social one.

In modern times, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya has been the most competent interpreter of *Sanatana Dharma*.

Panditji represented the Bharatiya thought-system, which was not status-quo-ist. He was of the view that old order had to change. His view was:

"But one thing is clear, that many institutions will yield place to new ones. This will adversely affect those who have vested interests in the old institutions. Some others who are by nature averse to change will also suffer by efforts of reconstruction. But diseases must be treated with medicine. Therefore, we shall have to discard the status-quo mentality and usher in a new era. Indeed, our efforts at reconstruction need not be clouded by prejudice against or disregard for all that is inherited from our past. On the other hand, there is no need to cling to past institutions and traditions which have outlived their utility."

Integralism is the special characteristic of Panditji's humanism. While he appreciated the utility of appropriate socio-economic order in any scheme for human happiness, he laid greater stress on the moulding and development of human consciousness, in the absence of which no social order, however meritorious, can yield the desired results.

Absorbing completely all the thought-currents of the West as well as all indigenous thought-systems, Pandit Deendayalji spelt out Integral Humanism which is the manifestation of *Sanatana Dharma* in keeping with the requirements of the post-second industrial revolution period. That has to be the point of reference in the matter of national reconstruction. Whatever is worked out here has been only by way of deductions flowing from this central point.

Dharma in practice comprises the unchanging, eternal, Universal Laws and the ever-changing socio-economic order in the light of these Universal Laws. For example, morality in the man-woman relationship is the Universal Law. But the institutional arrangements to preserve and promote morality can be neither eternal nor universal. They would be different in different times and

climes. Even in our own country there have been any number of such arrangements undergoing changes from time to time. As reaction to certain coercive measures of Churchianity, some great thinkers in Europe, including Marx, condemned the institution of marriage and family. This led to a misunderstanding in some circles that, for a genuine communist, morality is not a must. They -advocated the ink-pot* theory. But responsible leaders like Lenin and Trotsky publicly condemned this theory, since, according to them, one who is not dependable in private life cannot be trustworthy in public life also. The institutional arrangements like marriage are subject to changes according to or corresponding to the periodical changes in the social scene.

It is also essential to set a new goal or objective for all national striving keeping in view the failure of the western paradigm as well as the significant difference in the historical courses of events.

Even Pt. Nehru wrote just two days before his sad demise:

*"In India, it is important for us to profit by modern technological processes and increase our production both in agriculture and industry. But in doing so, we must not forget that the essential objective to be aimed at is the quality of the individual and the concept of **Dharma** underlying it."*

(Foreword to a book by Shriman Narayan. Circuit House, Dehra Dun. 25th May 1964)

We must conceive our own model of progress and development in the light of our culture, our past traditions, present requirements and aspirations for the future. We should study in depth the western paradigm and benefit from it wherever possible, but not accept it blindly as our model for future.

With this understanding of the practice of *Dharma* we have to consider the subject of Institutional Framework for future India.

See Appendix II

IV

Whither

Wise are those who are wedded to no ideals. They are happy people in the world.

Next to them in wisdom are those who have a pre-determined goal in life but are not unduly disturbed if they set their sails for Hindusthan and reach America.

After all, they have reached somewhere.

About such persons Alexander Pope remarked:

Born for the Universe, narrowed his mind

And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.

The idealists are those who are willing to behave as Sisyphus, prepared to push a huge stone up-hill and begin again when it rolls down.

They are fools.

But they alone are competent to dwell upon this subject of "Whither".

Others should not waste their valuable time and energy on this exercise.

* * * *

To undertake a journey, it is necessary to chalk out the course.

In his *Ideology as a Cultural System*, Clifford Geertz says,

"Ideologies function as Road-Maps guiding people to desired political end."

They also guide people to a more comprehensive goal of National Reconstruction.

Ideologies, not Utopias!

* * * *

Utopians crave for blueprints.

Like a blue photographic print representing the final stage of engineering or other plans, a blueprint is a detailed plan of work to be done.

Utopians long for a blueprint of their El Dorado.*

Recently, the West is developing 'Futurology' as a new science of 'prognosis'.

It is a systematic forecasting of future, especially from present trends in society. (The phrase 'futurology' was coined by the German historian Ossip Flechtheim in 1949).

As compared to Utopianism, Futurology stands on a different footing.

Futurologists are not after blueprints; they are interested in forecasting.

Ideologies provide road-maps; the Hindu Nationalists are equipped with such maps.

But for many decades in the past the term 'blueprint' has been purposely glamourised by communist intellectuals, particularly those working among college students.

It seems, therefore, that some, clarification on this point is called for.

Blueprint

What was the attitude of Karl Marx himself towards a blueprint? He was requested to give a complete picture of an ideal communist society, and the various phases that would ultimately lead to the attainment of that highest stage. What was his reaction?

As *'Three Faces of Marxism'* explains :-

"As for the detailed development of these phases and the solutions that would have to be found for individual practical questions, Marx and Engels declined all discussion, since they regarded this as Utopian speculation. 'The working class (has) ...no readymade Utopias to introduce 'par de'cret people,' Marx declared, they have 'no ideals to realise but to set free the elements of the new society with which the old collapsing bourgeois society already is pregnant.' It is not the task of Communists to create ■ Utopian systems for the organisation of the future society,

See Appendix II

least of all in questions of details. To speculate on how a future society might organize the distribution of food and dwellings heads directly to Utopia. The people of the Communist Society of the future will not care a rap about what we today think they should do."

Asked about the blueprint of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh by a college student at Madras, Pt. Deendayalji replied, "Do you want to tie down the hands of future generations?"

Gandhiji had the same resentment of blueprint-mentality in his mind when he told the All-India Conference of the Gandhi Seva Sangh held at Dhaka on 20 February 1940, that it was his earnest desire that the term 'Gandhism' should not gain currency.

Asked by Savarkar about the blueprint of his communist Russia, Lenin just smiled and said that any blueprint starts taking shape when the stage for implementation is reached; till then the revolutionaries have to conduct their activities in the light of the broad guidelines given by Marx. On another occasion Lenin remarked, "Karl Marx has not written a single word about economics of socialism".

About M.N. Roy's reaction to this issue, J.B.H. Wadia, his intimate associate, states,

"He [i.e., M.N. Roy] did not conceive of a state of society which would become the last word in Utopia. Because Utopia in its final analysis is perfection. Perfection implies stagnation; and stagnation is death, biologically speaking. Hence he maintained that even when man attains Utopia, it will defeat its purpose if it does not become a stepping-stone to still further explorations in the exciting adventure of life. Roy was not a man in a hurry."

* * *

The destination was visualised on the Vijayadashami day of 1925 :

It is the '*Param Vdibhavam*', the pinnacle of glory, of the Hindu Rashtra.

The starting-point of the journey is the commitment to certain Articles of Faith:

One People (*Jana*), i.e., Hindu

One Culture (*Sanskriti*), i.e., Hindu

One Nation (*Rashtra*), i.e., Hindu

One Country (*Desha*), i.e., *Akhanda Bharat*

One Order (*Vyavastha*), i.e., *Dharma-Rajya*

We are not to rediscover our destination.

What is to be worked out is the implication of *Parani Vaibhavam*.

PART II THE
HINDU VIEW

CHAPTER 2

Global Economic System : The Hindu View*

It is now generally acknowledged that no material objective transformation can be successful unless it is preceded and accompanied by an appropriate subjective, psychological transformation. Changes in the institutional framework are comparatively easier; but they cannot yield the desired results if they are not preceded by corresponding changes in the social or human mind.

Dharma envisages an ever-changing socio-economic order in the light of its unchanging universal laws. The laws are eternal, the order is transient.

The goal of all life is happiness - complete, solidified, eternal and unintermittent. To be complete, happiness must reign at all levels - physical, mental, intellectual and spiritual.

The main prerequisite for the attainment of this goal is the socio-economic order offering full scope for the fullest development of all faculties and aptitudes for all the individuals.

The guiding principles of the economic system deduced from the universal laws are readily available.

Perceive oneness in the midst of all diversities (अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु), has been the eternal message of the *Sanatana Dharma*. It is more pertinent today than ever before. Diversities are neither to be steam-rolled nor pampered. *Dharma* envisages autonomy of each human group to seek its social self-fulfilment through its own unique paradigm, and psychological integration of all such groups in a common framework of harmonious and mutually complementary interrelationships of One World (वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्) each group enriching the common, human understanding by making its own characteristic contribution to the collective wisdom of humanity.

The present is to be moulded in the light of the correct perspective of the

* Lecture delivered in the 'World Vision 2000' organised in Washington, U. S. A., on August 6 and 8, 1993
past and the future.

For this purpose, it is imperative, first, to unlearn the wrong and the anti-future lessons of the past.

Incompatible with the spirit of *Dharma* are the customary assertions of universality for any one particular regional paradigm, or the hegemonistic conception of unity parading itself as 'globalisation.' Pluralism in techno-cultural systems and 'relativisation' of technology, science and culture are the indisputable facts of life. Except *Dharma*, there can be no other "absolute reference" for human affairs.

For total, integrated, balanced understanding of the past, it is inevitable to abandon the current version of Euro-centric history, which is devoid of a sense of proportion, and initiate a new phase of historical investigation that takes for its canvas the entire globe. This demands a new framework, new terms of reference, a new scale of values, which would facilitate the globalisation of the focus of historians, instead of its present Europeanisation.

Appreciation of this fact about the past is indispensable for the evolution of a correct strategy for the glorious future of mankind, based upon global distributive justice, and completely free from poverty, want, fear, disease, dehumanisation and self-alienation.

But the global economic order is part and parcel of the total global order. It would be, therefore, unrealistic to think of the former without visualising first the nature of the latter.

For this purpose, it is imperative to know the salient features of the present state of the total global order. Unless 'what ought to be' is rationally related to 'what is', the **-whole** thought process would become only **Utopian** - an exercise in futility.

Obviously, the world of 1993 is drastically different from 1893. During any period, the relationships of classes, races, genders, professions, nations and other human groups alter continually by shifts in population, ecology, ideology and culture. The dawn of the century witnessed the nations and subsequently nation-states, as the basic and the more important units or ingredients of mankind. Independence and sovereignty are the natural attributes of the nation-states. International agencies created first by the League of Nations and, subsequently, by the United Nations had marginal impact on the status of nation-states, though it was unfortunate that the confused United Nations could not make any distinction between the 'Nation' concept and the 'State' concept. The impact of voluntary transnational bodies dealing with environment, human rights, civil liberties, tourism, arms control, labour relations, etc., has been comparatively more. But some other forces have been giving a shock treatment to the well-entrenched nation-states.

These are :

- International fundamentalism;
- transnational terrorism;
- international monetary bodies, trade regulators and financial corporations capable of transferring operations, funds, pollution and people across the national borders;
- international 'underground empires' of narcotics or drugs which have come to acquire, in some cases, more wealth, larger armies, more capable intelligence agencies, and more influential diplomatic services in many countries.

These forces are challenging the very concept of 'national sovereignty'.

Another challenging development is the vertical organisation for the European Community which raises two pertinent questions:

1. Whether the same psychology will not come to dominate other regions, such as, North America, the Slav land, the Arab world, the new Confucian community, the Shinto sphere, etc.; and
2. Whether such vertical regional organisations may not reduce the involved nation-states to the status of provinces by imposing supra-national controls over currency, central banking, educational standards, environment, agriculture and national budget.

Whatever may be the future composition of different human groups comprising mankind, and the probable shift of power from the nation-states to other more comprehensive entities, the current criterion for evaluation of their relative power and status has been their comparative economic prosperity and military might. Even in *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, Paul Kennedy leans heavily on this criterion while explaining the phenomenon of American decline. But in recent years the nature of power itself is being transformed. The accelerated advance of science and technology; lasers, computers, super-computers, memory chips, viruses with which to attack computers or people, robotics, extra-intelligent electronic networks and media for moving knowledge and its precursors - data and information; rising interest in cognitive theory, learning theory, "fuzzy logic", and neuro-biology; continual innovations in science, business, industry, and in such knowledge-intensive technologies as micro-electronics, advanced materials, optics, artificial intelligence, satellites, telecommunications; advanced simulation and software; biotechnology, superconductivity, and semi-conductor technology; precision-targeting, brief-case weapons, human bombs, ballistic missiles; nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons; information technology, art,

imagery; - all these flow from the Knowledge Power which has come to occupy the centre stage, so that even economics and war-science are becoming progressively more and more dependent on this new power.

And, most important of all, a revolution in the 'info-sphere,' i.e., the entire knowledge-system, is already underway.

Against the background of this global scene, it would be realistic to envisage 'Global Economic System for a Peaceful World' which is to operate within the framework of an ideal Global Order - an integrated view - and not a compartmentalised or a fractional one.

It is not enough to depict some romantic El Dorado as the blueprint of the new order. The problems confronting us on the practical plane are : Is it feasible to replace the present economy of contrived scarcities, profit motive, and rising prices by an economy of an abundance of production, humanitarian motivation, and declining prices? Will westerners be able to understand that, in reality, it is the total basket of goods and services and not its market price, that constitutes the national wealth?

Is it practicable to replace :

1. Monopoly capitalism through various devices, by free competition without manipulated markets;
2. Economic theories centred around wage-employment, by those centred around self-employment;
3. Ever-widening disparities, by a movement towards equitability and equality;
4. The rape of Nature by milking of Nature;
5. Constant conflict between an individual, the society and Nature, by complete harmony between them?

It would be sheer gullibility to presume that ethical sermons on सर्वे ऽपि सुखिनः सन्तु non-possession, restrained consumption and upliftment of the 'last' man would succeed in wiping out the current craze for happiness for oneself, acquisitiveness, consumerism, and exploitation.

Modern man is in a hurry; he has no time to ponder over the basic tenets of Integral Humanism which is the modern manifestation of *Sanatana Dharma*.

This is but natural. Social mind is never receptive to the concept of any new or alternative social order, unless it comes to realise that potentialities of the present system are more than fully exhausted, and that its continuance would inevitably become not only counter-productive but also disastrous.

Can this realisation dawn on the modern (and particularly the western) mind at any point of time?

Common man everywhere prefers to be status-quo-ist and self-complacent. Probably, under similar situation Milton's God said:

*"If not goodness, bet calamity
Toss him unto my Bosom."*

The post-1945 International Economic Order has been iniquitous to the detriment of the developing third world countries. In 1973 the latter came together and demanded negotiations leading to a new and more just Global Economic Order. In October-November 1981, the major northern developed countries denied at their Cancun (Mexico) Conference the need for structural change in the international economic arrangements. And now the Uruguay round of trade negotiations has aggravated the discontent of the Economic South against the Economic North.

If pursued, the Uruguay strategy would culminate in complete exploitation and near-extinction of the southern countries, or, alternatively, their revolt against the process, resulting in the North-South confrontation.

What is the genesis of this development?

The internal self-contradictions of capitalism are becoming ripe, particularly so, after oil prices went up sharply in 1979. The already deteriorating western system found it extremely difficult to sustain this so-called 'second oil price shock'. In spite of the collapse of communism, the economy of the developed countries continued to go downhill. Consequently, they evolved an elaborate strategy to crush the South for somehow maintaining their own economic structures intact. The Dunkel Text is a clear acknowledgement of the fact that capitalism cannot survive for long on its own strength. There is a growing realisation of this fact among western intellectuals. Nevertheless, even in the face of their retreat on the economic front, they are still clinging to their customary euphoria and arrogance because they know that the most important and decisive trump-card in global affairs is in their hands.

It is the Knowledge Power.

And their supremacy in this respect is unchallengeable, at least for the present. For, talents cannot make up immediately for the deficiency in material and monetary resources. Hence their justifiable euphoria.

The Knowledge is Power.

But power is invariably a double-edged weapon.

In possession of cultured Arjuna, the mightiest unconventional weapon of *Pashupatastra* posed no problem for mankind; but with the less powerful *Brahmastra*, Ashwatthama conducted a genocide.

After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there has been a growing scepticism among humanitarian scientists about the desirability of unrestrained and unguided advance of science and technology. The stand taken by some of the advanced countries at the Rio conference justified the earlier apprehension that they do not want to co-operate with the efforts for ecological balance, but would only dump their pollution in the courtyard of the developing countries. But this strategy cannot put off for long the global environmental catastrophe which would not spare the northern countries themselves. This is One World, and adversity anywhere would, in the long run, destroy prosperity everywhere. Even for the developed countries, these cultured scientists feel, the unrestrained advancement of science and technology would prove to be baneful.

For example, if the science of genetics is in a position to produce any human being of given specifications by 2040 A.D., as once claimed by it, what guarantee is there that it shall produce only Bhagwan Buddha, Lord Jesus or Mahatma Gandhi, and not Attila, Chengiz Khan or Stalin? A scientist enamoured of personal distinction or a Nobel Prize and unconcerned for human welfare may raise a Frankenstein*, an artificer of doom, detrimental to the human race as well as to all life on the globe. Excellence in science is no guarantee for humanitarian concern for world welfare.

There is, therefore, a strong suggestion that the 'technical know-how' - which tells us how to achieve the given purposes - should be placed under the control of the 'technical know-what' which can tell us what purposes are worth being achieved; that there should be set up a Technical Ombudsman comprising cultured men known for humanitarianism to control, guide and direct the work of scientists and technologists.

This voice is feeble today, but history records that every sane voice was feeble in the initial stage and that it gathered strength and momentum in course of time because of the inherent soundness of its approach, and the materialisation of factors foreseen by a few but, unpredictable for the rest. Not merely by general moral awakening, but because of the irresistible pressure of various relevant factors - ecological, demographic, cultural, developmental, strategic, etc., the demand for Technological Ombudsman also is sure to become irresistible.

Considering the acceleration of the various destructive, volcanic processes at the international level, and aggravation of all the consequent maladies, it is obvious that, sooner rather than later, constitution of such a Technological

Ombudsman will become a reality in the not-too-distant future. That will be an epoch-making turning-point in the modern world history. It would indicate the end of the dark age of self-defeating materialistic arrogance and the inauguration of an era of new Global Order eagerly awaited by humanitarians in the West as well as in the East. Even the demonic forces of the day will be compelled to fall in line with this new trend in world history - not because of their 'change of heart', but on account of the ripening of their own internal self-contradictions.

See Appendix II

There is, therefore, no justification for pessimism. Revered Shri Gururji used to quote the following one-stanza poem of Tennyson - *The Play* - talking with the shortsighted prophets of doom:

*Act first, this earth a stage so gloomed with woe
That you all but
sicken at the shifting scenes, And yet be patient, our Playwright may
show In some Fifth Act what this wild drama means.*

Today we are on the threshold of this Fifth Act. The Global Vision - 2000' is the first scene of this last Act. This marks the commencement of the new millennia, - the Hindu, that is, the Human Millennia; for the Hindu and the Human are synonymous. On this auspicious occasion, let each one of us take a solemn vow, in the immortal words of one of the greatest humanitarians the world has ever produced, "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations", "with malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right."

It is not without profound spiritual significance that this land of Lincoln is playing host to the centenary celebrations of the historic Address of Swami Vivekananda, the Cultural Ambassador of the land of the earliest Rishis of mankind.

CHAPTER 3

Quo Vadis*

'*Hindu Economics*' of Dr. M.G. Bokare will be considered as a landmark in the history of economic thinking of our country. It may also give an unpleasant surprise to the 'left' as well as the 'kept' intellectuals to find a former Marxist asserting that the first book on Economics was written in India and that it was in India that 'Economics' was defined for the first time in the world history of Economics literature. When apprised of this fact by Dr. Bokare, J.K. Galbraith appreciated his suggestion that western economists ought to be informed about the literature on economics in ancient India. In course of time, Dr. Bokare may find that it is easier to convey any truth to western intellectuals than to the intellectuals in this country who are still under the influence of some 'modern' superstitions and are still feeling happy at the loss of their intellectual autonomy. As economists they are not the legitimate successors of Dadabhai Naoroji who first originated the 'drain theory', or Justice M.G. Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Ramesh Chandra Dutt who criticised British economic policies in the spheres of public finance, taxation, banking, industrialisation and revenue system. They are not even acquainted with *Arthachintaks*, i.e., Professors of Economics in ancient India.

When the Hindu nationalists entered the economic field in 1955 it was immediately certified that they were ignorant of economics. That was a self-evident fact. They must be ignorant because they were 'Hindu'. It could not be otherwise. All their words and deeds were ridiculed with utter contempt. That they were new entrants in the field was obvious. But who had granted the monopoly of all intelligence in the land to their critics is not yet known. Arrogance, rather than intelligence, was the main asset of these traders in imported intelligence.

Introduction to *Hindu Economics* by Dr. M.G. Bokare, published by Janaki Prakashan, New Delhi. Quo Vadis - see Appendix II.

PART-I

When Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh declared that it recognised the traditional *Vishvakarma Day* as the National Labour Day, the leftists were taken aback. "Who is this fellow Vishvakarma? Why has he been excavated from the hoary past at this particular juncture?" they asked. They were further

flabbergasted to know about the *Vishvakarma* sector in Bharatiya economy. They had never come across this particular term in the western literature. The western economics did not recognise this sector of self-employment which was neither a 'private sector' nor a 'public sector', but the 'people's sector'. The westerners had no elegant theory to explain self-employment, though they measured self-employment in the estimates of national income. The wage-employment is the only economic variable in the western analytical economics. The *Vishvakarma* sector had, therefore, no justification for existence, no *raison d'être*; sooner rather than later, it would merge itself into the camp of the 'have-nots', they asserted. Think of their embarrassment when they learnt subsequently that the Household Industries Act was passed by the erstwhile communist Soviet Union, and that Communist China and Hungary also had made legal provisions for the self-employment sector!

When BMS claimed that Bharat had a very long and distinguished history of economic thought, the leftists dismissed it as fantastic nonsense. In keeping with the Bharatiya tradition, Kautilya pays his homage to Shukra, Brihaspati and others at the very beginning of his *Arthashastra*. He also states that his treatise is a compendium of almost all the *Arthashastras* composed by ancient teachers. He mentions his predecessors as many as hundred and fourteen times, though very often with a view to expressing his differences with them on various issues. This indicates that long before Kautilya, this branch of knowledge was properly developed and that its literature was "arranged in scientific systems and treated in special manuals of instruction." All this as well as every other enunciation of Bharatiya socio-economic order by BMS was treated by these disciples of the West with contemptuous ridicule. To cite a single example, was not the description of a Hindu Guild a piece of fantasy? It was claimed that the nature or character of the internal relations between different members of the guild were not 'industrial' in a technical sense inasmuch as the absence of employer-employee relationship was the characteristic - feature of the Hindu guilds. As Kautilya has recorded, the total earnings of the guild belonged to all its members and used to be distributed either according to the terms previously settled upon or, in the absence of any such agreement, equally among them all. The guilds had autonomous character. Members of the guild were themselves to settle all internal disputes according to their own constitution. No power or person outside the guild was competent to do this job. There could be no interference by the state in the internal administration of the guilds except when there arose a dispute between the president and the members. (Brihaspati X 8, XVII 9; 1.8, 19, 20)

"Utopian", the leftists remarked.

Naturally, the BMS concept of labourisation of industry was far beyond their tutored comprehension.

Hindu economics took cognisance of and systematised self-employment as well as wage-employment. In the sphere of wage-employment, the employer-employee relationship was properly regulated. "This was impossible outside the industrialised West, and particularly before the advent of the industrial revolution," they challenged. In response, the regulatory provisions in *Shukraniti* on various issues were published. The types of wages; definitions of piece-rate, time-rate, time-cum-piece rate wages; periods of payment; type of 'Swami' (employer); grades of *Bhrityas* (employees), gradation of wages; fair wages; payment of wages; register of wages; category wise wages; resolution of industrial disputes; leave rules; annual leave with pay; sickness benefit; provident fund in principle; pension and family allowance; priority of relatives in service; general bonus and efficiency bonus; and the psychological handling of the *Bhrityas* (employees) - all these are provided for by Shukra. For example, regarding the issue of 'bonus' Shukra enjoins: Every year an employee should be granted one-eighth of his earnings as 'bonus': if he does his work efficiently, he should be granted one-eighth of the piece-rate earnings, i.e., his remuneration for that work as efficiency bonus.

Reaction? "A brilliant piece of fabrication: In the light of the modern experience, the BMS activists must have written down these provisions in Marathi or Hindi, got them versified in Sanskrit by Dr. Vernekar, and published them in the name of poor Shukracharya who, in all probability, never existed at all. A commendable exercise in anachronism."

The reaction was natural: Shukra's regulations were meant for wage-earners under an economy of full employment. The western economic theories concerning themselves solely with wage-employment to the exclusion of self-employment could not conceive of the condition of full employment. The industrial relations regulations formulated against the background of western theories could not, therefore, be qualitatively at par with those of Shukra and other Hindu lawgivers.

These self-styled intellectuals had some positive and first-hand information about the other-worldly attitude of our sages. The latter were not expected to take any interest in mundane or earthly affairs like market-yards, weights, measurements, sub-standard goods, buyer-seller relationship, or unfair trade practices. They were, therefore, not in a mood to believe that chapter 2 of the 4th *Adhikarana* of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* had laid down legal provisions for the protection of consumers from the unfair practices of traders. Even in a general way, they did not study seriously the criticism of Kautilya by

Spengler or that of Manu by Wendy. They had considered *Smritis* as outdated religious texts dealing with rites, rituals and ritualism. They did not know that the character of *Smritis* is predominantly sociological. The main authors of *Smritis* are eighteen in number, though the total number of *Smritis*, according to Dr. P.V. Kane, is about 100. Then there are commentators like Medhatithi, Vijnaneshwara, or Jeemootavahana. All of them have taken pains to protect consumers' interest, though in varying degrees. Legal provisions for the protection of consumers from unfair trade practices in Chapter 9 of *Manusmriti*, Chapter 2 of *Yajnavalkya-smriti* and Chapter 9 of *Narada-smriti* gave a rude shock to their preconceived notions. For example, they were not aware of the fact that while the slogan of the western classical economics is "Buyers! beware", that of the Vedic economics was "Sellers! beware." After the publication of the '*History of Dharma Shastra*' by Dr. P.V. Kane, the entire material on this subject became available, though, naturally, it was scattered throughout the volumes.

Annexure XVIII of '*Consumer: A Sovereign Without Sovereignty*', written for the benefit of the Akhil Bharat Grahak Panchayat, brought all those provisions together. The intellectuals who were seeking guidance from the legal provisions in foreign countries on this subject were stunned at the number of Hindu lawgivers who had prescribed practical rules and regulations in this regard. But being acquainted only with the civilization of rising prices, they could not even comprehend the price policy of a civilization with declining prices. In fact, the theory of prices did not exist in the ancient West because of the absence of wage and interest as economic categories. In his '*Economics in Perspective*', J.K. Galbraith observes, "Without wages and interest in the ancient world there could not be a theory of prices in any modern sense. Prices derive in one way or another from production-costs, and production-costs were not a visible function in slave-owning households." Let it be noted that their 'ancient world' extended only from Athens to New York while that of the Hindus from sea to sea: over all the land one nation. पृथिव्यै समुद्र पर्यन्तायाः एकराट्. In ancient Bharat this issue was distinctly defined in various *Smritis* and *Arthashastra* which also dealt with the problems of wages and interest. The Greek and Christian philosophers considered only the ethical aspect of economic issues. They did not inquire: which factors determine price? Their concern was whether the prices were just and fair or immoral and sinful. St. Thomas Aquinas and Martin Luther discussed interest also from the ethical point of view. (The *Smritis* even laid down the price-policy in the sphere of international trade.) In fact, Dr. Kane's monumental work was sufficient to suggest that our lawgivers had taken cognisance of all the various aspects of socio-economic-political life and that they could not be simply dismissed as 'otherworldly'. But on account of their megalomania, these

intellectuals learnt nothing and unlearnt nothing. They continued to cling to their now-out-dated 'modern' superstitions.

It must however be admitted that the severest blow their intellectual arrogance received was in the field of philosophy. It was administered by Com. Bani Deshpande of *'The Universe of Vedanta'* fame and Com. S.A. Dange who wrote a foreword to that thesis. Com. Deshpande had conclusively established that the theory of the relativity of Space and Time and the materiality of Time was not only known to the ancient Vedic philosophers but they had proved it as scientifically as Einstein proved in modern physics, and that in the realm of philosophy, the Vedic outlook was not only scientific, to the extent of understanding of the historic achievements of modern scientific theories, but it was based on a highly perfected and scientific theory of dialectical materialism now known in the name of Karl Marx in the last century. Com. Dange declared in unequivocal terms that the famous *Nasadiya Sookta* of the *Rigveda* heralds not only the beginning of philosophy but of dialectical materialism also, in the most ancient record of world history.

Nevertheless, happy in their blissful ignorance of everything Bharatiya, the 'left' intellectuals did not give to this thesis the attention it deserved; it was not followed by any public debate on the issues raised; there was no churning of thought. They followed the progressive convention imported from the West and condemned both these eminent thinkers as 'revisionists' or kafirs. And the matter ended there. No wonder, even a plea by their mentor, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, for a marriage between science and spiritualism could have no impact on these minds vitiated by hippopotamian self-conceit. They were convinced that science and spirituality are antagonistic to each other and that science is a western product. They could not reconcile themselves with the established facts that Bhaskaracharya discovered the theory of gravity centuries before Newton; that Aryabhata in the 5th century A.D. came up with the idea of the earth's moving round the sun long before Galileo and Copernicus; that Brahmagupta in the 7th century A.D. made important discoveries in algebra and astronomy; that the world learnt vaccination and plastic surgery from India; and that Indian technologies in metallurgy and chemistry were far superior to those of the West even up to the 19th century.

When Smt. Indira Gandhi informed the International Conference on Environment held at Stockholm in 1972 that *Atharva Veda* had referred to the precautionary measures against environmental pollution, their righteous indignation knew no bounds. This class of self-alienated intellectuals is incorrigible. *'Hindu Economics'* is not meant for persons with closed minds. Like Bhavabhooti, the author of this thesis declares: 'तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः' (that is, this exercise is not meant for them).

PART-II

Why 'Hindu' Economics? What
is in a name?

Every technical term is like a '*Mantra*'. A wrong term would generate wrong impressions, wrong mental associations and wrong understanding.

Had Dr. Schumacher visited India first to study extensively its rural scene, he would have given a different name to his Economics, though essentially there is no basic difference between the 'Buddhist' Economics and the 'Hindu' Economics. As, for example, Dr. J.K. Mehta's theory of wantlessness is inspired as much by *Ishavasya* as by *Dhammapada*. For the sake of convenience of understanding, the author of this book has made a distinction between 'Hindu' economics and 'Indian' economics. To avoid any misunderstanding about the nature and the scope of the subject of this thesis, such a distinction was necessary. Nevertheless, the difference between Hindu economics and what is described as Indian economics is analogous to that between Science and Applied Science.

The Hindu nationalists working in different fields of economic life tried to spell out the implications of Hindu thought system in their respective fields. But, naturally their efforts were sectional in nature, - confined to their own specific spheres of activity. There has not been so far any comprehensive or all-out effort to cover the entire canvas of economic activity and thinking and to discover the basics, the fundamentals, of Hindu economics. This is the first ever attempt in that direction. Unlike some other previous books on this subject, this is not a simple translation of Sanskrit texts. Till now, nobody had explained the Hindu way of eliminating taxes. Till now ancient India has been chronicled up to the Moghul period. Dr. Bokare cognises ancient India before Christian era. He also checkmates the misrepresentation of Vedic literature to substantiate Marxian theories as has been attempted by Joseph Spengler in his '*Indian Economic Thought*' (1971). Thus from every point of view this is a pioneering work. And, in this exercise, Dr. Bokare has used the methodologies developed in western countries. His arguments are based upon the corpus of modern economics. In the Robinsonian classification, Hindu economic system is the result of positive statement of theory. This is an exhilarating conclusion. Being a scholar with genuine scientific temper, Dr. Bokare does not claim that his is the last word of wisdom on this subject. Having assimilated the spirit of Hindu cultural tradition, he does not declare that he is the father of a new theory or founder of a new school of thought. Though a pioneer in this particular branch of knowledge, he is content to say:

‘एवम् परंपरा प्राप्तम् — इमम् राजर्षयो विदुः।’

As stated earlier, the Hindu sages did not consider 'अर्थ' as a separate *Purushartha*. It was treated as an integral part of a single, four-fold *Purushartha*, that is, '*Purushartha Chatushtaya*'. The West with its compartmentalised thinking considered economics as a separate discipline having distinct identity of its own. Human being, according to the materialistic West, is essentially an economic being. Such a presumption is contrary to the integral thinking of the Hindus. In course of time, however, the westerners were compelled to give up gradually this habit of fragmented thinking, under the pressure of practical experience. One trend of thought in the West now believes that total welfare is generally divided into two parts: (I) economic welfare, and (II) non-economic welfare. Prof. Pigou describes economic welfare as "that part of social welfare that can be brought directly or indirectly into relation with the measuring-rod of money". Non-economic welfare is that part of total welfare which is not amenable to money-measurement.

The importance of non-economic social factors cannot be minimised. For example, L.T. Hobhouse has the following remark about "social factor":

"Take away the whole social factor and we have got Robinson Crusoe, with his salvage from the wreck and his acquired knowledge, but the naked savage living on roots, berries and vermin."

While considering human welfare, the non-economic materialistic factors cannot be ignored. For example, the geographical position of the country, its climate, rivers, mountains, natural harbours, peace and security, or natural resources of the country, such as, land, water, forests, mineral resources, agricultural potentialities, general developments in other countries, etc.

Thus non-economic materialistic factors not amenable to money-measurement have also a role to play in this respect.

But that is not all. In his '*Open Secret of Economic Growth*' (1957) David Macord Wright observed:

"The fundamental factors making for economic growth are non-economic and non-materialistic in character. It is the spirit itself that builds the body."

In this context, a remark by Engels in his letter published in *Der Sozialistische Akademiker* on October 15, 1895 is interesting:

"According to the materialist view of history what is in the last instance decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. More than this, neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. But when anyone distorts this, so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement into

a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure - the political forms of the class-contests and their results; the constitution - the legal forms; and also all the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, their religious views-all these exert influence on the developments of the historic struggles, and in many instances determine their forms."

In his '*Roads to Freedom*' Bernard Shaw wrote:

"If socialism ever comes it is only likely to prove beneficent if non-economic goods are valued and consciously pursued."

Gradually the westerners came to realise that a good constitution does not always guarantee good citizens. There is now in the West a growing awareness of the important role of socio-cultural and religious institutions as a factor in economic growth. After 1979, this realisation dawned upon China also. Her leaders then resolved to inaugurate an era of 'spiritual civilization' maintaining their drive for material progress but without materialistic philosophy. They came to experience that when people do not cherish and uphold spiritual values, they become incapable of possessing national character, integrity, self-discipline and dutifulness.

In his '*Principles of Economic Planning*', W. Arthur Lewis remarks:

"If the people on their side are nationalistic, conscious of their backwardness, and anxious to progress, they willingly bear great hardships and tolerate many mistakes, and they throw themselves with enthusiasm into the job of regenerating their country. Popular enthusiasm is both - lubricating oil of planning and the petrol of economic development, a force that almost makes all things possible."

As revered Shri Gururji put it, "Our national regeneration should, therefore, start with the moulding of 'man'."

Such an integrated approach is the speciality of Hindu thinking. Hindus had always felt that education, ecology, economics and ethics, among other things, must be taken into consideration in an integrated manner.

Of course, each of these disciplines is entrusted with its own specific responsibility. But while conducting suitable activities to carry out its specific responsibility, each discipline is expected to take a comprehensive, integrated view of the entire life comprising various other disciplines also. Compartmentalisation of thought would be detrimental to all. The western craze for infinite growth on the finite planet is one of the natural consequences

of such fragmented thinking. *Hindu Economics* is the interpretation of Pt. Deendayalji's Integral Humanism in the economic field.

So far as economics is concerned, its specific objective has been defined thus by Shri Aurobindo:

"The aim of its economics would be not to create a huge engine of production, whether of the competitive or the co-operative kind, but to give to men, - not only to some but to all men, each in his highest possible measure, - the joy of work according to their own nature and free leisure to grow inwardly, as well as a simple, rich and beautiful life for all. "

Obviously, the western model of development causing unprecedented environmental damage - affecting adversely social relations and leisure time; eliminating family meals, family conversations and neighbourly relations; promoting consumerism through expansion of advertising industry, substitution of shopping malls for traditional city centres, and rapid spread of commercial television - cannot be compatible with the objective specified by Shri Aurobindo.

In his essay *'Men Have Forgotten God,'* Solzhenitsyn has stated in unequivocal terms that the goal of economics should be "the quest for spiritual growth," rather than the pursuit of material growth.

PART-III

Earlier, we have given the analogy of Science and Applied Science. Is the science of 'Hindu Economics' capable of being transformed into its Applied Science?

'Impossible!' our westernised intellectuals would exclaim. For, according to them, whatever is not in conformity with the western theories and methodologies is impractical in the modern world.

In this context they would do well to ponder over the following well-considered remark of scholar Inayatullah. In his *'Toward a Non-Western Model of Development'* Inayatullah says:

"The West presumed that all history is inexorably moving toward the same destiny, same goals, and the same value systems as western man has Marshalling evidence from the period of ascendancy of western society and conveniently ignoring the vast span of technological development before this period which the traditional societies had developed and transmitted to the western society, it ignores the fact that technological and material development before this period was not always the

product of a combination of universalism, functional specificity, achievement-orientation, and effective neutrality."

("Communication and Change in the Developing Countries")

Never at home, these intellectuals will find that they have to learn a lot on this theme from Claude Alvares and Dharampal.

A great deal of matter relevant to this topic can be found between the covers of *The Modernity of Tradition* by the Rudolphs, who set out to show how in India traditional structures and norms have been adapted or transformed to serve the needs of a society facing a new range of tasks.

J.C. Heesterman, a Dutch Indologist, writes:

"India has been remarkably successful in setting up the institutional framework for dealing with the traditional conflict in its modern reincarnation."

What has been our traditional style of socio-economic transformation?

Shri Aurobindo explains:

"Change in the society was brought about not artificially from above but automatically from within and principally by the freedom allowed to families or particular communities to develop or alter automatically their own rules of life 'achara'."

*"The Indian thinkers on society, economics and politics, **Dharma Shastra** and **Artha Shastra**, made their business not to construct ideals and systems of society and government in the abstract intelligence, but to understand and regulate by the practical reason the institutions and ways of communal living already developed by the communal mind and life and to develop, fix and harmonise without destroying the original elements, and whatever new element or idea was needed was added or introduced as a super-structure or a modifying but not a revolutionary and destructive principle."*

The ever-changing socio-economic order in the light of the unchanging, the eternal Universal Laws of *Sanatana Dharma*, this has been our *modus operandi*. The point of reference, the guiding principle, is unchanging; all *Yuganukool* changes, constituting *Yuga-Dharma*, are to be introduced in the light of *Sanatana Dharma*. Every '*Yuga-Dharma*' is the restatement of '*Sanatana Dharma*' keeping in view the requirements of particular times and climes.

There is no equivalent in non-Hindu languages to the term *Dharma*. That concept is alien to western minds. As enunciated earlier, ever-changing socio-economic order in the light of the unchanging Universal Laws, - that has

been the Hindu style of responding to fresh challenges. Hence the various *Smritis*. For us, *Dharma* is the Eternal and Universal Guide.

The benefit of this Eternal Guide was not available to the westerners. Not that the guide was absent, but they were not aware of its presence, even as God is always prepared to talk to people, but people are not prepared to listen to God. In Bharat, transformations have taken place, generally on sure footing, on rare occasions by trial and error method, but always and invariably in the light of the unchanging Universal Laws. Therefore there was no need for theories to precede construction. It was every time a question of the *Yuganukool* re-interpretation of the *Sanatana Dharma*.

'Theory' is a supposition or system of ideas explaining something, especially, one based on general principles, independent of the facts, phenomena etc. to be explained, speculative (especially a fanciful view), the sphere of abstract knowledge or speculative thought; exposition of the principles of a science, etc., collection of propositions to illustrate principles of a subject.

In his '*Science and Values*' Bertrand Russell quotes Dewey who points out that scientific theories change from time to time, and that what recommends a theory is that it 'works': When new phenomena are discovered, for which it no longer 'works', it is discarded. A theory - so Dewey concludes - is a tool like another; it enables us to manipulate raw-material. Like any other tool, it is judged good or bad by its efficiency in this manipulation, and like any other tool, it is good at one time and bad at another. While it is good it may be called 'true' but this word must not be allowed its usual connotations. Dewey prefers the phrase 'warranted assertibility' to the word 'truth'.

During periods of challenges and crises, we used to fall back upon *Dharma*; in its absence, some crutches, labels or slogans became necessary for the European minds. Hence the propriety of theories, isms and ideologies there. The same style was imported in our country by the westernised intellectuals who knew something about the West and nothing about their own past.

On metaphysical, religious, spiritual, and other similar matters, having scope for speculation, we had various theories. But on the problem of practical socio-economic order or transformation, there was no theorisation. Only appropriate timely action or construction; it was followed by its description or narration called '*Smriti*'.

Before the advent of the British Raj, we had no social or economic theories, ideologies or 'isms' of the western pattern.

Ideology is a science of ideas; visionary speculation; manner of thinking characteristic of a class or individual, ideas as the basis of some economic or political theory or system.

Bharat had no need for such crutches in the past. During the British regime this pattern became fashionable; so much so that as a compromise with the level of understanding of common man, Pt. Deendayalji had to present his '*Ekatma Manav Darshan*' under the title of 'Integral Humanism'. In fact, his *Darshan* is quite as 'ismless' as any other Hindu *Darshan*. Even ideas must be marketed; that is indicative of western influence.

Being oblivious of their own traditional pattern of thinking, our westernised intellectuals were enamoured of 'isms.' And since they found no 'ism' in the entire Hindu literature of the pre-British period, they concluded that their forefathers were intellectually backward, unenlightened.

4

These are two distinct approaches. Construction first, its description, later on; the description first, an attempt to implement it, later on. Because the West did not have the advantage of referring to the Eternal Guide in all practical socio-economic affairs, theorisation became inevitable. But the limitations of this approach are not properly appreciated.

It has been said that "Ideologies are like Road-Maps". This presumes prior existence of roads. If roads are not in existence, road-maps would become irrelevant. If "ideology" means "ideas as the basis of some economic or political theory or system" which is to be brought into existence, the analogy of "Road-Map" cannot hold good. The analogy would be more appropriate if used in the context of *Dharma*.

Every theory is based upon certain assumptions. The assumptions are like scaffolds. Scaffolding is a temporary structure of poles or tubes and planks providing workmen with platforms to stand or sit while building or repairing a house. For all construction, whether it is a dwelling-house or social order, scaffolds are necessary. But they presume the existence of a structure or its foundations. In the absence of such structure, scaffolds are inconceivable. Overzealous theoreticians at times go to the extreme. They hang their scaffolds in the air. Assumptions are propagated, corresponding construction is missing.

The difference in the two approaches is the biggest hurdle in the way of evolution of 'Hindu Economics'. The minds of even those who want to liberate themselves and others from the influence of westernism, continue to operate within the frame-work of Anglo-Saxon concepts, patterns, styles and values, because of their life-long conditioning and association with them. To conceive

or appreciate anything essentially Hindu, it is necessary to go beyond the present mental and intellectual framework, to de-westernise one's approach and thinking. Unless the strength of one's wings crosses the limits, real or imaginary, set by other sea-gulls for their wings, one cannot aspire to be a Jonathan.

But, unfortunately, even genuinely patriotic intellectuals do not appreciate the importance of de-westernisation.

They are so enamoured of western theorists that if they get disillusioned by one theory they will, instead of using their own intellect, rush in search of some other western theory which they can catch hold of. They may accept that Marx as well as Adam Smith, J.S. Mill, Ricardo and Malthus thus have become outdated. They may be sceptical about the relevance of Alfred Marshall, Wicksteed, Gunnar Myrdal and Keynes to the present-day conditions. But they will stubbornly refuse to conduct independent thinking in the light of their own national requirements. Instead, they will feel homely with the live stages of Economic Growth enunciated by Prof. Rostow and get busy in discussing whether we have reached his third, 'take-off stage' so as to pass over to his fourth 'drive to maturity', leading to the stage of 'high mass consumption.'

What then is the secret of the adaptability of the Hindus to ever-new situations?

This has been aptly elaborated by Shri Gururaj in the following words :

"Once the life-stream of unity begins to flow freely in all the veins of our body-politic, the various limbs of our national life will automatically begin to function actively and harmoniously for the welfare of the Nation as a whole. Such a living and growing society will preserve out of its multitude of old systems and patterns whatever is essential and conducive to its progressive march, throw off those as have outlived their utility, and evolve new systems in their place. No one need shed tears at the passing away of the old order, nor shrink to welcome the new order of things. That is the nature of all living and growing organisms. As a tree grows, old leaves and dry twigs fall off making way for fresh growth. The main thing to bear in mind is to see that the spirit of oneness permeates all parts of our social set-up.

"Every system or pattern will live or change or even entirely disappear according as it nourishes that spirit or not. Hence, it is useless in the present social context to discuss the future of all such systems. The supreme call of this age is to revive the spirit of inherent unity and the awareness of its life-purpose in our society. All other things will take care of themselves."

This is the Hindu way to Renaissance. Thus there need not be any doubt about the practicability of 'Hindu Economics.'

Of course, such a gigantic divine mission would require for its accomplishment the appropriate type of leadership.

Long ago, Shri Subramaniam Iyer, one of the pioneers of Hindu social reform movement, remarked: *"Statesmen, poets, men of science, inventors of mechanical contrivances, all these no doubt contribute to progress, but cannot impart the initial moving force, which comes from those great men who by the power of their lofty character and sublime deeds and burning enthusiasm impart idealism to masses of men, sweep away abuse and falsehood, sort out superstitions, open new paths and establish fresh ideals for the elevation and advancement of the human race."*

PART-IV

Even in the remotest past our sages are found to be taking care of all the various aspects of social life. This could be discerned even by a distinguished leftist thinker who undertook a journey from primitive communism to slavery in ancient India.

Their thinking was dynamic, keeping pace with the ever-changing situations and challenges.

The literature on this subject is scattered in various *Dharma Shastras* and the accounts of foreign tourists.

It shows how they worked out details of every aspect from time to time keeping in view the contemporary social conditions.

See, for example, the details of the role of the state in economic life of society during a particular period.

From the account of Hieu-en-Tsang it is evident that the state and the Vaishya community had, during his times, established charity homes and well-equipped dispensaries for the benefit of paupers, widows, childless persons, and other helpless citizens. According to Kautilya even widows, defective girls, female ascetics, old mothers of prostitutes, king's old maids, and the dismissed maids of temples could not be suffered to remain unemployed. He has laid down that they should be given the work of spinning wook, bark thread and cotton (*Kautilya* 2/23/41/2). Women unable to leave their homes, helpless due to their husband's absence, physically handicapped girls, and women in need of earning their livelihood, should be provided with jobs at their homes by the Superintendent of the Textile Industry (*Kautilya* 2/23/41/12). The sons of dead employees, the old, the minor, the infirm, the afflicted, the paupers, and women due for maternity deserved financial

assistance from the state (*Kautilya* 5/3/91/29/31). *Mahabharata* (Sabhaparva, 124) directs the king to look after the destitutes and the disabled ones.

In his '*Labour Problems in Ancient and Medieval India*,' Shital Prasad Mishra explains how the government did not recover taxes from workmen because they worked for the government. The government, states Hieu-en-Tsang, was liberal and did not take forced labour from the people; the work was got done with restricted payment of wages. The government servants received land in lieu of remuneration and the workers received wages.

According to Megasthenes, the state used to give priority to the . security of workers and artisans. They were exempted from taxes, could receive state-aid during the periods of distress, and enjoyed many other facilities at the expense of the government. An employer hurting any limb of an artisan was sentenced to death. Al Baruni also refers to the systematic arrangements for the safety of the employees and their protection from accidents.

It was customary to offer extra work, in the service of the state, in lieu of the payment of taxation. Vasistha directs artisans to perform government work without wages for one day in a month (*Vasistha Smriti* Ch.19, P 1-490).

Gautama prescribed the same rule for artisans, labourers, sailors and charioteers (*Gautama Smriti* 10-397). Megasthenes also refers to such honorary service to the state, but states that the builders of ships and armourers were given wages and food by the state.

During the Mauryan period, the factories under the civil boards used high quality materials, and employees therein were paid fair wages by the municipal board. During the same period, the practice of digging mines and working of factories at the government expense came into being. Under Vijayanagar empire 500 artists are recorded to have been working upon gold and silver thread in the government factories.

Nevertheless, the role of the state in case of such industries had been that of a patron.

There was no centralisation which stifles individual freedom and stultifies the natural growth of human personality. Guidelines on public finance and taxation given in *shastras* are useful even today.

This is only one instance to illustrate the point.

In fact, our sages had taken into consideration all the dimensions of economics, which, according to them, covered a very large canvas. *Arthashastra* is defined by Kautilya as the branch of knowledge which deals with the acquisition and preservation of dominion. It is held to

comprise the art of government in the widest sense of the term. The list of contents of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* will surprise modern teachers of economics. The *Arthashastra* was preceded by fairly voluminous literature on the subject which is now lost to us. Kautilya's masterly treatise itself has been recovered from the oblivion of centuries by the fortunate discovery of a complete manuscript of the work and its publication by R. Shama Shastri in ' 1908. Exploration into such literature is our patriotic duty. Even the available ancient literature on the subject, if brought together, would make a voluminous document. It is creditable for Dr. Bokare that he could dive deep into this ocean of relevant information. Of course, for want of space and to maintain a sense of proportion in the arrangement of the thesis, the author had to be selective, confining himself only to such significant references as are more pertinent to modern mental matrix.

Not happy with the ivory tower of westernism, the author is in close and direct touch with Bharatiya realities. He is of the earth, earthy.

It is noteworthy that a public debate is already initiated on one of the basic points incorporated in this thesis. At the instance of Dr. Bokare the nationalist organisations operating in the economic field have raised a demand that the cost of production of every product - be it industrial or agricultural - must be declared.

The Government should

1. publish cost audit reports of the companies;
2. obtain the copies of the reports of Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices; and
3. ask the joint stock companies, the co-operatives, and the public sector undertakings to publish the data of cost of production in their annual reports and balance sheets.

At the present state, it may appear fantastic to demand that all the countries should declare the costs of production of the commodities they export to other countries. But it is indisputable that despite the differences between Ricardian theory of foreign trade and Hecksher-Ohlin's theory of foreign trade, in elucidations, both are governed by cost of production. The traditional basis of Hindu price-policy has been the cost of production, the degree of utility (i.e., the use-value) and the degree of availability. In this context, the author has also referred to the observations of Dr. Ambedkar, Pigou, Patinkin and Lerner.

This should suffice to indicate how the author's mind is attuned to the spirit of our culture and alive to the requirements of the current critical situation.

PART-V

Fortunately, Dr. Bokare is free from the influence of western concepts. He does not feel that modernisation is necessarily westernisation. He does not subscribe to the view that western paradigm is the universal model of progress and development. For an ancient country like Bharat having a rich cultural heritage, it will be shameful to borrow any western term to describe its ultimate goal. Every culture has its own model of development. The current western concept of 'development', though fashionable, is disastrous. Ivan Illich, the famous author of *"Towards A History of Needs"*, *"Medical Nemesis"*, *"Tools for Conviviality"* and *"De-schooling Society"*, narrates his Mexican experience of 'The Development Myth'. He sees the effect that 'development' has had on the life of the poor in the rural areas and slums; erosion of means of subsistence and traditional skills, loss of self-reliance; dignity and solidarity of communities; spoliation of nature; displacement from traditional environments; unemployment, bulldozing traditional self-reliant communities into the cash economy; cultural rootlessness, and the corruption of politics. He asks whether this is development or the price that is being paid for a blueprint of development that has no relation to the conditions and goals of the communities that are described as beneficiaries of development.

Sarcastically, he observes,

"Development is an oozy term that is currently used for a housing project, for the logical sequence of thought, for the awakening of child's mind, or the budding of a teenager's breasts. But 'development' always connotes at least one thing: a person's ability to escape from a vague, unspeakable, undignified condition called 'Sub-desarollo' or under-development - invented by Harry Truman on 10th January 1949."

And, again,

"Development means to have started on a road that others know better, to be on the way towards a goal that others have reached, race up a one-way street. Development means the sacrifice of environments, solidarities, traditional interpretations and customs to ever-changing expert advice. Development promises enrichment, and for the overwhelming majority, has always meant the progressive modernisation of their poverty."

In conclusion, Ivan Illich says:

"The time has come to recognise development itself as the malignant myth whose pursuit threatens those among whom I live in Mexico. The 'crisis' in Mexico enables us to dismantle 'development' as a goal."

The western thinking is in direct contrast with the Hindu concept of progress and development.

For example, in his speeches at Thane Meet in 1972, Shri Guruji explained the basic Hindu view on economic problems. Deductions, that naturally flow from his enunciation, are as follows:

1. The basic needs of life must be available to every citizen.
2. Material wealth is to be acquired, with the object of serving society which is but a manifestation of God, in the best possible ethical manner, and out of all that wealth, only the minimum should be used for our own purposes. Allow yourself only that much which is necessary to keep you in a condition to do service. To claim or to make a personal use of more than that is verily the act of theft against the society.
3. Thus we are only the trustees of the society. It is only when we become true trustees that we can serve the society best.
4. Consequently, there must be some ceiling on the individual accumulation, and no person has a right to exploit someone else's labour for personal profit.
5. Vulgar, ostentatious and wasteful expenditure is a sin when millions are starving. There must be reasonable restrictions on all consumption. 'Consumerism' is not compatible with the spirit of the Hindu culture.
6. 'Maximum production and equitable distribution' should be our motto; national self-reliance our immediate goal.
7. The problem of unemployment and under-employment must be tackled on a war footing.
8. While industrialisation is a must, it need not be the blind imitation of the West. Nature is to be milked and not killed. Ecological factors, balance of nature and the requirements of the future generations should never be lost sight of. There should be an integrated thinking on education, ecology, economics and ethics.
9. Greater stress should be laid on the labour-intensive rather than the capital-intensive industries.

10. Our technologists should be required to introduce for the benefit of the artisans reasonably adaptable changes in the traditional techniques of production, without incurring the risk of increase in unemployment of workers, wastage of the available managerial and technical skills, and complete decapitalisation of the existing means of production, and to evolve our own indigenous technology with emphasis on decentralisation of the processes of production with the help of power, making home, instead of factory, the centre of production.
11. It is necessary to reconcile efficiency with employment expansion.
12. Labour is also one form of capital in every industry. The labour of every worker should be evaluated in terms of share, and workers raised to the status of shareholders contributing labour as their share.
13. Consumers' interest is the nearest economic equivalent of national interest. Society is the third, and more important party to all industrial relations. The current western concept of 'collective bargaining' is not consistent with this view. It should be replaced by some other terms, such as, 'National Commitment', i.e., the commitment of both, the employers and the employees, to the Nation.
14. The surplus value of labour belongs to the Nation.
15. There need not be any rigidity about the pattern of industrial ownership. There are various patterns, such as, private enterprise, state ownership, co-operatives, municipal ownership, self-employment, joint ownership (state and private), democratisation etc. For each industry the pattern of ownership should be determined in the light of its peculiar characteristics and the total requirements of the national economy.
16. We are free to evolve any variety of socio-economic order, provided it is in keeping with the basic tenets of *Dharma*.
17. But changes in the superstructure of society will be of no use if the mind of every individual citizen is not moulded properly. Indeed, the system works ill or well according to the men who work it.
18. Our view of the relation between individual and society has always been, not one of conflict, but of harmony and co-operation, born out of consciousness of a single reality running through all the individuals. The individual is a living limb of the corporate social personality.
19. The *Samskaras* of identification with the entire nation constitute the real infra-structure of any socio-economic order.

Of all the Hindu *Samskaras*, the most important one is that of *Yajna* (Sacrifice). The significance of this concept of *Yajna* has been explained thus by Swami Rama Tirtha:

*"Putting our hands together for the good is sacrifice to **Indra**; putting our heads together for universal good is sacrifice to **Brihaspati**; putting our hearts together is sacrifice to the Devata of hearts of **Chandra**. In short, sacrifice to the gods means offering my hands to All the Hands or the whole nation; offering my eyes to All the Eyes or entire community; offering my mind to All the Minds; merging my interests in the interests of the country; feeling all as if they were my own Self; in other words, realising in practice तत् त्वम् असि 'That Thou Art'."*

Appropriate development in human mind necessarily precedes the corresponding development in the material world, even as subjective revolution in human mind invariably precedes any objective revolution in the outer world.

PART-VI

The West realised the advisability of inter-disciplinary approach for the first time during the second world war. Subsequently there is growing, though grudging, appreciation for this approach in the western mind. But this wisdom has not yet been extended to the sphere of economics. Retaliation by the Nature against its indiscriminate exploitation compelled the westerners to recognise the inter-relatedness between ecology and economics. But that the so-called advanced countries are not prepared to learn from their past mistakes has been amply demonstrated in the Rio Conference on Environment in which the United States callously and shamelessly asked the developing countries to pay for the sins of the developed countries, even taking the risk of self-extinction.

Because of their compartmentalised thinking, the modern western scholars have failed to perceive the inter-relationship between ethics and economics. To teach ethics and moral values of life is not the realm of economic theory, according to Lord Lionel Robbins. While, according to Vyasa, acceptance of material success as the supreme index of merit and status indicates the advent of the dark age (*Kaliyuga*), classical economics covers only profit-making capitalists and wage-earning labourers. For both these groups maximum material gain is the supreme goal of all activities. For classical economics, other sections of population do not exist.

Most of the European economists of the last century had an inkling that economics without religion would demoralise the society. They realised that economic man could be studied as regards his rational behaviour in economic

affairs of life. But it should be understood that without the warmth of religion, he was likely to go on the wrong path. Smith and Marshall made special references to religion in economic life of the human beings. Economic man has, however, eluded Smith and Marshall in this century.

The process of expelling ethics and morality from the sphere of economics was initiated in a big way by J. Bentham's utilitarianism. Utility is the attribute of a commodity that gives satisfaction. Utility is use-value, while price is exchange-value. Price (exchange-value) is paid for the utility (use-value). Subsequently, the thought was steadily changed into the measurement in the opposite direction. Any activity that has a price in the market has a utility. Prof. Davenport propounded this view. Prostitution is the subject for study in economics because it has a price in the market and therefore has utility.

Is it difficult to apprehend the evil consequences of value-free economics of utilitarianism? Unaccompanied and unrestrained by ethics and morality, the utility concept is bound to encourage antisocial tendencies, boost up crime-rate, aggravate the problems of law and order, and accelerate in general the process of social disintegration.

Is ethics merely a social, moral or religious concern? Or has it some bearing on economic issues?

For example, take the process of assessing national income.

Presently, national income is studied by the census of expenditure as one of the three methods. It is the study of expenditure on family's consumption and savings. The study does not exclude the families of the thieves, smugglers or swindlers. Those who earn money by theft and consume the same in the family expenditure are included in the aggregate of national income. How that income is earned is nobody's concern. More the crimes in society, greater would be the number of those employed in the departments of police, judiciary and jails. Their salaries are also included in the national income. In other words, we can state that the more the crimes in society, the bigger the national income in the country.

Even otherwise, the process is faulty.

Prof. Pigou has humorously given the following example. Maidservants are paid wages, and their wages are included in the national income. If men marry their maid-servants, the wages would disappear and the national income would decrease to that extent. In our country, mothers and sisters (and wives)

cook food and we consume the same. Food has utility, it satisfies our wants. The labour power of mothers, sisters, etc., has created this utility without receiving wages. There is use-value (utility) but not exchange-value (price). This utility will not be taken into consideration while computing the national income. But if we go to the restaurant and pay for the same food, it is included in the national income generated in the restaurant as an industry in economic sector. This is one of the glaring examples of fragmented thinking which isolates economics from all other disciplines. (Even ecological problems arise on account of this divorce of economics from ethics).

In his '*On Ethics and Economics*' (1987), Amartya Sen has stated his conclusions on this subject. Religions teach value-based life and its economics. This is described as ethics. The epistemology of ethics is in religion. Value-based economics as against value-free economics makes all the difference in the measurement of national income. Assessment of national income in value-free economy in which family expenditures of criminals and other anti-social elements are taken into consideration for computing national income may be many times more than the national income of the value-based economy. In a way in the absence of integral approach encouragement to crimes and other anti-social tendencies is now on the agenda. This is resulting in ever-increasing burden on the exchequer to maintain and strengthen the official machinery for dealing with the anti-social elements. Thus value-free economics is self-defeating economics.

Value-based economics is invariably an integral part of value-based social life which, in its turn, is the outcome of appropriate *samskaras* of corporate life supported by suitable system of education. There is necessary correlation between inputs and outputs. If the nation at the pinnacle of its glory be the desired output, the inevitable inputs would be *samskaras* and education conducive to the attainment of this supreme goal. Even sociologists of the materialistic West may gradually realise this basic fact in the near future. Their science of criminology, originating with Dr. Lombroso, has travelled a long way through the retributive, the punitive, the deterrent and reformatory stages to victimology and multi-factor theory; but the formula of David Abrahamson is supposed to be the most thought-provoking. It is $C = (S+T)/R$

C stands for crime; S for social environment; T for personal traits; and R for resistance which is the outcome of religious and moral upbringing. They are not conversant with the Hindu term and concept of *samskaras*. Nevertheless, they are moving steadily in this direction.

This integrated approach is a must for durable and desirable progress and development; the compartmentalised thinking giving rise to value-free economics is self-defeating.

PART-VII

The Hindus are accused of anachronism and obscurantism. But what is the present plight of the proud standard-bearers of materialism and modernism?

Communism has failed; but it does not mean that the philosophy of materialism has now been thrown completely out of the international economic scene. While communism was striving hard to overcome its internal self-contradictions, capitalism is constantly busy in seeking ever-new remedies for its ever-new maladies, - in procuring from time to time fresh economic theories to meet the challenges of fresh economic crises.

The history of capitalist thinking is replete with innumerable efforts of conceptualisation and theorisation from time to time to infuse dynamics in its thinking. Typical example is the growth models suggested by Harrod and Domar, Pasinetti, Joan Robinson, Fei Ranis, Swan, Solow, Arthur Lewis and Feldman and theories of development propounded by Hirschman, Rosenstein-Rodan, Nurkse, Leibenstein and Gunnar Myrdal. The debate on "balanced growth" versus "unbalanced growth", theories of "big push" and "critical minimum effort" amply demonstrate this. The "back-wash" effect and "spread effect" of Gunnar Myrdal represent another facet of the dynamics of growth where the former results in impoverishment of a region as a consequence of growth in the neighbouring region. The "spread effect" manifests through "forward" and "backward" linkages which together determine the "growth propulsion" capability of a region which can be assessed within the Leontief model of input-output table.

The twentieth-century capitalism relied heavily on Robbins for strengthening its theoretical and ideological foundation. His definition of economics in terms of "unlimited wants" and "relative scarcity" of resources necessitating "choice", enabled the introduction of Hicksian indifference curve, Neumann-Morgenstein utility curves, Samuelson's Revealed Preference theorem and extensive use of mathematical and econometric tools and methods for the analysis of rational choice and consumer behaviour. His assertion that the duty of the economist is only to explore and explain and not to advocate or condemn led to the emergence of "positive economics". Hence the "normative" content of economics was stripped off, leaving it as an "amoral" science. The considered opinion of Thomas that the duty of the

economist is not only to explore and explain but also to advocate and condemn was not acceptable to the capitalist hardcore thinkers.

The big crisis in capitalism in the thirties brought Keynesian Macro-Economics to the fore, which satisfied the badly needed theoretical framework for "interventionist" policies for sustaining the capitalist structure. The post-Keynesian growth models of Harrod and Domar were transformed into plan models which came to be adopted by third world countries, in spite of its inherent capitalist structural bias.

The periodical crisis in capitalism also provoked thinking about justification of capitalist models from welfare point of view. For instance, the Marshallian "consumers surplus" became a password in public utility pricing; and the welfare economics of Pigou and the Beveridge Plan of "full-employment" and "cradle to grave" social insurance were efforts to infuse social content in capitalist policies.

Another area of capitalist concern was money supply and its impact on prices. A variety of theories of demand for money and inflation were suggested of which 'capital theories' of Milton Friedman, James Tobin, Baumol, and Bronfenbrenner were more widely quoted. The debate on "rules" versus "authorities" and the "monetarist" versus "structuralist" controversy are quite familiar which represent alternative perceptions, causations and prescriptions.

Same is true with respect to theories of "trade cycles" or "business cycles" which are inherently capitalist maladies. Mitchell, R.C.O. Matthews, Hicks and others propounded different theories based on different conceptual frame-works.

In spite of the best brains at its disposal, capitalism is fighting a losing battle. Its intellectuals have already realised this. What appears to be a bid for international economic empire is, in fact, a pitiable and desperate effort for mere survival of the capitalist system, though, carried to its logical end, it is bound to destroy third world countries immediately and the entire mankind ultimately. But the internal self-contradictions of the system will not, however, allow it to go that far. It is already doomed. Even according to the most optimistic pro-capitalistic estimates, the system cannot survive for more than two decades.

'*Crisis in Economic Theory*' edited by Daniel Bell reveals intractable weaknesses in the bourgeois economics, and J. C. Hicks and Paul A. Samuelson have expressed their helplessness in studying the predictivity characteristics of western economics. Stefano Zamagni says:

"Since no scientific law, in the natural scientific sense, has been established in economics on which economists can base predictions, what are used... to explain or to predict are tendencies or patterns expressed in empirical or historical generalisations of less than universal validity, restricted by local and temporal limits."

We are not sure whether political science, if there were such a science, could provide guidance for economists.

"Ideas in economics deserve confidence only after they have been chewed over for a long time and been exposed to whatever tests may be available,"

- says Herbert Stein, the author of *'The Fiscal Revolution in America'*. In the preface to his recent book, *'Washington Bed-time Stories'*, he summed up two main lessons of 50 years as a Washington economist:

1. "Economists do not know very much.
2. Other people, including the politicians who make economic policy, know even less about economics than economists do."

What a sad commentary on the present plight of the economics of capitalism!

After the collapse of communism and with the decline of capitalism within sight, it was but natural that many well-meant patriots in Bharat should come forward with a suggestion that our country should now fulfil its historic obligation of presenting the world the only way out, in keeping with the spirit of our culture and *Dharma*. The suggestion is quite appropriate because the only alternative can be furnished by *Sanatana Dharma* alone. But to keep the record straight, it must be added here that the attempts to fill up the apprehended ideological vacuum have been going on elsewhere for quite some time.

Communism has failed.

Nil nicibonum de marte [Of the dead, nothing but good.]

But its fall could be foreseen by a section of Marxists even before the commencement of its actual decline. Nevertheless, it was not for them the failure of Leftism as a whole. They pinned their hopes on the newly-emerged 'New Left' represented by Herbert Marcuse, Sartre,

Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, R.D. Laing, etc. The new thought-system added some new dimensions to Marxism and tried to up-date it. But it could not hold its ground for long. Particularly, it had not much immediate relevance to the countries of third world, except in so far as it gave them additional revolutionary status by redefining the Marxian class-structure. According to

Fanon, peoples of the third world are, under the new situation, "The Damned of the Earth". Gradually, the theory lost its relevance for other countries also.

Then there has been the Yugoslav experiment which was quite novel. It tried to steer clear of both the types of monopoly, i.e., private as well as governmental. The Associated Labour Act of the country proved to be a powerful instrument for this purpose. The ideologue for Yugoslav economy, Edward Kardeiz, had ably enunciated the general theory of this experiment. But this novel experiment failed on account of extraneous factors. Marshal Tito failed to psychologically integrate various ethnic groups within his country, so that 'Yugoslav Nationalism' was never born. It used to be said jocularly that Tito was the only 'Yugoslav Nationalist' under the sun. After his death the process of disintegration of his country started.

It naturally threw his experiment in the dustbin of history. All because of extraneous factors. His model, it is noteworthy, had many points of resemblance with the Hindu socio-economic order.

The spectacular advance of communism after the Second World War naturally upset the Vatican that resolved to meet the challenge of communism on the battlefield of the latter's choice.

In 1951, the Pope, Pius XII declared:

"No one can accuse the Church of having disregarded the workers and the social question or of not having given them and it their due consideration."

"Few questions have occupied the Church so much as these two from the day when, sixty years ago, our great predecessor Leo XIII, with his encyclical 'Rerum Novarum', put into the hands of the workers the Magna Carta of their rights. In this encyclical, issued in 1891, Leo XIII proclaimed the relative rights and the mutual duties of capital and labour. Forty years later came the pronouncement from his successor, Pope Pius XI, 'Quadrogesimo Anno' in course of which, along with other things, he declared, 'the first and immediate apostles of the workers shall be working men themselves'."

5

In 1920, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (the IFCTU, now 'WCL') was formed. In 1952, the 'Young Christian Workers' Movement' was started in Belgium by Joseph Cardign.

On May 1, 1955, the Pope christianised May Day by establishing for that day the feast of St. Joseph, the worker.

Leo XIII in 1889 proposed St. Joseph as a model for proletarians. Benedict XV advised the workers to follow St. Joseph as their special Guide.

And Pius XII explained the role of the workman of Nazareth as patron in the struggles against atheistic communism in the following words:

"To hasten the advent of the 'peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ' so ardently desired by all, we place the vast campaign of the Church against world communism under the standard of St. Joseph, her mighty protector."

Thus Pius XII managed to mobilise his Christian forces on the same field which was being monopolised (ideologically) so far by the leftists in general and the communists in particular.

It was, however, realised before long that this sectional activity, though commendable in itself, would not serve fully the purpose in hand. Emboldened by its experience in evolving 'Christian Science' and 'Christian Art', the Vatican undertook the task of evolving 'Christian Economics' also. '*The 30,000 words Vatican Encyclical*'* mentioned on May 2, 1991, the futility of both the systems -capitalism as well as communism.

Determined and systematic effort is already going on to formulate 'Christian Economies'. But it is not certain whether this would be able to offer the much-needed 'third alternative' because Christian economists also are brought up so far in a particular discipline. Their minds have been conditioned in a particular way for so many decades in the past. They will not be able to make much headway unless they prepare themselves to unlearn everything pertaining to capitalism and consumerism. Again, they will have to remember that Max Weber eulogised capitalism as the consummation of Christian religion and Tawney in his '*Religion and Rise of Capitalism*' has similarly disclosed how Christianity and rise of capitalism can be sophistically rationalised, while according to Kenneth Boulding, the demand-structure in religious economic life would be different from that in the capitalist economic life would be different from that in the capitalist economic life.

See Appendix II

It is now generally known that in certain quarters it was felt that the Encyclical, mentioned above, has not distanced itself sufficiently from the prevalent capitalist thinking.

At an inter-disciplinary seminar held at Bombay on July 5, 1992, some of the participants speaking on this "*Centesimus Annus*", the Encyclical issued by Pope John Paul, expressed the view that it was bending backwards towards capitalism, harsh on communism mainly for its atheism, "goody-goody" but lacking in persuasive statements on issues like population control, and diplomatic and conservative on issues like GATT and the North-South Dialogue. This Encyclical issued to mark the centenary of the above-mentioned "*Rerum Novarum*" Encyclical or the "workers' charter" did

not go much further. The Encyclical lacked bite, though it threw more light on Christian understanding of issues. "Why did the Pope not say he preferred a modified form of socialism with less state-intervention, instead of asking for a modified form of capitalism?" they questioned.

Fr. Aguiar, editor of the *'Examiner'*, felt that the Pope has not come to terms with the massive dehumanisation in the world and that the Encyclical had no models to present as alternatives to communism.

Anyway, the efforts to evolve "Christian Economics" are already afoot.

Whatever may be the degree of success these Christian economists achieve ultimately, their intellectual efforts can be complementary to Hindu Economics, if they are imbued with the spirit of true Christianity as reflected in: "I have come to fulfil, and not to destroy."

It is not generally realised that in the context of this exercise of evolving a socio-economic order, the followers of Islam have a distinct advantage over those of Christianity. Mohamed, the Prophet, was not only the founder of a religion; he was a lawgiver also. Christianity originated with Lord Jesus, though, wisely enough, he did not found any Church. But that apart, he was not a lawgiver, his famous Commandments notwithstanding. For example, the Bible has a reference to anarchy of taxes and corruption of tax-collectors, but it does not indicate the way to taxless society. This fact has placed his followers in a disadvantageous position, so far as this particular task is concerned.

The Islamic scholars have been busy for decades in evolving Islamic Economics, the special characteristic of which is the creation of an interest-free economy. To pass any judgement on this particular aspect, it is necessary to investigate into the actual functioning of financial institutions in different Islamic countries and also to study in depth the entire literature on Islamic Economics which is in the process of evolution such as -

1. *'Banking without Interest'* by Dr. Nejatullah Siddique.
2. *'Some Administrative Aspects of the Collection and Distribution of Zakat and the Distributive Effects of the Introduction of Zakat into Modern Economics'* by Mr. Raquibuz Zaman.
3. *'Monetary and Fiscal Economics of Islam'* edited by Mohammed Ariff: (Selected papers presented to the Seminar on the *International Monetary and Fiscal Economies'*, held at Mecca on October 7-12, 1978).
4. Journals of King Abudul Aziz University Islamic Economics, Jeddah.

5. *'Money and Banking in Islam and Fiscal Policy and Resource Allocation in Islam'*, by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Dr. Munawar Iqbal and Dr. M. Fahim Khan (Papers and proceedings of the Seminar on Islamic Economics held at Islamabad in January 1981).

Incidentally, it can be stated here without exaggeration that the Islamic research scholars working at Islamabad, Jeddah and Leicester will stand to gain if they critically study the approach of this thesis on the subject of interest-free economy. (It may be noted that some Christian economists like Demant and a German economist, Silvio Gessel, also plead for interest-free loans.)

The intellectual pursuits of these Islamic economists are praiseworthy inasmuch as they are striving to bridge the gap between the static fundamentalism and the dynamic character of the present-day economic scene. However, their task is complicated by the fact that while they are called upon to evolve a *'Weltanschauung'** for the global 'Ummah', i.e., the world community of Muslims, they are also required to evolve a 'strategy for survival' for the Muslims who reside in predominantly non-Muslim countries. *"The Muslim Manifesto - a strategy for survival,"* issued by the Muslim Institute of Great Britain on the occasion of the All-Britain

See Appendix II

Muslim Conference held at London on 14 July 1990, was the first organised effort to carry out the latter task. Another hurdle these economists will have to cross is the attitude of the Muslim rulers who are prepared to finance this project but unwilling to follow its findings in practice. They are enamoured of the western economic order. For example, there is no place for stock exchange in Islamic economics, because it is an institution for monopoly in economy. But no Muslim ruler will dispense with stock exchange and other monopolies. There is a case of schizophrenia in this respect.

However, all seekers of truth would appreciate the idealism and the perseverance of about two hundred Islamic economists, scholars and thinkers who are conducting their research "to find Islamic solutions for modern economic crisis and conflicts for which contemporary economic ideologies have failed to provide satisfactory answers."

Anyway, one thing is certain. Those who are determined to discover or evolve non-western pattern of economics in keeping with the spirit of their own culture, should possess, apart from academic intelligence, the moral courage to declare fearlessly that -

- (1) *"The different stages of economic evolution infer communist society and slavery, capitalism and then the final communism that is final communist society. When it is dialectical materialism described as a common phenomenon in the history of the mankind, really it has no existence whatsoever outside the European history. These stages were never passed through by any people outside Europe."*
(Mohmed Kutub.) And -
- (2) *"The western paradigm is not the universal model of progress and development."*
(Claude Alvares).

PART-VIII

Though this is the first ever comprehensive effort to spell out the Hindu Economics in all its aspects, the nationalist organisations operating in the economic field were striving, in the light of the *Sanatana Dharma*, to evolve formulations to meet the challenges of modern times. No doubt, their efforts were sectional, confined to their respective spheres of activity. But this exercise has been going on for the last forty years.

See, for example, the following sample formulations.

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has been active in the economic field since 1955. While it is neither possible nor necessary for the purpose of this book to give a gist of the entire Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh literature, we are presenting here two of its formulations as samples of its organisational thinking.

The surplus value of labour is managed and deployed by:

Employers Under Capitalistic order.

*(Accountable to
themselves)*

State Under Communistic order

*(Accountable to the
party)*

Workers Under Bharatiya order

*(Accountable to the
Nation)*

The industrial structure in future would continue to be complex, with various patterns of ownership existing side by side. But greater stress will have to be laid on setting up industries which will be :

Financed	by by	Commoners Workers
Owned	by by	Institutions (Financial)
Supervised		Technologists
Decentralised		
Served		by
Co-ordinated	Disciplined	by by

Experts	Parlia	
Planners	ment	
Assisted	by	State
Utilised	by	Consumers
Governed	by	<i>Dharma</i>

But this treatise stands on a different footing. The Hindu Thought, waiting to get projected in modern context, suffered from one disadvantage. It was a paradoxical situation. Those well-versed in Hindu Scriptures were not acquainted adequately with the western thought. And those proficient in the latter were sufficiently ignorant of the former.

The fact of the matter is that on account of their contempt for everything Hindu, many of these 'intellectuals' have not cared to study the Sanskrit language, - much less its *arsha* (archaic) form. Whatever knowledge they gathered about Sanskrit texts was through their English translations - mostly by European scholars who had not understood accurately the letter and the spirit of the language which was foreign to them. The '*arsha*' languages of the Vedic literature was Greek and Hebrew to them. Even texts in classical Sanskrit received shabby, casual treatment at their hands. They described the '*Ramayana*', the '*Mahabharata*', the '*Manusmriti*' and the '*Arthashastra*' as 'mythological books'.

The wiser among them, therefore, considered it as a colossal waste of time and energy to study the '*Ramayana*' with its seven books known as '*Kandas*' divided further into several '*sargas*' i.e., cantos; the '*Mahabharata*' with its eighteen books known as '*Parvas*'; the '*Manusmriti*' with its twelve chapters; and the '*Arthashastra*' with its fifteen '*Adhikaranas*' and 150 '*Prakaranas*'. That the authors of various other *Smritis* and the predecessors of Kautilya were not taken cognisance of by them was not at all surprising. Because of such prejudice, they could not even suspect that the origins of modern economics could be found in the most ancient book of mankind, that is, the '*Rig Veda*'.

In this context the following observation of K.T. Shah is noteworthy. In his '*Ancient Foundations of Economics in India*', he remarked: "*Economics is a social science, concerning man in his everyday life and pursuits, which would be impossible without association, organisation and concerted action to pre-determined ends. And it is the peculiar richness of India's ancient civilization that her seers and sages had recognised these basic facts, almost in the dawn of our recorded history, even if not in the twilight of one epic age or the last horizons of our Vedic beginnings.*"

"Modern attempts at a rediscovery of our past and its reconstruction are not actuated merely in a vain sense of self-complacency, or fruitless pride of glorious ancestry. They are rather accepted ideals, and working institutions of a

socio-economic character can be traced to their foundations thousands of years ago. And if today we perceive any weakening of the superstructure, if today we perceive any complexity through which it is difficult to pursue all the ramifications of growth or development, if today we fail to find a solution to the problems that face us for the moment by research into our ancient foundations, it is because, in the intervening centuries, so much of superfluous, uncongenial or undigested alien material has been overlaid on those foundations, that it becomes impossible even to understand the meaning or purpose, and to perceive the roots which could furnish some satisfactory explanation of the nature of these problems, and the way they were dealt with in those remote days of India's native empires."

Dr. Bokare had been a confirmed Marxist for decades. In his enthusiasm for party propaganda, he often converted his class-room into the recruiting ground for Communist Party. As a learned professor of economics, he was simultaneously an authority on classical economics and neo-classical economics. He was quite at home with all its exponents, from Adam Smith, Ricardo and Malthus to Samuelson.

Our sages have remarked that absence of dogmatism is the fruit of genuine intellectualism. 'बुद्धेः फलम् अनाग्रहः' Intellectual honesty of Dr. Bokare inspired him to study in depth the entire literature of Islam and Christianity from this point of view, the Gandhian economics, and finally, the Hindu Shastras also. He has been considered as an authority on Gandhism and his book '*Economic Theory of Sarvodaya*' has been recognised as a standard work on that subject. He was thrilled to find that Vedic economics stands for (1) abundance of production as a result of the principle of genuine competition, resulting in its turn in the trend of declining prices, and (2) the direction of economic development capable of eliminating many economic categories of modern economics. His resolve to undertake the unfoldment of Hindu economics as his life mission has been the culmination, the mature fruit, of his life-long penances as a scientific thinker. It can, therefore, be stated safely that Dr. Bokare has taken sixty-seven long years to write this thesis, '*Hindu Economics*.' And, then, this is his first step in his long march in this direction. He is convinced that Hindu economics consummates all that is noble in Quran, Bible and Gandhian economics. In 1984, he had predicted the collapse of communism; in 1992, he declares that Hindu Economics is the Economics of the Future.

The speciality of this book is that it fulfils the most urgent need of the hour. Earlier, different modern scholars of repute conversant with different aspects of Hindu economics have furnished the readers with the voluminous information on the subject in academic style. As academicians their merit is indisputable. They are great in their own right. Their contributions are valuable. Prominent among them are K.T. Shah's '*Ancient Foundations of Economics in India*'; K.V. Ramaswami Iyengar's '*Aspects of Ancient Economic Thought*'; Ramakrishna Mission's '*Cultural Heritage of India*', Vol. II (pp. 451-464, and pp. 655-677); K.G. Gokhale's '*Indian Thought Through Ages*' pp. 49-75); K.M. Munshi and

R.R. Diwakar's '*Hindu Civilization*'; Altekar's '*State and Government in Ancient India*'; Jayaswal's '*Hindu Polity*'; Ghoshal's '*Hindu Revenue System*'; Mookharji's '*Local Government in Ancient India*'; the works of A.N. Bose, S.K. Maity and S.K. Maitra. But all of these illustrious authors wrote during a period when there prevailed a sort of ideological stability in the western mind, adherents of each western ideology following their respective articles of faith with full conviction and dedication, with blind faith in the inevitability of the ultimate triumph of their own 'scientific' ideology. The process of disillusionment started after the October 1987 crash in the capitalist camp and publication of '*Perestroika*' in the communist world. The psychological status-quo was upset. That "There lies more faith in honest doubt" was gradually realised even by fanatics in both the camps. All of them perceived the consequent ideological vacuum leading them to frustration. '*Hindu Economics*' of Dr. Bokare is appearing on the scene at this critical juncture. And it boldly pledges to fill the vacuum and indicate the '*Third*' way which may ultimately be recognised as the '*Only*' way. This work is the harbinger of what Dr. P.R. Brahmananda appropriately termed as '*Dharmanomics*'.

Recapitulation of whatever has been unfolded in the following pages may appear to be superfluous, - even redundant. But, for the convenience of understanding, the salient features of the picture that emerges out of his unfoldment may, however, be sketched out in the following manner.

The WESTERN and the HINDU; - these are the two entirely different paradigms with their entirely different value-systems, institutional arrangements and parameters.

WESTERN	Exploitation
Compartmentalised thinking	Rights-oriented consciousness of others' duties
Man - a mere material being	Contrived scarcities
Subservience to <i>Artha-Kama</i>	Economy of rising prices
	HINDU
Society, a club of self-centred individuals	Integrated thinking
Happiness for oneself	Man-a physical-mental-intellectual-spiritual being
Acquisitiveness	Drive towards <i>Purushartha</i>
Profit motive	<i>Chatushtaya</i>
Consumerism	

Society, a body with all individuals therein as its limbs	<i>Antyodaya'</i>
Happiness for all	Duty-oriented consciousness of others' rights
<i>Aparigraha'</i> (non-possession)	Abundance of production
Service motive	Economy of declining prices
Restrain consumption	
Monopoly capitalism through various devices**	: Free competition without manipulated markets

****For example, patents, brands, copyrights, trade names, licences, quotas, protective tariff, cartels, pools, trusts, holding companies or intercorporate boards of directors, intercorporate investments, etc.**

Economic theories centred round wage-employment	: Economic theories centred round self-employment
An ever-increasing army of the proletariat (Self-employment)	: The ever-growing sector of <i>Vishwakarma</i>
Ever-widening disparities equitability	: Movement towards and equality
The rape of Nature Nature	: The milking of Mother Nature
Constant conflict between the individual, the society and Nature	: Complete harmony the individual, the society and Nature

The two are entirely different paradigms. Every society is free to choose its own model on 'take all, or leave all' basis.

"Quo vadis?"

The twenty-first century is rightly questioning the disillusioned and perplexed mankind.

This pioneering work seems to offer the right answer to this right question.

Not with the arrogant doctrinaire dogmatism.

But with the humility that invariably accompanies every honest quest for truth, every earnest exploration.

While presenting this thesis to the readers, the author is humbly saying:

"Unless and until the experts are satisfied, I will not consider this endeavour of mine commendable."

- Kalidasa

Economics*

This paper is not intended for extensive and detailed criticism of current official policies. It is primarily concerned with the general perspective. The general direction of economy, as has become evident from various indicators, is, however, distressing. It would not be inappropriate to state a few facts here indicative of the impending catastrophe. These are only illustrative, and not exhaustive. As a matter of fact, politicians and newspapers have already enlightened the general public about many aspects of this subject.

The facts that invite our attention are our dwindling foreign exchange reserves; the craze on the part of the Government to export gold by way of pledging it to secure expeditiously a much-needed loan to tide over the Balance of Payments (BoP) crisis; the steep devaluation of rupee; the budget indicating shameless surrender to foreign capital; and the new industrial policy.

The statement on Industrial Policy and the Budget 1991-92 presented to Parliament on July 24 are documents drafted at the instance of the International Monetary Fund.

During the last decade, the domestic debt increased six-fold from Rs. 48,451 crores in 1980-81 to Rs. 2,79,528 crores in 1990-91. The ratio of internal debt to GDP increased from 35.6 per cent in 1980-81 to 54.4 per cent in 1990-91. The external debt of India at the end of 1989 was \$ 62.509 billion which at the current rate of exchange would be a bit more than Rs. 1,56,272 crores. Including the borrowings of 1990, this figure comes to about Rs.

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1,70,000 crores, though the official estimates mention the total external debt as Rs. 1,20,000 crores.

The total assets of the Central Government comprising capital investments and loans advanced have increased from Rs. 59,670 crores at the end of 1980-81 to an estimated Rs.2,36,619 crores at the end of 1990-91. In the same period the liabilities of the Government have increased from about Rs. 65,000 crores to Rs. 4,50,000 crores.

This paper was circulated and discussed among intellectuals in October 1992.

The trade balance which is negative adds up to Rs. 77,939 crores. In terms of U.S. dollars this will come to \$ 64.22 billion. After devaluation, it means about Rs. 1,60,000 crores.

The squander-mania, the corruption, the irresponsible race for personal gains gathered momentum after the exit of Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri.

The present gestures of Dr. Manmohan Singh are due to the cumulative effect of the wrong policies pursued since then. As he remarked in his budget speech, the room for manoeuvre, to live on borrowed money or time, does not exist any more.

To state only a few facts as specimens:

The new industrial policy has already allowed 51 per cent foreign equity with automatic approval in 34 high-priority industries. But the Government will not be averse to 51 per cent equity without automatic approval in other delicensed areas except the 8 industries reserved for public sector, 18 industries requiring compulsory licensing and over 800 items reserved for small scale sector.

A company with foreign equity upto 51 per cent would now be treated at par with any other Indian company. The Government could allow 24 per cent equity participation in the small scale sector by both domestic and foreign managed companies in India. It would also now be possible for big units to produce items reserved for SSIs, though their equity participation in the latter will be restricted to 24 per cent. The idea has been to provide access to the capital market and also to encourage modernisation of SSIs. Through this

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device, the big ones will be able to usurp some of the concessions meant for the small ones.

The character of the public sector is sought to be changed by selling a part of the equity to financial institutions and the general public, a gesture which can be taken advantage of by the monopoly capitalists only. Companies are effectively controlled by monopolists though they hold only a small part of the share capital; in the large industrial houses, private capital is often less than 10 per cent, public funds constituting 90 per cent of the capital.

Unrestricted technology imports, in a regime of unfavourable balance of payments, and foreign indebtedness without any incentive

for use of indigenous technology would only intensify the imports of items that could be indigenously made available.

After removing the restrictions on asset limits, regulation of the monopoly houses by the MRTP Commission (the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Commission) will be even more difficult. The proposed privatisation of public sector will lead to replacement of social perspective by private profit motive.

While it is a fact that unless industry prospers, labour cannot benefit and that perpetuation of inefficiency in industry would not be beneficial, it is also true that in Bharat, efficiency cannot be the sole criterion and that it must be balanced by the need to expand employment avenues. Retraining of the workers is the necessary requirement of a new technology. But it is misleading to state that through such retraining the displaced workers can be re-deployed in the same industry. Their number is usually small. The number of those who cannot be retrained is much larger because of the sophistication of new technology. They will be thrown out of employment. Fresh employment avenues will have to be opened for them. The cost of technological change and modernisation should not fall on workers.

Still more distressing is the apathy of the people to their own self-interest as well as the national self-respect.

The Hindu Nationalists were the first to caution the people against the danger of the foreign economic imperialism. The statement issued by Shri Guruji after the Tashkent Agreement stressing the need for national

self-reliance and forewarning the people against arm-twisting by foreign powers was ridiculed by the 'radicals' as fantastic nonsense. The various organisations managed by the Swayamsevakas have been exhorting all patriots to forge a united front to fight the mighty demon, viz., foreign economic imperialism. For more than a decade they have been categorically declaring that 'debt-trap' is 'death-trap', that we are already under economic slavery and that further major policy decisions on economic front would be taken, not by New Delhi but by the capitals of the foreign countries.

It was amusing to note that our politicians were criticising every official measure as if it was an isolated event. No measure, be it devaluation or budget or anything else, is an event in itself; it is an integral part of the process that is continuing since 1966.

And now we have reached a stage where the line of demarcation between the so-called 'liberalisation' and "national self-liquidation" has become extremely thin and almost vanished.

Our intellectuals are familiar with the fashion of 'model' making. For example, Growth Models of Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis, Harrod and Domar and Keynes and H.W. Singer; Balanced Growth Strategy of Prof. Nurkse and W.A. Lewis and Unbalanced Growth Strategy propounded by Hirschman; theory of Big Push propounded by M.I.T. Study Group and Rosenstein-Rodan; theory of Critical Minimum Effort propounded by Prof. Harvey and Leibenstein; theory of Back Wash Effect and Spread Effect tendencies explained by Prof. Gunnar Myrdal, etc.

From Adam Smith to Samuelson the economic thinking of the West has covered a long way. True, in the communist world there had been no great thinkers after Lenin and Mao; but in the rest of the West, thinking in the economic field has been pragmatic, dynamic and forward-going, without being too much worried about the direction of such advance. For example, in modern times, Lionel Robbins defined 'Economics' in terms of unlimited wants and relative scarcity of resources, necessitating choice. Robbins paved the way for "Positive Economics" which is concerned with "what is" rather than "what ought to be" (Normative). He said the duty of an economist was to explore and explain, and not to advocate or condemn. He was only for explaining the situation as it was without any positive prescriptions.

P.J. Thomas, on the other hand, argued that the duty of the economist was not only to explore and explain but also to advocate and condemn.

According to Oscar Lange, Economics is the science of administration of scarce resources.

According to Marshall, 'consumers' surplus' is the difference between what a consumer is willing to pay for goods/services and the price he actually pays - a very useful concept in taxation (especially commodity taxation) and pricing of public utilities.

In the analysis of public welfare, welfare economics developed by Pigou and later writers and the public welfare policy initiated by Lord Beveridge (i.e. womb to tomb social insurance) may be more pertinent.

But for analysis of the 'saving-investment-income' generation process, Keynesian model is more appropriate.

The Harrod-Domar model can certainly be a good starting-point for understanding the plan models.

But in our context, Fei Ranis model or Lewis model with unlimited supplies of labour may have to be understood in its totality.

Apart from his "Back Wash" effect, Gunnar Myrdal has given some other concepts deserving serious consideration.

The development of certain industries or areas leads to growth of other industries or further development of its surrounding areas, spreading the favourable effect of growth to surrounding areas through linkages. This is termed as the 'spread effect'.

His other concepts are,

- 'Forward linkage' - the development of an industry results in the production of outputs which are used as intermediate products or inputs by other industries. This is called 'growth propulsion'.

- 'Backward linkage' - the development of those industries which provide inputs to the industry concerned.

- Industries with higher forward and backward linkages have greater "growth propulsion" capability, such as, steel industry.

Hence in planning industrialisation, importance should be attached, according to Gunnar Myrdal, to selecting those industries which have the greatest "growth propulsion" - in terms of highest forward and backward linkages.

Application of Keynesian model for planning was attempted by Harrod and Domar. They estimated the growth rate as a function of Investment ratio and Capital output ratio.

Then, the pioneer of Monetarist School, Milton Friedman with

James Tobin and Bronfenbrenner; P.A. Samuelson, the spokesman of modern capitalism, with Michael Solow and K. Arrow; Joan Robinson with her theories of market; W. Leontief with his input-output analysis; Ragnar of micro-economics; Nicholas Kaldor of Expenditure Tax theory; Mitchell and R.C.O. Mathews with trade cycle theories; Debreau of General Equilibrium analysis; Richard A. Musgrave on public finance; Daniel Thorner of agricultural economics; Atkinson and Michael Lipton on Poverty and Development; J.R. Hicks and Kenneth Arrow of indifference curve analysis and theory of consumer behaviour; O. Tinbergen, H.B. Chenery, R.F. Kahn with economic development theories, - all these experts have made rich contributions to Economics.

These theories must be studied in depth to understand the economic structure and mechanism of the West. It will be helpful in evolving our own methodology, learning from the mistakes committed by them and the failures of their experiments. As Bernard Shaw remarked, "Wise men learn from other people's experience, fools from their own."

But this should not be for imitation. Even Lord Keynes wrote in his introduction to '*General Theory*': "For the author of this book, it was a long struggle of escape from classical theory." Keynes also expressed in his preface to '*Cambridge Economics Handbook Series*' that economics does not furnish a body of settled conclusions. It provides the practitioner a logical tool for rational thinking.

As stated elsewhere, Gurudev Tagore has said that God has given different question papers to different countries. And so copying cannot help.

And, most important of all, the system developed through the intellectual labour of all these distinguished and respectable masters, is itself showing signs of its failure in the United States.

Many in our country may not be knowing that the U.S. has become dependent on investors in Tokyo to finance 120 billion U.S. dollar fiscal deficit.

The Wall Street Journal, on the occasion of its centenary, asked "Will America's children be better off in 2005 than their parents are now?" and answered, "Not long ago, just to ask that question would have been heresy. Faith in the promise of the future is as

fundamental to the American character as the bill of rights is to its democracy. But now that faith is being tested."

J. Hicks, a Nobel laureate, thinks that predictability is absent in our current economic thinking. Samuelson shares this view; he describes American economists as 'kept economists'. In '*Crisis in Economic Theory*,' edited by

Daniel Bell, the helplessness of the current economic thinking is described. *'The World's Vatican Encyclical'*¹ mentioned on 2 May 1991 the futility of both the systems, capitalism and communism, and urged fresh thinking. The World Trade Union Conference held at Moscow in November 1990 highlighted the failure of market economy as well as communism and made a plea for finding a third alternative.

But it is difficult for western scholars to immediately make any headway in this matter, because for many a decade their minds have been conditioned in a particular way. They may fall back upon Christianity. But, as Kenneth Boulding of United States has rightly remarked, demands in religious economic life will be different from those in the capitalist economic life. Consumerism is the special feature of the latter.

Technology*

Recently, the government has admitted that the brain-drain caused by migration of graduates from the various Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) to U.S. etc. was in the range of 40 to 60 per cent, depending on the discipline. The IITs seem to be creating products largely for the United States market. We are importing technology often developed by our own IIT graduates living abroad. It is time for us to change this situation so that our engineers get the opportunity to develop, adapt and assimilate modern technology within the country.

For the first time, this has been admitted officially. Modern technology of the post-second-industrial-revolution society has placed 'knowledge classes', i.e. scientists and technologists, in the pivotal position. Till now, in industrial society, engineers and semi-skilled workers were in the pivotal position. In the latter society, we have 'economic haves' and 'economic have-nots'; in the former, 'educational haves' and 'educational have-nots'.

Education or the 'knowledge industry' would be the largest single industry in technologically advanced countries. Technicians include draughtsmen and designers for computers, T.V.s, cars, shipbuilding, aircraft industry, etc., and repairmen.

The chief characteristic of the new society will be that its dominant figures will not be, as in the past, the entrepreneur, the businessman, and the industrial executive; the "new men" are the scientists, the mathematicians, the economists and sociologists, the practitioners of the new "intellectual technology" through computer.

In the United States of America, 'manual' or blue-collar workers make up only 1/3rd of the labour force; in the European industrial countries, they make up for 1/2 of the labour force. If computerisation proceeds unrestrained, by 2000 A.D. the blue-collar labour force could decrease by half a million a year;

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instead of increasing by one and a half million, this would bring it down to about 10% by 2000 A.D.

This paper was circulated and discussed among intellectuals in October 1992.

In Britain, 2.5 workmen are employed to produce the same quantity as one man in the U.S. If by some miracle, the present efficiency of the U.S. is achieved in Britain, the fraction of number of production workers could at once drop to 20%.

The new technology would exhaust the natural deposits of metals, coal, oil and natural gas. Because of the exhaustion of raw-material, there are natural limits to the efficiency of technology, though uranium in the rocks and in the sea would solve the problem for quite some time.

It is not as if the demerits of the new technology are not at all appreciated in the advanced countries. In 1971, the SST (a supersonic airliner) was not allowed to fly in the United States by the Congress. This was historically the first instance of a legislature calling a stop to 'technological progress'.

The most formidable critic of 'Technology Autonomy' is Lewis Mumford, especially his two volumes (1) *The Myth of the Machine, Techniques and Human Development* and (2) *The Pentagon of Power*.

Alvin Toffler in his book '*Future Shock*' pleads for social control of technology. He says that social indicators must also be given when we are planning; there should be social control of technology, that an office of a technological ombudsman should be created which would be an institution to investigate into the behaviour, conduct and misconduct of public officials. He further says that our politicians, administrators, technologists and scientists are having a short-term horizon. Whatever is useful immediately will be adopted by them; they will not pause to consider the long-range effects, over long distances of time and space. But humanity will have to suffer.

Toffler insists that our scientists and technologists should also be made to become human beings, not merely scientists and technologists.

He believes that the present planning by scientists and technologists is defective for three reasons : *first* because it is econocentric, the whole basis being economics; *secondly* it is short-ranged; and *thirdly* it is undemocratic in the sense that people are not consulted as to what type of future they want for themselves.

Then he pleads for earlier anticipation of direct and indirect effects of technology over distances of time and space.

Every invention will have its impact on social structure. If you completely control genetics you are controlling every living being in society. Then what will be the value system in society? If there are test-tube babies, if the husband and wife have little to do in the production of the progeny, what will happen to the family? What will be their mutual relationship? All these problems will have to be answered. Another scientist notes that not only the type of advancement and the quality of advancement but even the pace of advancement and the rate of advance are also relevant, and unless mankind is ready to adjust itself to a particular rate of advancement, probably that rate of advancement may overcome mankind. How to face this new challenge? One eminent thinker says,

"Change is life itself but change rampant, change unguided, change unrestrained, accelerated change, overwhelming not man's physical defences but his decisional processes - such a change is the enemy of life."

There is nothing inherent in the evolutionary process to guarantee man's own survival. The reaction to such great and rapid advancement by another United States scientist by name Ralph Lap is also worth recalling:

"No one, not even the most brilliant scientist alive today, really knows where science is taking us. We are aboard a train which is gathering speed and racing down the track, on which there are an unknown number of switches, leading to an unknown destination. No single scientist is in the engine cab. There may be demons at the switches. Most of society is in the cupboards looking backwards."

Another human behaviourist, B. F. Skinner, says in his book *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*:

"We need a new technology now, technology of human behaviour. Presently we have none."

And then Dr. Lero Augustein, chairman of the department of Biophysics at Michigan State University, says in his book *Let Us Play God*:

"Science marches on, fast and furious. But all too often ability to handle our new-found powers does not keep pace. Increasingly the advance being made in many areas of science and technology pose ethical and moral dilemmas which cannot be solved by facts alone."

The westerners also realise that left to itself, a computer can no more solve a problem than a fountain pen can write a poem, or a cricket ball can claim a wicket. A computer is a tool, not a handyman. A computer is not even stupid, it is brainless. A computer cannot discover a new law of Nature, it can only apply it. A computer is only as good or as bad as the programmer who instructs it.

The share-crash in the world-market on 19th October 1987 was mainly due to computer operations.

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As prices fell, the computer sold off shares, which brought down the prices further, which brought more computerised sales, which brought down the prices still further. Prices were falling because shares were being sold, and computers were selling shares because prices were falling.

The case of developing countries is still different.

It is generally experienced that in a developing country hightech industries create their own economic zones. Foreign technologies which depend upon imported inputs and services from the same level of technological zone, do not promote the growth of local subsidiary industries in the surrounding undeveloped economic zone that is functioning at a lower economic level with low purchasing power (inadequate to purchase the products of the high-tech industries). The high-tech economic zones thus developed get linked with higher technological zones in foreign countries and isolated from the low-technology economic zones in their own country; such islands of high-technology zones surrounded by the vast ocean of low-technology economy create crises because of the linkage of the former with advanced foreign economies and their isolation from the other levels of national economy. Experience indicates that such technological linkages culminate in the inauguration of foreign economic imperialism.

On the other hand for developed countries, technological obsolescence is a permanent phenomenon; and where else is the dumping ground for their obsolescent technologies and production processes, if not in the economies of underdeveloped or developing countries? Consequently, the technological linkage is generally between the higher developed zone of the developing country and an obsolescent economic zone of a developed country.

Only the gullible will believe that any innovation or technology can be equally useful under all conditions, irrespective of the stages of development, the levels of available infrastructure, and the nature of existing economic and social structures and their requirements. Sudden application of a new technology, useful in one set of socio-economic conditions, to a different economy in which those conditions are absent may considerably upset the socio-economic life and relations prevalent under the latter. No technology can be usefully introduced in a new area without simultaneous introduction therein of its other attendant factors.

The leading industrial countries use a certain, though small, percentage of their Gross National Product to suppress pollution. The developing countries may not be in a position to do it efficiently.

An UNCTAD study laid down the following acceptable major policy objectives for developing countries in the use of modern technology :

1. The creation of a social, economic and institutional framework that would ensure the widest possible access to technology and the sharing of its benefits so as to meet basic needs;
2. The creation of an indigenous capacity for generating technological know-how and for applying both foreign and domestic technology that makes appropriate use of material, human and environmental resources;
3. Control over the importance of technology through the exercise of bargaining power, and acquisition of the ability to obtain the best terms and conditions and to link import with the development of local technology;
4. The development of mechanisms for mobilising mass participation in the choice and application of technology.

For rural sector of our country, it is advisable to develop indigenous technology with the help of locally available inputs and skills. Bharat must have its own technological, research and development base. There is a strong case for unification of research work that is being conducted by research cells under the Planning

Commission and the various ministries, so as to eliminate duplication of work and promote efficiency.

While it is true that the requirements of defence and other heavy industries can be met only by steel factories producing special steel, the requirements of the rural industries can be fulfilled by rural iron workshops; for simple appliances like plough-shares, cart wheels, etc., require the generally available type of iron.

It is necessary to conduct research in modern as well as traditional, indigenous technology with a view to -

- 1) Evolving a National Technological Policy to determine what portions of western technology are to be adopted, what others to be adapted, what others to be rejected, and the areas in which evolution of Bharatiya technology is imperative;
- 2) Scrutinising the traditional technology to ascertain what portions of it are adaptable to modern conditions;
- 3) Developing our own indigenous technology in consonance with our socio-cultural pattern taking this precaution that it should lead to decentralisation of the process of production; exploring the possibilities of converting home, instead of factory, as a production unit with the help of power and atomic energy.

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4) Introducing for the benefit of our village artisans and craftsmen, appropriate modification in the traditional techniques of production, without enhancing the risk of (a) increase in unemployment, (b) wastage of available managerial and technical skills, and (c) complete decapitalisation (partial decapitalisation is understandable) of their existing means of production.

CHAPTER 6

Environment*

Shrimati Indira Gandhi gave a pleasant surprise to the world environmentalist meet at Stockholm (1972) when she told them that her country had been ecology-conscious right from the early Vedic period.

That has not been the case with the West.

Probably, the concern for conservation of Nature was expressed for the first time in English literature by W. H. Hudson in his '*Green Mansions*', published in 1904. But it was only a novel, a tropical romance, not a scholarly thesis.

After a long experience in high-tech industrialisation, some western thinkers have now come to conclude that western technology is eco-destructive and socially disintegrative. It is Nature-destructive and society-disintegrative because it has only one goal -industrialisation. The modern Cartesian reductionist philosophy has pitted man against Nature as if man himself is not part of nature. It permits ruthless destruction of Nature in the service of the ever-growing appetites of man. The result is serious depletion of natural resources, grave disturbance of the eco-system and a level of pollution that is increasingly endangering all life-forms.

The modern industrial system consumes tremendous amounts of non-renewable raw-materials and energy sources. Progressively greater utilisation of renewable energy sources and renewable materials is not feasible under the modern system and this results in the pollution of air and water. The system discourages evolution of the region-specific technologies which can utilise locally available resources to satisfy local needs using technical and managerial skills of local people.

The pollution per inhabitant in the upper fifth of the world is about fifty times more than in the other four-fifths, and full industrial development of underdeveloped countries might raise the world pollution rate to a level at

*** This paper was circulated and discussed among intellectuals in October 1992.**
which it might wipe off the major part of the world's population.

The oxygen requirement of the technosphere of industrial society is at least fifteen times that of a normal bio-sphere.

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Similarly, if the developing countries come to the level of developed countries, some of the key metals and minerals would be exhausted well within the next hundred years.

Recently, the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency's 'Annual Overview and Outlook of Nuclear Safety' for the year 1988 has observed that despite more than 5,000 reactors and years of nuclear power experience and fairly satisfactory public safety record, widespread public concern that nuclear power is too risky still persists. Among the major public concerns regarding an apprehended nuclear disaster, the review listed irregularities in radioactive waste management and transport, aircraft-crashes, an earthquake in the vicinity of nuclear plants, concern about nuclear accident risks and pollution at military nuclear facilities.

Afforestation is helpful in retaining moisture in air, in purifying air and in fixing soil. It maintains balanced bio-environment and provides forest products to Vanavasis and wood and other necessities of life to adjacent villages. Presently, there is talk about raising forest cover to 33% of the land. But even this move is being opposed.

In modern Bharat, the awakening on this issue is recent. Chipko movement, Silent Valley movement, etc., are healthy signs of public awareness; but unfortunately, it is about to take the form of a war between environmentalists and developmentalists. Consequently, there can be no unanimity even on the problem of afforestation; and forest degradation upto eight per cent of our land has made life miserable for millions of Vanavasis.

In a vast and populous country like Bharat, the only effective way of ensuring desired results in this respect is to conduct extensive public education on this issue. Even legal measures will not be of much use. For example, what will be the fate of the proposal for amending the Companies. Act to compel companies to include annual environment audits in their balance sheets? If implemented, the proposal will require companies to record their own violations of environmental laws and the corrective measures taken.

The State Pollution Control Boards will then order further inquiries or action. Delinquent companies would be easily able to embellish their environment audits as they do their balance sheets. The mandatory creation of posts of Chief Environment Officers presiding over environment cells in industrial units may not succeed. Industrialists know how to deal with such officers. It is good that appeals against the judgments of the proposed environment tribunals will lie

only to the Supreme Court; but the impact of the tribunals will depend on how stringently they conduct their work.

At present environmental clearance by the State authorities is a mere formality. All that the entrepreneur has to do is to promise that he will install the necessary pollution control equipment. Whether he actually uses the equipment or even installs it, is rarely verified. This makes a mockery of any industrial policy identifying a list of industries which require environmental clearance before their letter of intent could be converted into an industrial licence.

It was good to enjoin that any industry, whether in the private, public or small scale sector, producing primary metallurgical products, refineries, fermentation industry and electro-plating industry would first have to satisfy the State Director of Industry that the project has been approved from the environmental angle by the competent State authority (which is the State Pollution Control Board) before a licence could be granted. All projects having capital outlay of over Rs.20 crores which have to come up before the Public Investment Board, should have to get environmental clearance from the Union Ministry of Environment as well. The government also issued a set of environmental guidelines for siting of industries. It specified the areas that should be avoided altogether such as ecologically sensitive areas including game reserves and national parks. A minimum distance of 25 km. is to be maintained between such a site and a polluting plant even if it has efficient environmental control equipment. It was also stressed that in determining the location of such highly polluting plants, consideration must be given to other kinds of fall-out on the environment from siting such a plant in the area, and not just the polluting potential of the plant itself. For instance, in the case of Numaligarh (Assam), it was obvious that the vehicular traffic on the National Highway, which goes past the Kaziranga sanctuary, would increase so dramatically that regardless of the distance of Numaligarh from the sanctuary, vehicular pollutants alone would have a damaging effect on plant life in the national park.

This is all good, so far as it goes.

The real difficulty arises at the implementation stage.

Firstly, the motivation of the government - whether the government is willing to envisage the delay and the additional costs that inevitably accrue when projects have to go through the process of such detailed environmental appraisal, or whether, in the interests of encouraging growth, it will ease up on these provisions. For example, the recommendations of the Site Appraisal Committee are often rejected. The Committee's recommendations have been

overruled in the cases of the location of the dam in Tehri, which the Committee had rejected, the 500 MW thermal power plant in Dahanu, and the 300,000 MT gas cracker plant at Thana.

Secondly, several provisions of law have loopholes which can be exploited by the interested parties. There could be competition between the states to facilitate industrial growth and the provision that a flexible location policy would be adopted in respect of such cities (with population greater than one million) which require 'industrial regeneration' would come in handy. Who will determine which city requires industrial regeneration? The Maharashtra Government, which has already declared that it is willing to relax location norms to encourage industrial growth, might decide that Bombay needs 'industrial regeneration'. Again, what happens in the case of units where the expansion exceeds the original installed capacity by as much as 300 per cent? There are many other loopholes of this type.

Thirdly, industrialists are masters in the art of converting 'illegal evasion' into 'legal avoidance'. And it seems that the government may opt to issue environmental guidelines and leave it to the entrepreneurs to abide by them rather than create environmental hurdles which they must overcome before they can begin manufacturing. If this happens it would spell disaster, since our industrialists are least worried about environmental laws - their only object being profit.

Fourthly, the existing provisions are not adequate. A number of situations which require legal provisions for this purpose did not get legislative attention.

Of particular importance is the case of our rural areas. Rural areas are discriminated against in the matters of ecological precautions.

It is generally acknowledged that industrialisation has polluted all natural resources - land, water and air - and raped the Nature instead of milking it. Though the United States passed its first legislation taking cognisance of this problem in 1899, this initial awareness was soon swept off by the rising tide of materialistic consumerism. Natural resources are limited; human desires are unlimited. Apart from the pollution of land, water and air, there has been ever-increasing pollution of environment because of various irritants, e.g., sound and radiation etc.

Being followers of the West our planners readily recognised the extent of environmental pollution in big cities like Kanpur, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, or Madras, and paid some attention, though inadequate, to its cause and the preventive as well as the remedial measures - including legislation - for this purpose. Incidents like Bhopal or Chernobyl focused once again the attention of the general public on this usually uncared-for subject. But even this renewed

interest is confined to urban areas and the industrial sector. The impact of pollution on rural as well as forest or river or hill areas has not yet been appreciated properly.

The indiscriminate deforestation has resulted in land erosion, erratic monsoon and depletion of underground water sources. The daily household needs of the rural poor are met through biomass or biomass-related products. Apart from food, fuel (firewood, cowdung, crop-wastes), fodder, fertiliser (organic manure, forest litter), building materials (poles, bamboos, leaves and grass) and other basic materials are all bio-mass products. Over 50 per cent of the fuel consumption in India is for cooking, and over 90 per cent of our cooking fuel is bio-mass, that is firewood, cowdung and crop-wastes. (Delhi alone uses firewood worth about Rs.15 million). The ecological imbalance affects adversely the traditional handicrafts, housing, transport and life-styles of rural areas. India has 2.45 per cent of the world's landmass, but it has to support 15 per cent of the world cattle, 52 per cent of its buffaloes, and 15 per cent of its goats and humans.

The search of industrialists for cheap biomass-based raw materials and for cheap methods of waste-disposal, coupled with the politicians' readiness to callously encourage every kind of pollution for petty financial gains, has made a mockery of relevant laws which are themselves too inadequate. The original vegetation is being destroyed, and commercially profitable new nature is being created (the pine forests in place of the oak forests; the teak forests in place of the sal forests; eucalyptus plantations in place of natural rain-forests; or oil palm in place of the tropical forests). Social costs of the destruction or transformation of ecological space are too heavy. How will the destruction of the grazing-lands affect the nearly 200 tribes engaged in pastoral nomadism? Their number runs to millions. Our rivers (and also seas), which have now become the dump-yards for industrial wastes, have, apart from increasing water pollution, deprived thousands of fishermen of their means of livelihood. Our planners and rulers are guilty of deliberately neglecting ecological considerations to favour the financiers.

Under the pressure of environmentalists, some programmes of social forestry are taken up. In the first place, these programmes are too inadequate considering the pressing need for afforestation. Secondly, they are more in the nature of window-dressing, a fashionable activity. The participants in the programmes are not earnest about their implementation.

Our social forestry schemes have failed to fulfil their objectives. These were expected to supply firewood, fodder, small timber and minor forest produce to rural populations and meet their basic biomass needs. A recent study

by programme evaluation organisation of the Planning Commission revealed that farm forestry, which is, an important component of these schemes, has tended to benefit bigger farmers. Nearly half the total beneficiaries happened to be located in just two States. Each received between 500 and a thousand seedlings, which alone indicates the substantial size of their holdings. Earlier it was reported that in Haryana and Gujarat, six out of every ten beneficiaries owned more than two hectares of land. Only in West Bengal farm forestry benefited the poor. The rich beneficiaries tend to go in for fast-growing trees like eucalyptus which primarily meet the demands for raw-material from the rayon and similar other industries. Again, the social forestry schemes do not necessarily choose the right kind of species. For instance, they harp on fuelwood and ignore fodder, though successive droughts in Gujarat, Rajasthan, etc., have shown that the shortage of fodder is acute and is getting worse every day since large tracts are turning into wastelands.

It is wrong to presume that being a developing country India can afford to postpone to a distant future the long-awaited introduction of comprehensive environmental planning, and that a periodical patchwork of tentative measures based upon adhocism would enable us to deal with this problem effectively. Even the recent UNEP document sharply criticises the slipshod manner of dealing with the subject.

At the same time, we have to get back to our philosophy and to view the earth, the air, the water, the flora and the fauna as sacred. We have to develop a technology that will be nature-protective and not nature-destructive. The whole world is going to need such a philosophy and matching technology in the twenty-first century.

Humanism: Western and Integral

Today we are suffering from a number of maladies in every field of national life. But a close scrutiny of each one of them would reveal that the root-cause lies in our deviation from our '*Swabhava*' and '*Swadharma*' which is the '*Ekatma Manava Darshan*' (Integral Humanism). Today we are victims of regionalism, linguism, casteism, communalism, sectarianism, and other disruptive tendencies. But we are aware that our *Swadharma* had once raised us to the level higher than that of the homocentric West. Homocentricism of the West finds its typical expression in the following words of a character in Gorky's play, '*The Lower Depths*':

"All things are part of man, all things are for man." The Vedas recognised that "All is one." But our self-oblivion consequent to the impact of western

civilisation has degenerated every one of us into the worst type of individualism. The sooner we return to our original '*Swabhava*' the better for all of us.

The practical implications of homocentricism are not yet being adequately understood in our country. It is because of the ignorance about many relevant facts. For example, how many have taken cognisance of the fact that rabbits, guinea-pigs, dogs, frogs, mice and monkeys, etc., are brutally and painfully kept alive or killed for cosmetic testing, apart from pharmaceutical research? How many have noted the cruelty to animals at spectacles, sports, films and fiestas? The sad plight of hogs, sables, camels and sheep? Once in every ten minutes, a great whale is dying in indescribable agony somewhere in the world. Whales are gentle, sensitive and non-aggressive, unlike sharks.

The dolphins, known for their intelligence, are exploited to become performing artists. The same is the fate of bears, monkeys, dogs, snakes, mongooses, cocks and parrots. The gentle and graceful antelopes are trapped for their beautiful skin and antlers. The elephants are killed for a needless desire - ivory. The budgerigars (love-birds) are given life imprisonment for the crime of being pretty. Puppies, when unwanted, are mercilessly destroyed.

There is unnecessary torture and killing of animals in the name of beauty, glamour, vanity fashion and art.

Do our fashionable ladies know that shampoos, lipsticks, toothpastes and soaps could contain animal fats, which could be either beef or mutton tallow; that perfumes, especially of high quality, can contain sexgland secretions from various animals; that stearates, stearic acid, oleic acid, glycerine, glycerol, gelatine oestrogen, musk, ambergris - each one of these is derived from animals, and that animal fats and tallow-derivatives can be substituted by non-edible vegetable oils in many cosmetics plants, and that the pursuit of beauty need not lead to animal-based products?

A common man is not aware of the cruelty to the bovine species, the musk deers, honey-bees, fish, civet cats, loris, silk moths, tortoises, squirrels, oysters, leopards, ostriches, lizards, lynxes, fox-cuts, turtles, pregnant mares, kangaroos, and beavers.

This is the homocentricism of the West. A few organisations like the S.P.C.A. (Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) or the BWC (Beauty Without Cruelty) have succeeded in getting some pieces of legislation enacted in different countries, but they have not yet made much impact on the materialistic mind of the West. They are making commendable efforts "to create and enlighten public awareness of the totally unnecessary torture and killing of innocent animals, in the name of beauty, glamour and art; to put an end to all brutality to animals, to develop through research, products which are effective alternatives to cruelty-derived ones; to make available and encourage

the use of products which do not contain any animal ingredients and which are not tested on animals; and to arrest and prevent anti-animal activity either current or planned, and to take prompt remedial action." They are trying to appeal to the conscience of the West that all animals are born with an equal claim to life and to the same rights of existence as man enjoys, and that it is the duty of man to use his knowledge for the welfare of all animals. In the words of Shakespeare -

"O, it is excellent

to have a giant's strength,

But it is tyrannous

to use it like a giant."

(*Measure for Measure*, Act 11, Scene 2)

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Anyway, different varieties of 'humanism' in the West are not so far above this homocentricism. Humanism of the kind of Shibi Raja is qualitatively different from that of the West.

In India 'Beauty Without Cruelty' has succeeded so far in getting the Government to prevent the skinning of karakul lambs within 48 hours of their birth for their soft, curly fur and to ban (1) the export of monkeys for painful experiments; (2) the import of the unweaned calf less than 2 weeks old slaughtered for rennet, and (3) the export of frog-legs chopped barbarically leaving the other half quivering with life. It has also acted as an eye-opener to thousands of people who voluntarily shun items of fur, snake-skin wallets, crocodile-skin hand bags, leather jackets, ivory, silks, animal-based perfumes and other such objects of vanity. The much-publicised achievement of the BWC was the removal of one Prime Minister's fur cap. The Wildlife Protection Act was passed in 1972. A project was launched in 1975 to restrengthen the population of gharials. The captive hatching of gharials in Tieverpara in Orissa was the first report of its kind in the world.

Notwithstanding these successes, the fact remains that the common man in our country is not fully aware of the implications of western homocentricism. It is essential to understand the basic differences between the western humanism and the Integral Humanism of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya.

Modern western humanism could claim that it was more progressive than the East while Christian Humanism was based in fact on the Churchianity of St. Paul, and not on the original precepts of Jesus Christ. It was in reality 'Church-centred Humanism', though they termed it as 'God-centred Humanism'. In their over-enthusiasm to oppose theocracy and the tyranny of the Church, the western humanists denied the very existence of God. As Etienne Borne

observed, "Atheism marks itself out as a form of humanism." According to Feuerbach, western humanism presumed that "in order for man to become all, God must be reduced to nothing." Protagoras's motto was "Man is the measure of all things." This exclusive and lopsided emphasis on 'Man' made them anti-God on the one hand and homocentric on the other. The following remark of Daumer about the psychology of European revolutionaries of the mid-19th century is significant: *"The frightful tortures that unfortunate beasts suffer at the tyrannous and cruel hand of man are for these barbarians 'rubbish' nobody should bother about!"*

In his *'True Humanism'*, Maritain says,

"Any form of anthropocentric humanism is in its analysis an inhuman humanism."

CHAPTER 8

Bharatiya Vichar*

I consider it a great privilege to be present here on this occasion, because inauguration of Bharatiya Vichar Kendra is a very important affair according to me. I feel that it is a modest beginning of a gigantic affair. But howsoever gigantic an endeavour it may be, the beginning must necessarily be modest, for it is said that "even a thousand-mile long march must begin with the first step." So, though this is a modest affair today, it is sure to grow and therefore, I think that to be able to be present here on this occasion is a great privilege and honour. And for this, I am extremely thankful to Shri Parameswaranji, who is the main spirit behind the whole affair.

Now, we are here for the formal inauguration of Bharatiya Vichar Kendra. This '*Vichar*' is a very important word that indicates the type of activity that is to be undertaken by the centre. Nowadays, under democratic set-up, '*Vichar*' is relegated to the background and all that remains in political life is '*Prachar*', i.e., propaganda: not seeking the truth nor giving education, but only propaganda. Therefore, people are accustomed more to '*Prachar*' and less to '*Vichar*'. *Vichar* is only seeking the truth. Truth does not depend for its validity on propaganda. If it receives mass support, well and good. But, even if it is opposed by a vast majority, Truth stands on its own legs. Its validity does not depend upon majority support. The seeker of truth is objective, dispassionate, scientific in approach, devoid of prejudices, biases, inhibitions and so on. All that he seeks is truth and nothing but the truth. And to arrive at the truth is the reward for all his efforts; it does not wait even for recognition. Once Rabindranath Tagore visited the Pondicherry Ashram. He had discussions with Yogi Aurobindo. At the end, Rabindranath asked, "Why don't you come out to give your message to the world?" Yogi Aurobindo replied: "Truth need not go elsewhere." That shows the type of confidence of a truth-seeker.

Today, it cannot be said that there are no centres of the type of Bharatiya Vichar Kendra. There are many centres, but, their approach is not objective. That is the whole difficulty. Their approach is

Inaugural address at Bharatiya Vichar Kendra on 7th October 1982.

hypothetical, particularly that of the representatives of international communalism and international sectarianism; these representatives are also conducting certain centres. But, the conclusions that they have to arrive at are already in their pockets. And whatever facts that they come across are to be adjusted so as to suit their conclusions that are already arrived at. This is not a scientific approach. Facts are not to be suited to conclusions, but, conclusions

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should flow automatically by way of natural deductions from the facts. Bharatiya Vichar Kendra will have these special characteristics, that without accepting any hypothetical approach, it will have search, research, of truth, and on the basis of facts found, conclusions will be drawn. There are no prejudices, biases, inhibitions, and therefore conclusions already arrived at. We are thinking only of truth-seeking.

I am reminded of a fine sentence from Mahatma Gandhi. We know that Gandhiji considered truth and non-violence as two highest principles of life. And once he said: "People say God is Truth; I say Truth is God." That was his conviction. Now, this truth is to be found, searched, at different levels. There are various problems that require investigation. They say that diagnosis is half the cure; even proper formulation of a problem paves way to some extent towards its solution. So, truth-seeking at different levels for various problems has become necessary. Problems are at all levels, from personal disorganisation to national problems, to international peace and war, to the problem of true nature of the cosmos; there are various problems at different levels, and whichever problem we are able to solve, will help in a general way in the solution of problems at other levels. In keeping with this spirit of joint investigation, we think that whatever individual efforts are being made, to arrive at truth, regarding different problems, should be pooled together. It should be collective, leading to collective wisdom. This joint effort will be more helpful. That is why the idea of the Kendra has been conceived.

Now, Vichar Kendra is all right, but, one may naturally ask what is the propriety of adding the word 'Bharatiya'. Because the truth has no caste, no nationality; knowledge is always universal. In that case, why the adjective 'Bharatiya'? Naturally, this question can arise in any mind. First of all, the nature of 'Bharatiyatva' is to be understood properly. By culture, by national temperament, by tradition, Bharatiyas are qualitatively different from nationalists of some of the western countries. The quality and character of our nationalism is certainly different. In some of the western countries it is presumed

that there is incompatibility between nationalism and internationalism. And therefore, those who are staunch nationalists are against internationalism, while staunch internationalists oppose even their own nations. Such things have happened in the past. For us, the very *Darshana* is different. We believe in the growth of human consciousness. When a child is born, it identifies itself with itself. With the growth of consciousness, it identifies with the family, progressively with community, with the whole society and nation and so on. But, our culture expects that this consciousness should have further growth so

as to identify oneself with the whole mankind: वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् And, we are expected to grow even further to identify with the entire animate and inanimate existence, and ultimately with the entire universe: स्वदेशो भुवनत्रयम्। So, from identification with oneself to identification with the whole cosmos, there should be a line of development of human consciousness. All these stages are inclusive, not exclusive. And for us, there is no incompatibility between nationalism and internationalism. These are only various stages of development of human consciousness. And, therefore, the true Bharatiya is as much national as international. This special characteristic of our national culture must be taken into account if we are not to misunderstand the word 'Bharatiya' in this particular context. Now, Vedas say that knowledge is universal. Even science and technology, though some superpowers may try to keep them as their special secrets, are easily universalised. But, when we say Bharatiya, it means that we are seeking truth at different levels. Various problems are confronting us. We want to have investigations into them.

As sons of Bharat Mata, we want to adopt a proper attitude in this effort of truth-seeking. After the British conquest, right from 1834, there has been a systematic effort to create diffidence and inferiority complex in Indian minds, giving an impression that everything Bharatiya is inferior, everything western is superior. And our scholars, because of the glory and glamour of the British and other white races, have gone a long way in creating diffidence and inferiority complex among our people. I don't say that we should have a superiority complex - that is another extreme, which is to be avoided. But, because of this inferiority complex, the common man in our country is unable to see the truth as it is. For example, the common man today is frustrated, disappointed with the present situation, and because he feels that we are not a worthy people, he feels that the present situation is an outcome of our inherent weakness. He is not aware that as a matter of fact, we possess everything that is necessary, essential, to make any nation great: all the potentialities - huge manpower that can be converted into assets, all resources, all talents. People say that the West is advanced in science and technology. But, we know that we have the third largest scientific community of the world, though we have not been able to utilise the talents of the scientific community, due to brain drain. Talents are there, resources are there, manpower is there. With all these, we are lagging behind the rest. Germany and Japan which were destroyed during World War II, have advanced and they are competing with the earlier superpowers now. Israel, which was formed only recently and which is so small in area and also in manpower, is drawing world admiration.

Because of the inferiority complex created in the minds of our people, the average citizen is of the view that we do not deserve to be a great nation; that is why we are lagging behind. And he doesn't understand that we have every potentiality necessary to make our nation great. And what is lacking after 1947 is not the potentiality, nor the talents, nor the resources, but will-power, the will of the leaders to make the nation great. And that is why our talent notwithstanding, we are becoming a backward nation. We were dazzled by the material advances of the West, particularly after industrial revolution, hardly realising that the very beginning of the industrial revolution was more accidental rather than pre-planned, and also without realising that these were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against aggressors; and in war conditions, no nation can make any progress; it is possible only in normal peace condition.

We know that in ancient times, we were in communication with the outside world, and people claim that many sciences and arts have migrated from our country to Europe, via Persia, Arabia, and made further progress. So, communication with the outside world, particularly with Europe, was nothing new for us. But the period of their advance and the period of our life-and-death struggle coincide in such a manner that we could not have any time, mind, or energy left to know what was happening outside. And, that was the reason why we could not take due cognisance of their material advance.

Now, all these facts are ignored by our intelligentsia. And we believe what Macaulay wanted us to believe that we are inferior in quality, compared to the West; as nations others are superior. While we the Bharatiyas do not want to carry any superiority complex, we are certainly opposed to carrying this inferiority complex, and therefore, to seeing the whole atmosphere vitiated by such a wrong inhibition. So, it has become necessary that some thought centre (*vichar kendra*) should be started. It should be free from such prejudices, neither superiority complex, nor inferiority complex, with normal mind seeking the truth.

Now, in keeping with our culture, tradition, temperament, genius, we stand for cultural intercourse, action and reaction of different cultures upon one another. We were having it in our own country in the past, and we will continue to have such action and reaction of different cultures upon one another even in future. In the light of eternal universal laws as seen by our seers, to effect change in socio-economic order has been the system of our *Dharma*; in the light of unchanging universal laws, ever-changing socio-economic order. So, changes must be there. There is a point of reference of universal laws as seen by the seers. So, we are not averse to change, but what should be the nature of change? We have to scrutinise what we have inherited from the past. Some of these might have been outmoded, outdated today, not useful today; they will

have to be left out. Some of it may be of eternal character, universal in character, and therefore, will have to be retained. Similarly, from other cultures, we will have to find out what is best and what is not so very good. Whatever is the best in other cultures, we need not be reluctant to accept. But there should be assimilation in our own culture, not blind imitation. Imitation is different from assimilation. In assimilation, we scrutinize the best portions of different cultures, and adopt them and adapt them in such a fashion that they become an organic part and parcel of our own culture, that is assimilation. Imitation is just transplantation. So, we have always considered that it is our moral obligation, it is India's moral obligation to offer her best to the outside world. And it is her right to accept the best from the outside world and assimilate it in her own culture. We thus believe in cultural intercourse. But, we are opposed to blind rejections simply because it is non-Indian, or blind acceptance, blind imitations, simply because it is western. We want to scrutinise our own inheritance, our own heritage, our own past as well as the stage of different cultures, and the best in both are to be assimilated so as to become part and parcel of our traditional culture. And therefore, in view of the fact that international communalism, international sectarianism have their representatives in this country, who are having hypothetical approach so as to twist the truth and to make it adjustable with their hypothesis; and since the average citizen of this country is suffering from diffidence, inferiority complex, in his mind by means of systematically organised British educational system, it has become essential that there should be some thought centre which will follow this Bharatiya approach. Particularly, today the problem we are facing is, as I have said, that on every level, we have to investigate. Otherwise, we will not know the truth at every level. Therefore, I mention that from the problem of personal disorganisation, the extreme form of which is suicide, up to the problem of cosmos, on every level we have to conduct joint investigation.

There are different problems at regional levels. I am just reminded that Kerala has some systems, social systems, peculiar to itself: our *Marumakathaya* or matriarchal system, that was there for so long. Now what was the impact of this *Marumakathaya* and matriarchal system on the socio-economic conditions today? In what way has this system which is peculiar to Kerala contributed to the present socio-economic conditions? It is the problem about which a joint investigation is necessary. So, on national and international level, there are various problems. Now, we know that some problems are essentially international in character: for example, ecological problems and problems arising out of nuclear weapons. Some problems are peculiar to different nations, e.g., Negro problem of United States, untouchability in our own country. So, while some problems are international in character, others are national, still others provincial in character. About all these, we have to have investigations.

But the most important of them all, so far as the present stage of our Bharat is concerned, is, what model of progress is to be accepted by us as a nation. There is a tendency to accept western pattern as a universal model of progress. Even today the glamour of westernisation is so much that the average citizen is inclined to believe that westernisation is modernisation. For example, in our own economic field, we have blindly followed the western pattern. What should be the size of industry, technology of the industry, location of the industry, pattern of ownership of industry? In everything, we have blindly imitated the West without taking into consideration our own heritage, our own tradition, our own temperament, our own prevailing peculiar circumstances.

Taking into consideration all these, we have to study all the paradigms and accept the best from all the cultures and assimilate them in our own. Every culture should have its own model of progress and accordingly, our own culture should have its own model of development. And, though China was in many ways indebted to Russia and to Karl Marx, Mao Tse-tung had said in China that westernisation was not modernisation. He had the guts; he had the courage to say that. We should also have courage to say that westernisation is not modernisation and while we stand for modernisation, we do not stand for blind imitation of the West. So what paradigm should be the model for our progress and development? That is an essential problem so far as our national march onwards is concerned. To consider all these things comprehensively, objectively, dispassionately, it was necessary that our own intellectuals should come together, should think together, should pool together their individual wisdom, and to have joint investigation into the truth at every level and arrive at conclusions in the light of the truth, in the light of the facts found, not hypothetically, but conclusions flowing naturally, logically, from the facts we have found.

Accepting this procedure, our intellectuals should have some joint investigations, and I think that it is with this end in view that Bharatiya Vichar Kendra was formed. I am sure that in Kerala, in spite of various efforts by outsiders and their representatives, their agents, to mislead the people, there are intellectuals who command respect in their respective fields, respective disciplines, and who are inclined to adopt this line, and to contribute to the joint investigative effort, for the Bharatiya Vichar Kendra in its proper form.

On this occasion, I just request all such intellectuals who understand the line adopted by the objectives set forth by Bharatiya Vichar Kendra, to adopt Bharatiya Vichar Kendra as their own personal endeavour and contribute their intellectual mite to the joint effort. This is my honest, humble request to the intellectuals who have gathered here and I hope, with the sincere co-operation of all of you, this modest beginning today will thrive into a gigantic endeavour

within a short time. With this hope in mind, and with your permission, I formally declare that Bharatiya Vichar Kendra is inaugurated.

Then - and Now!

(1893 : 1993)

When the Seer Vivekananda refused to accept the western paradigm as the universal model of progress and development, the 'progressive' Macaulayites were taken aback by this 'obscurantism' of an otherwise rational warrior-saint of Bharat, because, for them modernisation was westernisation. The leftists in the West considered his approach as status-quoist. When he talked of the glory of Bharat's ancient past, the radicals dubbed him as a revivalist.

All this in spite of the fact that Nivedita, who had been a staunch follower of Prince Kropotkin, the most revolutionary ideologue of the contemporary West, became a life-long disciple of Swamiji, after bringing about a prolonged meeting between the European anarchist and the Bharatiya spiritualist.

They could not understand and appreciate Swamiji for two reasons. Firstly, it was the heyday of western materialism whose internal self-contradictions could not be perceived by its votaries. And secondly, they had very hazy notions about the terms 'revivalism', 'reform', 'revolution' and 'renaissance.'

In the materialist West, it was believed that matter was basic and that the mind was only a superstructure on it. Consequently, socio-economic order was basic. Once an appropriate order was established, corresponding psychological changes in the popular mind would follow automatically. Hindu sages thought that matter and mind, both were important; but since Nature had bestowed decision-making ability only on mind, it was more basic. Moulding of individual and social minds was more important than enacting statutes or raising institutions. Experience has proved that the Hindu view was correct and realistic.

See, for example, what Dr. Ambedkar had to say about human rights:

"Rights are protected not by law, but by the social and moral conscience of society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognise the rights which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no law, no parliament, no judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word."

In this context Abraham Lincoln observed:

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"With public sentiment, nothing can fail, without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

The experience of the United Nations has been:

"In spite of all these, it is generally realised that a real guarantee for the preservation of human rights, civil liberties and fundamental freedoms lies in the level of consciousness of a common man, and in people-to-people relationship on the sound basis of international understanding."

Historian Will Durant says:

"After all, when one tries to change institutions without having changed the nature of men, that unchanged nature will soon resurrect those institutions."

Thus, the real guarantee lies not in the institutional framework, or constitution of the country, or the law of the land, but in the level of the consciousness of a common man. Hence the Hindu stress upon *"samskaras."*

Objective revolution in the social order cannot succeed unless it is preceded by a corresponding subjective revolution in the social mind. What is the nature of such subjective revolution? Justice M.G. Ranade explains:

"The change which we should all seek is thus a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from statute to contract, from authority to reason, from unorganised to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to sense of human dignity. This is what I understand by social revolution both for individuals and for societies in this country."

Since the western materialists ignored the significance of the role of mind, they could not understand how legitimate pride for the past generates appropriate aspirations for the future and how in the very attempt to glorify the past are sown the seeds of the glory of the

future. In his *'Studies in a Dying Culture'* Christopher Caldwell remarks:

"The return to the classics dominated the bourgeois Renaissance. Rome influenced Napoleon and the Revolution. The return to the natural uncorrupted man was the ideal of eighteenth-century revolutionists. Yet it is the new man whose tension men feel in their minds and hearts at such times.... He may think it is the past he is born to save or re-establish on earth and only when it is done is it seen that the future has come into being. The reformer returning to primitive Christianity brings bourgeois Protestantism into being."

Being materialists, the westerners could not comprehend that the material and the non-material are the two facets of the same coin and the exclusive emphasis on the material aspect would create imbalance in the individual as well as social life. Is it possible for the West to reconcile individual liberty with social discipline? In the materialistic West liberty soon degenerates into licentiousness, and discipline into regimentation. The West could never conceive of basic organic unity in the midst of apparent diversities, for it mistook uniformity for unity. It could not appreciate the merit of Hindu social order, for it mistook our stability for stagnation and its own adventurism for dynamism. It could not comprehend state without stateism. The West considered national self-reliance as incompatible with the spirit of international cooperation. In the West, nationalism degenerated into imperialism and internationalism into disloyalty to one's own nation. Could their leaders spell out, as Revered Shri Guruji did, the nature of the international order? Shri Guruji declared:

"The World State of our concept will evolve out of a federation of autonomous and self-contained nations under a common centre linking them all - it is the grand world-unifying thought of Hindus alone that can supply the abiding basis for human brotherhood, that knowledge of the inner Spirit which will charge the human mind with sublime urge to toil for the happiness of mankind, while opening out full and free scope for every small life-speciality on the face of the earth to grow to its full stature. Verily this is the one real practical world-mission, if ever there was one."

The Hindu Seers visualised the emergence of the World State enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures as well as the flowering of the '*Manava Dharma*' enriched by the perfection of all the religions including materialism.

The western thinking was based upon 'either-or-ism'; the Hindu on 'as-well-as-ism'. The thinking there was compartmentalised; here integrated. For them, man was a mere material being; for us he was a physical-mental-intellectual-spiritual being. They were subservient to *Artha-Kama*; we had a drive towards *Purushartha Chatushtaya*. For them, society was a club of self-centred individuals; for us it was a body with all individuals therein as its limbs. There, the goal was happiness for oneself; here it was happiness for all. It was a case of acquisitiveness vs '*aparigraha*' or non-possession; profit-motive vs service motive; consumerism vs restrained consumption; exploitation vs '*antyaodaya*' (unto the last); rights-oriented consciousness of others' duties vs duty-oriented consciousness of others' rights; the rape of Nature vs the milking of Nature; and constant conflict between an individual, the society and the Nature, vs the complete harmony between an individual, the society and the Nature.

To reject the western paradigm as a model of development in 1893, when the entire globe was under the empire or the hegemony of the West, was a gesture of unique courage of conviction on the part of Swami Vivekananda. Even the westernised elite of his own country considered his statements as preposterous. Being an able exponent of *Dharma* which ensures simultaneously the achievement of material prosperity and spiritual elevation, Swamiji could perceive the internal self-contradictions of crude materialism and envisage the disastrous consequences of laying exclusive stress on the material aspect.

What has the year 1993 to say about his claims and assertions in 1893?

Obviously, the focal point of all activities of the westerners has been 'development'. But their vision being blurred and thinking lopsided, their concept of 'development' suffered from great imbalance. The developing countries of the South or the Third World were tempted or persuaded to blindly follow the model of the developed countries, though, as Gurudev Tagore observed, God has given different question papers to different countries and, consequently, copying the answer paper of any other country would be of no use. But has the western paradigm been helpful to the real development of the developing countries?

Every culture has its own suitable model. The model of development brought over from another cultural setting, or imposed by alien vested interests, can be disastrous. Ivan Illich, the famous author of *Towards a History of Needs*, *Medical Nemesis*, *Tools for Conviviality* and *De-schooling Society*, narrates his Mexican experience of the 'Development Myth'. He looks at 'development' from the ground level. He sees the effect the 'development' has had on the life of the poor in the rural areas and slums - erosion of means of subsistence and traditional skills; loss of self-reliance, dignity, and solidarity of communities; spoliation of Nature; displacement from traditional environments; unemployment, bulldozing traditional self-reliant communities into the cash economy; cultural rootlessness; and the corruption of politics. He asks whether this is development or the price that is being paid for a blue-print of development that has no relation to the conditions and goals of the communities that are described as the beneficiaries of development.

Against this background Ivan Illich says:

"Development means to have started on a road that others know better, to be on the way towards a goal that others have reached, to race up a one-way street. Development means the sacrifice of environments, solidarities, traditional interpretations and customs, to ever-changing expert-advice. Development

promises enrichment; and for the overwhelming majority, has always meant the progressive modernisation of their poverty."

In conclusion Illich remarks:

"The time has come to recognise 'development' itself as the malignant myth whose pursuit threatens those among whom I live in Mexico. The 'crisis' in Mexico enables us to dismantle 'development' as a goal."

It is worth noting that the case Illich refers to is of a representative type for all developing countries.

What is the fate of the so-called 'developed' countries that represent typical western paradigm?

In absence of any social indicators, social control of science and technology - a technological ombudsman, or a long-range vision of the future, these countries are moving fast towards a destination unknown to themselves. No doubt, science brings about changes. But have they anticipated the direct and indirect effects of such changes over distances of time and space? Their politicians, administrators, technologists and scientists are having a short-time horizon. Whatever is useful immediately will be adopted by them; they will not pause to consider the long-range effects, over long distances of time and space.

One eminent thinker says:

"Change is life itself; but change rampant, change unguided, change unrestrained, accelerated change, overwhelming not man's physical defences but his decisional processes - such change is the enemy of life."

Scientist Ralph Lap observes:

"No one, not even the most brilliant scientist alive today, really knows where science is taking us. We are aboard a train which is gathering speed and racing down the track on which there are an unknown number of switches leading to unknown destination. No single scientist is in the engine cab. There may be demons at the switch. Most of society is in the cupboards looking backwards."

Dr. Lero Augustein, Chairman of the Department of Biophysics at Michigan State University, remarks:

"Science marches on, fast and furious. But all too often our ability to handle our new-found powers does not keep pace. Increasingly the advance being made in many areas of science and technology pose ethical and moral dilemmas which cannot be solved by facts alone."

(Let Us Play God)

In his twenty-five-year effort to study the astonishing changes propelling us into the 21st century, Alvin Toffler has produced a trilogy, - 'Future Shock' looking at the process of change - how change affects people and organisations;

- 'The Third Wave' focusing on the directions of change - where today's changes are taking us; and

Tower shift' dealing with the control of changes still to come - who will shape them and how. His well-considered conclusion is:

"We live at a moment when the entire structure of power that held the world together is now disintegrating. A radically different structure of power is taking form. And this is happening at every level of human society. Power is not just shifting at the pinnacle of corporate life This crack-up of old-style authority and power in business and daily life is accelerating at the very moment when global power structures are disintegrating as well..."

"Out of this massive restructuring of power relationships like the shifting and grinding of tectonic plates in advance of an earthquake, will come one of the rarest events in human history: a revolution in the very nature of power."*

"A powershift does not merely transfer power. It transforms it."

After referring to the fall of Soviet power, Toffler says:

"Slower and less dramatically, the world's other superpower also went into relative decline. So much has been written about America's loss of global power that it bears no repetition here."

Regarding Japan?

"Even those dreadnoughts of Japanese fiscal power, the Bank of Japan and the Ministry of Finance, whose controls guided Japan through the high-growth period, the oil-shock, the stock-market crash, and the Yen rise, now find themselves impotent against the turbulent market forces destabilising the economy."

And Western Europe?

"Still more striking shifts of power are changing the face of Western Europe... The nations of Western Europe thus are caught between Bonn or Berlin on the one side and Brussels (the European Community base) on the other. Here, too, power is shifting rapidly away from its established centres."

As if to sum up his studied findings, he concludes:

"Yet only rarely does an entire globe-girdling system of power fly apart in this fashion. It is an even rarer moment in history when all the rules of the power-game change at once, and the very nature of power is revolutionised."

See Appendix II

Obviously, the western model has miserably failed to ensure continued stability and security for the developed countries. Their 'development' itself has become a bane, a Frankenstein for them.

Communism has failed.

The days of capitalism are numbered; it will not last even up to 2010 A.D. The search is already going on for 'The Third Way.'

But it may be remembered that some great thinkers in the West, such as Emerson, Paul Martin Dubost, or Arnold Toynbee, had already anticipated this crisis in the western civilisation and started their search for the new guide to world affairs. There was unanimity of views among them about the country competent to play the role of World Teacher. For example, Arnold Toynbee says:

"Today we are still living in this transitional chapter of the world's history, but it is already becoming clear that a chapter which had a western beginning will have to have an Indian ending if it is not to end in the self-destruction of the human race. In the present age, the world has been united on the material plane by western technology. But this western skill has not only 'annihilated distance'; it has armed the peoples of the world with weapons of devastating power at a time when they have been brought to point-blank range of each other without yet having learnt to know and love each other. At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way of salvation for mankind is an Indian way.

"If India were ever to fail to live up to this Indian ideal which is the finest, and therefore, the most exacting legacy in your Indian heritage, it would be a poor look-out for mankind as a whole. So a great spiritual responsibility rests on India."

They are confident that Bharat will do the needful because they know that "in India there is an attitude towards life, and an approach to the handling of human affairs that answers to the needs of the present situation, and this not only inside India but in the world as a whole."

Thus they have defined the role and responsibility of Bharat in the 21st-century world affairs. The circle that had its beginning in 1893 is about to become complete now. But the Seer who had initiated this process on that historic day is no longer in our midst to guide us in this respect. Who will take his place and lead us in the world-mission?

A few days before the maha-nirvana of Revered Shri Guruji, a senior Pracharak from Delhi had come to see him to inquire about his health. At the time of departure Shri Guruji asked him, "Have you read that when Shri Aurobindo was in jail in 1905, Swami Vivekananda used to visit him every night and teach him *Yoga*? Aurobindo himself has written this."

The Pracharak replied, "No, Guruji, I have not read this."

After a long pause, Shri Guruji said, "Yes! It is always like that. When God sends somebody in this world for a specific mission, and the same is not accomplished during his lifetime, he is not allowed to attain '*Moksha*'. Without assuming physical form, remaining in the '*a-shareeree*' (bodiless) condition, he has to assist, supervise and guide his unaccomplished mission. He is not competent for '*Moksha*' before the fulfilment of his original responsibility."

While passing this remark, the Pracharak was wondering, whom was Shri Guruji hinting at? Swami Vivekananda, or himself, or both?

PART III

THOUGHTS ON CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL SYSTEM

Towards an Indigenous Legal System*

I

I am aware that every activist of the Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad is a patriotic and responsible member of the society comporting himself, at all times, in a manner befitting his status as an officer of the court, a privileged member of the community, and a gentleman, bearing in mind that what may be lawful and moral for a person who is not a member of the bar, or for a member of the bar in his non-professional capacity, may still be improper for an advocate; an advocate fearlessly upholding the interest of his client and canons of conduct and etiquette adopted as general guidelines, and thus fulfilling his duties to the court, the client, the opponent, fellow lawyers, the Bar Council, the persons under training and the indigent and oppressed in need of free legal aid, and engaging himself - if at all necessary - in part-time employment provided that the nature of the employment does not conflict with his professional work and is not inconsistent with the dignity of the profession. Every delegate attending this meet is a votary of value-based life.

It is a rare privilege, nowadays, to meet such lawyers in such a large number in one congregation. I am therefore extremely thankful to the conveners of this conference for providing me this golden opportunity. I heartily welcome all the delegates whose presence here has revived my hopes about the future of the legal profession, as well as the future of the country through the invaluable contribution of this dignified profession.

We are meeting here at a time when all those concerned with the future of the country are becoming increasingly sceptical about the efficacy of the present legal system, doubting seriously whether today the 'Right is Might' or the 'Might is Right'. It is true that, as T. K. Oommen explains,

"The social milieu in the Indian context is constituted by (a) the persistent values of the old social order, (b) the aspired values of the evolving new society, (c) the incongruity or mismatch

* Inaugural address to Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad at New Delhi on 7 September 1992.

between these two, and (d) law as a system-stabilising and/or change-promoting instrument in society", and that "the important elements of legal milieu are (a) the process of law-making, (b) the style of law-implementation, (c) the mechanism of dispute-processing, (d) the response of those involved in disputes (the attitude and behaviour of litigants) to the legal institutions, and (e) the

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personnel in interaction in dispute-processing - judges, lawyers, court officials, police and para-professionals (e.g., lawyers' clerks)."

Comprehensively viewed, legal professionals comprise a variety of occupational categories - jurists (academic lawyers and scholars), judges and magistrates, practitioners of law and legal advisers, legal technicians (e.g., petition writers) etc. But ours is a congregation of practising lawyers who can, more than any other category, influence the nature and the character of the legal system. Unfortunately, the prestige of the legal profession is declining today. And along with it is declining the prestige of the legal system. Hence the scepticism, if not cynicism, of a common man. Consequently, it can be stated without exaggeration that the timing of this gathering of the legal luminaries has enhanced its importance, significance and utility.

Of course, a common man is not expected to be conversant with all the intricacies, niceties and subtleties of law and the constitution, but his common sense often enables him to perceive instinctively some of the facets of reality that often escape the notice of learned experts. He fails to understand, for example, why a number of Conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) are not yet ratified and implemented; why in keeping with the letter and the spirit of Article 44 there has been no effort to evolve a uniform civil code; why Article 370 introduced initially as a temporary measure is being recognised as a permanent feature and an integral part of the Constitution; why Articles 29 and 30 are not being interpreted in a manner so as not to encourage separatist tendencies and 'minorityism'; why steps are not taken in pursuance of Article 48, for preserving and improving the breeds and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle; why the number of courts is not being increased on the slippery plea of lack of funds - when the unprecedented arrears of cases are an obvious fact, and justice has not yet become cheap and expeditious - a fact resulting inevitably in the denial of justice to an unprecedented extent, since justice delayed is justice denied; why power of judicial review, which was intended to be a curb on arbitrariness of the executive, is being allowed to be

misused; why universally accepted criterion for the appointment of judges is being ignored in a number of cases; or objective assessment of the need for the review of law and the judicial reforms is not yet being undertaken. Obviously, this enumeration is only illustrative, and not exhaustive: firstly because the lawyers are quite aware of the misapprehensions in the mind of a common citizen, and, secondly, I may be crossing the limits of propriety if, in this

attempt, I prejudge the issues you are going to discuss and decide in course of this conference.

The fact of the matter is that those who were in charge of the destinies of Bharat after the transfer of power were blind followers of their colonial masters and their systems, forgetting the fact that our course of historical development has been entirely different from that of Great Britain, and the Westminster model cannot be suitable for a country with pluralistic society and a very high percentage of illiteracy and poverty. They were ignorant of the Bharatiya ethos and the systems evolved under it. The 14th report of the Indian Law Commission was wrong in asserting that

"Had the ancient system (of law) been allowed to develop normally, it would have assumed a form not different from the one that we follow today."

This observation had been made on the strength of ignorance and was not the outcome of first-hand knowledge of Bharatiya order. It was fashionable, though incorrect, in those days to state that Modern Indian Law "is unmistakably Indian in its origin and outlook." Such a statement served the political purpose of the rulers, but it was not in keeping with the actual facts. Our leaders did not care to study in depth the Bharatiya systems. But, what was worse, they did not even assimilate the real spirit of the Britishers and their systems. Thus they managed to miss the best of both the systems.

The scene immediately after the transfer of power proves the intellectual slavery of our leaders.

Lord Mountbatten was the first Governor-General of Free India. The Indian Army continued to be under the Supreme Command of the British Commander-in-Chief, General Boucher, for two years after August 15, 1947. Our Defence Services Education continued to be in their hands. The first Government of Free India retained the previous administrative habits and procedures, from parliamentary procedure to those of the secret files on the lower staff, introduced and evolved by the colonial administration to preserve law and order. In April 1948 Jawaharlal Nehru told the Constituent Assembly: *"One has to be careful about the steps one takes so as not to injure the existing structure too much - I am not brave and gallant enough to go about destroying any more."*

Cautious but not dynamic, in spite of revolutionary slogans! One is compelled to agree with the following observation of Nagi Reddy:

"Whatever the outward changes in political control, nothing essential has changed either in our social set-up or in our economic organisation."

The same holds good regarding our legal system also. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar said:

"We are not starting a constitution anew after a revolution. The existing administrative structure which has worked so long cannot be altogether ignored in the new framework."

So also the colonial legal system of trial. The colonial laws are carried over and their procedures retained.

To cite a single example, see the system of trial. Our traditional system is investigative. It can fully serve the purpose of justice. The British system is accusatory. Lord Denning says:

"In the system of trial which we have evolved in this country, the judge sits to hear and determine the issues raised by the parties, not to conduct an investigation or examination on behalf of society at large, as happens, we believe, in some foreign countries."

After explaining the current British system, Lord Denning says:

"So firmly is all this established in our law that the judge is not allowed in a civil dispute to call a witness who he thinks might throw some light on the facts. He must rest content with the witnesses called by the parties...so also it is for the advocates, each in his turn, to examine the witnesses, and not for the judge to take it on. himself lest by so doing he appear to favour one side or the other. The judge's part in all this is to hearken to the evidence, only himself addressing questions to witnesses when it is necessary to clear up any point that has been overlooked or left obscure; to see that the advocates behave themselves seemly and keep to the rules laid down by law; to exclude irrelevancies and discourage repetition; to make sure by wise intervention that he follows the points that the advocates are making and can assess their worth; and at the end to make up his mind where the truth lies. If he goes beyond this, he drops the mantle of judge and assumes the robe of an advocate - and the change does not become him well."

Every court has to depend on witnesses. It is vital to the administration of justice that they should give their evidence freely and without fear. Under the present situation, where there is a nexus between politicians and criminals - when politics itself is being criminalised, is it practicable to get reliable witnesses who would speak out freely and fearlessly in the face of money power and muscle power?

Denning finds the British legal system inadequate in yet another respect. According to him,

"There has been no lowering of standards. But there is this difference today. Public men are more vulnerable than they were; and it behoves them, even more than ever, to give no cause for scandal. For if they do, they have to reckon with a growing hazard which has been disclosed in the evidence I have heard. Scandalous information about well-known people has become a marketable commodity. True or false, actual or invented, it can be sold. The greater the

scandal, the higher the price it commands. If supported by photographs or letters, real or imaginary, all the better. Often enough, the sellers profess to have themselves as participants in the discreditable conduct which they seek to exploit. Intermediaries move in ready to assist the sale and ensure the highest prices. The story improves with the telling. It is offered to the newspapers. There are only a few of them who deal in this commodity. They vie with one another to buy it. Each is afraid the other will get it first. So they buy it on chance that it will turn out profitable. Sometimes it is no use to them. It is palpably false. At other times it is credible. But even so, they dare not publish the whole of the information. The law of libel and the rules of contempt of court exert an effective restraint. They publish what they can, but there remains a substantial part which is not fit for publication. This unpublished part goes round by word of mouth. It does not stop in Fleet Street. It goes to Westminster. It crosses the channel, even the Atlantic and back again, swelling all the time. Yet without the original purchase, it might never have got started on its way... When such deplorable consequences are seen...., the one thing that is clear is that something should be done to stop the trafficking in scandal for reward."

Thirty years ago Denning had touched yet another aspect in his *Freedom under the Law*. He remarked: *"Our procedure for securing our personal freedom is efficient, but our procedure for preventing the abuse of power is not. Just as the pick and shovel is no longer suitable for the mining of coal, so also the procedure of mandamus, certiorari, and action on the case, are not suitable for the winning of freedom in the new age. We have in our time to deal with changes which are of equal constitutional significance as those which took place 3000 years ago. Let us prove ourselves equal to the challenges."*

But, again, about keeping the balance between freedom and security, he observes:

"It (i.e., freedom) must be matched, of course, with social security, by which I mean, the peace and good order of the community in which we live. The freedom of the just man is worth little to him if he can be preyed upon by the murderer or the thief. Every society must have means to protect itself from marauders. It must have powers to arrest, to search and to imprison those who break its laws. So long as those powers are properly exercised, they are the safeguards of freedom. But powers may be abused, and if those powers are abused, there is no tyranny like them."

This was the state of affairs in Britain three decades back. In India, this state of affairs prevails today. But mark the difference between the attitude of the Britishers and that of our leaders. There is marked difference between the British law on this point thirty years ago and the law as it stands today. Accepting the challenge, previous decisions have been departed from; many long-accepted propositions have been overthrown; "ouster" clauses have themselves been ousted; and literal interpretation has gone by the board. All in support of the rule of law. All done so as to curb the abuse of power by the

executive authorities. In our country, we have failed to achieve this. We are still inheriting the negative points of the colonial legal systems.

In *The Discipline of Law* Denning's theme is that

"The principles of law laid down by the judges in the 19th century - however suited to social conditions of that time - are not suited to the social necessities and social opinion of the 20th century. They should be moulded and shaped to meet the needs and opinion of today."

He explains how the British law has tried to keep pace with the times in respect of, among other things, divorce, the disputed property rights and the custody of children; the deserted wife's equity and wife's share in the matrimonial home; a seizure of assets so as to conserve them for the creditor in case he should afterwards get judgment; the construction of documents according to the "schematic" method of interpretation instead of the traditional, strict constructionism; the position of law regarding *locus standi*, enabling an ordinary citizen to enforce the law for the benefit of all, against public authorities in respect of their statutory duties; the means of restraining the abuse or misuse of their powers by 'voluntary organisations' against one of their own members as well as against third persons, that is, the public at large; the effort to narrow down the gap between strict rules of law and the social necessities of the 20th century; the law involving negligence as an independent and vigorous wrong - extending thereby the liability of professional men and of public authorities; and the flexibility regarding the doctrine of precedent.

All this indicates the vigour and the cautious dynamism of the British legal system. Our leaders have been blind followers but on the whole bad disciples of their intellectual masters. Apart from the brilliant exceptions of a few idealistic judges, generally, they are *status-quoists* - moving forward grudgingly only when pushed by the violent public pressure or inspired by the purely opportunistic considerations. They have not yet recovered from the psychological impact of colonialism.

This congregation furnishes us with a silver lining to an otherwise dark cloud. Probably for the first time lawyers with patriotic fervour, sense of social responsibility, intellectual vitality, and cautious dynamism are coming together to discuss the urgent problems confronting their profession and the nation. It encourages us to hope that our pleaders would succeed where our leaders have failed.

I

Unto The Last

Right from the beginning it was evident that the Constitution was inadequate and unable to protect the interests of the weaker sections. Dr.

Babasaheb Ambedkar is rightly described as the chief architect of the Constitution. But the Constitution does not reflect his views completely and accurately, because he had to accommodate the views of various sections in the Constituent Assembly. He was often obliged to evolve compromise formulae. He was of the view that: *"Political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few, and the many are not only beasts of burden but also beasts of prey.... the downtrodden classes must not be allowed to evolve into a class struggle or a class war. The recognition of the class structure of society and the income structure of society as sacrosanct, was utterly undemocratic and unrealistic. It set in motion influences which were harmful to rational human relationships. There were no common interests. The isolation and exclusiveness following upon the class structure creates in the privileged classes an anti-social spirit of a gang."*

Has the Constitution succeeded in eliminating the danger?

In his concluding speech in the Constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar said:

"On the 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality, and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognizing the principle of 'one man and one vote, and one vote, one value.' In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man, one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment, or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

Dr. Ambedkar was convinced that:

"it is equally essential to prescribe the shape and the form of economic structure of society, if democracy is to live up to its principle of one man, one value."

Subsequently, he even declared that he would publicly burn a copy of the Constitution drafted by himself if, as he apprehended, it failed to protect the rights of the downtrodden.

In his *Competing Equalities* Marc Gallanter observed:

"Indian system of preferential treatment for historically disadvantaged sections of the population is unprecedented in scope and extent. India embraced equality as a cardinal value against background of elaborate, valued and clearly perceived inequalities. Her constitutional policies to offset these proceeded from an awareness of the entrenched and emulative nature of group inequalities. The result has been an array of programmes that I call, collectively, a policy of compensatory discrimination. If one reflects on the propensity of nations to neglect the claims of those at the bottom, I think it fair to say that this policy of compensatory discrimination has been pursued with remarkable persistence and generosity, if not always with vigour and effectiveness, for the past thirty years."

Dr. Sivaramayya remarks:

"The balance between the meritorious and proportional concept of equality postulated in Article 16 brings in its wake certain problems, quite apart from the inherent incongruence between them... The right of equality of opportunity based on the meritorious concept exists in favour of the individual whereas protective discrimination exists in favour of collectivities. The former right is enforced by the courts, the latter is based on the policies of legislatures and their implementation by executives. Conflicts arise out of the varying degrees of emphasis placed on the rights by the judicial and executive organs of the state."

And, again,

"The difficulties are further compounded, because the basic law where the provisions of equality in the part on fundamental rights are at variance with those in the Directive Principles of State Policy, is itself riddled with contradictions. The contradictions are at least partly the result of the scarcity of resources which prevents the state from matching the abolition of disabilities, with the erection of abilities without which the Directive Principles merely mock at the very poor. There is no way in which the jobless can secure their right to work or the destitute obtain justice in the absence of provision for free legal aid."

It must, therefore, be borne in mind that in this as well as in every other respect the utility of law has limitations. Ande Eeteil, the editor of *Equality and Inequality: Theory and Practice*, opines that

"The law cannot make up for deficiency of public education... Whether Indians can make effective the ideals of equality or not, will depend on the firmness with which they are able to apply themselves to the building of institutions."

In his review of this compilation, Shamlal observes:

"They (i.e., the authors-contributors) are careful, however, to guard against seductive simplifications. The very purpose of their exercise is to show that things are far more tangled up, and therefore, far more impervious to simple remedies, than the rhetoric of those who cast themselves in the role of saviour of poor will admit. The facts of the situation here, once we have a hard look at them, turn out to be far more discerning than stock liberal Gandhian or Marxist remedies make allowance for."

How far can courts help in the matter?

Gallanter answers that

"Courts can avert the worst dangers by maintaining a precarious balance between competing commitments to formal equality and compensatory justice, but they may be less capable of addressing to problems of costs and ineffectiveness that plague such policies."

Dr. Ambedkar remarks on this question:

"The idea of making a gift of fundamental rights to every individual is no doubt very laudable. The question is, how to make them effective? The prevalent view is that once rights are enacted in a law then they are safeguarded. This again is an unwarranted assumption. As experience proves, rights are protected not by law but by the social and moral conscience of society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognise the rights which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no law, no parliament, no judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word."

Dr. Ambedkar had found that the democratic set-up in Great Britain depended for its safety more on the spirit of constitutional morality among the British people, rather than upon the constitution itself. He agreed with Abraham Lincoln who said:

"He who moulds public sentiments goes deeper than he who enacts a statute or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

On another occasion Dr. Ambedkar said:

"Laws are made by man for man. Law has not created man but man has created law for his own happiness."

Kuber, one of his intimates, conveys that,

"In his (i.e., Dr. Ambedkar's) conception of law it is implied that law should be enforced not only by punishment but also by education, by an appeal to the mind of man and the spirit of society."

Thus the real guarantee lies in the "social and moral conscience of society." Probably, that is why the sage Narada said, नष्टे धर्मे मनुष्याणामव्यवारः प्रवर्तते। (When people bid good-bye to *Dharma*, disputes arise).

Dr. Ambedkar said:

"However good a constitution may be, it is sure to turn out to be bad because those who are called on to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a constitution may be, it may turn out to be good, if those who are called on to work it happen to be a good lot."

Here is a specific task to be urgently undertaken by the Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad. For, from this particular point of view, the country is fast going downhill. The most glaring and typical examples of this are the behaviour of Shanmukham Chetty and Lai Bahadur Shastri on the one hand, and that of Dr. Manmohan Singh and Jaffer Sharief on the other, when confronted with similar situation. We have come a long way from the position taken by Pt. Nehru on 17 August 1948, and 26 November 1956, on the resignations of his distinguished, and personally innocent colleagues. As S.N. Mishra observes, nothing illustrates the change that has taken place more than the growing tendency among

ministers to disown responsibility, in face of precedents and traditions to the contrary, even where grave irregularities have occurred in the departments under their charge. Such is the sea-change in the political culture that responsibility, the keyword of parliamentary democracy, is as good as banished from the political lexicon of the ruling class. The new creed appears to be that majority equals moral authority.

Time-honoured, healthy precedents, traditions, conventions and standards have become irrelevant. Things can move only when there is pressure of violent agitations.

Under the circumstance, no legal protection or social justice can be available to those who cannot organise themselves into violent pressure groups. It is precisely such sections of 'the wretched of the earth' who need such protection and justice most like the Shah Banos, victims of dowry-murders and other atrocities, the unfortunate women forced to become prostitutes, devadasis, women workers, working housewives, the divorcees, the eunuchs, the orphans, the innocent children working under callous employers;

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children kidnapped, maimed and used by professional goondas for begging, and the children of divorced persons; the Vanavasis deprived of their traditional rights in forest areas, victims of the conspiracy of contractors, conservators and politicians, and displaced on a large scale in the name of developmental projects like dams; the denotified communities or the ex-criminal tribes and all the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes; the bonded labour; the dalits and the backward classes; those affected by natural calamities such as floods, fire, droughts, earthquakes, epidemics, etc., or by extraneous factors such as terrorism, riots, wars, accidents, violence, sabotage, etc; families of military personnel or members of police and other forces killed while discharging their duties; rural artisans and handicraftsmen; millions of illiterate unemployed and underemployed; the educated unemployed, workers retrenched on account of high technology, victims of occupational hazards and occupational diseases, of the violation of environmental law and safety measures, as well as the law relating to cruelty towards animals; the homeless and the slum-dwellers; the unsuspecting, illiterate consumers; the destitutes; the disabled; the handicapped; the crippled; the mentally retarded, the juvenile delinquents and the lunatics; the blind, the deaf, and the dumb; the beggars and the victims of dreadful diseases; refugees as distinct from infiltrators; prisoners who become victims of the lust or the sadism of jail authorities.

All these unfortunate people are unable to organise themselves into effective pressure groups. As representatives of the moral and social conscience

of the society, the activists of the Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad are expected to do the needful to provide appropriate relief to them.

III

Minorityism

While the idealistic humanitarians are sincerely concerned about the miserable plight of all the sections of the downtrodden, irrespective of their voting strength, the worldly-wise politicians have suddenly become the messiahs of minorities that constitute solid vote-banks. This has given rise to the cancer of 'Minorityism.'

Justice Hidayatullah remarked: *"The word 'Minority' has not been defined in this Article or elsewhere in the Constitution.... the framers of the Constitution were aware that a comprehensive definition of 'Minorities' was difficult to frame."*

Dr. Ambedkar pointed out that since the word "minority" was capable of a narrow interpretation and the intention was to provide protection in the matter of culture, language, and script in a wider sense, the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly had dropped the word 'minority', and used instead the phrase "any section of the citizens."

Just after India attained independence, the Constituent Assembly on 27 August 1947, took up for consideration the Report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities.

B. Pocker, a member, moved the following amendment which was negated:

"That on a consideration of the report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, etc., this meeting of the Constituent Assembly resolves that all elections to the Central or Provincial Legislatures should, as far as Muslims are concerned, be held on the basis of separate electorates."

Next day, that is, on August 28, Sardar Patel, Chairman of the Advisory Committee, said:

"Therefore, I would not have to say anything on this motion. I think it is better that we know our minds so that we understand where we stand. If the process that was adopted, and which resulted in the partition of the country, is to be repeated, then I say: Those who want that kind of thing have a place in Pakistan, not here."

Minority rights became a subject of heated public debate when, subsequently, they were blatantly misused by the minority communities.

In case of minority education institutions, Justice Beg and Justice Dwivedi observed,

"It is an illusion for a minority to claim absolute immunity."

Justice Das said:

"Nor do we see any reason to limit Article 29 (2) to the citizens belonging to a minority group other than the sections or the minorities referred to in Article 29 (1) or Article 30 (1), for the citizens who do not belong to any minority group may' quite conceivably need this protection just as much as citizens of such other minority groups. To limit this right only to citizens belonging to minority groups will be to provide a double protection for such citizens and to hold that the citizens of the majority group have no special educational institution for the maintenance of which they make contributions by way of taxes, is not justifiable. We see no cogent reason for such discrimination."

In another case Justice Beg observed:

"Article 30(1) which was meant to serve as shield of minority educational institutions against the invasion of certain rights protected by it and declared fundamental so that they are not discriminated against, cannot be converted by them into a weapon to exact unjustifiable, preferential or discriminatory treatment for minority institutions so as to obtain the benefits but to reject the obligations of statutory rights."

As early as in 1930 itself, Dr. Ambedkar had said:

"To say that this country is divided by castes and creeds, and that it cannot be one united self-governing community unless adequate safeguards for protection of minorities are made a part of Constitution, is a position to which there can be no objection. But minorities must bear in mind that although we are today divided by sects and atomized by castes, our ideal is a United India. No demand from minority should, wittingly or unwittingly, sacrifice this ideal."

On 4 November 1948, Dr. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly:

"In this country both - the minorities and the majorities - have followed a wrong path. It is wrong for the majority to deny the existence of minorities, it is equally wrong for the minorities to perpetuate themselves. A solution must be found which will serve a double purpose. It must recognise the existence of the minorities to start with. It must also be such that it will enable majorities and minorities to merge some day into one."

How can this ideal stage be reached? It will be a surprise to many in our country to know that the alternative strategies to achieve this goal were discussed in the League of Nations immediately after the end of the First World War. The views expressed on that occasion are as valid and relevant today as they were at that time.

After the war, the map of Europe was redrawn creating a problem of minority rights. The League of Nations put forth a formula of 'minority treaties'. Sir Austin Chamberlain explained in his speech at the League of Nations on 9 December 1925, how the declared object of the 'minority treaties' was "to secure for the minorities that measure of protection and justice, which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged."

Was this a case of robust optimism or mere gullibility? This risk, which the League ran in certain states, was vividly expressed by Paul Fauchille in his speech at the League Council on the same date, i.e., 9 December 1925. Fauchille said:

"This is a solution which perhaps is not without certain dangers; for, if equality of treatment of all the inhabitants of a country is an element of political and social peace, the recognition of rights belonging to minorities as separate entities, by increasing their own strength, may provoke them to separate themselves from the state of which they form a part, and in view of the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, the recognition of the rights of these minorities runs a risk of leading to the disruption of states."

These were the two approaches. The disastrous fate of unfortunate Czechoslovakia proves beyond the faintest shadow of doubt, how hollow were Sir Austin Chamberlain's hopes and how justified the apprehensions of Paul Fauchille. Because of political expediency, our politicians have preferred to adopt an ostrich-like attitude, learning nothing and unlearning nothing. Appropriate pressure of the awakened and enlightened public opinion is to be brought to bear on these power-hungry leaders who are the Chamberlains of modern Bharat. What can be the most efficacious instrument to accomplish this task of '*Jana Jagaran*' if not the Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad?

IV

Human Rights

The problem of 'Human Rights' attracted much public attention after revered Shri Balasaheb Deoras suggested that a Human Rights Commission should be constituted instead of the Minority Rights Commission. Justice Beg of the Minorities Commission had expressed the same view.

The problem of human rights has been agitating the minds of the people for various other reasons also.

Many uncommitted thinkers have expressed the view that presently the 'Human Rights' concept is often referred to only in cases of state terror and repression, police atrocities, insensitive judiciary, ineffective habeas corpus

petitions, the unlimited power given to para-state agencies, the misuse of the Terrorists And Disruptive Activities Act (TADA) often to neutralise the fundamental rights, and illegal solitary confinement. They demand that a 'Human Rights Commission' be instituted to enquire into human rights violation cases by the state. They have made suggestions regarding jails, tortured prisoners, encounter deaths, etc. They also feel that the concept of Human Rights needs ideally to be extended to cover all political, social, economic and cultural injustice towards mankind. They further feel that its definition should include a human being's right to food, job, shelter, health, etc., and social/political rights like freedom of speech and expression, etc.

They have also criticised the indiscriminate use of the Official Secrets Act. The views expressed are sometimes extreme. Often the plea for human rights is mischievously used to cover up illegal and anti-national activities. Nevertheless, it would be advisable in the national interest to remember the following remark by John Stuart Mill:

"A State which dwarfs its men in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished."

In Bharat, the Muslims are most vocal in asserting their rights. But most of the Islamic countries, except those in South-East Asia, have acute internal human rights problems. Gender is not at all covered by the provisions of human rights. The governments of these countries do not tolerate interference of any international agency in this matter which, they claim, is strictly their domestic affair.

Even in non-Islamic countries, the Muslims are not prepared to concede these rights to their women-folk.

'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights' is a statement of principles approved as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. It is not a treaty but a directive to all civilized governments to abide by the divine laws of the Creator and urges upon all mankind to promote worldwide respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Fortunately for us, some of our friends from abroad have not only thorough knowledge of the Human Rights Movement, but also actual experience of the practical working of the Human Rights Commission.

As Bharatiyas we feel that the whole thing is good so far as it goes. But in spite of the various devices and the entire institutional framework of the United Nations, a real guarantee for the preservation of human rights, civil liberties and fundamental freedoms, lies in the level of consciousness of the common man

and in people-to-people relationship on the sound basis of international understanding. The United Nations has the same experience.

John Kleinig who is one of the authorities on the problem of Human Rights observes:

"Unless there is love, care and concern for others as individuals, in addition to the recognition of rights, there remains a moral lack in international relationships. There is something morally inadequate in doing something for another because it is the other's due. Actions motivated simply by the rights of others remain anonymous or impersonal, whereas if motivated by love, care or concern for the other, their focus is on the other's particularity. Only relations of the latter kind are morally adequate. They are person-specific, whereas rights are species-specific."

Historian Will Durant says,

"After all, when one tries to change institutions without having changed the nature of men, that unchanged nature will soon resurrect those institutions."

Unfortunately, in our country the human rights movement is being dominated by the leftists and in some cases by anti-national elements. This situation must change. The nationalists must come forward as champions of human rights. More than anyone else, the activists of the Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad are suitably equipped to undertake this task as a life-mission.

V

The Constitution

For the legal fraternity, the Constitution is the most important document. The

Constitution is a

"frame of political society organised through and by law, that is to say, one in which law has established permanent institutions with recognised functions and definite rights."

The United Kingdom gives a role to its constitution which has no parallel elsewhere, though there is still no written document called the British Constitution. Constitutions have a lesser place in Canada, Norway and Sweden, but here, too, they stand to the fore. The Constitutions of France and Germany are not without their importance, but they have never achieved the place which they hold in such countries as the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries. In Germany, relative lack of experience in democratic form of government may be the reason. In France, there is something in the national character which limits the influence of the constitution below that found

in the U.K. and the U.S.A. In Latin American countries, constitutions are less binding as a fundamental law. There has never been an adequate understanding of the basic character and purpose of a constitution, though Uruguay has progressed comparatively better towards constitutionalism. Constitutions in most, if not all, of the Latin American states occupy a place quite different from that it enjoys in the United Kingdom. To an Englishman the constitution is the very foundation of government as it serves as the fundamental law of the country. But this is not the case in many other countries.

Thus the assumption that constitution is recognised as the most sacred or basic public document in all the countries of the world is not based on facts.

It is also wrong to presume that the western parliamentary democracy is the only possible form of good government.

Representative form of government is inadequate and defective, though every country has been modifying it in its own way from time to time to meet the requirements of the national scene. Criticism has, however, been levelled against democracy by many thinkers. Churchill thought that

"Democracy is the best among the worst forms of government." Prof.

Puntambekar used to say,

"In democracy, amateur is at the top, premature at the bottom, immature in the middle, and the mature out."

It is universally recognised that there is a gulf between direct democracy and representative government. To bridge the gulf, a number of devices, e.g., Referendum, Plebiscite, Initiative and Recall are introduced. (Recently, there is a tendency to replace plebiscite by referendum). Referendum is used in connection with constitution amendment in Australia, Denmark, Ireland, France, Italy, Switzerland, New Zealand, and in some of the States of the U.S.A.

But, in practice, all these devices have failed to achieve their objective.

The institution of state has come under fire from a number of renowned thinkers who feel that state is not an organism; it is a machinery, and it works like a machine, without taste, delicacy or intuition. It tries to manufacture. But what humanity is here to do is to grow and create.

According to Shri Aurobindo, in the modern state

"There is no guarantee that this ruling class or ruling body represents the best mind of the nation or its noblest aims or its highest instincts."

Regarding the politician, he further says,

"Great issues often come to him for decision, but he does not deal with them greatly."

The institution of a political party is fast losing its credibility. Alexander Solzhenitsyn says:

"A society in which political parties are active, never rises in the moral scale. In the world today, while we doubtfully advance towards dimly glimpsed goal, can we not, we wonder, rise above the two-party or multi-party system? Are there no extra-party or strictly 'non-party' paths of national development?"

We are all aware of the concept of partiless democracy and M.N. Roy's 'People Committees'. Our leaders have not been discreet in adopting the models set by constitutions of different countries. We were influenced mainly by the Westminster model.

Worst of all, we totally forgot that we have our very own approach to the problem of constitution. See the following typical reaction of P. Koteswara Rao, a constitutional expert:

"Our Constitution is neither Indian, nor Gandhian. It is not the people's constitution. It is unduly perplexed, confusing and inconsistent to reflect the nation's ethos and the people's genius in its provisions. It has become outmoded. The raw-material for making the constitution is not drawn from the native soil. The inspiration is not taken from the ancient wisdom. The needs and aspirations of the common man are couched only in rhetorical platitudes and empty propositions without creating any machinery for realisation. There was no people's participation in framing the constitution. The western concepts of political, economic and social ideologies are imported, without relevance to the conditions. It lacks a proper sense of priorities. It needs revision in many parts, deletions of many portions and incorporation of many new provisions. Hence it is high time to take stock of things realistically and boldly repeal the constitution, lock, stock and barrel, by replacing it by the native socialistic, genuinely democratic constitution."

Probably, even without further elaboration we can safely conclude that taking into consideration our national ethos as well as the modern trends of the outside world, a new constitution needs to be drafted without further delay.

VI

The Institutional Framework

All patriots are giving a serious thought to the problem of the institutional framework for future Bharat.

For any discussion, an appropriate point of reference is necessary. For the present one, it must be *Dharma*.

Till recently, explanation or elaboration of the concept of *Dharma* used to be necessary. Now the position is changed after the publication of '*Legal and Constitutional History of India*' by Justice M. Rama Jois.

Absorbing completely all the thought-currents of the West as well as the development of all indigenous thought-systems, Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya spelt out 'Integral Humanism' which is the manifestation of *Sanatana Dharma* in keeping with requirements of the post-second-industrial-revolution period. That has to be the point of reference in the matter of national reconstruction.

Dharma in practice comprises the unchanging, eternal universal laws and the ever-changing socio-economic order in the light of these universal laws.

For example, morality is a universal law; the institutional arrangements like marriage are subject to changes according to, or corresponding to, the periodical changes in the social scene.

With *Sanatana Dharma* as their point of reference, Revered Shri Guruji and Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya had put forth a number of suggestions. Take, for example, Panditji's concept of *Janapada*. He proposed an integrated form of government which would be unicentral but vested with minimum powers. There would be widest possible decentralisation of power to the lowest units through the *Janapadas*. His *Janapada* comprised areas with common local characteristics. The far-sightedness of Panditji was appreciated recently even by sceptical intellectuals when, after a number of agitations, they came to realise that Telangana, Vidarbha, Uttarakhand, Bundelkhand, Vananchal, Gorkhaland, Nagaland and Mizoram fulfil the criterion of Panditji's concept of *Janapada*.

Shri Guruji was firmly of the view that elections to the lowest primary units must be unanimous; unless there is unanimity there should be no elections. For us who are born and brought up in Westminster atmosphere this would appear to be fantastic. But it is worth remembering that Mohammed, the Prophet, also recommended this pattern of election on some occasions. Asked what should be the qualification for such unanimous election, the prophet said that one who has no desire to become "Amir" should be elected as "Amir".

Another important suggestion made by Shri Guruji was about Functional Representation. With the introduction of changes in the techniques of production, communication, etc., most of the 3,000-odd traditional trades became obsolete or uneconomical, and new trades came into being. This resulted in the breakdown of the traditional caste-system, though casteism is growing stronger for political reasons. Shri Guruji envisaged emergence of still more highly skilled jobs as a result of the uninterrupted advancement of modern technology, causing ever-increasing inter-occupational mobility. The process of consolidation and organization of occupational or trade groups must be pursued and the latter given due representation on elective bodies. The role of trade

unions, chambers of commerce, institutions of engineers, Indian Medical Association, commodity-wise consumers' associations, etc., would be helpful for this purpose according to him. But the vast majority of our people, such as peasants, the managerial and technical cadres, self-employed artisans, agricultural and forest labourers, etc., are still unorganised. Their occupation-wise organisation must be expedited, for successful introduction of the principle of 'functional representation', he thought.

Regarding the soundness or otherwise of such suggestions, lawyers are the best judges. They should also work out new models with the same point of reference.

VII

The Goal

The facts stated so far lead us inevitably to the conclusion that fresh thinking is necessary on all legal and constitutional aspects. The law, the legal system, the Constitution, the institutional framework, and above all, the psychology of all those involved in this process - all must be thoroughly changed. It is to be an onward march in the light of the Universal Laws. All this is an important, indispensable, and integral part of the process of national reconstruction. Destiny has called upon Bharat to give a new lead to the world groping in the dark after the miserable failure of the western thought-systems. Mankind is clamouring for what is described as the 'third way'. It is the moral and divine responsibility of Bharat to show the 'third way' which would in fact be the 'only' way. This necessitates tremendous home-work and equipment. One of the first and indispensable steps in this direction is to convene a new and competent Constituent Assembly. Who would be qualified to become members of the new Constituent Assembly? Power-hungry politicians? Our first Constituent Assembly was dominated to a great extent by members of this tribe. And we have been experiencing the consequences. Who is morally as well as intellectually equipped to play this role? More than any other, section of the population, it is the lawyers dedicated to the cause of the national reconstruction. They can play a key-role in preparing the new *Weltanschauung*. Thus the Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad is not merely a body of lawyers set up to protect and promote their professional interests; it is competent and determined to become the nucleus of the Constituent Assembly of the resurgent Bharat.

With No Comments *

I

The Goal

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These remarks raised two questions in the minds of some lawyers who were sceptical about their own competence to play the key-role assigned to them in THE GOAL.

* This paper was read at the meeting of Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad on 4 June 1994 at Bhopal. It is a continuation of the thought-process started with the address to the Parishad on 7 September 1992. The first para of this article is the concluding para of that address.

i) The nature of our Constituent Assembly which has created a government that comes to us instead of a government that comes from us;

ii) Evaluation of the institution of political party as an instrument for framing suitable Constitution and evolving appropriate institutional framework.

Regarding both these points, I am stating here a few relevant facts and views, without any comments.

Constituent Assembly

The common man does not understand the difference between Constituent Assembly and regular Parliament.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar explained:

"The Constituent Assembly in making a Constitution has no' partisan motive. Beyond securing a good workable constitution, it has no axe to grind. In considering the articles of the Constitution, it has not an eye on getting through a particular measure. In the future parliament, if it met as a Constituent Assembly, its members will be acting as partisans seeking to carry amendments to the Constitution to facilitate the passing of party measures which they have failed to get through parliament by reason of some articles of the Constitution which have acted as an obstacle in their way. Parliament will have an axe to grind while the Constituent Assembly has none. That is the difference between the Constituent Assembly and the future parliament."

Some move akin to that of setting up a Constituent Assembly was contemplated by Mahatmaji in 1922, and by Mrs. Annie Besant in 1923. The Swarajist Party had voiced in May 1934 the advisability of convening a Constituent Assembly. The Congress expressed similar feelings at its Faizpur Session (1936). On September 14, 1939, Congress passed a resolution to this effect. Once again, on November 19, 1939, Gandhiji issued a statement to the same effect. M.N. Roy and his group made a similar demand before the transfer of power.

Pt. Nehru, however, observed,

"Some of the Congress leaders, while accepting the idea of the Constituent Assembly, have tried to tone it down and made it not very unlike a large 'All Parties Conference' after the old model."

The Cabinet Mission envisaged the establishment of a Constituent Assembly to frame a Constitution for the country which would be chosen by adult franchise. Realising that such a step would lead to unacceptable delay, the Cabinet Mission decided to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. Each province was allotted seats proportional

to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million. The seats so ascertained were divided between the main communities in each province in proportion to their population and formed the basis for election of the representatives allotted to each community by the members of that community in the Legislative Assembly of each province. The main communities recognised were General, Muslim and Sikh. General community included all persons who were not Muslims and Sikhs.

The total membership of the Constituent Assembly was 389 of whom 93 were representatives from the Indian States and 296 from British India. Members numbering 205 were elected on the Congress vote. Of them, 30 were outsiders and they included men of great eminence like Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Sir N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar, etc. The draft prepared by Sir B.N. Rau, constitutional adviser, provided the basic framework for the deliberations. The Drafting Committee consisted of seven persons, two of them belonging to the Congress Party, namely K.M. Munshi and T.T. Krishnamachari, four independents - Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, N. Madhava Rau, and D.P. Khaitan, and one belonging to the Muslim League - Muhammad Saadullah. Dr. Ambedkar was elected Chairman of the Drafting Committee and he piloted the Constitution through the Assembly with great skill and ability.

Although the Muslim League joined the interim government it refused to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

After the partition of India, the membership of the Constituent Assembly underwent a change. By virtue of Section 8 of the Indian Independence Act 1947, the Constituent Assemblies of each of the Dominions - India and Pakistan - were entrusted not only with the responsibility of constitution-making, but also functioned as federal legislatures. The total membership of the Indian Constituent Assembly came to 318, of whom 89 represented the Indian States. The responsibility of the Drafting Committee was to scrutinise the draft of the text prepared by Sir B.N. Rau giving effect to the decision already taken in the Assembly and submit to the Assembly for consideration the text and the draft Constitution as revised by the Committee.

The Objectives Resolution, moved on 13 December 1946 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when the Assembly met in undivided India, was the basis, with certain modifications, for the Preamble of the Constitution. In 1977 the words 'Secular and Socialist' were added to the Preamble.

The first session of the Constituent Assembly was held in New Delhi on December 9, 1946. On August 29, 1947, the seven-member drafting committee was set up. The Draft Constitution was published in January 1948. The Constitution was adopted on November 26, 1949. The Constitution comprised 395 Articles and eight Schedules.

The deliberations continued for nearly three years. The expenditure incurred was to the tune of Rs. 63,96,729.

In all, there were 11 sessions of the Assembly. It sat for 2 years, 11 months and 18 days. The Constitution came into force on January 26, 1950.

The first Amendment to the Constitution was made in June 1951.

Even while the Constituent Assembly was continuing its work, Loknayak Jaya Prakash Narayan had challenged the representative character of the Assembly. He stated:

"...taking advantage of the people's indifference, the rulers of the country have got a draft constitution prepared; that is a most unsatisfactory document. It would be a tragedy for India if this document became the foundation of our national life. This draft constitution would neither guarantee the freedom of the people nor make social change possible. The constitution in its present form would be a bulwark of conservatism and a powerful hindrance to full democracy.

The draft constitution must be radically changed if India is to march towards full freedom and democracy. There is little chance, however, that the Constituent Assembly, as it is constituted today, will make any drastic change in the draft constitution. Only a new Constituent Assembly, freshly and directly elected by the whole people including the people of the states, can do so. Only then perhaps would the people begin to take genuine interest in constitution-making.

The present draft constitution seeks to speak in the name of the Indian people. 'We the people of India having solemnly resolved' etc., are the opening words of the draft constitution. But who can honestly claim that the present Constituent Assembly has any right to speak in the name of the Indian people? It was surely not elected by the people. It represented only 12% of the people.

The Constituent Assembly, as is well known, is made up of the representatives of the provinces and the states. The representatives of the provinces were elected not directly by the adult population but indirectly by the provincial assemblies, which in turn were elected under the Act of 1935 by no more than 15 per cent of the people. This means that 85 per cent of the people in the provinces have no representation whatever in the Constituent Assembly.

The unrepresentative character of the provincial representatives in the Constituent Assembly is further exposed when it is recalled that the members of the provincial assemblies had no mandate whatever to send their representatives to any such body. The unrepresentative character of the representatives from the states becomes still more apparent. Out of a total of 89 members from the States, 28 are nominees of the rulers and 41 elected. Clearly, the nominees of the rulers have no right to speak in the name of the people.

Of the 41 elected, it can be imagined how unrepresentative they must be in the absence of true representative institutions in the states. None of the 41 was directly elected by the people concerned; and most of them were merely nominees of the Congress bosses who dominated the All-India States People's Conference.

The present Constituent Assembly thus is an utterly unrepresentative body; and in the name of all that is just and fair, it must go. A new assembly elected on adult franchise by the entire people - of the provinces as well as the states - must be called to pass the final draft of India's constitution."

Ours was the lengthiest constitution in the world. It remained so till the constitution of Yugoslavia spread its length to gain the place.

In the initial stage of the proceedings Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha spoke a word of caution:

"The Constitution may nevertheless perish in an hour by the folly or corruption or negligence of its only keepers - the people. Republics are created - these are words which I commend to you for your consideration - by the virtue of public spirit and intelligence of the citizens. They fall when the wise are banished from the public councils. They dare to be honest and the profligate are rewarded because they flatter the people in order to betray them."

Dr. Ambedkar had remarked,

"If the Constitution which was given by the people unto themselves in November 1949, did not work satisfactorily, we would have to say at a future time, not that the Constitution has failed, but that the man is vile."

About the label of the Constitution, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, did not attach very much importance to the question. In his speech on 26 November 1949, in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said:

"Personally, I do not attach any importance to the label which may be attached to it - whether you call it a federal Constitution or Unitary Constitution or by any other name. It makes no difference so long as the Constitution serves our purpose. We are not bound to have a Constitution which completely and fully falls in line with known categories of constitutions in the world. We have to take certain facts of history in our own country and the constitution has, not to an inconsiderable extent, been influenced by such realities as facts of history."

The word "federation" does not occur in the Constitution. The expression used is "Union".

Explaining its significance, Dr. Ambedkar said:

"The Drafting Committee wanted to make it clear that though India was to be a federation, the federation was not the result of an agreement by the States to join in a federation, and that the federation not being the result of an agreement no State has the right to secede from it. The federation is a Union because it is indestructible. The Drafting Committee thought that it was better to make it clear at the outset rather than to leave it to speculation or to dispute."

Just before the adoption of the Constitution, Dr. Rajendra Prasad had said :

"Our Constitution has provisions in it which appear to some to be objectionable from one point or another. We must admit that the defects are inherent in the situation in the country and the people at large."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad would have liked to have some qualifications laid down for the members of the legislative assembly. He remarked:

"It is anomalous that we should insist upon high qualifications for those who administer or help in administering the law, but none for those who make it, except that they are elected. A lawgiver requires intellectual equipment, even more than that, the capacity to take a balanced view of things, to act independently and above all to be true to those fundamental things of life, to have character. It is not possible to devise any yard-stick for measuring the moral qualities of man. And so long as that is not possible, our constitution will remain defective."

He was also unhappy that the Constitution was not drafted in an Indian language.

In both the cases, the difficulties were

"...political and proved insurmountable. But that does not make the regret any the less poignant."

In his reply to the debate in the third reading of the draft constitution on 25 November 1949, Dr. Ambedkar cautioned:

"On the 26th January, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality, and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognising the principle of "one man and one vote", and "one vote, one value". In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of "one man, one value". How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions ? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment, or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

And again,

"Political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are not only beasts of burden but also beasts of prey... the downtrodden classes must not be allowed to evolve into a class struggle or a class war.... the recognition of the class structure of society and the income structure of society as sacrosanct, were utterly undemocratic and unrealistic. It set in motion influences which were harmful to rational human relationships. There were no common interests. The isolation and exclusiveness following upon the class structure create in the privileged classes anti-social spirit of a gang."

Speaking in the Constituent Assembly on 17 November 1949, Dr. Ambedkar said:

"Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality, equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things."

According to Prof. Srinivasan, in the entire debate on this issue in the Constituent Assembly, one can clearly see the despair and anguish of most of the members, that the basic frame of the Constitution hardly reflected the spirit and genius of Indian civilizational experience. As one member remarked:

"The other day Shrimati Vijayalakshmi while addressing the United Nations General Assembly in Paris observed with pride that we in India have borrowed from France their slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity; we have taken this from England and that from America; but she did not say what we have borrowed from our own political and historic past, from our long and chequered history of which we are so proud...."

But the main problem was that most of the framers of our Constitution were either ignorant of or had no faith in the Indian social and political framework. In fact one of the chief architects of our Constitution even declared that -

"What is the village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism? I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its Unit."

No wonder that such minds should have forgotten to incorporate, in the Constitution the Gandhian concept of Gram Swaraj.

When it was brought to the attention of Mahatma Gandhi in December 1947 that there was no mention about village panchayats and decentralisation in the draft constitution, he declared that it was certainly an omission calling for immediate attention if our independence was to reflect the people's voice. The greater the power of the panchayats, the better it would be for the people.

Ultimately a new clause was inserted in the draft constitution stating that the State shall take steps to organise village panchayats. This provision finally found its place among the "Directive Principles of State Policy" contained in the Constitution - which is a collection of platitudes to which hardly any attention has been paid.

It is an indisputable fact that the Constitution did not reflect the Bharatiya mind - the traditions, the temperament, the culture of Bharat. It was not the product of the soil but just a transplantation.

In this context, the extensive comments of P. Koteswara Rao, a constitutional expert, deserve serious consideration:

"Our constitution is neither Indian nor Gandhian. It is not the people's constitution. It is unduly perplexed, confusing and inconsistent to reflect the nation's ethos and the people's genius in its provisions. It has become outmoded. The raw-material for making the constitution is not drawn from the native soil. The inspiration is not taken from the ancient wisdom. The needs and aspirations of the common man are couched only in rhetorical platitudes and empty propositions without creating any machinery for realisation. There was no people's participation in framing the constitution. The western concepts of political, economic and social ideologies are imported, without relevance to the conditions. It lacks a proper sense of priorities. It needs revision in many parts, deletion of many portions and incorporation of many new provisions. Hence it is high time to take stock of things realistically and boldly repeal the constitution, lock, stock and barrel, by replacing it by the native socialistic, genuinely democratic constitution."

It is interesting to note that Dr. Ambedkar himself was not satisfied with the final outcome of his Herculean labour. He subsequently complained that the draft was not entirely to his liking, but he was required to democratically accommodate various views which were inconsistent with or even contrary to his own. He went even to the length of saying that he would not hesitate to burn a copy of the constitution in public, if its provisions were found inadequate to protect the interests of the downtrodden.

During Emergency a new chapter containing fundamental duties was inserted. They are pedantic sayings oft repeated and of little use because they cannot be enforced by a court of law.

The Nagpur Unit of the Deendayal Research Institute organised a seminar on Indian Political System in April 1988. The points that emerged there were as follows :-

- (1) The British had introduced, in pre-Independence India, a perverted version of parliamentary system under their overlordship. The kind of parliamentary system that we have in India after Independence is not compatible with Indian ethos.
- (2) India's political system and its Constitution should be in keeping with its deep-rooted traditions. Its ideal should be *Dharma-Rajya*. This *Dharma* is not to be confused with religion. It denotes the supreme code of human conduct that sustains society and the supremacy of moral authority over state power. It takes an integrated view of human needs, not merely economic or political. It recognises the interdependence of man and man, and man and his environment. It seeks to serve the genuine needs of the individual, the community, the nation and the humanity as a whole. Therefore, all religions are likely to feel affinity for it as close to their socio-ethical tenets. The preamble to the Constitution should clearly

mention that the *Dharma-Rajya* encompasses the ethical-juridical principles common to all religions.

- (3) If the ideas were defined as above, it could equate the service of man with the service of God and set in the process of spiritualising politics. It could establish the supremacy of ethics over politics.
- (4) Western culture is marked by extreme materialism and individualism. The parliamentary system in the West is, therefore, geared to the material interests of the individual or the party. When such a system is introduced on our soil, people tend to select their local representatives on the basis of their casteist or religio-communal considerations. As against this, India should opt for a form of government in which heads at all levies, from national to local, are designated as guardians; which means, the national guardian (*Rashtra-Palak*), provincial guardian (*Prant-Palak*), village guardian (*Gram-Palak*) should all be directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. They would select their advisers or ministers. This would enable good people to operate at all levels and transform the society. This may be called the presidential system of Indian variety.
- (5) At territorial levels, there should be uni-cameral deliberative bodies* based on professional representation. This will ensure representation of all genuine interest groups. By plugging the chances of casteism, it will usher in a profession-based social order. Only at the national level, there should be two Houses - one based on professional representation, the other on territorial representation.
- (6) A code of conduct for political authorities should be provided in the directive principles enshrined in the Constitution itself. Moreover, there should be provision of small cells of knowledgeable, experienced, selfless and respected persons, such as *Acharya-Kul* or Group of Elders, at every level of territorial organisation, with statutory powers to conduct investigations wherever there is a breach of directive principles.
- (7) Political and economic decentralisation has to be the backbone of the political system. Indian genius seeks unity in diversity. Hence decentralisation would be no cause for worry about national integrity. (States should be smaller in size and should be called *pradesh* or provinces. They as well as the local bodies should be autonomous with adequate political and financial powers.)
- (8) Freedom of thought and expression, tolerance, decision by consensus (instead of by merely majority votes), changes by nonviolent methods, decentralisation, autonomy in political and economic spheres (as distinct from party whips regarding expressions of opinion in legislatures and the state-bureaucracy-dominated economy) are the core of Indian democracy. The need is to build up suitable institutions around this core.

* See Appendix II

- (9) Mutual adjustment and co-operation is the basic law of existence. Class co-operation is the rule, class conflict is the exception.
- (10) The system of people's courts at local levels is essential. Directive principles for judicial functionaries should be provided for in the Constitution.
- (11) Financial dependence of the lower units must go.
- (12) The institution of family - which, under the impact of West-oriented modernism, is tending to break up - must be nurtured. The emphasis has to be on individual-in-society, not individual versus society.
- (13) The dominance of English has prevented the flowering of people's culture. It should be replaced by the language which is understood by most of the people. Only Hindi can be the link language. Widest possible scope for translation into different languages must be created.
- (14) The system of political parties taking adversary positions is contrary to Indian genius. The Indian tradition has been to seek the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Political parties, on the other hand, tend to take a lopsided view of truth. Their interest militates against seeking the whole truth. Their partisanship works in their individual or group interest, against national interest. We must, therefore, have a partiless democracy.
- (15) The current political philosophies of democracy, communism and socialism are on the way out in the modern world. We have to eschew the class-rule of the moneyed class or the class-rule of the proletariat. Our objective has to be all-sided welfare of all people.

Political Party : An Institution

Political Party as an institution has become a very important factor in the British public life.

In the words of Ramsay Muir,

is the leadership of a party that gives to the Prime Minister his enormous power; it is common membership of a party that gives unity of character and aims to a cabinet; it is the existence of an organised supporting party in the House of Commons that enables the cabinet to carry on its work; and (when the party has a majority) endows it with a complete dictatorship over the whole range of government; and this dictatorship is only limited or qualified by the fear of those who wield it lest any grave blunder may weaken the party in the country, and bring downfall at the next election."

Our intellectuals are so much attuned to the Anglo-Saxon institutions that they are unable to see the rest of the world.

Here are some other views, presented without comments.

M. N. Roy had studied constitutions of most of the countries. Being aware of the shortcoming of both communism and formal parliamentarism, he based his programme of revolution on the principles of freedom, reason and social harmony, - laying great stress upon education of the citizens as the precondition for such a reorganisation of society. The co-operative economy of his new social order, with consumers' and producers' co-operatives, was to be based on production for use and not for profit and distribution with reference to human needs. Under co-operative economy, the means of production were to belong to the workers themselves. This arrangement he considered as superior to both capitalism and state-ownership. The political organisation was to exclude delegation of power, which, in practice, deprives the people of effective power; it was to be based on the direct participation of the entire adult population through People's Committees which were to be the basic units of grassroots democracy. The Indian State, according to his Draft Constitution of Free India, was to be organised on the basis of a countrywide network of People's Committees having wide powers such as initiating legislation, expressing opinion on pending bills, recall of representatives and referendum on important national issues. The principles enunciated in his 22 theses and the manifesto led him to the conclusion that party politics was inconsistent with the ideal of democracy and that it was liable to degenerate into power politics. These ideas led to the dissolution of his Radical Democratic Party in December 1948 and the launching of the movement called the Radical Humanist Movement. His able and trusted colleague V. M. Tarkunde had decided to publish his memoirs under the title - *'In Search of Freedom'* - a project he is yet to finish.

An eminent Gandhian, Loknayak Jaya Prakash Narayan states:

"The party system with the corroding and corrupting struggle for power inherent in it, disturbed me more and more. I saw how parties backed by finance, organisation and the means of propaganda could impose themselves on the people; how people's rule became in effect party rule; how party rule in turn became the rule of caucus or coterie; how democracy was reduced to mere casting of votes; how even this right of votes was restricted severely by the system of powerful parties setting up their candidates from whom alone, for all practical purposes, the voters had to make their choice; how even this limited choice was made unreal by the fact that the issues posed before the electorate were by and large incomprehensible to it.

"The party system as I saw it was emasculating the people. It did not function so as to develop their strength and initiative nor to help them establish their self-rule and to manage their affairs themselves. All that the parties were concerned with was to capture power for themselves so as to rule over the people, no doubt, with their consent. The party system, so it appeared to me, was seeking to reduce the people to the position of sheep whose only function of sovereignty would be to choose periodically the shepherds who would look after their welfare. This to me did not spell freedom, the swaraj, for which I had fought and for which the people of this country fought.

"As a way out of the faults and failures of the party system, I toyed for some time with the idea of a co-operative, rather than a competitive, system of parties. I realised, however, that in the first place, there was no climate for such a political experiment, and in the second place, the experiment could not succeed within the given framework of struggle for power and the system of parliamentary democracy, except for limited purposes and limited periods. I still believe, however, that given the psychological climate for it, such a political experiment might yet be made. But for that the frame of reference will have to be changed from parliamentary democracy to something different. Be that as it may, my disenchantment with the party system kept on urging me to seek a better substitute for it. Gandhiji's non-partisan constructive approach towards people's self-rule seemed to offer one hopeful line of exploration."

Alexander Solzhenitsyn says:

"A society in which political parties are active, never rises in the moral scale. In the world today, while we doubtfully advance towards a dimly glimpsed goal, can we not, we wonder, rise above the two-party or multi-party system? Are there no extra-party or strictly 'non-party' paths of national development?"

"The multi-party parliamentary system has already existed for centuries in some Western European countries. But it is dangerous; perhaps mortal defects have become more and more obvious in recent decades, when superpowers are rocked by party struggles with no ethical basis. The western democracies today are in a state of political crisis and spiritual confusion."

Dr. Pitrim A. Sorokin writes:

"At present, political parties are predominantly militant machines animated by the lust for power and booty. As intermediaries between the voters and the state governments, they have usurped the role of agencies for ascertaining the opinions and wishes of the electorate. They have monopolised elections, depriving the citizens of the possibility of freely choosing whom they wish, since there is no possibility of voting for candidates not nominated by the parties. To a considerable extent they have converted the citizenry into a mere instrument for serving the selfish interest of the bosses or party caucus. Through various tricks and other dubious practices they have corrupted the basic principle of elective democracy, degrading the functions of statesmanship to the sordid quest of politicians for spoils, or booty. In these and many other ways they have robbed the citizens of much of their freedom and have become one of the chief foci for generating forces of strife and enmity. In countries with a single dictatorial party, the insidious effects of the system are all too evident. To a lesser degree the same evil effects are apparent also in countries with a two-party or multi-party system. The foregoing and many other disastrous effects of contemporary political parties on democracy and the political, social, economic and moral life of the citizens have been amply demonstrated not only by ideological anarchists, syndicalists, and other radical theorists but also by the most impartial conservative investigators, such as, M. Ostrogorsky, J. Bryce, G. Mosca, R. Michels, and C. E. Merriam.*

"It is evident that such political parties cannot serve the purposes of a peaceful and creative society. They need to be radically transformed along the lines recommended by the foregoing investigators. First, the changes suggested for the

state organisation, particularly the decentralisation of the election of representatives from territorial districts and their supplementation by representatives of industry, agriculture, science, religion etc., would render the monopoly of elections by political parties impossible. The corporate bodies elect their representatives themselves, without undue influence being exerted by political parties. This decentralization would drastically limit the monopolistic power of political parties, would reduce their autocracy and would restore to the citizens a portion of their electoral freedom.

"The government of the states must consist of a combination of the elected representatives of the citizens of the electoral districts and of those of agriculture, industrial management and labour, religion, science, the fine arts, and the professions. A sufficient proportion of representatives of labour management, agriculture, science, religion, and the professionals, elected by their respective groups, independently of the territorial district, would weaken the vested interest of a given territorial district and immeasurably heighten the competence, impartiality, morality, and prestige of the Government."

See Appendix II

Dr. Bokare sums up the situation in the following words:

"The partiless democracy is being conceptualised. Its reasoning has been given.... Democracy, as it is now, has revealed weaknesses. The party-based democracy, due to its weaknesses, is likely to be converted into dictatorship. Alternatively, it may promote disharmony and anarchy. The weaknesses of party-based democracy will be removed by partiless democracy. Can we make such deductions?"

No Comments!

Our Constitution*

Before we proceed to analyse our Constitution, it would be advisable to note such features of other Constitutions as can have some bearing on our present effort.

On the subject of Constitutions, there has been no balanced growth of literature. Constitutional pundits have recognised this fact. Till now political scientists had a tendency to concentrate on the governments of the major countries, the governments of smaller nations being ignored entirely. Primary importance was given to European governments. In fact, with the rise of nationalism in Africa and Asia and the consequent emergence of new states, developments of far-reaching importance are taking place on every continent. Europe may have been the political pioneer, but non-European countries are now pushing into the world scene and establishing new frontiers of political experimentation. Even when

the European influence has been predominant in the setting up of governments in America, Asia and Africa, local conditions in these areas have forced modifications regarding the forms of government, which are worth examining.

It is extremely difficult to compress into one manageable document the experience of a sufficiently representative number of governments.

For example, the political experience of the Scandinavian countries and the Latin American countries provide some unique features which have received scant attention in our country.

In writing about comparative governments there has been a disposition to set up an initial pattern and then attempt to fit into it, rather arbitrarily, all governments.

The political experience of Britain has more to offer to students of comparative governments than that of any other country, since it was there that the western democratic institutions had their beginning and various developments occurred which have widely influenced governments elsewhere.

*** This paper formed the basis for discussion in a select group of thinkers in late 1992.**

British Parliament is the mother of parliaments whose progeny is to be found in every country governed in the past by Great Britain.

"Constitution is a frame of political society organised through and by law, that is to say, one in which law has established permanent institutions with recognised functions and definite rights."

There can be three kinds of law: (1) that bundle of social habits which we call 'customs' untouched by any formal legal procedure; (2) a formal category of laws, not written out in statute form, but being fully enforced as law in properly constituted law courts; that is, the case law known in England as the Common Law; and (3) written laws called statutes, properly passed through a legislature. Constitution may be written (documentary) or unwritten (non-documentary) or partly written and partly unwritten. There is still no document called the British Constitution.

Internal sovereignty is the supremacy of a person or body of persons in the state over the individuals or associations of individuals within the area of its jurisdiction, and external sovereignty is the absolute independence of one state as a whole with reference to all other states. In Great Britain, the legal sovereign is the Queen in Parliament, the political sovereign is the electorate. The legal sovereign in a federation is the Constitution itself.

States in a federal system are subsidiary sovereign bodies. The essence of a unitary state is that the sovereignty is undivided. A unitary state implies (1) the supremacy of the central parliament; and (2) the absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies. A unitary state is one in which we find "the habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority by one central power", while a federal state is "a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights.

Constitutions of West Germany, Soviet Union, United States, Australia, Switzerland*, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela are of the federal type. The governments of the United Kingdom, France, Norway, Sweden, Japan and most of the Latin American states fall in the unitary category.

In Canada, defined and specific powers are given to the provinces and the

It is an interesting fact that the Swiss constitution speaks of the 'Nation', a word unknown to the United States Constitution.

residue of the powers are left with the federal government. In the case of Australia, residuary powers vest in the states. The Commonwealth has only enumerated powers. In the case of Australia, the governors of states are appointed by the Crown without any reference to the federal government, and the latter has no power to interfere with the laws passed by the state legislatures. In Canada, the constitutions of the provinces are laid down in the Constitution Act 1981 and Constitution Acts 1867 to 1981 and any change therein requires amendment of the Constitution. In the case of Australia, every state has its own constitution and can amend the same. Still, there is a growing tendency for federal powers to increase at the expense of the states, particularly after the second world war. Ross Anderson observes in his *Essays*:

"The history of the fifty years of Australian Federation has been a history of the gradual growth of the power of the Commonwealth relative to the power of the states, until the giant of today is scarcely recognisable as the child of 1901."

Regarding the Australian federal constitution of 1900, one view was that Australia was ruled not by a majority of electors but by a majority of judges in the High Court,

"invalidating legislation not on its merits but on the ground that it was 'ultra vires' the written constitution. Every national emergency found Australia's hands tied by constitutional manacles resulting in inaction and serious delay and bringing into ridicule the parliamentary system. No sovereign unity could be procured with 7 sovereign parliaments, each of practically equal status, embracing 13 Houses, with more than 600 members and 70 ministers, with separate overseas representatives and separate services."

A clear contrast between the constitutions of Canada and Australia, as furnished by C. F. Strong in his *Modern Political Constitutions*, is instructive.

(1) The Australian Constitution defines the powers of the federal authority and leaves the reserve of powers to the states, while the Canadian Constitution states the powers of the provinces and leaves the rest to the federal authority; (2) Australia leaves the state governors to be appointed without federal interference, whereas Canada leaves the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces to the government of the Dominion; (3) in Australia the Commonwealth government has no right to interfere with state

legislation, while in Canada the dominion government has a veto on provincial statutes; (4) Australia has a supreme court to interpret the constitution, whereas the supreme court in Canada enjoys such power to a much lesser degree; (5) the Australian senate is elected in equal numbers from the state, while members of the Canadian senate are nominated for life by the Dominion Government. In general, then, the Commonwealth of Australia is far more federal than the Dominion of Canada. Canada approaches much nearer to the type of state called unitary than does Australia. The federation of Australia resembles that of the United States, far more closely, than does that of Canada...

South Africa is a unitary state, having in some respects the appearance of a federal form of political organisation. In practice the federal features are only a semblance.

France is a textbook example of a Unitary constitution.

The Constitution of the United States is regarded as a touchstone of federal constitution in the world. It clearly demonstrates the three essential characteristics of federalism, i.e., the supremacy of the constitution, the distribution of powers, and the authority of the federal judiciary. A convention at Philadelphia in 1787 drew up the present constitution, which became effective (in 13 states) in 1789. The constitution makes a double division: First, it separates the three organs of government, i.e., legislature, executive and judiciary, and makes them independent of each other. Secondly, it divides the powers between the federal and the state authorities in such a manner as to secure to the federating units all the powers not absolutely necessary to the federal authority for the common advantage.

Lincoln fought for the vindication of the principle of union. In recent times, there is a progressive strengthening of the federal power.

The United Kingdom gives a role to its Constitution which has no parallel elsewhere. Constitutions have a lesser place in Canada, Norway and Sweden, but here, too, they stand to the fore. In France and Germany constitutions are not without their importance, but they have never achieved the place which they hold in such countries as the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries. In Germany, relative lack of experience in democratic form of government may be a reason. In France, there is something in the

national character which limits the role of a constitution. Japan's national character limits the influence of the constitution below that found in the United Kingdom and the United States. In Latin American countries, the constitutions are less binding as fundamental law; there has never been an adequate understanding of the basic character and purpose of a constitution, though Uruguay has progressed better towards constitutionalism.

It is not uncommon for textbooks in comparative governments to omit any consideration of the twenty Latin American governments. No one government in this group seems to be typical of the whole group. All are considered as Latin American in character, though the Latin strain seems more noticeable in those countries fronting on the Atlantic, with Brazil basing its language on Portuguese and the other countries deriving their non-Indian languages from Spanish.

It is fair to conclude that constitutions in most, if not all, of the Latin American states occupy a place quite different from that noted in the case of the United Kingdom. To an Englishman, the constitution is the very foundation of government as it serves as the fundamental law of the country. In the United States also the constitution is higher law. In the Latin countries of Europe, constitutions may play a significant role, but they cannot restrain the government to the same degree. In many of the Latin American countries they command much less respect. In the more backward Latin American countries, where there is little by way of public opinion, a constitution has been an artificial sort of thing which has been imposed from above as a gesture and has little meaning to the people. It is not uncommon in Latin American countries for a strong leader to brush aside the constitution at critical moments.

The law of the constitution in Great Britain contains four principal factors. First, there are certain historic documents, sometimes referred to as landmarks. Some of these are, - the Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights. Second, there are parliamentary statutes extending or restricting powers of the Crown, guaranteeing civil rights, regulating suffrage, creating local governments, providing for setting up courts, and administrative machinery. Examples of these are the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, the Act of Settlement of 1701 (modified by the Abdication Act of 1936), the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, the Judicature Acts of 1873-76, the

Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949, the Statute of Westminster of 1931, the Ministers of the Crown Act of 1937. Third, there are judicial decisions fixing the meaning and limits of statutes and charters. Fourth, there are numerous principles and rules of common law. These principles and rules grew up on the basis of usage (sometimes backed by judicial decisions) and have never been enacted by Parliament. They include some of the most fundamental features of the government and legal system and are fully accepted and endorsed as law. The prerogative of the Crown, for example, rests entirely on common law. The first three are to be found in written form. The rules of the common law, public as well as private, however, have never been systematically reduced to writing,

but they are to a large extent to be found in reports, legal opinions, and judicial decisions. Those portions of the constitution which are termed as 'conventions' are not law in the strict sense and are not enforceable by the courts. They consist of traditions, customs and practices which regulate a large proportion of the actual day-to-day activities of even the most important of the public authorities. But they do not appear in statute books or in any statement of the law, written or unwritten, because, though elements of the constitution, they are not law.

According to some pundits, even the supreme authority of the electorate is merely a convention, for the courts recognise only the sovereignty of parliament. Though the people are the political sovereign, parliament is the legal sovereign. United Kingdom is the classic land of conventions. No one can understand the country's government without paying as much attention to customs and usage as to positive rules of law.

Among important modern states, there are only two in which no special procedure for constitutional amendment is known. These states are Great Britain and New Zealand. Their constitutions are flexible in the real sense.

Of the white self-governing Dominions under the British Crown, New Zealand alone has a flexible constitution, though the 1956 Electoral Act provides that certain sections of the constitution may not be repealed except by a 75 per cent majority of the House of Representatives or following a referendum.

The Mauritanian Government has adopted a new law authorising political pluralism after twenty years of single-party rule and incorporating a provision to hold a referendum on the drafting of a new constitution. The law, however, forbids political parties to have relations with foreign countries and to obtain foreign aid. It also bans formation of Islamic parties.

To bridge the gulf between direct democracy and representative government, a number of devices, e.g., Referendum, Plebiscite, Initiative and Recall are introduced. (Recently, there is a tendency to replace plebiscite by referendum.) Referendum is used in connection with Constitution Amendment in Australia, Denmark, Ireland, France, Italy, Switzerland, New Zealand, and in some of the states of the United States.

Initiative sometimes accompanies Referendum. In Switzerland, we find both Referendum and Initiative. In the United States, Initiative is not as common as Referendum. Recall has recently been incorporated in certain states of the United States. As in the case of Referendum and Initiative, Recall is, generally speaking, confined to western states of the U.S. It is not prevalent elsewhere, though the Swiss arrangement is nearer to this device.

This comparative study helps us gather the stray details of some of the provisions incorporated in our constitution from the specimens of constitutions of other countries.

Following the example of Ireland and Spain, our Constitution enumerated certain principles which are basic for the governance of the country. They are

called the Directive Principles of State Policy and are included in Part IV. They are not enforceable by the courts.

Like the constitutions of the West German Federal Republic and the Fourth Republic of France, the Indian Constitution sets down in detail not only the political but the economic and social rights of the people.

The constitution of Irish Republic has a chapter on Fundamental Rights and another on Directive Principles of State Policy.

Of course, though a number of its provisions may be traced to the constitutions of the U.S., France, Ireland, Italy, Germany and Spain, the most important source of material for the Indian Constitution was the Government of India Act 1935, and our Constitution relies heavily on the British system, as was made clear earlier.

But as was also made clear earlier, our leadership failed to assimilate the British spirit. And therefore, their efforts lacked the vitality, vigour and the cautious dynamism of the British system,

either in the making of the constitution or in its actual implementation.

Many a time the intellectuals and the elite in our country naively pose a question - Why has Westminster model failed in our country? They do not take into account the difference between the historical backgrounds of these two countries.

The term 'Parliament' itself was coined in the 13th century, but as an institution, it had its beginning in the King's council formed by Henry I in the 11th century. It comprised then the representatives of the dominant baron class and church dignitaries.

In 1215, King John signed the Magna Carta and some more elements were added to the King's council.

Generally, it can be said that as new socio-economic classes emerged in the process of evolution, they could demand and secure representation in the King's council.

Having secured a place in the King's council thus, the struggling classes became self-complacent and the struggle for further democracy was slackened, if not given up. Almost for four centuries this continued. Parliament was not supreme. The monarch was supreme and superior to the Parliament, which had only an advisory capacity.

The supremacy of the Parliament over the monarch was firmly and finally established only after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

It is claimed that from the point of view of democracy, England took a long leap with the passage of 1832 Act, which extended the sphere of Adult Franchise. Under the above Act, all those who owned or rented the house above a particular value were granted the right to vote. But it is remarkable to note that

even after this long leap, the percentage of those with the right to franchise was only 10 per cent of the total population.

Subsequently, various Acts were passed giving representation to periodically newly arising dominant classes. Thus, there were Acts of 1867, 1888, 1918, and 1928-29.

It was finally after the Act of 1928-29, that the right to vote was granted to all citizens.

In the 1928 Act the traditional property basis for franchise was rejected and the principle of Adult Franchise was accepted. Thus it can be gathered that because of various Reform Acts from 1832 to 1928-29, the Parliamentary System of Great Britain has evolved to the present form.

Women got the right to vote in municipal elections by amendment to the Municipal Corporation Act of 1869. The 1918 Act conferred the right to vote in parliamentary elections to a female British subject attaining 30 years of age with certain qualifications. The 1928 Act repealed all provisions of law of 1918 that made women less than equal to men. (As in Britain, female suffrage was granted in 1920 in the United States after a long agitation on the part of women.)

Thus, the journey of democracy started in England in 1215 and full Adult Franchise, including the right to franchise of women, materialised only in 1929. This was the achievement of the long-drawn struggle of various sections of people for seven centuries. The struggle naturally moulded their minds in a particular manner suited to the present Parliamentary Democratic System. It was a practical, political education.

In India, the beginning of the journey of British type of parliamentary system was in 1920, consequent to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Under the new system, two-tier democracy was established. At the time, the total population of the country was 24 crores. Under the two-tier system, those who obtained the right to vote for Council of States numbered about 17,000 and the number of those who secured the right to vote for the National Assembly was about 9,90,000 which included the previous figure of 17,000. This was the state of affairs in 1920.

After the introduction of the Constitution, Adult Franchise was introduced and all citizens numbering millions were granted the right to vote. Under the scheme all women were granted the right to vote right from the beginning of the implementation of the Constitution.

From the above background of two different courses of development of democratic system, one may be able to realise and appreciate the success of the system in England and the failure of the same in our country.

In England, democracy gradually developed through centuries, moulding the democratic ethos of the society by political education through political struggle; whereas in India, it was transplanted without the necessary

corresponding democratic environment. And there lies the difference between success and failure of the system.

The foregoing details also make it clear that for a country with pluralistic society and a very high percentage of illiteracy and poverty the Westminster, model cannot be suitable as our course of historical development has been entirely different from that of Great Britain.

Ironically, in one respect, we can claim to be nearer to the British system. That is regarding the equipment of the ministers.

Low says in *Government of England*:

"A youth must pass an examination in arithmetic before he can hold a second-class clerkship in the Treasury, but a Chancellor of the Exchequer may be a middle-aged man of the world, who has forgotten what little he ever learnt about figures at Eton or Oxford, and is innocently anxious to know the meaning of 'those little dots' when first confronted with Treasury accounts worked out in decimals. A young officer will be refused his promotion to captain's rank if he cannot show some acquaintance with tactics and military history; but the Minister for War may be a man of peace ... who regards all soldiering with dislike, and sedulously abstains from getting to know anything about it."

There is a general impression in our country that in advanced western countries there was clean administration right from the inception of the democratic system. It has not been so in many important cases. In the United States, there prevailed the 'spoils system'. When a new party came in office, it removed all the employees that were employed by its predecessor including even the ministerial staff, and filled their vacancies by those who helped the new party to come to power. The United States, as a matter of fact, had no permanent administration worth mentioning for a number of years. Subsequently, they themselves realised that this was not helpful to democracy. They abolished the 'spoils system'. In England, in order that administration should remain pure, impartial, away from the hubbub of politics, they have made a distinction between what is called 'political offices' and 'civil offices'. The Civil Service is permanent. It serves all the parties duly elected to power from time to time, and carries out the administration without interference from the minister.

It is generally presumed that in the affluent western countries secularism is a dominating principle. But this assumption is not supported by facts. In the fifth chapter of his book *'Freedom of*

Conscience in the U.S.S.R.', the learned author A. Barminkov says:

"Bourgeois have declared the principles of freedom of soul, the separation of the Church from the State, and the Church from education; but this has not been put into practice. Having captured power, they (Bourgeois) supported church in their fight against atheism to save religion from atheism. Several capitalistic countries, even today, separate church from state and use it as a shield. As atheism grows and different religions grow more intolerant, the church is being used to secure

compromises favourable to the exploiter class. In many capitalistic countries, the church is a real and on occasions a legal organ of the state. The states help the church financially and use the church in the interest of the dominant classes."

In most of the capitalistic countries, the constitution permits a particular religion and forbids the others; this is done to favour the chosen religion. As examples, consider the following: In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Evangelical Lutheran Church is the State Religion, while in Greece, the State supports Eastern Orthodox Church. In Britain, the Church of England is the official church. In Spain, Roman Catholic Church is the established religion. Whenever a particular religion is made the State Religion, other religions and sects become secondary. With minor changes, this is what obtains in the present world. In seventeen countries of Middle-East, South-East Asia and Africa, Islam has been legally assigned a special status. In fourteen countries of Europe and Latin America, there is express provision to favour the Roman Catholic Church. In twenty-two countries, only a member of a recognized church is eligible to become head of state. In Argentina, Liberia and Iran such qualification is necessary for state service. Then what is the significance of the 'freedom of the soul'? With political motivation and support of the ruling class in Britain, Protestants attack Irish Catholics. In the same way Protestants were tortured in Catholic Spain. They could not get employment in any state department and were not permitted to teach in schools. In state service, they were not promoted to higher posts.

Even though in America there has been a formal declaration of the freedom of the soul and of the separation of the church from the state, functions in most state institutions are celebrated in accordance with religious traditions. A session of American Congress opens with a recitation of Christian prayer. Not only state officials but even the President has to take a religious oath while taking up their official positions. In the constitutions of forty-two states there is a prayer addressed to God. The Preamble of the constitution of Irish Republic states:

"In the name of the Most Holy Trinity we the people of Ireland humbly acknowledging....our obligations to our Lord Jesus Christ..."

In many countries, the courts do not admit evidence given by atheists. They are not recruited to government services. According to the constitution of Delaware State, it is compulsory for all citizens to attend public prayers. In capitalistic countries, the freedom of the soul is restricted to only the method of worship, but in many countries even this freedom is not available.

The constitution of Norway makes it compulsory that all citizens must educate their children according to the spirit of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In West Germany, the church runs several schools and other educational institutions. According to Greek Law, the education in primary and secondary schools must conform to Greek nationalism and the ideals of the

Greek-Christian culture. In Israel, there is a state committee for religious education and Jehovaism has been given the status of state religion.

Prof. B. R. Sharma, President of the Indian Political Association, in 1953, in his presidential address had said:

"India has chosen to be a camp-follower of the West and is taking pride in its secularism and the paraphernalia of parliamentary democracy. It is a matter of great sorrow that the new constitution does not breathe the principles of truth ""*

Democracy

In his *Hind Swaraj* Gandhiji observed:

"If the money and the time wasted by parliament were entrusted to a few good men, the English nation would be occupying today a much higher platform. Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation."

"The condition of England at present is pitiable. I pray to God that India may never be in that plight. That which you consider to be the Mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute. Both these are harsh terms, but exactly fit in this

Quoted in W. H. Morris-Jones's 'Parliament in India'

case...Without outside pressure, it can do nothing. It is like a prostitute because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time."

Democracy has been defined by different thinkers in different terms, though Lincoln's definition has become the most popular (government of the people, for the people, by the people).

Democracy is a way of life. It involves rational empiricism, emphasis on the individual, the instrumental nature of the state, voluntarism, the Law behind the law, nobility of means, discussion and consent, absence of perpetual rule, and basic equality in all human relations.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had taken great pains to study democracy. He was an authority on Constitutional Law. But he was not a blind follower of the West. The trend of his mind can be judged from his assertion that he had taken the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, not from the French Revolution, but from his Guru, Buddha.

He defined democracy as

"a form and a method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed."

According to him a democratic way of life could never be conceived without an ideal society.

An ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts. In an ideal society, there should be many interests consciously communicated and shared. In other words, there must be social endosmosis.

Political democracy rests on four premises:

(1) The individual is an end in himself; (2) the individual has certain inalienable rights which must be guaranteed to him by the constitution; (3) the individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his constitutional rights as condition-precedent to the receipt of a privilege; (4) the state shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others.

Democracy is not only a form of government, but is also a form of social organisation. The formal framework of democracy is of little value and would be a misfit if there is no social democracy.

Social democracy involves two things: an attitude of mind, a feeling of respect and equality towards fellow human beings, and a social organisation free from rigid social barriers.

A democratic society must assure a life of leisure and culture to each one of its citizens.

Law has not created man, but man has created law for his own happiness. The law must be the same for all. Law should be enforced not only by punishment but also by education - by appeal to the mind of man and the spirit of society.

People are under an impression that the term 'democracy' has a fixed, firm and definite connotation. It is not so. It undergoes changes according to times and climes. In Europe, democracy appeared first in the Greek City-States. The Athenian democracy consisted of people half of whom were slaves. Only the remaining half were free. The slaves had no place in the government at all.

In England, the democracy prevalent before the English Revolution of 1688 was not the same as the British democracy which came after the Revolution of 1688. British democracy as it existed between 1688 and 1832 when the First Reform Bill was passed, is not the same as the democracy that developed after the passing of the Act of 1832. Democracy keeps on changing its form as well as content.

The purpose of democracy also undergoes changes. What was the purpose of the ancient English democracy? It was to curb the King, to prevent him from exercising his "prerogative rights" - a reaction to Tudor despots. Today the purpose of democracy is not so much to put a curb on an autocratic king as to bring about the welfare of the people.

Thus we can see that there is no universally accepted definition of the term 'democracy'. Democracy has been defined by various people, writers of political science, philosophers, sociologists, etc., in various ways.

There are no dogmas laid down by any of the authors who have written about the subject of democracy which can give us any idea in concrete form, as to what are the conditions-precedent according to their judgement to make democracy a success. One has to go deep into history to find out how democracy has waxed and waned in the different parts of the world where democratic governments functioned.

Representative Government

It is doubtful whether direct democracy is possible in a vast country like India. Direct democracy could function only in city-states such as Sparta and Athens in ancient Greece and *Lichchhawi Janapada* in India. Direct democracy demands direct participation of every individual citizen in the decision-making process of the state. In Greece all the citizens would gather at the market-place, discuss the problem of the state and vote by show of hands, deciding the question. This is not feasible in any country which cannot be contained in a market-place. Therefore, we are having the next best alternative, namely the representative form of government.

Under the representative form of government, people have a feeling that they are governing themselves. It is true only to a limited extent, because though they are governed by representatives elected by them, there is no guarantee that those elected representatives will invariably follow the directives or the wishes of their constituents or majority of constituents on every occasion. During elections certain issues are raised, but these are not the only issues that come up for discussion or decision before Parliament or an Assembly during the next five years. Various other issues crop up later on for which they have no mandate from the electorate.

For making the participation of individual citizens in decisionmaking practicable, it would be necessary for the elected representatives to approach their constituents on every occasion, whenever there is a new bill or resolution, on which vote is to be cast, assess the majority view and vote in Parliament or Assembly accordingly.

But that never happens. On the contrary, after being elected they are to act on the directives of their respective political parties and there is no guarantee that the directives will reflect the wishes of the majority of the people in their respective constituencies. Very often the directive is even contrary to the wishes of the majority, as was evidenced by the failure of the '*Gohatya Nirodh*' campaign to get the slaughter of the bovine species banned. Thus there is often a divergence between the wishes of the majority of the people in any given constituency and the directive of the high command of the party.

There is a qualitative difference between direct democracy and representative form of government. This had been realised by western democracies and certain devices are used to narrow down the gulf between direct democracy and representative form of government. Devices such as right to initiate, right to recall, plebiscite, referendum, and the like are mooted. Some others also can be thought of.

But nevertheless, this gap cannot be eliminated. Therefore, some great thinkers have said that under the representative form of government the main obstacle in the way of direct participation of individual citizens in decision-making process is the institution of political party. The political party acts as a barrier between the people and their elected representatives. The political party whose directives do not contain what the people desire is an obstacle to direct democracy. While elected representatives do not necessarily represent the wishes of the majority of the constituency, they are capable of great mischief if the general electorate is less educated and not so aware of its responsibilities. The strength of a democracy lies primarily not in the democratic institutions but in the democratic consciousness of the people. If public consciousness is lacking, votes can be manipulated by clever politicians. Having come to power, the parties can further manoeuvre for expansion of their base and perpetuation of their own power. An illiterate and passive electorate unwittingly helps the parties in their filthy game.

It is significant to note that Robespierre who was the first leader of France after the Revolution said a few days before the French Revolution that under the representative form of government if all the elected representatives so choose, they can come together and conspire against the people who elected them.

This is exactly what happened in India, during Emergency. The other example is that of Hitler who also came to power through the ballot box.

CHAPTER 161

Old Wine in New Bottle*

Looking at the Constitution and the legal set-up, including the Parliament and the bureaucracy, we find very little Indian in it. It all looks like a copy of the Westminster model with embellishments from other countries. In this paper an attempt is made to gauge the thought-process of those responsible for building the system after Independence.

Lt.-General Sir Francis Tuker, the G.O.C., Eastern Command in India at the time of transfer of power, recorded in his book *Memory Serves*:

"Ultimately, we found that this garrison commitment was more than the industrial needs of our impoverished country could stand. That was another strong reason for our leaving India and leaving it quickly."

Sir Stafford Cripps, Secretary of State for India, told the British Parliament that to hold India,

"An expanded personnel in the Secretary of State's Services and a reinforcement of British troops would have been required."

Gunnar Myrdal says in his famous book *Asian Drama*:

"The British have good reason to be grateful for Gandhi's policy of non-violence... After independence the close relations with the former.... countries were preserved and in some respects intensified.... It should be remembered that economic and social conditions of South Asian countries today are not very different from those existing before disintegration of the colonial power system."

A Naxalite scholar Nagi Reddi remarked:

"Whatever the outward changes in political control, nothing essential has changed either in our social set-up or in our economic organisation."

In the Summer of 1945, an official Industrial Mission, headed by the captains of Indian Industry, G. D. Birla and J.R.D. Tata, visited the United Kingdom and the United States of America to probe the atmosphere for co-operation. The Industrial Mission

* This paper formed the basis for discussion in a select group of thinkers in late 1992.

"opened a new chapter of Indo-British cooperation, for the Mission found a definite change in the attitude of British industries towards Indian industrial development and large British industrialists had not merely reconciled themselves to the inevitability of industrialisation of India, but in many cases seemed to be in accord with India's political aspiration."

(Eastern Economist, 29 June 1945)

Lord Mountbatten was the first Governor-General of Free India and Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister under the Government of India Act 1935.

The Indian Army continued to be under the Supreme Command of the British Commander-in-Chief, General Boucher for two years after 15 August 1947. Our Defence Services Education continued to be in their hands.

The first Government of Free India retained the previous administrative system, along with its salary differentials between the higher and the lower levels. Even the administrative habits and procedure - from parliamentary procedures to that of the secret files on the lower staff, introduced and evolved by the colonial administration to preserve law and order, continue to rule even today. Though Jawaharlal Nehru had once said,

"Of one thing I am quite sure, that no new order can be built in India so long as the spirit of the I.C.S. pervades our administration and our public services. Therefore, it seems to me quite essential that the I.C.S. and similar Services must disappear completely before we can start real work on a new order. It is inconceivable that they will get the absurdly high salaries and allowances that are paid to them today."

(Autobiography)

Nothing was basically altered; all the props of the old government, old socio-economic order, administrative machinery, bureaucratic system, police, judiciary, army and education continued as before.

Declaring his reluctance to introduce any fundamental change, the same Jawaharlal Nehru told the Constituent Assembly in April 1948:

"One has to be careful of the steps one takes so as not to injure the existing structure too much... I am not brave and gallant enough to go about destroying any more."

It was decided to remain within the British Commonwealth. On 17 February 1948 Nehru declared,

"There will not be any sudden change in the economic structure. As far as possible, there will be no nationalisation of the existing industries."

The Government's Resolution on Economic Policy, published on 6 April 1948, said that, except for munitions, railways, electricity, and atomic energy,

"The rest of the field will normally be open to private enterprise."

The Explanatory Memorandum published along with the Resolution on Economic Policy stated,

"The Resolution contemplates full freedom for foreign capital and enterprise in Indian industry while at the same time assuring that it should be regulated in the national interest."

It is worth remembering that in 1933 Nehru had said that -

"If any indigenous Government took the place of the foreign Government and kept all the vested interests intact, this would not even be the shadow of freedom."

Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar said,

"We are not starting a Constitution anew after a revolution. The existing administrative structure which has been worked so long cannot be altogether ignored in the new framework."

H. Venkatasubbaiah has expressed the view that certain Directive Principles of State Policy were added to the Constitution,

"on the plea that they give expression to the leftist conviction of the people and because it was thought to be desirable to add these revolutionary desiderata to something which otherwise so much resembled the instrument of the defunct British Raj."

In fact there was no desire on the part of leaders to make any noteworthy departure from the then current system. The first Government of Free India retained the previous administrative system, the administrative habits and procedures.

It was but natural that leaders with such mentality could not put forth any draft proposal in consonance with the aspirations of a free people.

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The State As Instrument

The state has grown into a megalith demanding total obedience from the people and attempting to control every aspect of the life of the citizens. In this context it is instructive to have a look at the role of the state as elaborated by two eminent thinkers.

Pitrim Sorokin observes:

"But even the good states of the past, and especially those of the present, are among the most egoistic, cynical and Machiavellian of all institutions. Being the power machine par excellence, the state is designed first of all for defensive and

offensive warfare with all the groups whose interests conflict with its own. Being a sovereign power machine, it cannot fail to experience the lust for power. For the same reason its policies cannot avoid the naked power politics of the raison d'etat, unrestrained by any of the ethical norms obligatory for private conduct. As coercive apparatus (having at its disposal the army and navy, the police force, gallows and firing squads, prisons and concentration camps) in relation to all who violate its official laws which are often unjust and ethically untenable (like the laws establishing slavery and serfdom or decreeing mass extermination of its opponents) the state inevitably becomes callous, cruel, tyrannical, and cynical, and now and then corrupt. Ordering thousands or even millions to kill or be killed, imprisoning or executing all kinds of violators (including saintly martyrs and altruistic opponents of its unjust laws), eulogized and perhaps glorified in its sovereignty and power, the state has been the most militant and power-drunk of all social institutions incessantly generating internal and international conflicts in their bloodiest and most inhuman forms. The sovereign states, especially the big empires and their governments, have probably slain more people, in their international and civil wars, than any other social institution. As long as cynical, Machiavellian, power-drunk sovereign states remain, even a single world state of the same cynical type, no durable peace is possible. Hence the institution of the state must be drastically remodelled. A genuine ennoblement of the state will be possible only when the citizens and the officials become wiser, more competent, more altruistic. Only then will the state be the true servant of humanity instead of its master. When this basic reform is achieved all the other necessary improvements will be relatively easy. Their cynical policy of the naked Machiavellian raison d'etat must be terminated. The government of the states must consist of a combination of the elected representatives of the citizens of the electoral districts and of those of agriculture, industrial management and labour, religion, science, the fine arts and the professions. A sufficient proportion of representatives of labour, management, agriculture, science, religion, and the professions, elected by their respective groups independently of the territorial district, would weaken the vested interests of a given territorial district and immeasurably heighten the competence, impartiality, morality, and prestige of the government. It should not pass any important law or measure without a preliminary determination of the opinion of the citizens in the form of either the old-fashioned referendum or adequately organised polls. The legislative body would not be entitled to enact any legislation contrary to the majority vote of the citizens, no matter how large may be the majority vote of the legislature in favour of the measure. Thus direct democracy, or the town-hall system of government, would be restored in lieu of indirect representation, with its many shortcomings. As a general principle the state government should discharge only those functions which cannot be administered well by non-state organisations (or are not so administered). In this sense its field should be residual, taking care of the needs not satisfied by any other agencies or satisfied by them more poorly than they could be fulfilled by the state."

Shri Aurobindo has said in ***The Inadequacy of the State Idea***:

"In either case there is no guarantee that this ruling class or ruling body represents the best mind of the nation or its noblest aims or its highest instincts.

[illegible]

"The organised state is neither the best mind of the nation nor is it even the sum of the communal energies. It leaves out of its organised action and suppresses or unduly depresses the working force and thinking mind of important minorities, often of those which represent that which is best in the present and which is developing for the future. It is a collective egoism much inferior to the best of which the community is capable."

"The second claim of the state idea that this supremacy and universal activity of the organised state machine is the best means of human progress, is also an exaggeration and a fiction. Man lives by the community; he needs it to develop himself individually as well as collectively. But is it true that a state-governed action is the most capable of developing the individual perfectly as well as of serving the common ends of the community? It is not true. What is true is that it is capable of providing the co-operative action of the individuals in the community with all necessary conveniences and of

removing from it disabilities and obstacles which would otherwise interfere with its working. Here the real utility of the state ceases. The non-recognition of the possibilities of human co-operation was the weakness of English individualism; the turning of a utility for co-operative action into an excuse for rigid control by the state is the weakness of the Teutonic idea of collectivism.

"For the state is not an organism; it is a machinery, and it works like a machine, without tact, taste, delicacy or intuition. It tries to manufacture, but what humanity is here to do is to grow and create.

"The state tends always to uniformity, because uniformity is easy to it and natural variation is impossible to its essentially mechanical nature; but uniformity is death not life."

CHAPTER 15

Parties Based on Economic Ideologies

In Great Britain, parties are ideological. If we go deep into the matter, we will find that by 'ideological', they mean economic ideological parties. The same thing can be said about other West European countries like Germany, France and Italy. In those countries, the societies are not pluralistic. The main differences lie in the economic field. And therefore the terminology of right, left and centrist has come into vogue. In other spheres there may be differences among the people. But they are not so basic and sharp. Those differences can be resolved outside the jurisdiction of the political party and political power. There are other institutions or arrangements for the resolution of such differences.

Pluralism

But ours is a pluralistic society. U.S.A. is pluralistic; and we find that in U.S.A. the main parties are not economic ideological parties. They cannot be categorised as left, right or centrist. They are just election machineries. And on the eve of an election they just give out their proposed programmes for the next tenure on the basis of which people are called upon to vote.

Now, it is true that as a nation U.S.A. is only a child considering its age in years. We are an ancient nation. Being a new nation, U.S.A. has no historical past and no inherent unity as is the case with our country. In our country, there is a string of unity in the midst of diversity. In U.S.A. there is diversity without any string of unity. Because of that diversity, various differences arise in different fields of life. And they do not expect their political parties to resolve all those differences for which different institutional arrangements are made.

And in the case of West European countries where societies are not pluralistic, there are no expectations from a political party to resolve problems outside the economic sphere. Consequently, the Westminster model of the political party can fulfil the requirements of their nations.

But in our country the differences are sharp and basic. Hence, the Westminster model cannot effectively deal with the problems that arise and that are expected to be resolved by a political party. So our expectations are much higher than the sphere of usual activity of a political party as understood in Great Britain from where we borrowed the institution.

Earlier our leaders felt shy in overtly recognising and tackling problems arising out of pluralism. But circumstances in course of time have forced them to face them.

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For example, there can be a debate on the quantum of expansion of the public sector. There may be a group of hundred persons who think that public sector should be expanded. But it is not necessary that these hundred persons will be of the same view when it comes to the question of Belgaum being transferred to Maharashtra. Again there is no guarantee that the group will have identical views on Ram Janmabhoomi. So, on different problems there are different groupings.

Some years ago, Om Prakash Tyagi had introduced a bill to prevent conversions by force or fraud. Just the reverse type of bill was introduced after the formation of BJP by Ram Jethmalani. Some people might not have approved of one, or the other. And naturally at that time discussion had also arisen whether the bills introduced should not be withdrawn, or should not Mr. Tyagi or Mr. Jethmalani be forced to withdraw the bills if they are not in keeping with the policy of the party. Now, the discipline of the party is a must, and the policies of the party must be followed. But, at the same time, if Mr. Jethmalani has a particular view on conversion, should he not have the right to hold that view? Under democracy should he not be allowed the freedom to express it? He is a political leader, a member of a political party. Where is the forum for him in the present arrangement to express his views on that matter effectively, apart from the political party to which he belongs? And if that party is of a different view, should he be silenced on a matter regarding which he has very strong views?

Needed : Different Forums

So different forums are required for different matters. Our society is pluralistic. Hence, a different institutional framework is required to fulfil the aspirations of the people to voice various opinions. All those things cannot be done under the umbrella of the political party. And for that purpose, it is necessary that in keeping with

the spirit of our traditions, we should evolve a different type of institutional framework. What should be the guiding principles in evolving it?

Thana Speeches

To my knowledge, fortunately, that requirement has already been fulfilled by Shri Gururji in his speeches at Thana. His Thana speeches are a perennial source of light. In course of those speeches, he has expounded the guiding principles of socio-economic, politico-religious and other reconstructions based on the spirit and basic principles of Hindutva. Frankly, when we were listening to him in Thana, I was a bit nervous. We had full faith in his leadership, his guidance, in the soundness of his views. There was no question about it. But at the same time, personally I was a bit nervous whether all his ideas, his

interpretation of Hindu socio-economic and other structures can be practicable in the post-second-industrial-revolution era.

Yugoslav Experiment

I am very happy to say that five years after those speeches were delivered, when I visited Yugoslavia, I was pleasantly surprised. The constitution they had adopted, the system they had evolved, is nearer to the concept given by Shri Guruji at Thana. I do not say they are identical, but they have resemblance. When I studied the Yugoslav pattern I could regain confidence that the ideology, the system of the arrangements, suggested by him, can be practicable even in this modern world. So, without losing contact with the past we can be modern, without following the western pattern.

It is possible that the Yugoslav experiment may succeed or fail, because the success or failure of such experiment depends on a number of factors. But that they could venture on such an experiment is itself something commendable. And its nearness to the concept given by Shri Guruji should encourage our people to conduct further research on this aspect of national reconstruction.

It may be noted that in 1977, the disintegration of Yugoslavia was already on the cards. The Yugoslavs jocularly remarked, "In our country Marshal Tito is the only Yugoslav national", and that once this paperweight is removed, different papers will fly in different directions. But this is an extraneous factor, not relevant for the evaluation of the experiment.

Unanimous Elections

Shri Guruji was firmly of the view that elections to the lowest primary units must be unanimous; unless there is unanimity there should be no elections. For us who are born and brought up in the Westminster atmosphere this would appear to be fantastic. But it is worth remembering that Muhammad, the Prophet, also recommended this pattern of election on some occasions. Asked what should be the qualification for such unanimous election, he said that such a person should be elected as Amir as has no desire to become Amir.

CHAPTER 16

The Hindu Concept of World Order

The goal of life, according to our sages, has been human happiness and world welfare based upon the elevation and emancipation of individual souls: आत्मनो मोक्षार्थं जगद् हिताय च। Hinduness stands for development of human consciousness from individual to Universal.

Bipin Chandra Pal, one of the exponents of Hindu Nationalism, observed: ,

*"The peculiar value and distinction of our concept of **Swadhinata** (Self-dependence) and **Swatantrya** (Self-subjection) lies in the grandeur of the connotation of the word 'swa' or 'Self'. This **swa** is both the individual self and the Universal Self; and the two are really one. And man's range of real freedom or self-dependence as we would call it expands in proportion as he is able to realise his unity with Universal Self.*

"The ideal end of civilisation is perfection of man, not merely in his physical and material, but equally also, in his moral and spiritual aspects. It is more, it is the perfection of a man as a social unit, as a limb and organ of the social whole.

"The great mission of this ancient land and its composite people among the modern nations of Europe, Asia and America, is to replace existing international competition by international co-operation, to substitute the arbitrament of peaceful consultations and reasonable compromise through an impartial international Supreme Court, for the arbitrament of murderous arms, in the settlement of all international disputes and differences; and thus to help forward the realisation of the poet's dream of the millennium when the nations of the world shall be as One People, living at peace with one another, working together for the furtherance of the common good and the revelation of God in man. The Indian nation-builder must constantly keep this before him."

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya, who could conceive of the Central State authority without Statism, envisaged the evolution of the World State enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures as well as flowering of the *Manava Dharma* enriched by the perfection of all the religions including 'materialism'.

Revered Shri Guruji believed that the world unity and human welfare can be made real only to the extent mankind realises the absolute Vedantic Truth that "All is One". What he implied was not elimination of all distinctive features of nations

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and rolling them all into one uniform pattern. He visualised various groups of people coming together in a spirit of familism realising the innate oneness of mankind while preserving their individual nationalities. The different human groups are marching forward, all towards the same goal, each * in its own way and in keeping with its own characteristic genius. The destruction of the special characteristics, whether of an individual or of a group, will not only destroy the natural beauty of harmony but its joy of self-expression. To seek harmony among the various and diverse characteristics has been our special contribution to the world thought. Shri Guruji said:

"The World State of our concept will evolve out of a federation of autonomous and self-contained nations under a common centre linking them all... it is the grand world-unifying thought of Hindus alone that can supply the abiding basis for human brotherhood, that knowledge of the Inner Spirit will charge the human mind with the sublime urge to toil for the happiness of mankind, while opening out full and free scope for every small life-speciality on the face of the earth to grow to its full stature. Verily this is the one real practical world-mission, if ever there was one."

Our Vedic Rishis had made experiments of 13 different forms of government, बहुपाय्यस्वाराज्यम् was deemed to be the best one out of

जनराज्यम्, विप्रराज्यम्, समर्थराज्यम् and बहुपाय्य स्वाराज्यम्

There were various forms of government experimented in India in ancient times. Regarding 'republican' form, Buddha said that so long as the republican institutions were maintained in their purity and vigour, a small state of this kind would remain invincible even by the arms of the powerful and ambitious Magadh monarchy. Indian monarchy prior to the Mohammedan invasion was not, in spite of a certain sanctity and great authority conceded to the throne and the personality of king as the divine power and the guardian of *Dharma*, in any way a personal despotism or an absolute autocracy;

it had no resemblance to the ancient Persian monarchy or the monarchies of western and central Asia or the Roman imperial government or later European autocracies; it was of an altogether different type from the system of the Pathan or the Moghal emperors. The monarch was in fact a limited or constitutional monarch, although the machinery by which the constitution was maintained and the limitation effected differed from the kind familiar to European history; and even the continuance of his rule was far more dependent than that of medieval European kings on the continued will and assent of the people. A greater sovereign than a king was *Dharma* - the religious, ethical, social, political, juridical, and customary law organically governing the life of the people. No

secular authority had any right of autocratic interference with *Dharma*. A king was only the guardian, executor and servant of the *Dharma*, charged to see to its observance and to prevent offences, serious irregularities and breaches. He himself was bound to obey it and observe the rigorous rule it laid regarding his personal life and action and on the province, power and duties of his regal authority and office. This subjection of the sovereign power to the *Dharma* was an actual practice, and not a mere academic theory. There could, therefore, be ordinarily little or no room in the ancient Indian System for autocratic freaks or monarchical violence and oppression, much less for the savage cruelty and tyranny so common an occurrence in the history of some other countries. It was laid down that obedience to a king ceased to be binding if the king ceased to be a faithful executor of the *Dharma*. Manu even lays it down that an unjust and oppressive king should be killed by his own subjects like a mad dog. Absolutism or the unconditional divine right of kings was no part of the intention of the Indian political system.

And, again, let it be noted that the monarchical institution was only one, but not an indispensable element of the Indian socio-political system. Even during the Vedic period, our ancestors believed that there could be as many forms of government as could be conceived by human genius in view of the changing circumstances and that out of the thirteen forms tried during the Vedic times, under which the state and the society remained co-terminous, बहुपाय्य स्वराज्यम् was the best under normal conditions. The ancient polity of India grew up as the spontaneous play of the powers and principles of its life. All its growth, all its formations, customs, institutions were then a natural organic development - the motive and constructive power coming mostly from the sub-conscious principles of the life within it - expressing, but without deliberate intention, the collective psychology, temperament, vital and physical needs, and persisting or altering partly under the pressure of an internal impulse, partly under that of the environment acting on the community's mind and temper. Even in the later age of growing social self-consciousness these vital institutions or their first mental renderings were not rejected, but only further shaped, developed, systematised so as to be always, not a construction of politicians, legislators and social and political thinkers, but a strongly stable vital order natural to the mind, instincts and life intuitions of the Indian people.

Our ancestors did not feel the need of a rigid uniformity; the common spirit and life impulse were enough to impose on this plasticity a law of general oneness. And, even when there grew up the great kingdoms and empires, still the characteristic institutions of the smaller kingdoms, republics, peoples, were as much as possible incorporated rather than destroyed or thrown aside in the new cast of the socio-political structure. Whatever could not survive in the natural evolution of the people or was no longer needed, fell away by itself and passed into desuetude; whatever could last by adapting to new circumstance and

environment was allowed to survive; whatever was in intimate consonance with the psychical and the vital law of being and temperament of the Indian people became universalised and took its place in the enduring figure of the society and polity.

Nothing was imposed from above, everything was evolved naturally from below. Consequently, we do not find in India the element of intellectually idealistic political progress or revolutionary experiment which has been so marked a feature of ancient and modern Europe. Indian polity never arrived at that unwholesome substitution of the mechanical for the natural order of life of the people which has been the disease of European civilization now culminating in the monstrous artificial organisation of the bureaucratic and industrial state.

The right order of human life as of the universe was preserved according to the ancient Indian idea by each individual-being following faithfully his *Swadharma*, the true law and norm of his nature and the nature of his kind and by the group-being, the organic collective life, doing likewise. The family, clan, caste, class, social, religious, industrial or other community, nation, people were all organic group-beings that evolved their own *Dharma*; and to follow it was the condition of their preservation, healthy continuity, and sound action. There was also the *Dharma* of the status and in relationship with others, as there was too the *Dharma* imposed by the place, environment, age, *Yuga-Dharma*, the universal religious or ethical *Dharma* and all these acting on the natural *Dharma*; the action according to the *Swabhava* creating the body of the Law. The self-determining individual and self-determining community living according to the right and free law of his and its being was the ideal. It was not the business of the state authority to interfere with or encroach upon the free functioning of the caste, religious community, guild, village, township or the organic custom of the region or province or to abrogate their rights, for these were inherent because they were necessary to the sound exercise of the social *Dharma*.

Thus in effect the Indian polity was the system of a complex of community freedom and self-determination, each group unit of the community having its own natural existence and administering its own proper life and business, set off from the rest by a natural demarcation of its field and limits, but connected with the whole by well-understood relations, each a co-partner with the other in the powers and duties of the communal existence, executing its own laws and rules, administering within its own proper limits, joining with the others in the discussion and the regulation of matters of a mutual or common interest and represented in some way and to the degree of its importance in the general assemblies of the kingdom or the empire. The state, sovereign or supreme political authority was an instrument of co-ordination and of a general control and efficiency and exercised a supreme but not an absolute authority, for in all its rights and powers it was limited by the law and by the will of the people and

in all its internal functions only a co-partner with the other members of the socio-political body.

This was the theory and principle and the actual constitution of the Indian polity, a complex of community freedom and self-determination, with a supreme co-ordinating authority, a sovereign person and body, armed with efficient powers, position and prestige, but limited to its proper rights and functions, at once controlling and controlled by the rest, admitting them as its active co-partners in all branches, and all alike, the sovereign, the people and all the constituent communities, bound to the maintenance and restrained by the yoke of the *Dharma*.

When Shri Guruji and Pt. Deendayalji talked of the 'State without statism', they had before them this traditional concept of an ideal Hindu social order. It has been elucidated so aptly by Rishi Aurobindo. Even well-meaning western scholars would take some time to understand this - the historical course of their material, mental, intellectual and spiritual development being entirely different.

The concept of 'State without statism' was to be extended to international plane also. With this mental background, our Rishis conceived of the 'One World State' पृथिवी समुद्रपर्यन्ताया एक राष्ट्र (Aitareya Brahmana 8/15) - from sea to sea over all the land one state.

This is the Hindu concept of world order, the cultural spirit of Hinduness by all the peoples. In its absence, the world cannot go beyond the experiments of the League of Nations or the U.N.

Swadeshi: The Practical Manifestation of Patriotism

In 1993, 'Swadeshi' has become a queer term.

A common man on the street is fairly familiar with its connotation.

But for uncommon men this is an unknown commodity. For sophisticated, air-conditioned elite of the metropolitan cities the concept is strange - an oddity in the midst of modernism.

For "kept" economists of the regime, this is a red rag.

And for the ruling politicians, a bull in their China shop.

So the abuses like 'obscurantism', 'anachronism', etc., are being used to condemn the idea irreconcilable with the luxurious fashions.

What is most important is not the future of the country, but the immediate comforts of the westernised urban elite.

These uncommon citizens are not in contact with the earth, they are in their own ivory towers, cut off from the national realities and alienated from their co-countrymen.

Fortunately, the number of such persons is extremely limited - not even one per cent of the total population of this poor country.

It is wrong to presume that 'Swadeshi' concerns itself only with the goods or services. That is more an incidental aspect. Essentially, it concerns the spirit determined to achieve national self-reliance, preservation of national sovereignty and independence, and international co-operation on equal footing. Swadeshi spirit inspired the Britishers to restrain their Head of the State from purchasing a luxurious German Mercedes Benz car, for her personal use. When asked by an Indian correspondent as to why he was using a pant torn (and stitched) because of the weak texture of the Vietnamese cloth, Ho Chi-Minh smilingly replied, "My country can afford only this much." When the U.S. forced Japan to give market access to its Californian oranges, Japanese customers did not purchase a single

Californian orange and thus rendered the American arm-twisting a ridiculous affair.

When the Governments of China and Korea prevented the entry of Michael Jackson in their countries on the ground that his performance amounted to

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'cultural invasion', they only demonstrated their Swadeshi spirit. Incidentally, this gesture also indicated that 'Swadeshi' was not merely an economic affair confined to material goods but a broad-based ideology embracing all departments of national life. Needless to multiply such incidents. The point is that all these patriots from different countries drew their inspiration from the 'Swadeshi' spirit.

'Swadeshi' is the outward, practical manifestation of patriotism. Patriotism is not considered as isolationism - particularly in our tradition which stands for integral humanism according to which, on the level of human consciousness, internationalism is the further flowering of the spirit of nationalism. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that presenting patriotism as isolationism is the usual practice of imperialist powers. For example, when after the end of the Second World War it became obvious that under the pressure of the international situation the imperialists would be forced to grant independence to their colonies, they started 'operation salvage' to preserve as much of their vested interests in the colonies as possible, under the changed circumstances. In Bharat, some Executive Councillors of the Viceroy became their tools. Misrepresenting the move for full-fledged independence as isolationism, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar propagated that in the new era of internationalism "our motto should be, not independence but interdependence." Dr. Manmohan Singh's plea for liberalisation and globalisation is the modern version of Ramaswami's 'interdependence'.

Patriots are not against internationalism. Their plea for national self-reliance is not incompatible with international co-operation, provided that the latter is on equal footing - with due regard to the national self-respect of every country. Their difference of opinion with the advocates of 'globalisation' is on a different and more basic point.

Proponents of Swadeshi are not prepared to endorse the view that the western paradigm is the universal model of progress and development worthy of being followed by all the peoples of the world. While they recognise the fact of cultural intercourse, they

insist that every people have each their own distinct culture, and the model of progress and development for each country should be consistent with its own cultural ethos. Westernisation is not modernisation. Modernisation should be in keeping with the spirit of national culture. They oppose the move for steam-rolling all the various cultures and national identities in the world in favour of the West.

Introduction of modern technology and economic system is the inauguration of an entirely new civilisation, inconsistent with the nature of all non-western cultures. This is the basic point of difference.

Nevertheless, Americanised Indians are condemning Swadeshi Jagaran Manch on the plea that Swadeshi is the antithesis of the 'sacred' and universally-accepted principle of 'Free Trade' which is being recognised and followed by all the countries.

It has become imperative, therefore, to examine thoroughly the 'Free Trade' principle, and its position in the field of the current international trade.

Liberalisation - Free Trade?

Though preached earlier by Adam Smith himself, the principle of Free Trade acquired unchallenged legitimacy after the publication of Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy* in 1817. The intellectual foundations of "Comparative Advantage Theory" became unshakable. Essentially, the principle declared that unhindered play of market forces was the best way of obtaining an optimum trading pattern. Based on the Ricardian model of comparative advantage and the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem, the theory claimed that free trade enables each country to specialise in its production and to make optimal use of its scarce resources. From the early 19th century until the late 1970s, international trade theory was dominated by the concept of "Comparative Advantage" which implies that countries trade to take advantage of their differences. Economies were assumed to be characterised by constant returns to scale and perfect competition. Difference lay in tastes, technology or factor-endowment. Within the framework of the theory, there might have been differences in emphasis. For example, the Ricardian model emphasises technological differences as the cause of trade, while the Heckscher-Ohlin-Samuelson model emphasises differences in factor-endowments. But still until 1970s the validity of the "comparative advantage" theory was accepted. In countries like the US, the UK and the Netherlands, it was accepted as a doctrine in forming State Trade Policies (though countries such as France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany did not accept the free trade theory as an official trade policy doctrine).

The GATT became the embodiment of the free trade theory. It has been rightly said that GATT has, as its building-blocks, the philosophy of free trade.

Nevertheless, since the late 1950s, doubts began to arise about the full validity of the free trade theory. Can comparative advantage theory explain fully the modern developments in the international trade? Since 1970, the scepticism about the free trade theory has progressively intensified.

The theory of comparative advantage was based upon the assumption of perfectly competitive markets and constant returns. But, as Krugman points out,

it was, however, realised that international markets are not perfectly competitive and that they are imperfectly competitive. Increasing returns held the key to the operation of these markets, the advantages of which can be appropriated only by the dominant firms in the market. The advantages, once appropriated, become the basis for further gains in the market.

Experts like Winfried Ruigrok felt that by free trade theory international capital flows, such as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), could not be accounted for. The production process as such was not analysed at all. Technological development was assumed to be transparent and available to all. Neither the economics of scale nor the rapid increase of FDI could be explained by free trade theory. The efficient allocation of scarce resources has never been the sole consideration in this matter.

Ruigrok poses a question. Why do governments sometimes choose not to comply with the free trade norms? The answer to this question reveals, according to him, a fundamental flaw in the postulates of the free trade doctrine. Contrary to its fundamental premise, the efficient allocation of scarce resources has never been, and will never be, the sole consideration in the choice of state policies. State policies are based on a mixture of political, social, economic and military considerations. National security and preservation of the internal order have been, and will remain, more important concerns than maximising efficiency.

Again, a case for strategic intervention to provide advantages for the domestic firms by adopting policies that would discriminate against the foreign firms, appeared to be gaining greater support. Brander suggested subsidies to strengthen the position of a domestic firm engaged in competition for the world market with a foreign rival. Spencer also put forth a similar suggestion for subsidies. There was a growing feeling that import restrictions and export subsidies may, in certain circumstances, be in the national interest. The case of Japan granting 700 per cent subsidy to its rice farmers and imposing 700 per cent duty on import of foreign rice illustrates this point.

Sometimes governments act not necessarily in the national interest but under the pressure of domestic pressure groups.

During the latter half of the 1980s, the adherents of free trade acknowledged that their basic argument was challenged seriously. Government intervention could lead to profit-shifting from one country to another. Under such circumstances, countries following the traditional rules of free trade would inevitably transfer wealth to their trading partners. The term "Competitive Advantage" became preferable to "Comparative Advantage". In 1980s, Japan's successful export drive to the EC and US has proved how "competitive advantage" could be created.

During the 1970s and 1980s experts increasingly believed free trade model to be sacrosanct. But Paul Krugman says, "Free Trade is an idea that has irretrievably lost its innocence." During this period the traditional models of international trade have been supplemented and sometimes even supplanted, by a new breed of models that emphasises economies of scale, increasing returns and imperfect competition. (The dynamic scale economies are associated with investment knowledge and R & D).

Today, the general trend is to believe that comparative advantage is an incomplete model of trade, and also to believe simultaneously that free trade is nevertheless the right policy. Krugman informs us that this is the position taken by most of the new trade theorists themselves. So free trade is not 'passe' - but it is not what it once was. The case for free trade is currently more in doubt than at any time since the 1817 publication of Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy*.

In the Uruguay Round of negotiations, unqualified support for the free trade framework has been espoused, and simultaneously, increase in protectionism and threat of intervention in the markets of partner countries to seek enlarged access to exports, have been adopted by United States in formulating its trade strategy!

In spite of all the propaganda in favour of 'free trade' concept, Ruigrok informs us that the pattern of global trade looks as follows:

- approximately 25% takes place inside global companies (intra-company trade),
- approximately 25% is bilateral trade (by preferential agreements),
- approximately 25% is barter trade,
- approximately 25% can be considered 'free trade' governed by GATT rules.

The author has quoted this from FAST ('Forecasting and Assessment in Science and Technology').

While advocating the principle of free trade, the US has been following the policy of protectionism regarding textiles right from 1956 when the President was given the authority under the Agriculture Act to negotiate agreements for limiting "imports into the United States, of Textiles or Textile products". In the 1980s the US administration employed non-tariff barriers to insulate the US automobile industry from the competitive threat that, as in the case of textile industry, was posed by Japanese imports. As James Dunn points out, post-war international trade in automobiles has always been a mixture of liberalising and protecting elements.

Japan is, in many cases, a one-way trader, not importing any of the product categories it exploits. The same is the case with the Japanese foreign investment imbalance. As on 31 March 1990, Japanese direct investment abroad amounted to seventeen times the value of FDI in Japan. Japanese competitiveness and huge trade and investment imbalances have contributed, according to experts, to the EC and US conflicts with Japan in industrial products. 'Toyotism' of Japanese industry has given it a great advantage over 'Fordism' of the US and EC industries. To cite a single example, in the 1960s and 1970s, the EC's ship-building industry could not stand a threat from Japanese ship-building companies' aggressive marketing strategies.

With the present growth of Japan's foreign direct investments in the EC and the US, the industries of the latter are demanding more trade barriers and greater protection (though recently Japanese economy also is showing signs of decay).

It is interesting to note that criticism of free trade doctrine has been gaining ground as the EC and the US have been meeting with increasingly fierce competition in a number of industries. Many of the earlier champions of the doctrine are today its critics.

The opportunism is not a new phenomenon. When German goods were dominating British markets, Britain was the worst critic of free trade principle. After industrial revolution, the equation changed and Britain became the best champion of free trade doctrine.

The current American concept of "fairness in trade" reminds Biswajit Dhar of Gladstone's remark made more than a century ago under a similar situation: "It (fairness in trade) bears suspicious likeness to our old friend protection."

The decline in the economic strength of the United States started in the 1960s. The process of the end of its hegemony commenced around 1973. By the 1980s the United States had come to be established as the economic power going rapidly down-hill. Several authors like Linder and others have predicted the end of the US hegemony in the international economy during the early period of the next century. With every new set-back, the US has been deviating progressively from the principle of free trade, and by this time it has completely abandoned that once-sacred doctrine. These recent developments and deviations in the US trade strategy have been aptly elaborated by Biswajit Dhar in his *The Decline of Free Trade and US Trade Policy Today*.

At the level of policy, the demise of 'non-interventionist' mode can be seen clearly in the case of US where trade administration has adopted an "activist" trade policy, particularly during the last two decades. While the increased dose of protectionism formed the core of the nature of state intervention in the earlier years, seeking increased market-access to US products by compelling its partner countries to change their policies and become "more open" has been the present

line of its policy. Protectionism has now become the sole thrust of the policy-initiative in recent years. Trade legislation in US since 1974 indicates this trend. The Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, particularly through its two new provisions, namely, Super 301 and Special 301, unfolds fully the intentions of the policy-makers.

The protectionist measures adopted by the US have abrogated the basic principles of non-intervention in trade, underlying the post-war trading system governed by the GATT rules. Specific and systematic trade barriers have been raised by the US, in violation of the GATT rules. This has grossly undermined the multi-lateral trading system. In response to the competitive threats from Japan and other newly-exporting countries, the US curbed imports by using increasing doses of protectionism achieved through imposition of the non-tariff barriers, and increased exports by forcing open foreign markets using the powers of trade retaliation that were assumed by the US President through the Trade Acts of 1974 and 1988. The first phase gave protection to domestic producers against imports. Quota restrictions on exports to the US were imposed. The US trade administration frequently imposed Voluntary Export Restraints (VERs) and Orderly Marketing Arrangements (OMAs) on several countries.

The more prominent industries that were provided import protection were steel, automobiles, textiles, machine tools and semiconductors. Section 301 of the 1974 Act was directed at the policies of foreign governments which did not provide free access to US products in their markets. In 1985, the insurance industry in Korea was targeted for this purpose; the action under Section 301 of the 1974 Act was initiated. Between 1985 and 1988, when the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act was passed, Section 301 was introduced to deal with cases relating to insufficient protection of intellectual property rights of US origin.

Under Super 301, action could be initiated against the entire gamut of trade and trade-related policies that the infringing partners were following in retaliation against a sector or an industry-specific infringement. In other words, Super 301 provided for cross-retaliation between sectors.

Secondly, Super 301 introduced a time-frame for identifiable specific cases of trade distortions, and initiating cases against countries which, according to the US, were obstructing US exports. The cases under Super 301 were to be initiated in 1989 and 1990; and the retaliatory action against the identified "infringing" countries was to be carried out within 180 days of establishing that trade distortions were liable for retaliation.

Special 301 covers infringement of intellectual property rights of US origin causing distortions in US exports. Special 301 was to ensure that US

exports could be increased by compelling countries to provide a stronger monopoly to US commercial interests in their markets through an appropriate system of intellectual property protection that the US trade administration deemed fit.

Unlike provisions under Section 337, the Special 301 provision did not put the onus on the complainant to "prove" the injury. The US International Trade Commission was simply required to institute inquiry into the complaint and grant protection, all within 90 days of the registering of the complaint.

In May 1989, the USTR identified three countries - India, Japan and Brazil - and put them on the list of priority countries for action under Super 301; and six trade-distorting practices - the 'priority practices' - of these countries were identified; India was found to restrict US exports from entering into markets through following two priority practices.

(a) Foreign inventors in the country were required to export a part of the produce, and to use locally produced inputs, thereby causing trade distortions; and

(b) US service industries were prevented from competing in the Indian market. India's market was completely closed to foreign insurance companies.

A new list of 'priority practices' under Super 301 was issued in April 1990. The list had two cases and both involved India. The two priority practices of India listed in 1989 were again included in the 1990 list. Japan and Brazil were excluded. Trade barriers to insurance and investment in India were particularly irritating to the U.S.

In 1989 and 1990, four countries - India, China, Thailand and Brazil - were put on the priority watch list. In April 1991, USTR decided to initiate proceedings under the Special 301 clause. India, China and Thailand were named as priority countries for action under Special 301.

The US is insisting upon free trade and the so-called 'liberalisation'. The US experts have excelled Goebbels in the propaganda techniques. "Repeat a lie hundred times, and it becomes the truth", Goebbels said. Hitler went a step further. He said that if a lie is to be circulated, you should not give a simple lie, but give a big bluff - so big that people will not be able, because of the magnitude of the given lie, to suspect that such a big news may be a lie. Because of the American propaganda the doctrine of economic liberalisation became popular in the last two decades. De-regulation and privatisation have acquired respectability and authenticity. The IMF and the World Bank have been striving to sell 'liberalisation' doctrine to the Third World countries by imposing on the debtor countries the policy of economic liberalisation as a condition of further credit! The GATT and the US are preaching the free trade principle as a sacred gospel truth. But the US is itself violating this "sacred" principle. The US is also

violating the standards evolved by the International Organisation for Standardisation. The US public procurement policies are not in conformity with the GATT. Government procurement code, 'Buy - American' restrictions, cover a vast area. There were thirty-one significant cases of special protection which covered four broad sectors - manufacturing, mining, agriculture and fisheries. Some other services also are being given protection. It is subsidising heavily its farm sector, while demanding that other countries should withdraw all subsidies to that sector. It is following double-standards in case of the pharmaceutical sector also.

These are clearly unprincipled bullying tactics. The culprits in this crime are the rulers and the big capitalists of the US - not its common masses who are themselves kept in the dark about developments on the economic front. These bullying tactics are being employed not only against the southern, developing countries, but also against European community and North American peoples. The recent militant reaction of French farmers and the strong support given to their gesture by farmers of the European countries; the agitation of the working people of the US against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); the effective protest registered by Canadian voters against the ruling party that became a signatory to the notorious NAFTA; the demonstration (on 2 October) by 12 purely American organisations of environmentalists and humanitarians against the modus operandi of Cargill - all these indicate that the unholy alliance between the rulers and the big capitalists of US is operating not only against the third world countries, but also against other developed white countries, and even against the less privileged masses of US itself.

And these culprits are the champions of free trade, liberalisation and globalisation - a case of Satan quoting the Bible.

To sum up:

In its present form

'Liberalisation' of the GATT and the US is a downright fraud.

'Liberalisation' of Dr. Manmohan Singh is sheer gullibility.

'Liberalisation' of our air-conditioned radicals is ignorance or hypocrisy.

'Liberalisation' is a grave challenge to patriots of all non-American countries.

Hence the propriety and urgency of 'Swadeshi' for all non-American peoples of the world.

Genuine liberalisation and hegemonic globalisation can never go together. The Hindu concept of globalisation represents genuine globalisation.

The Hindu version of globalisation is fairly well known to all Hindus who are not self-alienated: For them the elaboration of Hindu concept may be a superfluous repetition of whatever they know already. For the benefit of the de-Hinduised Hindus a brief restatement of the same may, however, be helpful here.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, who could conceive of the Central State Authority without stateism, envisaged evolution of the world state enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures, as well as the flowering of the *Manava Dharma*, enriched by the perfection of all the religions including 'materialism'.

Revered Shri Guruji believed that the world unity and human welfare could be made real only to the extent mankind realised the ultimate, absolute Vedantic truth that "all is one". What he implied was not elimination of all distinctive features of nations and rolling them all into one uniform pattern. He visualised various groups of peoples coming together in a spirit of familism realising the innate oneness of mankind while preserving their individual identities and special characteristics. The different human groups are marching forward, all towards the same goal, each in its own way and in keeping with its own characteristic genius. The destruction of the special characteristics, whether of an individual or of a group, will destroy not only the natural beauty of harmony but also its joy of self-expression. To seek harmony among the various and diverse

characteristics has been our special contribution to world thought. Shri Guruji says:

"The World State of our concept will evolve out of a federation of autonomous and self-contained nations under a common centre linking them all... It is the grand world-unifying thought of Hindus alone that can supply the abiding basis for human brotherhood. That knowledge of the inner spirit will charge the human mind with the sublime urge to toil for the happiness of mankind, while opening out full and free scope for every small life-speciality on the face of the earth to its full stature. Verily, this is the one real practical world-mission, if ever there was one."

This Hindu concept has been elucidated elaborately by Rishi Aurobindo who envisaged the still further stage of 'mass spiritualism'. With this mental background, our Rishis conceived of the 'One World State* :

पृथिवीसमुद्रपर्यन्तायाः एकराट्

"From sea to sea, over all land, one State."

This is genuine globalisation. In its absence, the world cannot go beyond the abortive experiments of the League of Nations or the UNO.

Without the growth of such Hindu, i.e., human consciousness, it is impossible in the international economic field to ensure genuine 'free trade', maximum utilisation of the scarce resources; development without environment problems and permanent damage to Nature; adjustment of the presently unlimited human desires with the limited resources of the planet; management of population explosion; diversion of all the huge amounts allocated currently by different countries for their defence budgets to their developmental activities; encouragement to every country to maximise its specialised production; free exchange of scientific and technological information; constitution of International Technological Ombudsman; curbing the activities of international criminal gangs disturbing seriously the economic structures of even the civilized countries and world peace, harmony and prosperity.

CHAPTER 18

Dharma-kshetre*

*God, we enter our last fight Thou
knowest our cause is right Make us
march in Thy Light On to Victory!*

(Anonymous)

Swadeshi is gaining momentum everywhere. In the United States, the spirit of Swadeshi is reflected in its popular slogan of 'Be American: Buy American' and its official policy of protectionism.

Other western countries also are trying to follow the same path as far as possible.

The patriots of developing countries are progressively realising the danger of foreign economic imperialism and turning to Swadeshi to frustrate the evil designs of imperialist conspirators. Only the self-centred gullibles and the self-seeking stooges of foreign capital in these countries are refusing to see the obvious.

For Bharat, the term Swadeshi has special significance. Here it is not a mere economic movement but is a means of bringing about economic reconstruction of the country. It is not a mere political slogan, but is the essence of declaration of political independence. As a matter of fact, it is a spiritual movement which comprises not only the objectives of economic development and political independence but also all other aspects of national consciousness. This has been explained by Rishi Aurobindo in *Vande Mataram* dated 11 June 1908.

The author of this work is well known in academic circles. He writes regularly on current economic issues in the *Organiser* and other periodicals, he is the Director of the Bharatiya Agro-Economic Research Centre of Bharatiya Kisan Sangh. He is also a National Co-convener of Swadeshi Jagaran Manch. As a Swayamsevak of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh he has worked in different capacities to further the cause of that organisation. He never writes a word without

[^]Foreword to the book '*Swadeshi View of Globalisation*' by Daya Krishna, published in 1994 by Swadeshi Jagaran Manch, New Delhi.

first ascertaining its veracity. His book '*India's Planned Poverty*' had created a stir in official circles; but his findings were found to be irrefutable. In the present work he is explaining the rationale of our second War of Independence

which is a part and parcel of the Third World War that is being fought with economic - instead of military - weapons. In this thesis also, many of his assertions may appear to be shocking to some of our intellectuals who are habited to being misled by the propaganda unleashed by foreign interests, but they will also realise that the authenticity of his thesis is unassailable. To cite a few examples :-

- * GATT never maintained that the agreement will remove poverty. The proclaimed objective of the GATT agreement is to increase trade, which is dominated by the multinational companies.
- * During the 47-year period ending 1992, the share of poor countries in world income had fallen from 12 to 5 per cent, while the share of the rich countries had risen from 66 to 79 per cent.
- * Any economic order based upon exploitation cannot last for long. The consequences of the exploitation of the poor countries over a long period of time have manifested themselves in the rich countries in the form of:
 - i) increase in unemployment; and
 - ii) precipitous fall in the rate of growth of exports.
- * Unemployment in the rich countries has assumed endemic proportions. And the reason is technology.
- * Technology is known to cause a growing concentration of wealth, which increases the chasm between the rich and the poor, leading to social unrest, turmoil and crime.

Daya Krishna has correctly diagnosed the strategy adopted by the developed countries in the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations: for example, the reason for bringing the four new areas, i.e., Agriculture, TRIPS, TRIMS and Services, under GATT on the eve of the Uruguay Round. Daya Krishna says that for the poor countries of the world, the year 1985 marked the beginning of the period during which their annual debt service charges began to exceed the new inflow of loans, while for the rich countries the same year marked the beginning of a period of bleak and uncertain prospects for their exports because the loans sanctioned to the poor countries were being adjusted against their debt service obligation. This created an urgency to ensure a substantial additional flow of income from the poor to the rich countries.

The whole work, read without bias, can be an eye-opener for our misguided patriots who suffer from an abiding faith in the credibility and sincerity of the G-7 countries and the MNCs.

Daya Krishna is open-minded. He acknowledges without reservation his indebtedness to scores of authors on this subject, from Chakravarthi Raghavan

to Usha Menon. What he is concerned with is the search for the truth and nothing but the truth.

Swadeshi is expected to manifest itself in all fields of national life. Those who ridicule our Swadeshi Science Movement are probably not aware that while Sir C.V. Raman pleaded for "Science, science and much more science," he also stood for the development of an Indian tradition and for a commitment to free the Indian science from its state of semi-dependence on western science. The hollowness of western science has been very well brought out by Sir Eceles, the famous Australian neurologist and Nobel laureate who says:

"This is an age more beset by superstition than any other age and the worst superstition is that materialistic science can explain all things! The materialists have had their long innings of arrogance. Their beliefs are worn out. They land nowhere. Materialism gives you a hopeless empty life, one without values."

Claude Alvares, Dharampal, Srinivasan and others have thrown light on the special characteristics of Bharatiya technology and effectively countered the western propaganda that Bharat was backward in the matter of technology. Their findings go to prove the technological backwardness of the western countries in the not-so-distant past. Various groups are today engaged in developing indigenous technology.

Regarding the Science of Management, S.K. Chakraborty has elaborated the Swadeshi approach towards quality of work and working life and highlighted that the bulk of the task of improving the quality of working life has to be performed within the inner subjectivity of each worker. Some major clues for key questions like what is work and how to work have been provided by him on the basis of Swadeshi tradition.

Without work being understood as sacrifice, with all its implications, there can be no *Lakasangraha* organisationally, nationally or internationally. He writes: *"There can be no more superordinate reference point for work commitment than sacrifice for work maintenance through the family, the organisation, the nation and so on."*

He has conclusively proved that the Bharatiya approach to the science of management is superior to that of the West, superior to the approach of human relations school of the thirties, the socio-technical school of the fifties, the job-enrichment/enlargement school of the sixties, and kindred offshoots of these schools.

Linguistic imperialism has also received a set-back. An attempt to denigrate Sanskrit as a dead language has been completely foiled. It is now regarded as more suitable than any other language for the purpose of computer. Even Pakistan is taking pride in tracing its heritage to Panini.

Recently, the Supreme Court of India has recognised the importance of Sanskrit.

Because of its internal self-contradictions communism has failed and those of capitalism are now manifest. The most important one is that the resources available on our planet are limited while the consumers know no bounds. Capitalism is bound to collapse before 2010 A.D. Western scholars like Peter Drucker, Samuelson, etc., are realising this. The search for the Third Way has already begun. The emergence of *Hindu Economics* at this juncture is significant, though, as its author declares, there can be no last word of wisdom in scientific matters. The author of that thesis on Swadeshi economics, Dr. M.G. Bokare, is the National Convener of Swadeshi Jagaran Manch.

In brief, in almost every sphere of our national life, emergence of the Swadeshi spirit can be discerned.

Many events in the international field have indirectly helped the process of *Jana Jagaran* in our country. The initiative taken by Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia in the formation of the South Commission (of which Dr. Manmohan Singh was the Secretary-General), and the scholarly report of that Commission explaining the advisability of South-South co-operation are important milestones. A feeble but sane voice raised by some nationalists of Philippines declaring that only that part of the national debt incurred by Marcos would be binding on their country which was spent for developmental work, and that the money spent entirely for the comfort and luxury of Marcos and his stooges should be recovered from those beneficiaries and not from the people; the stern attitude adopted by Korea in nuclear negotiations; the changed reaction of Japan and China to American pressure tactics; failure of the US in its attempt to curb fundamentalism in some Islamic countries; agitation by the French farmers against an agreement signed by their government without taking them into confidence, and the sympathetic gesture by farmers of other European Community countries on the same issue; reaction in all the three North American countries against the North American Free Trade Agreement; armed revolt by Mexican peasants; agitations by US workers, and the rout of the signatory ruling party in Canadian elections; demonstrations by twelve American organisations of environmentalists and humanitarians against the *modus operandi* of Cargill; remarks in the Human Rights Watch Committee of the US criticising the official policy of their government regarding Indo-Pak relations; public criticism of the US government on the same issue by a congressman of the ruling Democratic Party; all these events indicate unmistakably the shape of things to come, though the common citizen may not immediately realise their significance.

Developing countries have now realised that the MNCs have their own strategies in the highly competitive global market-place and that the ruthless world of competition cannot but make them impervious to the consequences of

their strategies for the economies they operate in. More often than not, these consequences could be unpalatable and unacceptable, not only in terms of employment but also in their impact on the ordering of domestic industry and services. We have to guard against complacent policy stances which advocate growth at any cost, regardless of the consequences of the strategies of the global MNCs. Mature economies have resources to ride over the storm but for the developing economies any minor disturbance has the potential of escalating into a crisis.

Efficiency, productivity and employment are objectives to be simultaneously pursued. The gamut of current reform measures cannot ensure that. These have to be combined with a strong set of state interventionist measures. The countries which were swept off by the euphoria of reform are rethinking their strategies. The shift in focus appears vital for the survival of those polities. Globalisation and privatisation, in combination, is a lethal medicine.

The southern countries are aware that the World Trade Organisation will be subservient to the G-7 countries and the multinationals. The Organisation is to become the super-government of the world, empowered to encroach upon the sovereignty of different nations and the legitimate jurisdiction of U.N. bodies like ILO.

As a matter of fact, the measure that could have substantially helped the process of genuine globalisation was the reconstitution of the United Nations with additional representatives of religious groups, ethnic groups, transnational trade unions, environmental movements, human rights associations, welfare organisations, and other appropriate agencies from civil societies. Instead, what is being offered is the launching of the World Trade Organisation which is going to be a tool of American economic imperialism. (It is worth remembering that the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations. The implications of this peculiar position are worth studying.)

Every human group, now known as nation, has a right to independence and sovereignty. We recognise and respect the identity of every living being, whether big or small. The same is applicable to human groups. The essence of sovereignty lies in the full right to take all decisions concerning national life. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji and Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya expressed the view that preservation and promotion of national self-interest within the framework of world-welfare and human happiness should be the objective of the foreign policy of every nation. What is national interest? According to Charles O. Lerehe and Abdul A. Said, national interest is

"the general long-term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation and the government, all see themselves, as serving."

Vernon Van Duke says,

"National interest is that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other."

Joseph Frankel is of the view that national interest is the key concept in foreign policy. Political independence without sovereignty is meaningless. In the absence of sovereignty it is impossible to preserve national interest. Every nation must have freedom and full authority to take decisions regarding all its affairs.

Genuine globalisation is a part of the Hindu heritage. In ancient times we have always considered ourselves as part and parcel of the entire humanity. We never cared to carve out for ourselves a separate identity. We identified ourselves with the entire mankind, वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्

The whole earth is our family¹ has been our motto. That is why the term Hindu has no antiquity, it is not to be found in ancient literature.

But now the roles are reversed. Globalisation is being preached to us by those who are known to history for their imperialistic exploitation and even genocides. Indeed Satan is quoting scriptures! Hegemonism is parading itself as globalisation.

Recently, many nation-states are confronted with a new problem: Terrorists, fundamentalists, criminals, war-lords, and narco-killers might be somehow quarantined but there are organised conspiracies to shift power from nation-states to the global gladiators, the most powerful global gladiator being the group of multinationals now trying to throttle sovereignty of all third world countries through the medium of GATT (or World Trade Organisation). This they are striving to achieve by keeping patriots of all these countries in the dark about the international economic developments affecting the fortunes of their respective countries. Patriots of every developing country are being assured of unprecedented economic prosperity if they are mentally prepared to forego their national sovereignty for this post-dated cheque. Through this allurements, the foreign capital expects that people of these countries can be persuaded to forget the value of their national sovereignty. But here the multinationals are fortunately mistaken. They have not taken into account the inherent strength of the concept of sovereignty. In his *Recent Theory of Sovereignty*, H. F. Choen declares that even if the word sovereignty disappears, the substance of sovereignty will remain.

This is the crux of the problem. The main purpose of the Swadeshi movement is to preserve the national sovereignty. We are quite capable of bringing about economic reconstruction of our country on the basis of the spirit of national self-reliance and the South-South co-operation on equal footing.

The inauguration of the Swadeshi movement indicates that we are on the threshold of Swadeshi renaissance. As Rishi Aurobindo points out, renaissance in Bharat would be qualitatively very much different from that in Europe. It will be beneficial not only to this country but to the whole mankind and the universe. Because of our values of life, the very concept of humanism will undergo a revolutionary change. Western humanism is homocentric, based on the principle proclaimed by Protagoras: "Man is the measure of all things."

Daumer says,

"The frightful tortures that unfortunate beasts suffer at the tyrannous and cruel hand of man are for these barbarians 'rubbish' that nobody should bother about."

In his *True Humanism* Maritain observes,

"Any form of anthropocentric humanism is in its final analysis an inhuman humanism."

Loknayanak Jaya Prakash Narayan said,

"Materialism as philosophical outlook could not provide any basis for ethical conduct, any incentive for goodness."

Dr. Schumacher remarks,

"If all the new problems were solved by technological fixes, the state of futility, disorder and corruption would remain."

Mankind is already experiencing the truth of this statement. Leadership of every western thought-system is failing. Consequently, the social orders based on such thought-systems are collapsing. Drucker rightly remarked that trees die from the top, so do organisations. Mankind is in need of a new type of leadership. It can arise only on the strength of the new values of life, a new *Darshana*. Our *Darshana* proclaims : "All is one". सर्वं खलु इदं ब्रह्म । That is why we could conceive of Integral Humanism which is the modern manifestation of *Sanatana Dharma*. Only those who have assimilated the spirit of Integral Humanism can provide the much needed new leadership to mankind.

Thus the Swadeshi movement, which appears presently to be concerned with material goods and national sovereignty only, is to culminate in the emergence of a new variety of world-leadership.

But even a thousand-mile march must begin with the first step. The campaign of Swadeshi Jagaran Manch in the first fortnight of December 1994 is such first step. Its rationale is being explained by Daya Krishna in this work.

The blueprint of the World Trade Organisation indicates that the world is moving fast towards 'Armageddon*' - the scene of a final, decisive battle between the forces of good and evil. To ensure ultimate triumph of *Dharma* over *Adharma*, let us pray to God, in the words of the poet Josiah Gilbert Holland :

* See Appendix II

"God give us men.

The time demands

Strong minds, great hearts,

True faith and willing hands;

Men whom the lust of office

Does not kill;

Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy; Men

who possess opinions and a will; Men who have

honour; Men who will not lie.

CHAPTER 19

Modernisation Without Westernisation*

We in this country have instinctively realised that the cultural wealth of which we are natural heirs belongs to the whole humanity, that it is India's obligation to offer to others the benefits of her unique culture and to accept from others their best. We always welcomed healthy trends in other cultures. We have been constantly engaged in a rich give-and-take with other peoples. We have been always interpreting one civilization to the other and trying to find out what is common between them. In their subconscious minds Hindus have always felt that human misery anywhere constitutes a threat to human happiness everywhere.

Indians : Temperamentally Internationalists

We have never been isolationists. From time immemorial we have been maintaining intimate contacts with different peoples and trying to build bridges of understanding and friendship with them. Even in the recent past Bharat has sent abroad its saints, scholars, soldiers, scientists, technocrats, artists, artisans, professionals, traders, industrialists, and labourers who have been working conscientiously with the same end in view, as our unofficial cultural ambassadors. Temperamentally, we are internationalists. For us, there is no incompatibility between nationalism and internationalism. In the onward march of human consciousness, nationalism is a bridge between tribalism and humanism which, in its turn, is a long step ahead in the direction of universalism.

Not Foreign Nationalism

But this universalism - to be 'of the earth, earthy', internationalism - must be distinguished clearly from foreign nationalism - from intellectual subservience to foreign countries and cultures, from national self-oblivion and mental slavery.

Presumption of Intellectuals

We are all aware how our intellectuals are enamoured of westernism. For them, everything western is standard, everything

Address to Bharat Vikas Parishad on 13th August 1983.

Hindu sub-standard. For them, Shakespeare is not a Kalidasa of Great Britain, nor Napoleon a Samudragupta of Europe, but Sardar Patel is the Bismarck of India. *Gita* must be a great book, because Emerson said so. The *Shakta* and

CHAPTER 19

Tantra cults may not be so contemptible, because Sir John Woodroffe is championing their cause. How can Narendra and Ravindra receive due recognition from us until their merit is first recognised by some western authorities? White Man's lordship over others must be construed as a conclusive proof of his cultural superiority. Who is singing the glory of the golden period of Hindu history under the Guptas, or under the Shailendra empire in South-East Asia which stood as a powerful bulwark against Chinese expansion for seven centuries? These are all idle gossip - cock and bull stories. It was the Europeans and not the Hindus who reached American shores first. All talk about the advance of Hindu sciences- in the past must be nonsensical; how can sciences flourish on the eastern side of the Ural? History was standing still till the inauguration of European Renaissance. Sanskrit is a dead language, Latin the source of all knowledge. The western theories regarding Aryan race, the original inhabitants of India, and chronological order of Indian history, may be purely hypothetical; but none can challenge their veracity, since they are proclaimed by western scholars. How can you even compare Kautilya with Machiavelli and Hindu lawgivers with the constitutional pundits of the West? It is fantastic to claim that the insight furnished by Patanjali is superior to the combined wisdom of Freud, Jung and Adler. It is inconceivable that as a social philosopher Samarth Ramdas was far ahead of his European contemporaries, such as, Hobbes, Locke, Descartes, Leibnitz and Spinoza. For all maladies, remedies can be provided only by the West. For solution of our socio-economic or political problems, our intellectuals rush to seek help from western theories. They have nothing to learn from their own intellect. No theory can be correct unless it is certified to be so by some western authority. If they get disillusioned by one western theory they will, instead of using their own intellect, rush in search of some other western theory which they can catch hold of. They may accept that Marx as well as Adam Smith, J. S. Mill, Ricardo and Malthus have become outdated. They may be sceptical about the relevance of Alfred Marshall, Wickell, Gunnar Myrdal and Keynes to the present-day conditions. But they will stubbornly refuse to conduct independent thinking in the light of their own national requirements. Instead, they will feel homely with the five stages of economic growth enunciated by Prof. Rostow and get busy in discussing whether we have reached his third 'take-off stage' so as to pass over his fourth 'drive to technological maturity' leading to the stage of 'high mass consumption.'

This tendency is the natural consequence of their presumption that westernisation is modernisation.

The Propriety

The time is now ripe to question the validity of this presumption.

Hence the propriety of this seminar on 'Modernisation Without Westernisation'.

"The Letter Killeth..."

But before we proceed to the subject of our discussion, it is essential to define clearly the meaning of the terms 'modernisation' and 'westernisation'.

"If you want to talk with me," said Voltaire, "define your terms." For any meaningful dialogue, this is essential, particularly when the topic under discussion is technical and the people are in the habit of using words in a rather loose sense. For correct thinking it is necessary to free oneself from the tyranny of popular words which are often used in a loose manner. The havoc played by wrong translation of the term 'religion' into Indian languages as '*Dharma*' is a glaring example of this fact. 'Communism' is translated as '*Samyavada*', though there is no 'commune' in '*Samyavada*' and no '*samya*' in '*communism*'. The translations of the terms '*Astik*' and '*Nastik*' as 'theist' and 'atheist' are also in the same category; these Sanskrit terms denote believer or non-believer in the *Shrutis*. They are not connected with belief or non-belief in God. The erroneous translation of the words '*maya*' and '*mithya*' as 'illusion' is yet another familiar example of this type. In course of time we are bound to realise that the translation of '*Hindutva*' as Hinduism is not correct, the correct English equivalent of which is '*Hinduness*'. Recently, two entirely different connotations were given in a public debate on Punjab for the Urdu word '*Qaum*'. The word 'secular' as being used in India today is yet another instance. 'Secular' means "something concerned with the affairs of this world, worldly, not sacred, not monastic, not ecclesiastical, temporal, profane, lay." *The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* states:

"Secularism in the philosophical sphere may be interpreted as revolt against theological and eventually against metaphysical absolutes and universals. In the political sphere, it came to mean that a temporal ruler was entitled to exercise power in his own right."

In other words it conveys a principle enunciated by Jesus: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Thus, what Pandit Nehru wanted to convey through the use of the term 'secular' was something different from what is generally understood by that term all over the world. The nearest equivalent of the Nehruvian concept of 'secular state' would probably be 'non-denominational state', though I am mentioning this word for want of any other more exact term. "The letter killeth," remarked Jesus, and any public debate on a technical subject is bound to result in confusion worst confounded, if the main terms used therein are not precisely defined.

'Modernisation'

Can we define 'Modernisation'?

'Modern' means 'of the present and recent times' or 'characteristic of present or recent time'.

Conventionally, the term 'Modernism' denotes modern views or methods; tendency in matters of religious beliefs to subordinate tradition to harmony with modern thought, modern term or expression. In other words it denotes modern usage, expression or trait; modern spirit or character; a tendency to adjust Christian dogma to the results of science and criticism. To modernise is to adapt to the present time, conditions, needs, language, or spelling; to adopt modern ways.

Obviously, this connotation is the natural consequence of the peculiar historical background of Europe. It becomes irrelevant in the case of a country which had no Church, no organised priesthood, no religious persecution, and no conflict between religions and sciences.

To non-European countries, therefore, 'Modernisation' should simply mean equipment to solve the problems and meet the challenges of modern times, with a view to ensuring all-round progress in future.

'Westernisation' Defined

And now, what is 'Westernisation'?

Broadly, it means making oriental people or country to adopt ideas, ideals, institutions, systems, structures, living standards and values of life, of the West.

Western or Eastern

But it is not so easy to identify what exactly is 'Western'. So far as the ever-expanding frontiers of human knowledge are concerned, it is noteworthy that truth has no party, no class, no caste, no community, no nation. It is invariably universal, though the first person to come across or realise such truth may be belonging to some nation or class or religion.

That does not make it western or eastern. For example, can anyone specify whether the following items are western or eastern?

- 1) The well-known theorem of Pythagoras who was described by king Clement of Alexandria as "the pupil of a Brahmin."
- 2) The atomic theory of the West which was anticipated thousands of years ago by परमाणुवाद of Kanada.
- 3) Dialecticism of Hegel and Marx which was first envisaged and systematized by Kapila Muni.
- 4) The fact that it is the Earth which moves round the Sun and not the Sun around the Earth - which was proved more than a thousand years ago by Aryabhata before it was proved in the West by Copernicus.

- 5) 'Our of non-existence emerged existence' (असतो सत् अजायत), the first ever *Sutra* of Materialism of Democritus - written centuries earlier by Brihaspati.
- 6) The scientific definition of 'Matter' given for the first time to modern science by Heisenberg and to Hindus by Patanjali.
- 7) The scientific concepts of Time and Space such as, the relativity of Time and Space, the unity of the Universe, a Space-Time Continuum etc. established in ancient times by Vedic thinkers and proved in this century by Einstein.
- 8) The process of scientific philosophical thinking initiated by Parameshthi Prajapati of *Nasadiya Sukta* and developed by Einstein.

As H. G. Chernyshevsky observed,

"the principles explained and proved by the present-day sciences were already found and taken to be true by the Greek philosophers, and much earlier, by the Indian thinkers."

All Knowledge is Universal

To sum up:

All knowledge is universal; it is neither western nor eastern.

The same holds good about all sciences and technology. True, the advance of the West in this direction commenced after the European Renaissance, and during this entire intervening period we could not register normal rate of progress for the simple reason that we were throughout engaged in the life-and-death struggle on a national plane; but it is an indisputable fact that Hindu Sciences and Hindu Arts had migrated to Greece, via Arabia and Persia, before the European Renaissance, which was preceded by the Dark Age of Europe. Newton once remarked:

"If I have been able to see further than others, it was because I stood on the shoulders of giants."

What is true of an individual, can be equally true of a nation. Today we aspire to stand on the shoulders of the western giants; but the West could raise these giants because, during Renaissance, the entire intelligentsia of Europe stood on the shoulders of Hindu giants. It is, therefore, unrealistic to describe any knowledge as western or eastern; it is all universal.

Illusory Differentiation

Nor would it be realistic to describe the difference between the East and the West as that between belief and disbelief or theism and atheism, though it is true that the West is predominantly materialistic. For example, the theists in Bharat have no quarrel with the atheists of the West, because the God the latter condemn is different from the God the former worship. Theirs is a personal God,

ours impersonal, without any name or form, formless, and therefore, capable of assuming or not assuming any form, in keeping with the taste, the aptitude, the requirement, the mental background and the level of understanding of each and every individual, nameless and therefore, capable of adopting or not adopting any name. No need, therefore, to be disturbed over their attack on the God-concept.

On the contrary, after the declaration by materialist philosophy that consciousness is the highest development of matter, and particularly with the advance of modern science, the line of demarcation between the material and the non-material is now almost vanishing. *The New Soviet Psychic Discoveries* by Henry Gris and William Dick also indicates the same fact. The conceptual journey from the purely physical nature through biological evolution encompassing instinct, intuition and impulse, to development of brain, intelligence, reason and rationalism, to extra-sensory perception, may or may not be factual, but it is certainly a fact that with the interconvertibility of matter and energy, matter has lost its basic character and is now exposed to the ideological onslaught of the Brahman, the ever-expanding. Against this background, one wonders whether a fight between Theism and Atheism is not in reality now over empty terms that have lost their original significance.

Thus this differentiation, which is sought to be highlighted by some religious authorities, does not stand the scrutiny of reason.

Essentially Human

Instincts, impulses, urges, intelligence, sentiments, emotions, even intuitions - all these are essentially 'human'; they cannot be branded as western or eastern.

What then precisely is western?

Cultural Difference

Though human mind everywhere is essentially the same, it would be unrealistic to deny the fact that different societies have passed through different situations and different historical courses of events, and these latter have left a deep impact on the collective mind of every society. Geography and history are the main factors responsible for such differentiation.

For example, regarding India, Vincent Smith says,

"India, circled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit and as such rightly designated by one name. The type of civilization too has many features which differentiate it from all other regions of the world; while they are common to the whole country in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of the social, religious and intellectual development of mankind."

Among other things, geo-political factors contribute substantially to such differentiations.

All such distinctive factors give rise to different cultures.

'Culture' Defined

The word 'culture' denotes a trend of impressions on the mind of a society which is peculiar to its own, and which, again, is the cumulative effect of its passion, emotion, thought, speech and action throughout its history. This trend of impressions cannot be the same in case of societies, say in Arabian deserts and Gangetic plains; in Germany which is a camp in the open field and Italy or isolated Great Britain; in young America or ancient India. They say that culture is what we are and civilization, what we have.

Special Characteristics

The modern West also has certain special characteristics of its own. For example, being predominantly materialistic, it has evolved a value system with consumerism as its pivot and permissiveness its natural corollary.

***Samskars* A Superfluity**

Except for a few modern scientists, the West, being still under the influence of Newtonian science, clings to the myth that mind is only a super-structure on matter and hence believes that socioeconomic structure is basic, deserving our exclusive attention. The religion, culture, ethics, literature, arts, etc. - all these constitute a mere super-structure which will automatically undergo appropriate corresponding changes, once the socio-economic order is altered suitably. Mind need not be specially attended to, '*samskars*' are a superfluity. The exclusive concern of all the modern western thought-systems is the appropriate socio-economic transformation; they have no time to indulge in the subject of psychological transformation which will, they are convinced, take care of itself after the inauguration of the new social order.

Homocentrism

Homocentrism is yet another special characteristic of the West. Humanism is no doubt preferable to self-centred individualism. Protagoras declared, "Man is the measure of all things." Marx observed, "Man is the root of mankind." Roy advocated reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and fraternity of free men, by the collective endeavour of spiritually emancipated moral men. All this is laudable. But it treats our own human species as the centre of entire existence, which is doing injustice to all other, non-human species and components of existence. Homocentrism is expressed in the realistic manner when a character in Maxim Gorky's play *The Lower Depth* declares: "All things are part of man; all things are for man". "Man - that is the truth." Exploitation of man by man cannot be tolerated; but exploitation of non-human beings by

human beings can even be encouraged. Recently, we formulated a universal charter of human rights; but non-human beings are entitled to no rights.

Western Humanism - Not Adequately Humane

Because of its characteristic values of life, even humanism of the West could not be adequately humane. Firstly, it has been anti-God and homocentric. And, secondly, it could not generate an environment conducive to the growth of human harmony. Before the Second World War nobody could have imagined that a document like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would at any time be even drafted. The various covenants and resolutions of U.N. Organisation and other international bodies on human rights constitute the basis of International Law which is moral rather than strictly legal in character. But notwithstanding the institutional framework of U.N. for the specific purpose, it is being generally realised that the real guarantee for the preservation of human rights, civil liberties and fundamental freedoms lies in the level of consciousness of common man and in the people-to-people relationship on a sound basis of international understanding. Mere talking about rights in the western fashion is not enough to achieve the desired goal. John Kleinig has rightly remarked:

"Unless there is love, care and concern for others as individuals, in addition to the recognition of rights, there remains a moral lack in international relationships. There is something morally inadequate in doing something for another because it is the other's due. Actions motivated simply by the right of others remain anonymous or impersonal, whereas if motivated by the love, care or concern for the other, their focus is on the other's particularity. Only relations of the latter kind are morally adequate. They are person-specific, whereas rights are species-specific."

Exclusive emphasis on 'rights' is one of the peculiar characteristics of the western value-system.

The Fragmentary Approach

Again, the thinking of the West has always been compartmentalised and its approach fragmentary. It was only during the Second World War that the western scientists began to appreciate the utility of inter-disciplinary approach. They failed to understand inter-relatedness and inter-dependence of all phenomena. In this globally interconnected world, physical, biological, psychological, social, political, economic, cultural or environmental phenomena are all inter-dependent. Problems confronting mankind are many and varied; but these are all different facets of a single crisis. As one learned author points out, whether we talk about cancer, crime, pollution, nuclear power, inflation or energy shortage, the dynamics underlying these problems are the same. The

westerners have not yet realised this basic fact. For example, they treat economics as an independent, autonomous subject, isolated from the rest of the totality. They cannot integrate with their quantitative economic analysis the qualitative factors leading to the understanding of the ecological, social and psychological dimensions of economic activity and the findings of the recent psychological research on people's behaviour as income-earners, consumers and investors. Indiscriminate addiction to growth has rendered all western schools of economics unrealistic and irrelevant. These economists must have received a jolt when Schumacher illustrated the value-dependence of economics by comparing two economic systems embodying entirely different values and goals. One is the western materialist system, in which the standard of living is measured by the amount of annual consumption along with an optimal pattern of production. The other is a system of Buddhist economics, based on the notions of "right livelihood" and the "Middle Path", in which the object is to achieve a maximum of human well-being within the optimal pattern of consumption. While the West could conceive the indices of different material factors, will it be able to think of indices of human happiness and other social or psychological factors?

Illustrative Only, Not Exhaustive

The points mentioned above are only illustrative, and not exhaustive. But they are enough to prove that the West also has its own distinct characteristics.

The Impracticable

Does westernisation mean following the West blindly in all such distinctive matters? Is it practicable for us to blindly follow the West even if we mean to do so with all earnestness?

Gurudev Tagore once remarked:

"It is idle mendicancy to discard our own and beg for the foreign."

Condemning India's imitation of the West he says, it is like dressing our skeleton with another man's skin, giving rise to eternal feuds between the skin and the bones at every moment. This would be impracticable as well as intolerable.

Status-quoist?

The moment one expresses such views one is condemned by the interested parties as a status-quoist. It is not realised that there can be progress without aping the West. These are two different processes, though sometimes slightly overlapping. For example, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, the keeper of Islam's holiest shrines in Mecca and Medina, said on 7 June 1983 that Islamic rules must be amended in keeping with the times. Now what he was suggesting to that

open session of International Islamic Theologians' Conference in Mecca was radicalism; but he was not placing before them the examples of King Amanulla of Afghanistan, Shah of Iran, or Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha of Turkey. In India also most of our social reformers were staunch patriots, not at all inclined to get westernised. Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Satya Shodhak Samaj, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Dravida Kazhagam, National Church Movement, Scheduled Castes Federation, or Muslims' Satya Shodhak Samaj, can be cited as notable examples of radicalism without westernism.

Is it Ostrich-like Isolationism?

Considering the fact that, as Gunnar Myrdal points out in his *'Asian Drama'*, after independence the close relations with former ruler countries were preserved and in some aspects intensified. The refusal to imitate can invite objection and misunderstanding. It can be misconstrued as ostrich-like isolationism or irrational prejudice against the West.

But, in fact, such misunderstanding is baseless. We are not inimical to westerners. We remember with a deep sense of gratitude the illustrious names of Annie Besant, Sister Nivedita, Romain Rolland, Sri Ma of Aurobindo Ashram, Mira Behn, Fenner Brockway, Arundale, Arnold Toynbee, Louis Fischer, Albert Schweitzer, Schopenhauer, Garbe, Winternitz, and many others whose love for India and its culture has been a source of inspiration to us during the period of our trials and tribulations. Some eminent leaders of the oppressed, such as, Jomo Kenyatta, Caesar Chavez, Martin

Luther King, Danilo Dolci, the recently publicised Gandhi of Sicily and Benigno 'Ninoy', Aquino of Philippines, have endeared themselves to Indian public mind because of their adherence to Gandhian ideals and methodology. This is an entirely different matter. It is in no way relevant to the diseased mentality which leads to blind aping of the West.

But does the term 'westernisation' imply such imitation? Or has it some different connotation? Sometimes connotations are evolved because of the particular contexts or situations.

The Connotation

International developments after the Second World War and the problems of relationship between the developed and the developing countries have given a specific colour and connotation to the term 'westernisation'¹. It is no longer just an academic term; it has immediate practical implications.

Westernisation

When the term 'westernism' is used, what is meant is western culture and western paradigm. Westernisation, therefore, denotes acceptance of western paradigm as the universal model of progress. And when we talk of modernisation with or without westernisation, we are also in fact raising a

question whether western paradigm should be accepted as a universal model of progress and development.

In the language of *Homo Faber*, should we restrict the models of modernity and the processes and sequences of modernisation to the experience of the western nations? Should we subdue vast and varied societies to the totalitarianism of a single historical pattern? History might pattern itself on the past, but is there any reason that it should pattern itself on the western past? Even for the purposes of a more wholesome science, would it not be best to set no limits to the social and sociological imaginations?

Even as the diagnosis is half the cure, proper framing of the question helps substantially the finding out of the reply.

The Relevance

Some people may consider this whole discussion as irrelevant in this land of the Hindus whose ancestors welcomed good thoughts from all the directions, and declared: 'From sea to sea, over all the land, one nation.' Hinduness which separates off those who share it from the rest of the mankind, has certain special and unique characteristics. India has always stood for internationalism. In the modern world, it is becoming increasingly difficult to perceive the correct nature of internationalism, since different varieties of transnational sectarianism and communalism appear frequently on the world-stage under the garb of internationalism. In fact, universalism is the distinct characteristic of Hindu Culture. At this stage, one is naturally reminded of Rabindranath Tagore's *The Emigrant*, in which he says:

My home is everywhere, I am in
search of it, My country is in all
countries, I will struggle to attain it.

Incidentally, the younger generation may not be aware that long before the conception of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Rabindranath Tagore and Romain Rolland had published, as early as in 1921, a joint statement which proved to be a precursor of this U.N. Document.

As Dr. Radhakrishnan put it,

"The aim of India has been to realise the one amongst the many, not by effacing the differences, but by retaining the differences and uniting them all. To perceive the one amongst the many, to forge unity in variety, has been its fundamental purpose."

Being accustomed to visualising unity in the midst of diversity, Hindus are adept in adapting new ideas and structures from any quarter, and assimilating them in their body-politic. They had realised that continual self-renewal was the price of glorious survival. In the light of the unchanging Universal Laws, they had, till before eleven centuries, an ever-changing social order. Through

different *smritis* composed by moral leaders, old order changed from time to time, yielding place to the new, through a process of synthesis. Their catholicity ensured peaceful co-existence of different systems. Even Valentine Chirol said that Hinduism always remained singularly fluid and that

"It lends itself to the most divergent schools of thought, sometimes verging on pure theism, but more often resolving themselves into universal pantheism."

This characteristic inspired Max Mueller to say, *"If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed its choicest gifts, most fully pondered on the greater problems of life and has found solutions of some of them, which deserve the attention of even those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. If I were to ask myself from what literature we, in Europe, may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our life more perfect, more universal, in fact, truly human, again I should point to India."*

Why should the Hindus, whose country, according to Marx, has been the source of European languages and European religions, and whose thought-leaders can talk of 'Hindu Spirit in Islamic Body' or of a synthesis between Indian Spirit and Western Matter, be afraid of adopting anything good from the West? As our modern Seer said:

"East and West could be reconciled in the pursuit of the highest and largest ideal. Spirit embraces. Matter and Matter finds its own true reality and the hidden reality in all things in the Spirit."

Neither Simple, Nor Innocent

Let us understand clearly that the process of westernisation is not that simple or innocent. In the past, we have always enriched and strengthened our cultural identity and national personality, by adapting and assimilating whatever good was found in foreign cultures, structures and systems. But every time, it was a process of assimilation. The concept of westernisation implies loss of cultural identity and national personality. It implies our own absorption in, and assimilation by, foreign culture. Even if there is something good which the West can sell us, should we purchase it by paying, as price, our own individuality?

"Of what profit would it be, if you gain the kingdom of the earth, and, in the process, lose your soul?"

— asked Lord Jesus. This question is equally pertinent even in the present context.

Assimilation, Yes. Loss of Identity, No.

But assimilation negates the process of westernisation. Our discussion centres round the problem of westernisation.

The Genesis

History has witnessed the rise and fall of many empires. The civilization of every empire was accepted as standard by its satellites during its heyday. After

its fall, the glamour of its civilization faded in course of a few decades. The distinguishing feature of the withdrawal of white imperialism are (i) its sustained grip over its erstwhile colonies in intellectual and ideological matters (this is the natural outcome of its brainwashing propaganda during the imperial days) and (ii) its determined effort to continue and tighten its stranglehold on the economies of these countries, which has given rise to a sort of tug-of-war between the northern white countries and the southern non-white countries which support the non-aligned movement.

Macaulay's Success

In India, the Macaulay campaign succeeded in selling to Hindu intellectuals the idea of *white man's burden** and in creating an inferiority complex in their minds, and in convincing them that the European civilization is the only standard, ideal civilization. Every society or people in the world, we were told, has necessarily and inevitably to pass through the same stages of evolution which are characteristic of European history. Every Indian situation must be gauged by European standards. For, we were told, western paradigm is the universal model of progress and development.

Growing Scepticism

Whether the western paradigm can help westerners in achieving their cherished goals, is itself doubtful. There is a growing scepticism even in the West about the efficacy of its paradigm. The dazzling achievements of science and technology, they are now realising, are not exactly an unmixed blessing. The rape of nature, with no consideration for either ecological factors or the fate of the future generations, has already become a calamity. The technological development, unaccompanied by commensurate cultural elevation, is likely to lead mankind to its total annihilation.

The Maladies

They have no doubt taken due cognisance of all the maladies afflicting their societies: for example the chronic and degenerative diseases of civilization, such as, heart-disease, blood-pressure, cancer, etc., severe depression, schizophrenia and other psychiatric disorders; rise in violent crimes, suicides, accidents, alcoholism, and drug addiction; rapid depletion of energy and natural resources, such as, coal, petroleum, natural gas, metals, forests, fish-reserves, oxygen,

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ozone, etc; a severe degradation of the natural environment affecting not only humans but also plants, animals, ecological systems and global climate, resulting in a nebulous veil of air pollution encircling the entire planet; high rate of inflation, massive unemployment and mal-distribution of wealth; stockpiling of nuclear weapons costing the world over one billion dollars a day.

Technological Ombudsman

There are suggestions from some western scientists that a 'Technological Ombudsman' manned by persons of high cultural level, be set up to restrain, guide and direct further development of technology in the West.

Wrong Values

Ignoring the fact that everything in the West is only in an experimental stage, and not yet tested by time, we rushed to appreciate and applaud their values of life based upon materialism, consumerism (if not exactly hedonism), homo-centricism, and unalloyed individualism. Now it is being realised that these are precisely the values that are responsible for disintegration and disorganisation of individual family and social life in the United States which is full of large crowds of solitary, self-alienated individuals.

Their systems are showing signs of decay and decline.

Euphoria of Capitalism

The *Wealth of Nations* represented euphoria of the new era of capitalism. But John Maynard Keynes, one of the most important saviours of capitalism, is inclined to observe:

"The decadent international but individualistic capitalism in the hands of which we found ourselves after the (First World) War is not a success. It is not intelligent, it is not just, it is not virtuous and it does not deliver the goods. In short, we dislike it and we are beginning to despise it."

Western Parliamentary Democracy

The failure of the western parliamentary democracy is obvious. Alexander Solzhenitsyn has remarked that *"the western democracies today are in a state of political crisis and spiritual confusion."*

His sad commentary on the party system is expressed in his pertinent question:

"Are there no extra-party or strictly 'non-party' paths of national development?"

In our country, Mahatma Gandhi, Revered Shri Guruji, Acharya Vinoba, Loknayak Jaya Prakash Narayan and other great thinkers have already expressed their scepticism about this western system. M. N. Roy, who was an authority on all western institutions, came to conclude that party politics was inconsistent with the ideal of democracy and that it was liable to degenerate into power politics. Within the limits of formal parliamentarism, based on atomised electorates, individual citizens are not enabled to stand out in sovereign dignity. This can be done only when the pyramidal structure of the state is raised on a foundation of organised local democracy, and the state coincides with the entire

society, he said. Dispassionate thinkers from the West are also arriving at the same conclusion.

Success of Socialism?

It is difficult to point out where and in which manner socialism has succeeded in the West. As C.E.M. Joad observed, socialism is a hat that has lost its shape because everyone wears it. Even in the cradle of western parliamentary democracy and trade unionism, socialism has already lost its glamour and grip on the public mind. This is evident from the recent victory of Mrs. Thatcher. Again, according to scientific socialists, socialism is irrelevant in the case of third world countries since economic abundance is an essential prerequisite for socialism. In *The German Ideology* Marx wrote that the high development of productive forces is absolutely necessary as a practical premise (for socialism). And in a country with the highest economic abundance, i.e., the-United States, the total number of socialists does not exceed 10,000 today.

Failure of Communism

Communism, which presented itself as the better alternative, has also failed miserably.

This statement is being made not because many predictions of Marx have not come true. The correctness or otherwise of predictions cannot be the sole criterion to determine the validity of any doctrine. We are in agreement with Antonio Gramsci, Gyorgi-Lukacs and Mao Zedong when they say that failure to predict the future does not affect the validity of Marxism. This validity we seek to judge by its own merit.

Condemnation of Yugoslavia in 1948, exhibition of Russian military might in East Germany (1953), Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan (1979); new understanding of the world situation by Pollit, Gollan, Togliatti, Longo, Berlinguer, Carillo and the other leaders of Eurocommunism; the end of a dream of unicentral communist world; deviation from the basic tenets of Marxism by ruling communist parties; desertions by idealists like Koestler, Djilas, Roy, Debray and others; workers' revolts in Poland and other East European countries, public expression of disillusionment by the leaders of the Italian and the Spanish communist parties, and the reactionary rise of indecisive New Left - these are unmistakable indications of the decay of communism, though the house that has taken a century and a half to come up, will take some more time to fall under its own weight.*

A Search

A few, but saner elements in the West are already in search of a new path, a new value-system, a new culture, a new paradigm.

The goal or objective that has failed the West cannot be helpful to the East.

The Myth Exploded

The myth of universality of European experience is also exploded. Mohmed Kutub, the historian, has rightly remarked,

"The different stages of economic evolution infer communist society and slavery, capitalism, and then the final communism, that is, final communist society. When it is dialectical materialism, described as a common phenomenon in the history of mankind, really it has no existence whatsoever, outside the European history. These stages were never passed through by any people outside Europe."

This statement by the author was made in 1983.

Self-Reliance is Inevitable *

This remark is much more relevant and significant in case of the ancient Hindu Nation. There is room to suspect that propagation of the myth of universality is inspired by a subtle, diplomatic move to perpetuate economic and ideological imperialism even after the loss of political empires. The third world countries are realising progressively the futility of the North-South dialogue, and the inevitability of the goal of self-reliance. This goal makes it imperative to change the model of development also.

Exercise in Futility

Unfortunately for the third world countries, history is not going to repeat itself in precisely the same manner.

A few commendable coincidences that culminated in the inauguration of Industrial Revolution; newly grown geopolitical importance of sea-routes during the pre-aeroplane era; domestic preoccupation of powers governing countries with abundant raw-material and market-potentialities; circumstances favourable for empire-building by naval powers, practicability of sustaining domestic economy on the strength of exploitation of colonies; all these circumstances are not going to be repeated for the benefit of the third world countries. The prosperity of the white nations was built upon the foundations which will not be available now to the non-white countries. Hence the futility of imitating western example, and accepting the western paradigm as a model.

Needed : A New Goal

It is, therefore, essential to set a new goal or objective for all national striving in southern countries, keeping in view the failure of the western paradigm as well as the significant difference in the historical courses of events.

All of us are quite conversant with the Hindu goal of life, and the ways and means to achieve the same. It need not be reiterated.

Distinctive Characteristics

For the purpose of this discussion, it is immaterial whether someone accepts the cultural superiority of Hindus or not. But all have unanimously recognised that Hindu culture has its own distinctive characteristics. We know how a visit to India is considered as a pilgrimage by enlightened humanists from all parts of the globe, whether he is a grandson of Henry Ford or a daughter of Stalin. I will be drifting to the province of philosophy if I try to state the Hindu goal, the Hindu view and an ideal Hindu scheme of life. But that is hardly necessary here.

Wanted : Our Own Model

I, therefore, straightaway proceed to assert that we must conceive of our model of progress and development, in the light of our own culture, our past traditions, present requirements, and aspirations for the future. We should study in depth the western paradigm, and benefit from it wherever possible, but not accept it as our model for future. To some of you this approach may appear to be academic (if not other-worldly) and emotional (if not sentimental). To those accustomed to safe-sailing, this may appear to be a leap in the dark - an indiscrete move towards uncharted sea or untrodden path. But it is nothing of the sort. Apart from our own cultural heritage and rich historical experience, we have before us examples and experiments of some non-white countries, such as, say Japan or Mao's China. Japan, we learn, has kept its cultural traditions intact, while exposing itself selectively to western technology; and Mao, who is credited with sinification of Marxism itself, had the guts to proclaim that 'modernisation is not westernisation'.

Direct the Technologies

The southern countries will find themselves more capable than what the northern ones would have them believe, if only they relieve themselves of their inferiority complex, and commit themselves to mutual co-operation. The experience of tiny Biafra should inspire them. Whatever be the level of their human and material resources, they can certainly choose their own industrial strategy, and draw their own industrial map. They can follow, reconciling efficiency with employment, the motto of production by masses, and so far as possible, the intermediate or appropriate technology of E. F. Schumacher. Being new entrants, they can, right from the beginning, adopt an integrated approach to ecology, economics and ethics. Their native technologists, whatever be their number, can be required,-

(i) to study thoroughly and assimilate industrial technology from all over the world; and

(ii) to locate and introduce such parts of foreign technology as are suited to local conditions;

(iii) to introduce, for the benefit of artisans, reasonably adaptable changes in the traditional techniques of production, without incurring the risk of increase in unemployment of workers, wastage of available managerial and technical skill, and complete decapitalisation of the existing means of production; and

(iv) to evolve indigenous technology with emphasis on decentralisation of the processes of production, with the help of power, with home, instead of factory, as the centre of production.

Adopt New Values

They will have, further, to give up the western values of life, and

(i) evolve a coordinated system of wage differentials and status-differentials which would ensure reconciliation of equality with incentive, in view of the fact that if values of life are purely economic or materialistic, equitable distribution of wealth would remain incompatible with incentive for highest individual development; and

(ii) generate, consequently, the psychological and cultural environment in which there would invariably be an inverse ratio between social status and personal wealth.

New Science Movement

In India, it is heartening to note that the foreign-inspired attempts to delink modern science from culture are being opposed by some of the eminent scientists. Recently, Dr. Raja Ramanna, chairman-designate, Atomic Energy Commission, exposed the hollowness of the argument that to speak of a synthesis between science and spiritualism is nothing but obscurantism and revivalism. In a paper read in a seminar organised by Bharatiya Vichar Kendra in cooperation with other institutions at Trivandrum on 24th June 1983 Prof. K. I. Vasu of the Indian Institute of Science of Bangalore made an important announcement. He spelt out the philosophy of the *Swadeshi Science Movement* launched by him. In his concluding paragraph he says:

"In this venture, there is an urgent need to reorient the national priorities in scientific research, development and education. This calls for a national science and technology policy and national science and technology plan. The essential element of such a policy and plan would be truly Swadeshi in spirit and fully Swadeshi in execution. Only such a Swadeshi Science Movement can make our nationhood fulfilled, our ruralism protected, our culture preserved and the whole world served."

This is an auspicious beginning of a gigantic task, though, presently, it is on a modest scale.

Swadeshi Technological Movement

Similarly Claude Alvares and Dharampal have been striving hard to initiate the *Swadeshi Technological Movement* though they have not named it thus so far. Claude Alvares believes that every culture has its own paradigm and model of progress and that development of technology should be suited to the character of such paradigm and model.

India has the third largest scientific community of the world. If properly motivated, our scientists and technologies can certainly accomplish this task.

Lack of National Will

By God's grace, we possess all the factors that go to make any country great - the human, the material and the intellectual resources. We are second to none in all these matters.

What is lacking is the requisite national will, leading to national unity. Not the lack of potentialities, mind you, but the lack of will and unity.

Shri Guruji on New Order

Stressing this point Revered Shri Guruji said:

"Once the life-stream of Unity begins to flow freely in all the veins of our body-politic, the various limbs of our national life will automatically begin to function actively and harmoniously for the welfare of the Nation as a whole. Such a living and growing society will preserve out of its multitude of old systems and patterns, whatever is essential and conducive to its progressive march, throw off those as have outlived their utility and evolve new systems in their place. No one need shed tears at the passing of the old order, nor shirk to welcome the new order of things. That is the nature of all living and growing organisms. As a tree grows, old leaves and dry twigs fall off making way for fresh growth. The main thing to bear in mind is to see that the spirit of oneness permeates all parts of our social set-up. Every system or pattern will live or change or even entirely disappear according as it nourishes that spirit or not. Hence it is useless in the present social context to discuss about the future of all such systems. The supreme call for the time is to revive the spirit of inherent unity and the awareness of its life-purpose in our society. All other things will take care of themselves."

Hinduism - Ever the Same, Yet Different

In *The Sacred Thread* J. L. Brockington conveys the same view when he observes,

"Tradition (for Hindus) is not always just what it seems, but has constantly been undergoing reinterpretation to accommodate new understanding and changed circumstances. Innovation is not the enemy of tradition but that by which it maintains its relevance. Hinduism does not reject the old in favour of the new, but blends the two, expressing new dilemmas in traditional language and accommodating fresh insights to established viewpoints. The ability to adapt itself to changing circumstances has been a mark of Hinduism throughout its history,

and the unifying factor bringing together its many diverse threads lies in their common history with this unique weaving together of tradition and innovation. Hinduism is ever the same, yet different."

Unprecedented Crisis

The awakening of the national will is essential not only for accomplishing the task of national reconstruction but even for fulfilment of the global mission of the Hindu nation as envisaged by Shri Guruji. After his demise, the world situation has been fast deteriorating. There is a growing awareness among western intellectuals that towards the close of the twentieth century, we find ourselves in a state of profound, world-wide, complex, multidimensional crisis whose facets touch every aspect of our lives - our health and livelihood, the quality of our environment and our social relationships, our economy, technology and politics. It is a crisis of intellectual, moral and spiritual dimensions; a crisis of a scale and urgency unprecedented in recorded human history. For the first time we have to face the very real threat of extinction of the human race and of all life on this planet.

As Dorothy Sayers, one of the finest commentators on Dante as well as modern society, has said:

"That the Inferno is a picture of human society in a state of sin and corruption, everybody will readily agree. And since we are today fairly well convinced that society is in a bad way and not necessarily evolving in the direction of perfectibility, we find it easy enough to recognise the various stages by which the deep of corruption is reached. Futility, lack of living faith, the drift into loose morality, greedy consumption, financial irresponsibility, and uncontrolled bad temper; a self-opinionated and obstinate individualism, violence, sterility, and lack of reverence for life and property including one's own; the exploitation of sex, the debasing of language by advertisement and propaganda, the commercialising of religion, the pandering to superstition and the conditioning of people's minds by mass-hysteria and 'spell-binding' of all kinds, venality and string-pulling in public affairs, hypocrisy, dishonesty in material things, intellectual dishonesty, the fomenting of discord (class against class, nation against nation) for what one can get out of it, the falsification and destruction of all the means of communication; the exploitation of the lowest and stupidest mass-emotions; treachery even to the fundamentals of kinship, country, the chosen friend, and the sworn allegiance; these are the all-too-recognisable stages that lead to the cold death of society and the extinguishing of all civilised relations."

Capra, one of the eminent modern thinkers, believes that the westerners so far favoured rational knowledge over intuitive wisdom, science over religion, competition over co-operation, destruction of natural resources over conservation, and that these factors, among others, have led to a profound cultural imbalance which lies at the very root of our current crisis, an imbalance in our thoughts and feelings, our values and attitudes, and our social and

political structures. The current crisis, according to him, is a transition from sensate culture. As individuals, as a society, as a civilization, and as a planetary ecosystem, we are reaching the turning-point.

Western Paradigm Inadequate

Can the western paradigm help the perplexed humanity at this turning-point?

The learned author says,

"What we need, then, is a new paradigm, a new vision of reality; a fundamental change in our thoughts, perceptions and values."

Does it not mean that for resolution of this unprecedented crisis in human history, the western paradigm is too inadequate an instrument?

This should serve as a warning and a lesson for all those who fondly hope and believe that modernisation is nothing but westernisation.

The Views of Scholars

The views expressed by scholars of Hindu culture deserve special attention in this context.

Toynbee

There is a view that India is facing today all types of problems that are confronting humanity, but of all the countries India alone has the ability to overcome these difficulties because of her inherent aptitude to visualise unity in the midst of diversity. Consequently, India alone can show a new and the right path to the distressed world. That is the conviction of Arnold Toynbee.

Woodroffe

Sir John Woodroffe is confident that cultural ideas of the Hindus will pass over into the West, the spirit of their ancient culture will persist, whatever happens in future to the race which evolved them. No doubt, there are some people in India who, in this period of transition and scepticism due to foreign influences, believe in none of such things and who are as materialist though often less usefully so, than any westerner. But where can India gain strength to save herself, except from her own cultural inheritance? The universal assertion and adoption by all peoples of the noble and essential principles of her spiritual civilization would lead to world-peace.

Shri Aurobindo

Shri Aurobindo who had clearly visualised the nature of the impending world crisis declared confidently:

".... she (India) can, if she will, give a new and decisive turn to the problems over which all mankind is labouring and stumbling, for the clue to their solutions is there in her ancient knowledge."

Shri Guruji

Shri Guruji observed,

"// is the grand world-unifying thought of Hindus alone that can supply the abiding basis for human brotherhood, that knowledge of the inner spirit which will charge the human mind with the sublime urge to toil for the happiness of mankind, while opening out full and free scope for every small life-speciality on the face of the earth to grow to its full stature."

Means and Ends

To modernise or not to modernise is not the main or the more relevant question before the mankind today. Modernisation is only the means and not an end in itself. What is the end, the ultimate goal? According to *Dharma*, it is the complete, solidified, unintermittent, eternal happiness of all. To the extent to which modernisation is helpful for this purpose it is welcome. But if this supreme goal is to be achieved through the instrumentality of modernisation, we must cease to identify it with westernisation.

South-South Co-operation*

The leadership in the Third World remained in disarray while the negotiations were on at Geneva. No efforts were made by the leaders of the Third World to understand the immediate or long-term repercussions of the GATT Agreement, either individually or at a collective level. On the contrary, they preferred to give an impression to their people that they were part of the agreement process. The fallacy of this was exposed in the first quarter of December 1993 when closure of Uruguay Round was announced. Only the European Union and the US were in the play-field.

Though some eminent individuals and some NGOs (nongovernment organisations) did warn their governments about the adverse implications and impact at some points, and some governments did agree with the points made by them, unfortunately the leaders did not raise them at the negotiations in an effective manner. No group of Third World heads of state - neither Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) nor G-15 nor G-77 - considered it worth while to hold even a single meeting to discuss the adverse implications of the GATT Agreement. In the various statements, individual and regional countries from the South had stressed that with few exceptions the various regional and sub-regional schemes had fallen short of expectations and that their objectives remained unfulfilled. In the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference On Trade And Development) meeting Syed Jamaluddin of Bangladesh blamed the not-so-encouraging picture of South-South trade on "lack of commitment among developing countries." Effective implementation of Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries (ECDC) required support from the donor countries but donor countries and international agencies are not sensitive to the needs of South-South Co-operation.

Economics of South-South Co-operation

The rapid growth of some countries from the South, the continued recession in major developed countries and the realisation and complementarities gave momentum to the idea of South-South co-operation in

* This article was published in the weekly '*Organiser*' dated 6th March 1994.

early seventies. The Centre-Periphery theory of Raul Prebisch gave the theoretical support to the idea of South-South Cooperation. Prebisch was an Argentina-born economist. At the core of his analysis lies the differentiation of the economic structure of the centre and periphery: at the centre the developed and at the periphery the developing countries. Through this theoretical prescription he gave new insights for understanding the needs of developing

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countries. He was an ardent supporter and, in fact, a promoter of co-operation among developing countries.

The concept of South-South Co-operation found its forceful expression in the 1985 Report of United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO). It reads:

"The factual analysis brings out the global nature of recent crisis in industrial growth. The slow-down has hit both the North and the South; the growth momentum has been broken by North-South interaction. To some extent, the developed market economies chose the policy of recession and retrenchment in order to bring inflation down. This has led to a reversal of the positive feedback in the trade and output growth of the world industrial economy in the period 1963-1979. North-South interdependence has worked in a negative position since 1980 and the impact is being felt in the ripples of the debt crisis in the South as well as in the North."

The report further says:

"//, however, there is neither the prospect of expansion in the North nor of international financial reform, can the South take the path of greater self-reliance? South-South Co-operation has its origins in the Arusha Declaration and has been furthered in Lagos Plan of Action and the Caracas Programmes of Action. By expanding trade and co-operation with each other, the South can continue its efforts at industrialisation. A careful and detailed analysis of potential for intra-South trade reveals that there are a number of opportunities for increasing trade between South regions. Such opportunities are there particularly in the field of capital-goods industries as well as in basic products in light industries."

UNCTAD Standing Committee on ECDC in its 1992 Report says:

"South-South trade in general, trade within regions except in West Asia has been increasing in the latter half of 1980s. The share of intranational trade in total South-South trade rose from 48% in 1980 to 57% in 1986 and to 71% in 1991. This showed a steady regionalisation of South-South trade during this period."

The UNCTAD Secretariat had pointed out that after some serious setbacks in the 1980s South-South trade had shown some signs of recovery but still continued to be "the weakest link in world trade" accounting in 1991 only for 7.2% of the world trade. Much homework had been already done on this subject by various bodies. For example: documents of the UNCTAD which has been

one of the major multilateral organisations engaged in fostering ECDC are already published.

Institutional Support

One of the premier institutions in the world for promotion of South-South Co-operation is the South Centre at Geneva. The South Commission was formally established in 1987, at the initiative of Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia who announced that Julius K. Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, had consented to become the Chairman of the Commission. The Centre has organised several conferences and seminars on the very theme of South-South Co-operation in different parts of the world. On 27th July 1987, J.K. Nyerere announced in Dar-es-Salaam the composition of a commission and appointed Dr. Manmohan Singh as the Secretary-General. The Report of the Commission was published at Dar-es-Salaam in May 1990.

A few passages from the Report would suffice to indicate the direction of the Commission's thinking under the guidance of Dr. Manmohan Singh.

"For its own sake and for the sake of humanity, the South has to be resolute in resisting the present moves by the dominant countries of the North to redesign the system to their own advantage. Containing the great majority of humankind, the South must play its rightful role in the process of fashioning a more equitable and stable system to serve the aspirations of all people.

With this as the objective, the developing countries must:

- * acquire the maximum countervailing power through increased exploitation of the South's collective resources;*
- * press for setting in motion a multilateral, democratic process, with the participation of all major interests, to arrive at a global consensus on the new international system, its basic goals, how it should be managed, and the institutions it requires;*
- * speak with a united voice in making clear proposals, so as to play a leading role in this process. The proposals should aim at capturing the imagination of the world's people and especially of the young; they should rise above parochialism to articulate a vision of the world as one human family.*

"In mobilising all its latent power, the South has first to ensure that its economies are self-fuelling to the maximum extent possible and that their growth is not simply a by-product of growth in the North. The South needs to expand its presence in Northern markets, for which purpose it needs improved access to markets and the roll-back of protectionism, which is now often directed specifically at products of considerable interest to the South in terms of export. But the emerging development patterns of the North clearly suggest that the Northern locomotive economies will not pull the train of Southern economies at a pace that will satisfy its passengers - the people of the South. The locomotive

power has to be generated to the maximum extent possible within the economies of the South themselves. The acute poverty of the South, particularly the low productivity of Southern agriculture, is a pointer to the unexplored potential that exists within the South itself to fuel its growth processes. Sustained rural development, focused sharply on raising the productivity and incomes of small landholders, can be a powerful instrument for the promotion of both growth and equity.

The South as a whole has sufficient markets, technology, and financial resources to make South-South co-operation an effective means for widening the development options for its economies. Intensified South-South co-operation has to become an important part of southern strategies for autonomous, self-reliant development. The South must build its capacity to sustain a fast pace of growth even if the Northern engine is in low gear."

South-South co-operation is, however, a strategic necessity not only for development within the South but also for securing equitable management of global inter-dependence. South-South co-operation alone can give the developing countries a collective weight and countervailing power that cannot be ignored by the North. Securing an effective say in the management of the global economy will require this collective strength, backed by unity among the countries of the South, steadfastness in the pursuit of goals, and flexibility in the use of tactics.

The further publication of the South Commission, *'Facing the Challenge'* furnishes us with the responses of 28 eminent individuals from different parts of the South to the Commission's Report which took into account the inter-related nature of the problem, linking together matters of national development, South-South co-operation -covering three-and-a-half billion people, three quarters of all humanity. These countries were the victims of an acute development crisis; sharp squeeze of per-capita income and living standards; destabilising and potentially explosive social and economic tensions; contractionary policies followed by the developed countries and the sudden drying up of capital-flows; the adjustment policies imposed by international financial institutions that intensified deflationary pressures; the rapid expansion of transnational enterprises as the main producers of goods and services for world trade; growing instability, unpredictability and fluctuation in the international economy, notably in interest and exchange rates, and growing uncertainty in capital markets; excessive growth of indebtedness; the drain of resources on debt transaction - primacy to the payment of debt service over even protection of the living standards of the poor; the drain of capital due to the worsening of the terms of trade; preference to industries over agriculture; faulty implementation of land reforms; shift away from material/energy/labour-intensive products and

processes and towards knowledge-intensive products and processes; and, similarly, a shift away from agriculture and industry and towards services; an international arrangement governing the flows of trade, money, finance and technology; hegemonistic policies of the developed countries; the policy package of IMF imposing structural adjustment; difficulties caused by external factors, and the invariable sight of small islands of affluence surrounded by vast oceans of poverty.

In the '*Challenges to the South-South Co-operation*', a publication of South Centre, Geneva, twenty-four authors from various parts of the world critically examined the theoretical underpinnings and practical aspects of economic and technical cooperation among developing countries, with particular attention to joint investments and their financing. The book concludes with some thirty recommendations adopted at the international workshop on this topic held in Bled, Yugoslavia, in November 1981.

The Research and Information System (RIS) for the non-aligned and other developing countries, New Delhi, is a forum for providing analytical support to the developing countries on various international economic issues of concern to the process of their development. Its aims and objectives include, among others, promotion of the concept of self-reliance among non-aligned and other developing countries and forging and maintaining a system of effective links amongst the various research capabilities for the maximum common benefit. The proceedings of the seminar on New Perspectives in North-South and South-South Economic Relations organised by the RIS on 26th September 1985 were published in a volume titled '*South-South Economic Co-operation*'. In its introduction, the Director Dr. V.R. Panchamukhi, who is an authority on international trade theory, observes,

"South-South co-operation is no more a novel concept. Considerable progress had already been made in various directions in the area of South-South co-operation particularly after the inception of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 culminating in the Caracas programme of action adopted in May 1981."

RIS has also brought out some papers on this theme. They are: South-South Economic Co-operation: Some Issues in the Fields of Trade and Finance, by UNCTAD Secretariat; Industrial Cooperation among Developing Countries and the Role of UNIDO, by S. Nanjundar; An Evolution of a Preferential Trading Arrangement in the ESCAP Region, by I.N. Mukherjee; The Asian Clearing Union: Towards Regional Monetary Co-operation, by B.K. Madan; South-South Financial Co-operation: Approaches to the Current Crisis.

'The Jamaica Papers' edited by the renowned economist Dragoslav Avramovic and published first in Great Britain in 1983, comprises eight papers submitted at the expert group meeting of the Group of 77 in Jamaica in March 1982. One of the most interesting recommendations to come out

of the Jamaica meeting was that a technical study on the feasibility of a bank for developing countries should be undertaken. In his foreword Dr. Salah-al-Shaikhly said,

"The developing countries should try to utilise their own resources and come up with new institutions and modalities for development and other financing. The most dangerous thing they could do now would be to wait for the industrial countries to solve their own problems and hopefully those of the developing world. If the North is in no mood at present to take the initiative, there is no reason why the South should not do so."

Another important work on South-South co-operation, '*North-South and South-South*' by Frances Stewart, explains:

"The rules of the game and their interpretation, which govern North-South economic relations, have been developed almost exclusively by Northern decision-makers, from a Northern perspective."

A Commonwealth Group of Experts established in 1989, reflecting a widely felt concern that the circumstances facing developing countries have changed significantly in the 1980s, studies in depth the main elements of changes in the 1980s which affected the growth of the developing countries. These changes come "at a time when large parts of the developing world are burdened by the legacy of 1980s, when external indebtedness emerged as a major barrier to economic growth and spreading poverty punctured the hopes of earlier decades." The Group's Report was published by the Commonwealth Secretariat in August 1991.

In '*South-South Co-operation in South, South-East and East Asia: A Perspective*', published in June 1992, Dr. V.R. Panchamukhi emphasises that there are three aspects that need to be analysed in the context of promoting the co-operation:

1. Identifying the potential areas of complementarities;
2. identifying the constraints that hinder the full realisation of these potentials; and
3. working out the policy recommendations and other support measures that would remove the constraints and facilitate the realisation of the potentials of co-operation.

'Challenges of South-South Co-operation Parts I and II,' edited by Hans Singer, Neelamber Halli and Rameshwar Tandon, brings together the research relating to the following elements of South-South co-operation:

- (a) North-South and South-South
- (b) Optimal Trade Policies for Co-operation
- (c) UNIDO, ECDC, SAARC

- (d) The emerging complementarities in South-South Trade
- (e) Economic Regionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa
- (f) Export-led growth and the Lima Target.

More than fifty eminent scholars have contributed to these volumes.

The Weakness

The need to strengthen South-South co-operation is today more urgent than ever before. Economic co-operation of European Community demonstrates the importance of a self-commission - at least to the leaders guiding the co-operation effort - a strategy firmly grounded in the political and economic structures of the countries concerned. The efforts of co-operation in the South have operated so far without the benefit of any clear-cut strategy.

The Report of the South Commission says,

"One of chief shortcomings of South-South Co-operation has been weak organisation and lack of institutionalised technical support, both at the international level and within most countries." [The efforts at co-operation in the South have functioned without any viable and effective strategy to guide them-] "pursued in a haphazard, catch-as-catch-can manner."

The strategy should have clearly identified broad fields of cooperation, and listed the steps to be taken in implementing both the short and medium-term programmes.

Such a strategy was not evolved. Consequently, while moves to promote South-South co-operation have involved much effort and produced many initiatives and schemes, the practical results have been rather limited.

The Will - The Way

Obviously, the main factor in this respect is the people's will. Just as participants in the New Delhi consultations lauded the comprehensive programme of action agreed to at Caracas in May 1981, for co-operation in the areas of food, energy, trade, finance, raw-materials, industry, technology and technical co-operation among developing countries as a significant landmark, they also felt that for such co-operation, in particular, more frequent and wide-ranging contacts among the leaders of business, commerce, industry, as well as scientists, intellectuals, writers and journalists in the developing countries are necessary. The co-operation could not materialise because of the lack of the political will, as explained by Brajendra Nath Banerjee in his '*Caracas to New Delhi*'.

It is never too late to mend. Though much water has flown under the bridge, the rousing of people's will among the Third World countries is a mission worth being undertaken by the patriots of these countries.

PART V REACH FOR PARAM

VAIBHAVAM

Reach for Param Vaibhavam*

Can the votaries of the *Hindu Rashtra* who take pride in their glorious past have a long-range vision of the glorious future? Are they not revivalists? In his '*Studies of a Dying Culture*' Christopher Caudwell remarks:

"The return to the classics dominated the bourgeois Renaissance. Rome influenced Napoleon and the Revolution. The return to the natural uncorrupted man was the ideal of eighteenth-century revolutionists. Yet, it is the new man whose tension men feel in their minds and hearts at such times... He may think it is the past he is born to save or re-establish on earth, and only when it is done is it seen that the future has come into being. The reformer returning to primitive Christianity brings bourgeois Protestantism into being."

Justice M. G. Ranade says:

"In a living organism, as society is, no revival is possible."

The Hindu nationalists are pledged to carry the *Hindu Rashtra* to the pinnacle of glory through the process of renaissance.

'Renaissance' has been defined thus by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan:

"Hinduism has its periods of growth and decline and we are today in the midst of Hindu renaissance. The word 'renaissance' is not used in the sense of a mere revival of antiquity; the eternal principles are reborn to be applied to a new life in new ways. There is growth of a new spirit like the one which shattered the medieval order of the seventeenth century."

The Hindu nationalists have been always aware that history without futurology would be fruitless, while futurology without history would be rootless. Our heritage enables us to be cautious without being conservative, and dynamic without being adventurist.

But one basic point deserves to be stressed in this context. The concept of *Param Vaibhavam* (Pinnacle of Greatness) of the *Hindu Rashtra* must be properly comprehended. The highest national objective for all materialistic westerners of all countries is the attainment of superpower status. But is this

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goal dignified enough for the mature *Sanatana Rashtra* that is India?

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Political power, howsoever glamorous it may appear to be while it lasts, cannot but be transitory.

Omar Khayyam has described this fact graphically in the following words:

See in this battered caravanserai

Whose portals are alternate night and day

How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp

Abode his hour or two, and went his way.

Bernard Shaw wrote the Prologue to his *Caesar and Cleopatra* in the form of a monologue in 1992. It was intended to give the power-drunk English audiences a glimpse of ancient history that might remind them prophetically, that the power of empires does not last for ever. It is childish to be enamoured of the superpower status, believing that once acquired, it can last for ever and ever and ever.

It is interesting to note how short-lived the empires and the superpowers have been. But for the exception of the Byzantine empire which lasted for 1,141 years (312 AD to 1453 AD), the durability of all other empires is astonishingly poor; and the period of the Byzantine empire is also brief, considered against the background of the entire historical past.

Empires

- 1) Egyptian - Imperial Age : (1880 BC to 1150 BC) - 730 years.
- 2) Babylonian Empire under Hammurabi : (1792 BC to 1750 BC) - 42 years.
- 3) The New Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar: (612 BC to 539 BC) - 73 years.
- 4) The Persian Empire : (550 BC to 486 BC) - 64 years.
- 5) The Inca Empire : (1438 AD to 1525 AD) - 87 years.
- 6) The Han Empire : (206 BC to 221 AD) - 427 years.
- 7) The Greek Empire : (336 BC to 323 BC) - 13 years.
- 8) The Roman Empire : (270 BC to 476 AD) - 746 years.
- 9) The Arab Empire : (634 AD to 755 AD) - 121 years.

- 10) The Byzantine Empire : (312 AD to 1453 AD) - 1,141 years.
- 11) The Holy Roman Empire : (800 AD to 843 AD) - 43 years.
- 12) The Napoleonic Empire : (1799 AD to 1815 AD) - 16 years.
- 13) The British Empire : (1802 AD to 1947 AD) - 145 years.
- 14) The German Empire : (1939 AD to 1945 AD) - 6 years.
- 15) The Russian Empire : (1945 AD to 1989 AD) - 44 years.

Even the current American hegemony will not last beyond 2010 AD - a period of at the most 65 years.

Is it advisable to equate *Param Vaibhavam* which is the goal of the Hindu nationalists, with the transitory superpower status? And, again, the question is: superpower status for whom? For, some of the main recognised concepts of the past have lost their relevance and authenticity in recent years.

For example: National sovereignty which has been a sacred principle so far is being progressively eroded by international fundamentalism, transnational terrorism; international financial corporations, international under-ground empires of narcotics or drugs; voluntary transnational bodies dealing with environment, human rights, civil liberties, tourism, arms control, labour relations, etc. and the vertical organisation of the present and the prospective regional blocks like the European Community.

The West-oriented United Nations Declaration on Human Rights is becoming irrelevant to the requirements of the southern countries whose peoples are victims of human rights violations by their own states. Through their development models, their technological choices, their weapons and perversions, the states are allowed to perpetrate the violence of poverty, of ecological destruction and technological terrorism. The right of livelihood, health, education and housing is completely ignored. The West-dominated United Nations has mistaken states for nations; it has failed to recognise separate identity of various aboriginal communities, nomadic tribes and ethnic groups scattered over more than one adjacent country.

Obviously, the western paradigm cannot be the universal model of progress and development.

What, then, should be the shape of *Param Vaibhavam*?

The *Shanti Mantra* of Vedic Seers and the *Pasaya-Dana* of Sant Jnaneswar are some of the manifestoes of Hindu Rashtra. In *Bunch of Thoughts* by Shri Guruji Golwalkar on the philosophy of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

(RSS), one can listen to the voice of a seer enunciating the 'World Mission of the *Hindu Rashtra*'.

Revered Shri Guruji, the second Sarsanghchalak of the RSS, believed that the world unity and human welfare can be made real only to the extent that mankind realises the ultimate, absolute Vedantic Truth that 'All is One'. What he envisaged was not elimination of all distinctive features of nations and rolling them all into one uniform pattern. He visualised various groups of peoples coming together in a spirit of familism, realising the innate oneness of mankind while preserving their individual identities and special characteristics. The different human groups are marching forward, all towards the same goal, each in its own way and in keeping with its own characteristic genius. The destruction of the special characteristics, whether of an individual or of a group, will destroy not only the natural beauty of harmony, but also its joy of self-expression. To seek harmony among the various and diverse characteristics has been our special contribution to the world-thought.

Shri Guruji felt that the World State of our concept,

"will evolve out of a federation of autonomous and self-contained nations under a common centre linking them... It is the grand world-unifying thought of Hindus alone that can supply the abiding basis for human brotherhood, that knowledge of the Inner Spirit which will charge the human mind with the sublime urge to toil for the happiness of mankind, while opening out full and free scope for every small life-speciality. Verily this is the one real practical world-mission, if ever there was one."

This Hindu concept has been elucidated elaborately by Shri Aurobindo, who envisaged the further stage of 'mass spiritualism'.

Some elevated souls from the West also are inclined to endorse such a Hindu vision of the future. For example, the French savant Paul Martini Dubost proclaims: *"After two thousand years, India is on the agenda. India belongs to everybody. The melody of the Indian soul is something which never ceases to move us."*

Arnold Toynbee says,

it is already becoming clear that a chapter which has a Western beginning will have to have an Indian ending if it is not to end in the self-destruction of the human race... At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way of salvation for mankind is an Indian way.

If India were ever to fail to live up to this Indian ideal which is the finest, and therefore, the most exacting, legacy in your Indian heritage, it would be a poor look-out for mankind as a whole. So a great spiritual responsibility rests on India."

This is India's destination - *Param Vaibhavam*. Not the invariably transitory superpower status, but the pre-ordained *Jagad-Guru-pada*.

Bharat is eminently suited to play this role - Bharat with *Sanatana Dharma* as its absolute referent and 'All is One' as its ultimate realisation; its tradition of ever-changing socio-economic order in the light of the unchanging, eternal universal laws of *Dharma*.

The western and the Hindu are the two entirely different paradigms with their entirely different value systems, institutional arrangements and parameters.

The materialistic West has failed to achieve the professed goals of the French Revolution. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedker, who had assimilated the spirit of *Dharma*, observed,

"Positively, my social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words; Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Let no one, however, say that I have borrowed my philosophy from the French Revolution. I have not. My philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teachings of my master, the Buddha.

In Buddha's philosophy, liberty and equality had a place; but he added that unlimited liberty destroyed equality, and absolute equality left no room for liberty. He gave the highest place to fraternity as the only real safeguard against the denial of liberty or equality. Fraternity was another name for brotherhood of humanity, which was again, another name for Dharma. Only

brotherhood can protect freedom and equality. This brotherhood is also called social oneness. It is humanity, it is Dharma."

Against this background, it should be easier to comprehend why Gandhiji said:

"Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after Truth, and if today it has become moribund, inactive and unresponsive to growth, it is because we are fatigued, and as soon as the fatigue is over, Hinduism will burst forth upon the world with a brilliance perhaps unknown before."

That will be the beginning of our march towards India's inevitable, pre-ordained destiny.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

On Revolution*

The first-ever revolution of the world was organised in Vedic India - when, under the leadership of the politically disinterested sages, the people rose against, deposed and killed the tyrant Vena. This was centuries before Romulus slew Remus, or Cain, Abel. Vamadeva, as quoted by Bhishma, advocates bloody revolution against autocracy, and Shukra enjoins the duty to rebel against bad government. *Bhagavad-Gita* can be more aptly termed as the 'Saffron Book' of all authentic revolutionaries, though, as Geoffrey Fairbairn points out in his *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare*,

"One of the casualties of modern warfare is a loss of that deeper understanding of the human condition which was stated, perhaps two millennia ago, in the Bhagavad-Gita : a man has the right to act, but not to expect the fruits of his actions."

Violence is a common denominator for both wars and revolutions, and the above observation highlights the qualitative difference between Karmayogi Arjuna and the politically interested revolutionaries of this century.

Every household in India is familiar with the names and deeds of the revolutionary leaders of immediate past, such as, Shivaji and others.

In recent times, the Naxalites popularised the Maoist dictum:

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Not many are aware that seventy years before the commencement of the Naxalite movement Lokmanya Tilak wrote,

"Our readers will understand why the Afridis say that the British Empire in India is the reward given by Allah sitting in the barrel of a gun."

A paper submitted at a meeting of the National Executive of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh on 23rd October 1976.

The illustrious names of revolutionaries from 1857 to 1947 are too well known to be recounted.

Thus, political violence is a phenomenon not unknown to Indian history.

But it is noteworthy that the successor of king Vena became himself a tyrant in course of time.

Marxism and Revolutions

Many in this country mistakenly identify, revolutions with Marxism. They forget the fact that long before the birth of Marxism the West witnessed Cromwellian revolution of 1649, the American revolution of 1778 and the French revolution of 1789. Again, though Marxism preaches violence, and nothing but violence, it is significant that Engels wrote in 1847 in his treatise, *Principles of Communism*:

"Communists know only too well that revolutions are not only useless but even harmful. They know all too well that revolutions are not made intentionally and arbitrarily, but that everywhere and always they have been the necessary consequence of conditions which were wholly independent of the will and direction of individual parties and entire classes. But they also see that the development of the proletariat in nearly all civilized countries has been violently suppressed and that in this way the opponents of communism have been working towards a revolution with all their strength."

Marxism is indisputably wedded to violence. But recently some national communist parties have put forward the non-Leninist idea that they may conquer political power without violence, and though their bona-fides may not be above suspicion, simple justice requires, as Prof. Sydney Hook observes,

"the recognition that even they find the ideologists of violence in some countries somewhat of an embarrassment."

In colonial countries, the Marxist revolutionary leaders appealed to their compatriots in the name of patriotism, though they were cautious enough to state simultaneously that genuine patriotism is part and parcel of internationalism. For example, Ho Chi-Minh stated in 1951,

"Our people are ardent patriots. This is our invaluable tradition. Jviiay, as in t'ne past, every time the fatherland is invaded, their patriotism boils over in a wave of great violence that sweeps all dangers and difficulties and drowns all the traitors and aggressors."

A recent trend in the Communist world to 'nationalize' Marxism by making it compatible with the national culture and traditions must also be taken into account. A determined effort by Mao to 'sinify' Marxism is already well known in our country. Nationalised Marxism becomes very much different from the textbook Marxism. It invariably contains an element of nationalism.

This is just to suggest that straitjacket thinking in this respect will not be realistic.

Excluded Categories

But some categories of violence do not deserve serious consideration here: firstly, the instinctive or the pre-planned reaction of the people to the violence by opportunist hoodlums patronised by the government - because, in fact, they are government agents and, in that sense, a part of the establishment; secondly, the unplanned violent reaction to the violence organised by a government against itself in a 'Reichstag Fire' style. For example, on March 6, 1971, the Ceylonese government alerted the army and the police, and staged a provocation by organising a petrol bomb attack on the US embassy. The government attributed this action to the opposition despite its denial of responsibility and invoked special powers under Public Security Act. The government declared emergency, imposed curfew throughout the Island, arrested all known militants and leaders of the people and shot down a number of them.

The on-the-spot reaction to this type of officially inspired, provocative violence is obviously outside the purview of this paper.

Such official violence can also be directed against minorities, such as, against the Jews in Hitler's Germany or the Hindus in Pakistan.

The Ku-Klux-Klan-type activities, including lynching, can also evoke violent resistance. But it is also outside our purview because it does not, or at least did not so far, bring about any change of regime.

The Forms

In his *Coup d'Etat*, Edward Luttwak, improving upon the *Technique of the Coup d'Etat* by Curzio Malaparte, says that a coup consists of the infiltration of a small but critical segment of the state apparatus, which is then used to displace the government from its control of the remainder. 'Civil war' is actual warfare between elements of the national armed forces leading to the displacement of a government; 'pronunciamento',* a takeover by a particular army leader who carries it out in the name of the entire officer corps; 'putsch', an attempt by a formal body within the armed forces under its appointed leadership; and 'liberation', in modern times, the overthrow of government by foreign military or diplomatic intervention, aiming first to set up a rival state structure. Basing his conclusions on the experience of 88 coups and attempted coups in 36 countries between 1945 and 1967, Luttwak lays down certain prerequisites for the success of a coup. It is evident from the facts furnished by him that in a vast and multicentral country like India, the technique of coup cannot succeed. In civil war, pronunciamento, putsch, or liberation, the civilian population is allotted only a passive role; the people can neither initiate nor influence these operations. Consequently, it is the army, and not the people, that dominate the new regime. If the army leaders choose to become authoritarian - and there is no reason why they should not do so - the people are again equally helpless. They just shift from the frying pan into the fire. What people can bring about, depending mainly upon their own will-power, is resistance, rebellion, revolt and revolution. True, even in this process, it becomes necessary to

neutralise or win over the army. But the lead lies with the people, and the role of the army becomes auxiliary or supplementary.

Minimum Prerequisite

The minimum prerequisite for the launching of a violent revolutionary war has been prescribed by Che Guevara in the following words:

" It must always be kept in mind that there is a necessary minimum without which the establishment and consolidation of the first centre [of rebellion] is not practicable. People must see clearly the futility of maintaining a fight for social goals within the framework of civil debate. When the forces of oppression come to maintain themselves in power against established law, peace is considered already broken.

See Appendix II

In these conditions, popular discontent manifests itself in more active forms. An attitude of resistance crystallizes in an outbreak of fighting, provoked initially by the conduct of the authorities.

Where a government has come into power through some form of popular vote, fraudulent or not, and maintains at least an appearance of constitutional legality, the guerrilla outbreak cannot be promoted, since the possibilities of peaceful struggle have not been exhausted."

It is noteworthy that industrial backwardness of and discrimination against Scotland and Wales, internal conflicts in Canada and Belgium along linguistic regional lines, or infusions of migrant foreign labour in West Germany, Switzerland, France and Britain, have not given rise to any revolutionary efforts; and in USA, though there are black revolutionaries resolved to overthrow the social system, the vast majority of Negroes, Red Indians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are not yet a party to any such move. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) continues to believe in constitutional pressures, and the disciples of Martin Luther King are still clinging to the possibility of achieving their goal through nonviolent mass action and the Christian appeal. Notwithstanding the revolution potentialities of the young and the black in USA, the surge of West German student demonstrations in 1967, tumultuous events of May-June 1968 in France, and the Catholic revolt in Northern Ireland, it can safely be asserted that the cult of violence is not gaining any appreciable ground in western democratic countries. It is presently of only peripheral significance.

A new trend in some national communist parties, like those in Italy and France, is already mentioned. It is, however, a fact that the situation in undemocratic countries is different.

Personal Equipment

It is noteworthy that the personal equipment of an underground activist of a non-violent revolution is very much the same as that prescribed by Carlos Marighella for a guerrilla fighter, though the material equipment prescribed by him for the latter is certainly irrelevant in case of the former.

For example, Marighella says that a guerrilla fighter must have courage, a spirit of initiative, imagination and creativity. He must be a good tactician (and a good shot) and must make up for his inferiority in weapons, ammunition and equipment by his skill and cunning. He must be mobile, flexible, able to adapt to circumstances, and able to keep a cool head. He must be a good walker, resistant to fatigue, hunger, rain and heat. He must be able to hide and keep watch, know the arts of disguise, never be intimidated by danger, act as easily by night as by day - but never precipitately, possess unlimited patience, keep calm and clear-headed in even the worst predicaments, never leave a trace behind, and never be discouraged. He must not appear different from anyone else. He must never speak of his activity to anyone. He must have a great capacity for observation. He must be well-informed, specially as to the enemy's movements, good at asking questions, and thoroughly familiar with the terrain he is working in. Addresses, names, telephone numbers and route plans must never be written down. Plans should be secret, each knowing details pertaining to his own assignment. Notes on the margin of newspapers, papers left somewhere, visiting cards, letters, tickets - all these should be destroyed. He must memorise meeting-places. A guerrilla who is arrested must say nothing that could damage the organisation, causing the arrest of other comrades, or the discovery of any of the places where they keep arms and ammunition.

For revolutionary leaders the supreme quality required is mental, rather than mere physical toughness. They must possess a strong will-power. Both Che Guevara and Charu Muzumdar suffered from chronic maladies.

The following seven deadly sins deserve to be avoided as much by a non-violent guerrilla as by a violent guerrilla : inexperience; under-estimate or over-estimate of strength; boastfulness and overvaluing one's own role; disproportion between action and logistic infrastructure; precipitateness - out of impatience; temerity; and improvisation.

In 1950 Ho Chi-Minh instructed his revolutionary followers to 1. heighten discipline; 2. strictly carry out orders from higher levels; 3. love the soldiers; 4. respect the people; 5. take good care of public property and war booty; 6. sincerely make criticism and self-criticism.

He further drew their attention to the following points : 1. conducting propaganda; 2. not indulging in subjectivism and underestimating the enemy; 3. winning time in order to make preparations; and 4. keeping absolute secrecy.

Such instructions are equally useful, with some variation, for organising non-violent revolution also.

Terrain : The Base

The favourable nature of terrain is important for the success of violent revolutionary guerrilla activities. For example, as Robert Taber states about the base of the Cuban revolutionaries under Castro,

"Sierra runs more than one hundred miles east and west and is fifteen to twenty-five miles deep. Simple arithmetic shows how impossible was the task set for the army given a trackless terrain of precipitous and thickly-wooded mountains."

Airforce or artillery cannot do much against a revolutionary force in such a terrain. In India, Shivaji could not have successfully employed his guerrilla tactics in the vast Gangetic plains which disappointed Tantia Tope who adopted guerrilla tactics after the fall of Bareilly and Lucknow, and showed skill in mobile warfare in Central India (which comprises such terrains). Could Tantia's following General Order be implemented in the Northern plains ?

"Do not attempt to meet the regular columns of the infidels because they are superior to you in discipline, bandobast, and have big guns, but watch their movements, guard all the ghats on rivers, intercept their communications, stop their supplies, cut their daks and posts, keep constantly hanging about their camps, give them no rest."

A region that is more rural than urban, mountainous rather than flat, thickly forested rather than with extensive railway lines and roads, and an economy that is preponderantly agricultural rather than industrial, is eminently suited for guerrilla activity.

The limitations of military power in difficult terrain were highlighted by Senator George McGovern when he said,

"There, in the jungles of Asia, our mighty nuclear arsenal, our 50 billion arms budget, our costly new special forces have proved powerless to cope with a band of rugged guerrillas fighting with home-made weapons...."

So far as India is concerned, though it is for the experts to precisely locate, on the strength of an analysis of the geographical and demographic structures, areas favourable for initial guerrilla operations, it can safely be stated that our vast plains are not suited to such operations, that the suitable areas are not fairly contiguous, and that the political, administrative centre of the country is situated in the midst of plains. The terrain counts, in war as well as in revolutions. Had the adjacent areas of Delhi been mountainous, the invader of 1761 would have been vanquished even before he could reach the battlefield of Panipat.

No doubt, Carlos Marighella had perfected the technique of urban guerrilla warfare. Murder and kidnapping of foreign officials; the burning down of television and radio stations; the bombings of newspaper offices and government and military buildings; train robberies; bank robberies; release of political prisoners through the seizure of hostages; expropriation of arms and goods belonging to the government, large capitalists and landlords; tactical street-fighting to gain the participation of the urban masses; mutinies inside or attacks on prisons; industrial strikes; all these have their own importance. But these can be effective only under certain conditions. In most Latin American countries 50 per cent or more of the total population lives in three or four major cities, while in Uruguay or Chile almost one-third of the population lives in one city. Urban terrorism cannot yield results where the population is distributed in a different fashion - as is the case in India.

Outside Help

The non-violent revolutionaries do not consider it ethical to receive any material aid from any foreign power though they certainly realise the value of international propaganda. On the other hand, most of the successful revolutionary wars after the Second World War were fought with the help of some foreign power or the other. The Algerian revolutionaries received considerable aid from Egypt and had their privileged sanctuary in Tunisia. General Giap has himself acknowledged the significant change that was brought about by Red China's occupation of the areas bordering on Vietnam in December 1949. By the end of 1950, the entire Sino-Vietnamese border was cleared of French-held forts, and the Chinese territory on the other side of the border became an active sanctuary for training regular Vietnamese divisions and fulfilling logistical and other military requirements of the Vietnamese guerrillas.

The strategy of Mao to convert an area on the Sino-Soviet border into his base of operation is quite well known. The Greek revolutionary army depended for its supplies upon Yugoslavia and Albania. Mao tribesmen in North Thailand were trained in North Vietnam. Who is not already aware of the role of Cuba in some revolutions in Africa and Latin America, and the Chinese assistance to Nagas of India, Shans and Kachins of Burma, revolutionaries in Laos, Malaysia and Cambodia, Palestinian guerrillas, the PFL of the Arab Gulf, and guerrilla fighters in some African countries?

It can be concluded that no guerrilla campaign in recent years has ultimately prevailed without large-scale infusion of outside aid and arms, though such an aid does not come forth to assist the guerrillas of any country whose success is not likely to have any impact on international order, as was the case of guerrillas of tiny Chad fighting against the French rule. On the contrary, Tupamaros of Uruguay acquired importance out of all proportion to the size (less than 19 million hectares) and population (3 million) of their country because it is sandwiched between the two

giants of the continent -Argentina and Brazil - and both Castro of Cuba and Allende of Chile saw Uruguay as a centre for promoting successful revolutions throughout South America.

Even today, the 5,000 Rhodesian black guerrillas have made their base in Mozambique and are receiving supplies from and through Zambia.

Dr. Agostinho Neto, Angolan President, publicly expressed his most profound gratitude to at least 9 communist and 5 non-communist countries.

Arms and Popular Support

The arm-chair revolutionaries are under an impression that the first and foremost requirement of a violent revolution is an adequate supply of sophisticated arms. They will be surprised to learn from the Associated Press that:

"Often a Vietcong unit is organised initially with no weapons.

The political organiser tells his men and women, they must fight with handmade arms - spears, daggers, swords and crude shotguns. To get better weapons the unit must capture them from the enemy."

Though arms are certainly important, the outcome of a revolution is ultimately decided by the people, not by sophisticated weapons.

Che Guevara observes,

"The guerrilla fighter needs full help from the people of the area. This is an indispensable condition. This is clearly seen by considering the case of bandit gangs that operate in a region. They have all the characteristics of a guerrilla army : homogeneity, respect for the leader, valour, knowledge of the ground, and often a very good understanding of the tactics to be employed. The only thing missing is support of the people. And, inevitably, these gangs are captured and exterminated by the public force."

Neither supplies nor civil organisation, nor intelligence nor propaganda, nor sabotage nor medical care, nor even concealment is possible without popular support.

What distinguishes revolutionaries from bandits is their idealism, their zeal for the 'cause', their moral and ideological superiority to the forces of the Establishment. On account of these factors, people consider them as more trustworthy.

It is impossible to stamp out guerrillas in rural areas where they have support of the rural population, which ensures, among other things, co-operation regarding intelligence also.

The primary effort of the guerrilla is to militate the population, without whose consent no government can stand for a single day. Conscious efforts are made to disturb links and lines of communication between the administration and the people, and to bring about psychological estrangement between the two.

A guerrilla fighter is an armed civilian whose principal weapon is not his rifle, nor his machete, but his relationship to the community, the nation.

A guerrilla is more political than military in character. Moral superiority, idealism and self-sacrifice of revolutionaries;

counter-terrorism or repressive measures by the government; propaganda value of guerrilla action on national and international plane; dislocation of orderly administration and transport; need to ensure continual crippling pressure of armed guard at every place, every time; the intolerable strain on the exchequer and consequently on the taxpayers; - all these factors have a cumulative effect of antagonising the entire population against the Establishment, and the consequent popular support to revolution is the ultimately decisive factor. That is why the revolutionaries could succeed in Ireland, Cuba, Zanzibar, Cyprus and Israel (anti-British) with a comparatively modest figure of casualties on their side.

The following facts, expressed in the words of the authorities on the subject of revolution, are quite revealing.

The main reason for the failure of the three-year Greek revolution (1946-49) was the alienation of the guerrilla forces from the general population and their terrorism against civilians, though there were other contributory factors also, such as, their dependence upon foreign bases and supplies, and their premature decision in 1948 to hold ground and to expose large formations to a numerically, technologically, logistically, and organisationally superior army of the Establishment.

Magsaysay could foil the designs of the Huk revolutionaries in Philippines because the latter failed to establish anything like a popular front during a period when urban support, the participation of students, industrial workers and the poorer white-collar class, was clearly required. They failed to seize and hold the popular imagination and so to create the broad mass unrest needed to topple the government or to build a revolutionary army capable of confronting and defeating the government army.

In Malaya, the Malayan Races Liberation Army had very few Malaysians in it, being composed almost exclusively of Chinese, and more particularly, of the large squatter population of recent Chinese immigrants, with no deep roots in the country. That is why the insurgents could be isolated from the people, more particularly after the implementation of a massive resettlement programme for the benefit of half a

million Chinese squatters. Isolated from the people, the revolutionaries were starved into submission or lured into disastrous ambushes.

The April 1971 insurrection of Ceylon was a failure because, in the words of Rohan Wijeweera,

"The conditions were not ripe for organising an armed revolutionary uprising to seize state power.... It had not reached a stage where the masses saw no other solution but revolution."

Raul Sandie of Uruguay failed in his plan of 14 April 1972 because he did not take due cognizance of the people's verdict against revolution in the presidential election of 28 November 1971.

In 1948, the Communist Party of Soviet Union abruptly changed its international policy at the inspiration of Zhanov and consequently the CPI announced that India was ripe for a revolutionary seizure of power; but in the absence of mass support its strategy ended in fiasco, notwithstanding its limited success in Telengana.

Regarding the Naxalite movement the following remarks of a correspondent of 'Economic and Political Weekly' (22 July 1972) are worth being quoted:

"Misinterpreting the symptoms of discontent in the wake of spiralling food crisis, all agog over reading Lin Piao's thesis about how the country surrounds and encircles the city, they concluded that the revolution was for the taking. No need to organise the masses before the event, they will join the revolution once the sparks start flying; no need to be excessively mulish about imparting political education to fresh recruits, even the so-called anti-social elements, waggon-breakers and professional murderers included, would be pressed into service; let violence be afoot, for fire turns everything pure and once the revolution is abroad in India, in the afterglow nobody will be sorry if the person who slashed the throat of the class enemy was a genuine ideologue or a ruffian from the market-place. Revolution by the short-cut was Cham Muzumdar's obsession. The pragmatist goondas with whom he had struck an alliance soon deserted him; the police, they soon discovered, had a better percentage to offer. Amble down the streets and by-lanes of Calcutta, it will be a revelation of sort; the same young men who, two seasons ago, steeped in the teachings of Muzumdar, were scribbling invocations to Mao Tse-tung are now engaged, on a full-time basis, in deification of Indira Gandhi... so much is lost for the traditional leftist movement in the country. Who knows what historical process has been served by this fearsome catharsis ? "

All these examples illustrate the axiom that without mass participation and popular support, there can be no revolution.

On the contrary, the Irish revolutionaries of the Eastern Rebellion who were unpopular in 1916 began to win popularity after the fifteen leaders of the Rebellion were shot dead by the British who also prepared a repulsive conscription act to draft

Irishmen of military age as recruits for First World War. Martyrdom of Terence Macswiney who died in Brixton jail after a hunger-strike lasting seventy-four days, finally united the entire people against the foreign rulers, while the whirlwind tour of US by De Valera mobilised world opinion in favour of the Irish cause. The counter-terrorism of the government defeated its own purpose. With the hostility of the entire population, the Britishers found it unprofitable and too costly to hold on in Ireland.

Explaining the factors responsible for the guerrillas' success in Cyprus, General Grivas, the leader of the non-communist patriotic guerrillas, writes,

"I laughed aloud when I read that General A or Brigadier B had come to Cyprus to put into operation the methods that had won him fame elsewhere. They could not understand that the Cyprus struggle was unique in motive, psychological circumstances and involved not a handful of insurrectionists but the whole people."

The long march of Mao which lasted a year and covered about eight thousand miles could not have been undertaken at all, had the popular sympathies not been with the revolutionary forces. Resistance movements operating against collaborators with the Nazi occupation forces in Europe had all-out support of their respective peoples.

Lacking weapons and manpower and the capacity for sabotage or guerrilla warfare, the revolutionaries in Palestine and Morocco resorted mainly to individual terrorism against their British and French masters respectively. Their purpose was to demonstrate to the foreign rulers the immense cost in money and manpower of continuing to rule in the face of popular resistance, and to arouse the people until one and all were united in opposition to the foreigner.

The tenacity of Algerian guerrillas, who fully utilised the inaccessible Auras region and the massive support of the people, enabled them to defy French forces and create a huge drain of French manpower and the French treasury. Full-scale guerrilla warfare was launched by them more for its psychological effect than for practical military reasons.

In all these cases, a situation was developed under which the authorities could have maintained themselves only by making war on the entire population. No foreign power can continue for long under such a condition; the continuance becomes still less practicable in case of native dictatorships.

A careful study of a recent survey of over 80 organisations engaged in some kind of violence of guerrilla nature, urban or rural, in nearly 50 countries, will prove conclusively that while arms and popular support are both essential for the success of a violent revolution, the latter is more decisive than the former.

It is true that it is comparatively easier to win popular support for a struggle against foreign rulers; but it is not that simple when the government to be opposed is *swadeshi*, though the matters are less difficult when such a government is a known satellite of some foreign power.

Revolutionary Education

Internal propaganda is sufficient to ensure popular support. But the cadres cannot be raised only on the strength of propaganda. This necessitates revolutionary mass education. Every revolution is expected to accomplish two different tasks - destruction of the present regime and construction of a new order. The first one may in some cases be carried out even without revolutionary mass education; but without proper education it is impossible to consolidate the gains of the first phase of revolution and accomplish the second task.

Education is to be distinguished from mere propaganda. Propaganda aims at winning over the popular sympathies in varying degrees - the least to be expected from it being benevolent neutrality. Education enables the people to become equal partners in revolutionary activities. Propaganda is a one-way traffic, proceeding from the top to the bottom. Education is a dialogical process in course of which the leaders come in direct and constant contact with the people, learn from them (i.e., the people) what they consider to be their problems, conduct joint thinking, accepting the people as co-partners, and reconvey them in clear terms what they receive from them confusedly. Revolutionary education starts from the needs of the masses - the needs that are uppermost in their conscious minds and also those of which they are not yet fully aware. To make them conscious of their own inner urges is a very patient process; but there is no substitute for it. The subjects of joint investigation must be the actual needs perceived by the people. They are to be helped in discovering their own mental processes, and this cannot be done unless these leaders understand perfectly the mind of the masses, allow the latter to understand their own (i.e., the leaders') mind, and strive jointly to understand the reality surrounding them. When as a result of this patient process the people begin to place trust in themselves and in the revolutionary leaders, as the former perceive the dedication and authenticity of the latter, the higher idealism of the latter is unconsciously absorbed by the former.

This is a very slow and patient process. The leaders addicted to get quick popular methods of parliamentary democratic system may find it extremely difficult to adopt themselves to this process. Again, the size of the population and general level of literacy and political consciousness are the factors that must be taken into account.

Revolutionary Leadership

The revolutionary leaders do not treat people as things to be used. They love the people and are willing to sacrifice themselves for them. Che Guevara says:

"Let me say, with the risk of appearing ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by strong feelings of love. It is impossible to think of an authentic revolutionary without this quality."

Because of this instinctive love, revolutionary leaders do not manipulate. They educate and organise.

As Frier puts it,

"Leaders who do not act dialogically but insist on imposing their decision do not organise the people, they manipulate them. They do not liberate, nor are they liberated; they oppress. Such leaders have no faith, no trust in people. They consider the latter as intrinsically deficient, incapable of dialogue, and consequently utilise the same procedures as are used by the oppressors. They try to win the people over, forgetting the fact that the revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but by both acting together in unshakable solidarity. This solidarity is born only when the leaders witness to it by their humble, loving and courageous encounter with the people."

Frier further observes,

"Denial of communion in the revolutionary process, avoidance of dialogue with the people under the pretext of organising them, of strengthening power, is really a fear of freedom. It is fear of or lack of faith in the people. But if the people cannot be trusted, there is no reason for their liberation; in this case the revolution is not carried out for the people, but by the people, for the leaders: a complete self-negation. Dialogue with the people is radically necessary to every authentic revolution. This is what makes it a revolution, an authentic revolution as distinguished from a military coup... Conversely, revolutionary leaders who do not act dialogically in their relation with the people either have retained characteristics of the dominator and are not truly revolutionary, or they are totally misguided in their conception of their role, and as prisoners of their own sectarianism, are equally non-revolutionary. They may even reach power. But the validity of any revolution resulting from anti-dialogical action is thoroughly doubtful."

And, unfortunately, this has been invariably the case with the leaders of all violent revolutions. That is why every such successful revolution was followed by the authoritarian regime of the 'revolutionary' leaders who no longer continued to be 'revolutionary'. The leaders of non-violent revolutions have to lean heavily upon this dialogical process; in fact it constitutes their main source of strength. All the various programmes adopted by them have as their main motive such a dialogue. The best illustration of such a programme is the Dandi March by Gandhiji for Salt Satyagraha. Coming in close and constant personal contact with the people, a non-

violent revolutionary learns directly about the people and their problems, and, in course of time, becomes identified with them.

Faith in Ultimate Victory

Faith in ultimate, inevitable victory is essential for the success of both types of revolution. Che Guevara says, whoever does not feel this undoubted truth, i.e., that the victory of the enemy against the people is impossible, cannot be a guerrilla fighter.

Neither can he be a successful non-violent fighter without this conviction.

Time Element

Time element is important in all revolutionary wars. What brings about ultimately the downfall of a regime is full ripening of its inherent self-contradictions. A *satyagraha* or a guerrilla warfare accelerates the process of ripening; but the full process takes longer time.

Intra-party rivalries and dissensions, a progressively increasing strain on the exchequer and the tax-payers, spiralling of prices, a progressive reduction in growth-rate, an alarming growth in unemployment, a disastrous position of the balance of payments, discontent in the forces of law and order, administrative breakdown, mounting indifference, disquiet and disaffection of the masses, neutralisation and subversion of armed forces, loss of the regime's creditworthiness in international sphere, - all these factors take their own time to mature.

The economic and political self-contradictions can be contained for a longer time by a regime supported by the committed ideological cadres, but the government's not having at its disposal the services of such cadres cannot manage these self-contradictions that long, depending only on the bureaucratic machinery. But, in any case, the time element is essential. As one leader of a successful revolution puts it:

"Time is required, not alone for political mobilisation, but to allow inherent weakness of the enemy to develop under the stress of war."

About another revolutionary leader it has been observed,

"...his patience was infinite; he could wait and watch until others got impatient, acted and failed."

International Propaganda

Both types of revolution have in them an international component. But in the case of a non-violent revolution it is confined to propaganda only.

During our fight for freedom, the Indian National Congress had made consistent efforts in this direction. It had set up a special subcommittee for this purpose. Even in the second struggle for freedom, i.e., against the Emergency, this aspect had been properly taken care of.

Nanasaheb Peshwa of 1857 fame was also fully aware of the importance of international contacts; his letters to Napoleon III of France and his plan of sending Ajimulla Khan as his emissary to Great Britain and other countries amply prove how he had not lost sight of this aspect.

The Establishment is generally nervous about the contacts of the foreign embassies and foreign journalists with the revolutionists. What the government is afraid of is publicity of the revolutionary activities within the country and abroad.

Every government has to maintain some appearance of stability, in order to assure other members of the alliance that 'contracts will continue to be honoured; treaties will be upheld; loans will be repaid with interest; investments will continue to produce profits.' One of the strategies of both types of struggle is to destroy the stable image of the government to deny it credits, to dry up its sources of revenue, and to create dissensions within the frightened owning classes and the bureaucracy.

If the constitution of the imperialist country is democratic it becomes feasible for the native guerrillas to win over a sizable section of its population and bring its pressure to bear upon the imperialist power.

For propaganda abroad, both types of activists try to influence and press into service the media of mass communication in different countries. But their means are often different. The seizure of the Cambodian Embassy in Prague on behalf of the NIF of the deposed Prince Norodom; the capture of the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague in September 1970 by Ambonese refugees; the exploding of bombs outside the Portuguese Embassy and the Rhodesian Information Office in Washington; the Palestinian guerrilla attack of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics which cost seventeen lives; bomb explosion in Singapore on the eve of the National Day Celebrations of 1970; various recent hijackings of aircrafts: all these and other similar moves were calculated to focus the attention of the world on the issues concerned.

A recent example of successful international propaganda is furnished by the SWAPO (South-West African People's Organisation) of Namibia which is receiving moral support from the UN and the World Court.

The non-violent revolutionaries use for this purpose the method of self-torture and self-immolation.

Self-immolation of Buddhists in South-East Asia has certainly been more effective. Martyrdom of a Lumumba, a Kennedy, or a Martin Luther King can earn more international sympathy, compassion being a sentiment stronger and deeper than terror. Even international critics of Allende were not sympathetic to his assassins.

Promise and Performance

There has always been a wide gap between the promise and the performance of every violent revolution. For example, which revolution has fulfilled its assurances to its peasantry? Which revolution has made workers the owners of their own plants?

Vergniand observed that 'the revolution devours its own children'. The indictment contained in a letter to the leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy from the Soviet intellectuals, academician Andre Sakharov, historian Roy Medvedev, and physicist Volentin Tourchine, was a revealing commentary on the nature of the post-revolutionary totalitarianism.

As Ronald Segal wrote,

"Aside from the crude imperial aspect of Soviet rule, there is, in the proclaimed socialist homeland itself, more than enough to provoke a revolutionary idealism. Over half a century since the revolution of 1917, liberty, equality, fraternity, the cardinal values of socialism, are a mockery and rebuke. Attempts to express them are tried and punished as crimes against the State. Economic discrepancies are everywhere evident."

'The New Class' deals with the outcome of all communist revolutions. The proposition of the 'The New Class' proceeds according to its author, Milovan Djilas, as follows:

"The society that has arisen as the result of Communist revolutions, is torn by the same sort of contradictions as are other societies. The result is that the Communist society has not only failed to develop towards human brotherhood and equality, but that out of its party bureaucracy, there arises a privileged social stratum, which, in accord with Marxist thinking, I named The New Class."

Djilas further observes in his 'The Unperfect Society',

"Communism, once a popular movement that had in the name of science inspired the toiling and oppressed people of the world with the hope of creating the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, that launched, and continues to launch, millions to their deaths in pursuit of this unextinguishable primeval dream, has become transformed into national political bureaucracies and states squabbling among themselves for prestige"

and influence, for the sources of wealth and for markets - for all those things over which politicians and governments have always quarrelled, and always will. The Communists were compelled by their own ideas and by the realities in their society first to wrest power - that delight above all delights - from their opponents, and then to scramble for it among themselves. This has been the fate of all revolutionary movements in history."

The experience of non-communist revolutionary dictatorships is not very much different. The '*Night of the Long Knives*' in course of which Captain Rohm and his officers were brutally murdered by their own comrades-in-arms is not a peculiarly German phenomenon; it is typical of all dictatorships determined to silence the dissenting voice even with the ruling party. Liquidation of dissenters outside that orbit of the party is nothing to be wondered at. The Russian forces suppressing the strikes of Siberian workers or the upsurge of the people of Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia were as 'revolutionary' as the 'revolutionary' army of Napoleon pitted against the Spanish guerrillas or the Nazi troops liquidating opponents at home and freedom fighters abroad.

The Psycho-Analysis

Since the 14th of July 1789 (the date on which the term 'revolution' was first used in its modern sense by Liancourt in Paris) to this day this has been the inevitable fate of every violent revolution. It is not as if this is a result of personal whims, caprices, or idiosyncrasies of revolutionary leaders. This constitutes an integral part of the methodology of violent revolutions.

Hannah Arendt observes in '*On Revolution*',

"To the extent that the greatest event in every revolution is the act of foundation, the spirit of revolution contains two elements which to us seem irreconcilable and even contradictory. The act of founding the new body-politic, of devising the new form of government, involves the grave concern with the stability and durability of the new structure; on the other hand, what those who are engaged in this grave business are bound to have is the exhilarating awareness of the human capacity of beginning, the high spirit which has always attended the birth of something new on earth. Perhaps, the very fact that these two elements, the concern with stability and the spirit of the new, have become opposites in political thought and terminology - the one being identified as conservatism and the other claimed as the monopoly of progressive liberalism - must be recognised to be among the symptoms of our loss."

And, again,

"The failure of post-revolutionary thought to remember the revolutionary spirit and to understand it conceptually was preceded by the failure of the revolution to provide it with a lasting institution."

The revolution, unless it ended in the disaster of terror, had come to an end with the establishment of a republic But in this republic there was no space reserved, no room left, for the exercise of precisely those qualities which had been instrumental in building it If foundation was the aim and the end of revolution, then the revolutionary spirit was not merely the spirit of beginning something new but of starting something permanent and enduring, lasting institutions embodying this spirit and encouraging it to new achievements... Nothing threatens the very achievement of revolution more dangerously and more acutely than the spirit which has brought them about Should freedom in its most exalted sense as freedom to act be the price to be paid for foundation?"

Condorcet had remarked,

"The word 'revolutionary' can be applied only to revolutions whose aim is freedom.

Only where change occurs in the sense of a new beginning, where violence is used to constitute an altogether different form of government to bring about the formation of a new body-politic, where the liberation from oppression aims at least at the constitution of freedom, can we speak of 'revolution'."

Judged by this criterion, violent revolutions in the past appear to be less than 'revolutionary'.

The Alternative

The methodology of non-violent revolutionaries is entirely different. The main weapon in their arsenal is soul-force, not terror. They believe in purity of means. They reject the dictum: 'ends justify the means.' They have firm faith in the inevitability of their ultimate triumph, because they visualise it as a triumph of the Truth, the Cause. They believe that those who refuse to be defeated can never be defeated, that there is nothing like failure in the struggle for Truth; there is only incomplete success. They are convinced that no individual can be governed for long without his willing consent. What they seek is progressive purification of 'self' through penances, and not physical annihilation of the enemy through violence.

A non-violent revolution is necessarily preceded and accompanied by revolutionary mass education. 'Passive resistance' as defined by Aurobindo, 'Chatuh-Sutri' of Lokmanya Tilak, 'Satyagraha' of Mahatmaji, envisaged intimate inter-relationship between struggle and mass education. Mass education through struggle, struggle through mass education.

Against this background, all the moves - big or small, even simple, innocent gestures of non-violent activists - acquire new significance. Deputation, badge-wearing, protest resolutions, petitions, silent processions, slogan shouting, token hunger-strikes, hartals, display of posters, distribution of literature and new

bulletins, big funerals of martyrs, observance of martyrdom anniversaries, demonstrations, propaganda of the atrocities by the authorities, educative group-meetings, boycott of legislatures and government functions, general strike or 'bandh', fast unto death, *satyagrahas*, no-tax campaign, all-out non-cooperation and civil disobedience, establishment of '*Janata Sarkar*', peaceful agitations for the redressal of local or sectional grievances: all these are as much a part of struggle as of revolutionary education.

When Thoreau explained in his '*Civil Disobedience*' why he preferred to go to jail rather than pay a tax to a government which condoned human slavery, he could hardly have imagined what impact his theory was going to make on the political scene of this land of Prahlad. Is it a mere coincidence that his thesis for individual action was developed into the technique of mass movement in this distant land? Our spiritual tradition was conducive to the growth of such a system of thought and action. That is why Aurobindo could say,

"to break an unjust coercive law is not only justifiable but, under given circumstances, a duty."

Tilak proclaimed that he wanted to take the country 'outside the Penal Code'. And Gandhiji initiated and perfected the technique of '*satyagraha*', which is not just the passive resistance of the weak but the active non-violent defiance of the strong. In an article in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 15 August 1976, Acharya Kripalani explains how the technique of *satyagraha* was followed by Prahlad, Mirabai, Socrates, Jesus Christ, Muslim martyrs, social reformers, scientists and others; how *satyagraha* can be practised in the family, the village, the province or the state, and how it cannot be conceived of as an anti-social activity.

"It recognises the social utility and necessity of the state and the laws and yet allows the individual to enjoy his liberty as a human being. The Satyagrahi even in chains is a free man. He can call his soul his own. He is not afraid of his opponents. Enemies he has none. His opponents are afraid of him, and not he of them. He can even stand alone, while the violent resister must have others to join or follow him."

Milovan Djilas, while not endorsing completely the tenets of Gandhism, comes independently to this conclusion:

"It would appear from contemporary experience that revolutionary organisations of the classic type - thoroughly conspiratorial, militarily disciplined, and ideologically united - are not essential. Revolution is not essential for victory over the communist oligarchs and bureaucrats; civil wars are even less necessary. However, recourse should be had to all other forms of struggle - demonstrations, strikes, protest marches, protest resolutions, and the like, and most important of all, open and courageous criticism and moral firmness. All historical experience to this date confirms this."

Through violence it may be possible to shoot down every agent and leader of the Establishment; but violence cannot guarantee establishment of a rule which will be considered by all citizens as their own. People cannot be the masters of the

post-revolutionary regime, unless they are also the real masters of the process of revolution. If they are equipped mentally only for destruction, they will prove to be very poor instruments of subsequent construction. The methodology of non-violent revolution necessarily includes mass education in both the aspects of revolution - development of the soul-force of the masses, and their involvement in and leadership of the various phases of revolution. Then only is it an authentic revolution of the people, for the people, by the people. For such revolutionary leaders, organisation means organising themselves with the people. Their method is dialogical: communion, not communique; they do not own the people; they are co-authors of revolution along with the people. Consequently, the ultimate victory belongs not to the leaders alone, but to the leaders and the people - or to the people, including the leaders. This eliminates all possibility of dictatorship following the revolution."

This may appear to be a long way. It certainly is. But, as M. N. Roy remarked about the patient process of mass education:

"It may be a long way; but if it be the only way, then it is also the shortest one."

Background Notes on some of the terms, phrases often used proverbially, or which have some historical, cultural context.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Nafar Kundu Spirit - | Spirit of 'Service before self' - like that of an ordinary worker by name Nafar Kundu in Calcutta, who risked his life and died to save a small child engulfed in the manhole of a sewage line. |
| El Dorado - Spanish term - | A legendary city of South America sought by early Spanish explorers - the term often proverbially used to connote a dreamy goal. |
| Ink-pot theory - | Frankenstein - |

Appendix II

Quo Vadis -

The theory advocating a loose, premissive relation between man and woman (the image of ink-pot expressing the same) out of the misconstrued notion that morality is not a must for a genuine communist.

Encyclical -

A character in Mary Shelley's novel (1818), who creates an animate creature only to his own torment and disaster; hence proverbially, by confusion used to denote any creation that brings disaster to its author.

Weltanschauung -

Latin phrase meaning 'Whither goest thou?'

A Papal letter on specific subject addressed to hierarchy in the Christian Order -Rerum Novarum, Quadrogesimo Anno, Centesimus Annus etc. - titles of such circulars.

A German term for a comprehensive world-view or philosophy of life of a race or a people with an interpretation of world history or civilization, particularly the conception of the universe and man's relation to it.

Uni-cameral bodies -

Syndicalists -

Armageddon -

Pronunciamento - 'White Man's Burden'

Appendix II

Tectonic -	<p>Latin. Cameralis-Department of State. Unicameral - a council that manages state business having or consisting of a single legislative chamber.</p>
	<p>Trade unionists aiming at the ownership and management of industries, possession of means of production and distribution and ultimately at the control of society. Syndicalism originated first in France.</p>
	<p>The scene of the final decisive battle between the good and the evil prophesied in the Bible to occur at the end of the world.</p>
	<p>A proclamation especially when announcing a coup d'etat.</p>
	<p>A concocted theory of providential obligation of White Man to uplift the colonial subjects, propagated by colonial British masters to create inferiority in the subjects. The theory, afterwards, was expressed in the phrase 'white man's burden' in Rudyard Kipling's poem in 1899.</p>
	<p>A geological term - referring to the forces or conditions within the earth that cause movements of the crust such as earthquake. Tectonic plates - layers caused by such forces - figuratively used here to denote the shift in power-structure.</p>

THIRD WAY

From the early 1970s, there has been widespread disillusionment about the paradigms of development which had been dominant since the Second World War. Many leading thinkers - both in the East and in the West - have been exploring alternatives to the West-originated concepts of progress and to the trading systems and practices derived from those concepts. It has become increasingly apparent that the current global trading regime and the prevalent resource-use policies are but modern-day incarnations of colonialism which ravaged most of the world in earlier centuries. At the ideological level, communism is now defunct, while capitalism is terminally ill. Time is thus opportune for projecting a more humane, non-exploitative, holistic and spiritually elevating 'Third Way'. The heritage of Hinduism and especially the all-comprehensive concept of *Dharma* provide guidelines for reorienting the political, economic and social life. In the present book Dattopant Thengadi, an outstanding thinker, critically analyses the present state of the world and presents the Hindu approach to economics, technology, environment, and constitutional and legal systems. He forcefully argues for modernisation without westernisation, and lucidly articulates the inevitability of Swadeshi for national reconstruction. **Third Way** is a timely and path-breaking work.

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