

Shradhanjali to Rashtra-Rishi

Swadeshi

PATRIKA

November 2004



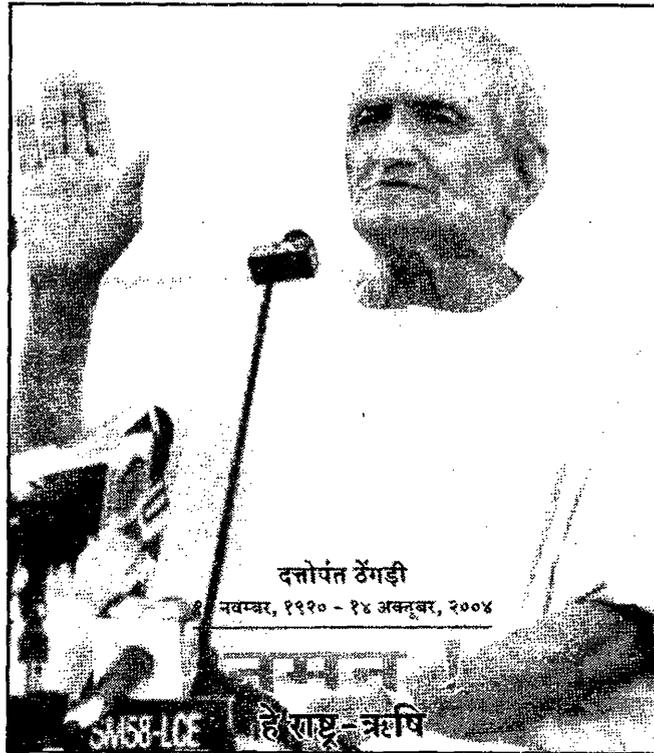
Dattopant Thengadi

(10 Nov. 1920—14 Oct. 2004)

The Post-Independence Mahatma

A tribute to the role-model of all social workers

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This issue is dedicated to the eternal memory of Late Dattopant Thengadi. We are grateful to all those who have helped us in preparation of this issue. Ed.

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Thengadiji at the second National Convention of SJM

Our Guiding Light

SHRI DATTOPANT Thengadi is no more with us. His loss is felt not only by those individuals who were nurtured by him but everyone who is really concerned about the welfare of humanity and wants all kinds of exploitation to be stopped immediately, considers his sudden departure both social and a personal loss. Thengadiji was an inspiration to all such individuals. He was a living example of an ideal social activist. People like me who were fortunate enough to interact and work with him for a long period of time can always cherish the memories stored and lessons learnt while working with him. For others who were not so fortunate, his words would always resonate in their minds to guide them to keep moving ahead on their path without ever bothering about the outcome.

Dattopantji was one of the very few post-independence social activists who could influence the polity through non-electoral methods. He had a deep grasp over development of events, whether national or international, and a deeper understanding of dynamics of those events. Combination of superior intellectual ability and energetic physical activism made him a force in himself. This powerful force stored in his strong body and even stronger mind was strengthened by his

habit of remaining in touch with the grass-root level workers and situations. Due to this harmonious blending of a superior level, he occupies a very high position among the galaxy of great nationalist leaders. In the RSS chain of leaders Guruji, Deendayalji and Thengadiji form a triumvirate for their ideological strength, organizational efficiency, very simple nature and a spiritual bent of mind. These three great personalities had much more in common other than the characteristics mentioned here. This RSS triumvirate will always be remembered for their soul-stirring personalities, sharp intellect and lucid articulation of ideology.

He was a true Rishi. Intellectual honesty and total transparency in behaviour accorded him a status which was available to only a few. He was a staunch critic of communism but won many friends among communists. He would always tell—fight the sin, not the sinner. He never accepted the Left and Right division in the Indian context. He would say, 'capitalist and communist divide is not relevant in India'. According to him, nationalist paradigm should always be there and welfare of all should be

the core of every movement.

He could have opposed the imperialistic or hegemonistic globalisation by resorting to negativist movements of anti-globalisation or anti-imperialisation but he articulated the positive alternative in the form of Swadeshi from the core of our national consciousness. It was a true response of a true nationalist that has global impact now. He gave form to a powerful movement and called it second freedom movement in the national perspective and third World War in the global perspective. He strongly believed in the 'Third Way', much beyond the narrow confines of capitalism and communism and gave it an ideological shape on the basis of Integral Humanism and Swadeshi. It is becoming evident now that this will be the core of all future movements in different countries and the whole world will accept the 'Third Way' as the most humane way of sustainable socio-economic development in the coming years.

His range was unlimited. He spoke, written and worked on almost all the relevant issues like economics, society, politics, literature, environment, human rights, religion, spiritualism etc. Many people have written about Dr. Ambedkar, either derogatory or trivializing his role in freedom movement and reconstruction of nation. Thengadiji used to feel extreme pain due to this. For him, Dr. Ambedkar was a hardcore nationalist, a harmonious internationalist and a true social reformer. Before he left all of us, Thengadiji completed an exhaustive book on Dr Ambedkar to truly project his life and work.

He was the only one to transform the trade union movement into a nationalist movement. More importantly, he accomplished this difficult task while working amidst the big names of trade union leaders who were associated with the leftist organizations. For



Thengadiji addressing a rally organised by SJM

more than six decades he was continuously on the move for the service of the nation and worked as RSS Pracharak in almost all parts of India, from Kerala to Assam. Very few people can match his vast experience in organizational work. He had a very simple formula for judging success and failure of a movement, 'if you want to destroy the movement, develop comfort-loving cadre and status-conscious leaders'. For all workers of ideology-based organisations, his mantra was, 'it is better to be irresponsible and right than responsible and wrong'.

He leaves behind a heritage that we have to sustain and enhance. It is not easy to fit into the shoes of such great personalities but his deeds and words will always guide us. He would always tell his fellow workers that ideological commitment should remain supreme and one should never compromise with it. He would tell us, 'of what avail, if in the process of winning the kingdom of earth, you lose the kingdom of heaven?'

Greatness of a person is generally recognized only after the departure of such holy souls. I hope a sincere effort for true evaluation of Thengadiji's personality would be made now, unfortunately when he is no more with us.

P. MURALIDHAR RAO

National Convenor
Swadeshi Jagaran Manch



Thengadiji in
Discussion with
Shri S. Gurumurthy

A Great void difficult to fill

HE BUILT the largest trade union in India, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh. Formed in 1955 it over took INTUC, the largest trade union, in just three decades. In 1989, strength of BMS was 31 lacs plus. That was more than the combined strength of CITU and AITUC, the monopolists of trade union movement. Today its membership is over 83 lacs, more than the collective of most other trade unions. Yes, he built the most powerful trade union. Yet, he was not a communist. He actually opposed the communists, stormed their citadel and captured it. Never a Socialist, but he defeated them in their own territory. He waged an open war, an ideological war, against them, and defeated them in a straight war, not in guerrilla warfare. Also he never used his strength, never called for a bandh, the normal weapon of large trade unions, and never brought

any city to stand still. His unions never indulged in violence. He never made his unions the wing of any political party.

Though a trade union leader, he was not an urbanite like most trade unionists. He also built the largest union of agriculturists in India, the Bharatiya Kisan Sangh. Still he was not a village versus town man, or agriculture versus industry man. For him nationalism was the melting pot of all sectional views and interests. He never believed in the distinction between classes, between the rich and the poor, but actually stood for collective national interests. Thus he carried nationalism to territories monopolised by class hatred and class war and rendered class idea almost irrelevant. When globalisation challenged India in early nineties and every one helplessly just opposed it or blindly welcomed

it, he recalled the spirit of the freedom movement, the Swadeshi idea. He formed the Swadeshi Jagaran Manch (SJM), which articulated an alternative indigenous economic model, not just opposition to globalisation. It emerged as the bulwark against mindless globalisation and succeeded in creating a vision for India as a global power. His creations, the BMS, the Kisan Sangh, and the SJM, are known and powerful in thought and action, but he, the creator himself, is not much known.

Who is he? Dattopant Thengadi, unknown to most, founded institutions known and powerful but himself not known. He passed away at 84, with energies that one would see in a man of 48. He was of course a resounding success as a trade unionist. But this does not exhaust Thengadi. He was more. He was an astounding intellectual with remarkable grasp of history and economics, sociology and politics. Yet he rarely appeared in public or even rarely allowed himself to be photographed or interviewed by mass media. In his view nation builders do better things than stand before cameras. Yet he was in politics, in the Rajya Sabha for two terms. But that did not make any difference to his definition of himself. He was an activist, who did what was doable in ten lives in one. Yet massive activity did not interfere with his contemplative genius. He found time amid chaotic activity to think, read and write. He authored innumerable books of originality and high intellectual content — some 50



Thengadiji attending an SJM session

books in all, 27 in Hindi, 12 in English and 10 in Marathi. He has presented innumerable papers on profound subjects in national and international conferences. He learnt five languages apart from Marathi and English. He founded, inspired, managed and advised over a hundred organisations! And found time for all activities, yet time to talk and chit chat with thousands of ordinary workers! He could discover the 25th hour in the day and the thirteenth month in the year.

What inspired him to such unbelievable mental, physical and intellectual activity beyond all known reserves of human energy? What drove him to attempt and accomplish the un-attempted impossible? The RSS. The much misunderstood and much maligned open air university that trains patriots of high commitment in this country even today. He became the full time pracharak of the RSS at the age of 22 and continued to work full time till he breathed his last. No office attracted him. He could have occupied any position in public life. But for people like him positions added nothing.

He was a drista, a seer. Decades before, he saw and theorised the collapse of communism as, he perceived, it went against human nature. It has happened. He has also theorised that capitalism too will collapse as that too is against human spirit and nature. This is waiting to happen. Even in philosophising the resistance to globalisation he foresaw national spirit as the

"The Hindu sages did not consider 'Artha' as a separate 'Purushartha', It was treated as an integral part of a single, four-fold 'Purushartha', that is, 'Purushartha Chatushtayam'. The west with its compartmentalised thinking considered Economics as a separate discipline having distinct identity of its own.

— D. B. Thengadi

greatest defence against global forces. He unveiled the hidden element of globalisation as the competition between nations. Result, not just in India but, all over the world today the real resistance to globalisation comes from perceived national interest, that is, Swadeshi at individual national level.

Thengadi was understudy of Babasaheb Ambedkar. 'Gurumurthy, I do not agree with Arun Shourie's conclusions on Babasaheb Ambedkar', he once told me. I pointed out to him that Arun's book was fully completely documented. He asked me 'do you mean to say that the lives of people who had had to face the greatest of challenges can be captured in records and documents?' He added that the complex times and the challenges that 'Baba' – this is how he called Babasaheb Ambedkar – faced could not be read from records. 'In fact most of the recordings cosmetise the real facts, more bluntly, they conceal, not bring out, the truth. So records cannot present the challenging life of Babasaheb Ambedkar'. Thengadi could talk with authority about Babasaheb Ambedkar because he was full time with Ambedkar in the last four years of Babasaheb's life.

What Thengadi told me further was stunning. He said 'I was eye witness to Babasaheb's tensions and problems'. He recalled 'Babasaheb wanted the Hindu sants and religious heads to declare openly that untouchability did not have the sanction of Hindu religious scripts'. RSS efforts in this direction were not bearing fruit. But Babasaheb told Thengadi that time was running out. His health was deteriorating fast in 1954. Baba Saheb told Thengadi that 'I have faith in the process of the RSS in removing untouchability. But that is too slow. I cannot wait because I will not live to see the end of the problem'. Thengadi also recalled what made Babasaheb embrace Buddhism, in Babasaheb's own words thus: 'if I did not show the way for this helpless community they would be hunted down by Christian church and the communists'. What Babasaheb wanted the



Thengadiji at the first convention of SJM

Hindu religious leaders to do in 1954, RSS could persuade them to do only a decade later, in 1965, in a conference of Hindu religious leaders in Udipi organised by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. This made many, me included, insist that Thengadi wrote on his days with Babasaheb. A couple of months before Thengadi died he did this too, and his book on Babasaheb Ambedkar was also released.

He owned nothing, not a house or a car, no cell phone or else. He lived in a small room in Delhi provided by the BMS and in others houses elsewhere. His needs, a few kurtas and dhotis, were accommodated in a suit case. He travelled in over night buses and mostly second class in trains. Never thought of marriage as his time was exhausted by the cause he had taken up in life. A rishi, a tapasvi, he was. Like most tapasvis, he is also little known. National newspapers which waste thousands of tons of newsprint on what retired or topless cine stars do in the morning and evening never even reported on this great man's work, much less on his greatness. But that hardly matters. Having seen him closely and known him intimately and learnt from him immensely, the only thing I could do is to let a few others know that a tapasvi died on October 14, 2004 leaving a void, a great void difficult to fill.

S. GURUMURTHY

National Co-convenor, Swadeshi Jagaran Manch



Thengadiji
accepting greetings
from BMS workers

A Supreme Karma Yogi

WHEN I was informed that Shri Thengadiji passed away I was reminded of the remark made by the American biographer Louis Fischer at the death of Mahatma Gandhi. He said "The world became poorer because the poorest of them all died". Although, true for Mahatma Gandhi it is equally, if not more, appropriate to the passing away of Shri Dattopant Thengadiji.

I cannot claim him to be my colleague. I am far junior to him and much lower to him in experience and the organizational hierarchy. Unfortunately I am not one who had the fortune to know him for long period of time. My acquaintance with him began when I became part of SJM which is only a few years; might be even less than 5 years. Within this short period, I was attracted to him

strongly not by his professional achievements but his sterling personal qualities and his disarming subtle smile.

It is not necessary for a piece of iron to be close to a magnet for years to get it attracted by it; but a single casual chance will do.

His contribution to the trade union movements, Kisan movements and post independence Swadeshi movement is phenomenal and legendary. But builders of organizations succeed in achieving their goal either by strong-arm methods emanating from the hunger of personal power or through noble actions by sacrificing all comforts, including oneself completely, in the service of the fellow brethren. Thengadiji chose the second alternative and proved, practically single handedly, that this is the right and true approach to build lasting organizations and develop

men to become leaders.

Many leaders build organizations to use them for their personal gain and build personal power bases to enjoy and pass it on to their chosen relatives or close friends. In the case of Thengadiji, all his friends and associates were equal to him and remained equidistant ally close to him. Consequently, the organizations that Thengadiji built were raised on firm foundations and have acquired a unique degree of credibility and high status of acceptability during his time itself and will remain so beyond his lifetime too.

His life demonstrated that he was an embodiment of the true ethos of the Indian culture. He was a supreme Karmayogi of Gita by becoming "one with the infinite activity by the exercise of the activity with disinterested goodness". In this context I am reminded of the definition of a yogi by Gurudev Tagore. He writes:

"To the man who lives an idea, for his country and for the good of humanity, life has an extended meaning To live the lift of goodness is to live the life of all".

It almost appears that Gurudev Tagore had men like Thengadiji in his mind when he wrote this in his essay on Sadahna.

Of the many personal qualities that Thengadiji possessed, the most endearing was his radiant innocence. This was the reflection of his saint like inner peace that he had cultivated over the years by practicing sadhana. I am sure he must have faced many a challenging situations, which tested his resolve and mettle. On all such occasions, he was able to overcome them and win over friends and foes alike by his abiding

and deep faith in the basic goodness of people who hold different opinions and belong to varying ideologies.

He has left in my mind an enduring and affectionate disposition of a yogi who conquered his environment with his eternal smile and sober demeanor and penetrating insight to the nature and motive of men and matters far beyond his immediate preoccupation of trade unionism and public policy.

What is his legacy? Nothing grand in brick and mortar but many ideas and inspirations planted in many who chanced to come in contact with him at personal, professional and political level. These seedlings must be given an oppor-

tunity to grow and flourish in various areas and aspects of national life which Thengadiji so much loved and cherished. To facilitate this process, it must be made possible to compile his biography, which will be a great inspiration to many who are keen to serve the motherland. In fact I have been goading him to write his autobiogra-

phy; but the humble man in him did not let it happen. His life of varied experience and ideas he promoted in various forums will be a treasure trove worth to be preserved and propagated.

Further, I have been suggesting to him to take an initiative to modernize the trade union and kisan movements and to transform them both as a more contemporary institutions employing the modern concepts of labour and agricultural management. Instead of proclaiming him, "an institution by himself" as it is customary, it will be appropriate to establish an institution itself named Dattopand Thengadi Institute of Management specializing in the teaching



Thengadiji with Kisan Sangh President Kunwarji Bhai Jadav

and research of management of labour and agriculture. To begin with, a programme of correspondence course can be started and later on, promote it as a full fledged Management Institution.

Incidentally the last task that Thengadiji discussed with me was, how to organize a national conference on concepts of Industrial Trusteeship on which I wrote an approach paper for him. He acknowledged its receipt and replied "adequate for the purpose"; but further action could not be taken because of his ill health. I am sure there will many such ideas buried in his papers and interaction with people

which, I hope will not be lost to the nation. Even with my short and brief association with Thengadiji, I still feel his presence with me; his loving and caring face permanently embedded in my memory reminding me his ethereal love for mankind and sacrifice for the underprivileged and deprived of the world. Many his ideas flourish and his memory continue to inspire us and our actions make us all worthy of being the inheritors of the legacy of a supreme Karma yogi.

DR. C. A. VARGHESE
Director, CBMD

Bhishmacharya of Labour Movement



Thengadiji
(wearing
glasses)
with BMS
workers

THE BHARATIYA Mazdoor Sangh was born at a time when big trade unions like INTUC, CITU, AITUC etc dominated the labour movement. Born in 1955, BMS became the biggest cadre organisation of workers in 34 years because of the extraordinary organising capability and guidance provided by Shri Dattopant Thengadiji. His subsequent evolution as the

Bhishmacharya of Bharatiya labour movement is an example to emulate for all those who work in the labour field.

It was at the instance of Shri Guruji Golwalkar that Thengadiji, working as a pracharak of RSS in 1949, turned his attention towards creating a labour organisation based on Bharatiya values and tradition. Instead of immediately starting an organisation, Thengadiji decided to undertake a deep study of labour movement and for this purpose he joined a few organisations.

First, he joined the INTUC. In a short time, he became an office-bearer of around 10 unions working under INTUC. In October 1950, he became a member of the national executive of INTUC. Also, he became the secretary of the INTUC in the erstwhile Madhya Pradesh State. Besides this, in the period between

1952 and 1955, he worked as the State organising secretary of ABEA, an organisation of Communist bank employees. During 1954-1955, he was president of the central circle of RMS Employees Union (Postal) consisting of old Madhya Pradesh, Vidarbha and Rajasthan. He was also president of the INTUC-affiliated employees' unions of LIC, Railway, Textiles and Coal. He acquired first-hand information about the functioning of trade unions and their agitations during this period. He also used the opportunity to learn more about Communism and gained sufficient knowledge about the way of functioning of communist organisations. In Shri Guruji's words, Thengadiji 'single handedly' completed the task assigned to him.

In the midst of this process, Thengadiji came across many kinds of obstacles. He had cited one such incident. While working with a Communist trade union, Thengadiji used to come back to Nagpur Sangh karyalaya in the evening after participating in agitations holding red flag. One day a few swayamsevak told Thengadiji directly that it was not proper for a person who is working with Communist movement to sleep at RSS office. However, when Guruji came to know about this, he asked Thengadiji to come and sleep at his place. Then only the other swayamsevak realised their mistake. It was during this period, when Thengadiji was staying with Guruji, that he helped Deen Dayalji in preparing the format of 'Integral Humanism'.

The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh was founded on July 23, 1955 in Bhopal in the presence of 35 persons invited from different parts of the country. From the beginning onwards, Thengadiji was keen to maintain democratic ideals among its workers. In this respect, while giving guidance to workers, he had cited one example. During the formation of the organisation, Thengadiji and others had decided to name the new organisation as 'Bharatiya Shramik Sangh' and hence prepared a report on that

basis before coming to the meeting. But at the meeting, the person from Punjab pointed out that they pronounce the word 'Shramik' as 'Sharamik' and suggested that it would be better to use the word 'Mazdoor'. Then the senior representative from Bengal said that though there is no word called 'mazdoor' in Bengali, in view of the feelings of the Punjabi brethren, 'Mazdoor' would be acceptable to them. Hence the organisation got the name 'Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh'.

The people who joined first in the initial days of BMS were mostly social activists with hardly any experience in the field of trade union activities. There was not a single union or a member during that period. In the first 12 years, there was not even an official national executive. Just an informal five-member committee functioned at the national level. Thengadiji regarded himself as the general secretary and travelled through the length and breadth of the country building unit by unit. Besides, he gave an ideological foundation to the new organisation.

During this period, Thengadiji had the blessings of Guruji who was in constant touch with him. He advised Thengadiji to love the workers like a mother loves her children. In 1960, when Gulzarilal Nanda was the Home Minister, the Government tried to crush the strike organised by government employees. Shri Guruji asked Thengadiji to give the opinion of the BMS about the strike. Thengadiji replied that the BMS has no union among government employees. Then Guruji said that even so, the stand of the BMS on the issue should come to light through Sangh mouthpieces like 'Panchajanya' and 'Organiser'. Guruji also gave a clear message in this respect: 'the right to strike from work is inherent in the right to work. When an alternative way is found other than strike, the concept of strike will lose its relevance'. These words reveal the deep understanding that Guruji had of the labour issues.

Thengadiji had faced several difficulties

while being part of the labour movement. Once Thengadiji was asked to deliver the welcome speech at a united rally of trade unions in Bombay attended by veteran HMS leader N G Gore. In the last minute, N G Gore announced that he would not sit on the same dais where an RSS pracharak was present. Since the proceedings had been predetermined, Thengadiji delivered his speech and left the venue immediately without showing any remorse. Years later, during the Emergency, Thengadiji was once tasked to take Gore into safe hiding. Within a few minutes of meeting each other, Gore expressed his regrets about the earlier incident.

In all executive meetings, Thengadiji used to repeatedly ask workers to maintain the distinct organisational identity of BMS. He would even cite communist experiences from the autobiography of the veteran communist leader, A K Gopalan. He said that such experiences could happen to us as well if we are not cautious. His instruction about not to make 'compromises on basic ideology' still resonates in the ears of Sangh workers. He had always tried to make personal friendship with people beyond the organisation and political philosophy. He had many friends among the Congress and Communist parties and had relationship with people working in different trade unions. When the clashes between the RSS workers and CPM men increased in Kerala, he came to Kerala with CITU leader P Ramamurti and tried to put an end to it.

Though many positions and power came across him, he rejected all of them with utmost humility. He retired from parliamentary work after being a Rajya Sabha MP for 12 years. In 1955 itself he decided that the BMS must remain an organisation without any political affiliation. Thengadiji's presence had ensured



Thengadiji with Kisan Sangh workers

that the basic philosophy remains till now. Though he was the secretary of the Lok Sangharsh Samiti during the Emergency, he refused the demand that the BMS should be made an affiliated organisation of Janata Party, which came to power immediately after the elections. It was Thengadiji who taught the trade unions to react on the basis of the policies of the Government and not on the basis of the colour of the Government. He called this as 'Responsive Cooperation'.

In 1984, at the Hyderabad meeting, he declared war against multinationals and foreign agents. Thus he conceived Swadeshi Jagaran Manch that was formed later in 1991. Besides this, he also founded Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, Samajik Samrasata Manch and within the BMS, founded Sarva Pantha Samadar Manch and Paryavaran Manch.

He had visited many countries of the world as part of trade union work and otherwise. On April 28, 1985 when he visited China, the Beijing Radio broadcasted his 20 minutes speech in Hindi with Chinese translation.

Since 1991, when Narasimha Rao government came to power, the labour policy and economic policies of all the governments, whether

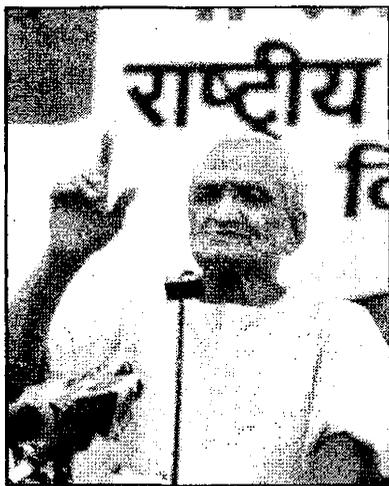
of Congress, Left Front or NDA that ruled both at the Centre and in different States were almost the same. The Communist trade unions, which opposed these policies during the Congress regime, became inactive during the tenure of Deve Gowda and Gujral governments, which they supported. Those who thought that the BMS, which opposed the economic policies since 1991, would slow down when the NDA government came to power, were proved wrong. Both in the 1999 Nagpur meeting and in the April 16, 2001 rally as well as in the subsequent agitations, Thengadiji came down heavily on the policies of the NDA government, which became a rare event in the history of modern politics and trade union movement.

The working of the Second Labour Commission took an anti-worker shape almost surprisingly. When Thengadiji was informed about this, he asked us to prepare a disagreement

note and come to Pune immediately. At Pune, in the presence of senior advocate Dharap, Thengadiji attentively listened to the note and suggested necessary modifications. He remained awake at 11' O clock at night expecting my arrival for this purpose. This disagreement note became a part of the report of the Second Labour Commission. Hence once again, Thengadiji's guidance played a vital role in upholding the dignity of BMS in the history of labour movement.

His passing away happened at a time when his guidance is more and more required for the Sangh Parivar organisations. The ideological life that he lived would continue to shed light through the works of lakhs of dedicated people who are in the process of rebuilding the nation.

C. K. SAJI NARAYANAN
All India Vice-President, BMS



Thengadiji addressing a BMS rally

An Ideologue Par Excellence

SHRI DAT-TOPANT Thengadiji had been among the few who had closely understood the mind of Shri Guruji Golwalkar. If Guruji had been the Gangotri which flowed from

the Himalayas of Sanatana Dharma, Thengadiji had the opportunity to take a deep dip in that holy water.

Those who had close relationship with Thengadiji were convinced of his clear thoughts, unambiguous opinions and firm decisions. He had very clear idea about everything and that the necessary decision ought to be taken on any issue. However, those were not indicative of

his hard stances. In fact, his convictions were deeply rooted in the ideology and evolved out of the experiences of his and other veterans' lives. He had been familiar with the depth of Bharatiya philosophy. He tried his best to refine it through his conversations and constant interactions with Guruji. Besides that, he had been in close contact with the intellectual world of many, both inside and outside the nation. Whenever he was supposed to speak on any subject, he used to quote from the authoritative words of such people.

He imbibed the character of seeking the truth and used his open mind to objectively analyse contradictory opinions before accepting or

rejecting them. One can convincingly say that his writings were evidences of such lengthy thought processes and quotations. One may have the doubt whether he had read so many books. His method of studying was different. He had close contacts with veterans of different fields. He utilised the knowledge of



Thengadiji in discussion with Dr. M.M. Joshi

such people. He carefully studied all authoritative writings which he came across and ensured its authenticity and wrote down important points from it in his own diary. Later he judiciously used all such notes at the appropriate time. One can convincingly say that a huge volume of such writings is available now. We are sure that those writings will be utilised for a comprehensive research process. He used to write down important information that he got whenever he went somewhere or when he had talked to anyone. His character reminds us of the bee that collects the nectar from thousands of flowers and store it in its own place. In his life, he had been constantly searching for knowledge which he treasured. Not just acquiring the knowledge, its continuous distribution went side by side with it through conversations, speeches and writings.

Talking to him was a rare experience of sharing an intellectual world of high order. Owner of an incomparable receptive mind, he was more interested in listening to what others say than delivering a speech and could be called

an ideal listener. Talking to him was, in fact, experiencing education. Though his speeches were a flow of deep thoughts, it contained examples from simple incidents and stories that touched the heart of the audience and could be easily assimilated by common man. He could speak to an audi-

ence of ordinary workers in their own standard and do the same to an assembly of intellectuals at their level. He was at ease with both. His speeches were less dramatic and without any twists for publicity but had the innate strength of a flowing Ganga.

His writings and books were not meant for leisurely reading. Those were meant for a serious study. Original thinking was visible in his writings. He will quote from great thinkers to substantiate his claims. He will cite two opposing arguments and arrive at his own conclusion about it. One cannot find casual mentioning about anything in his writings. Before saying that our nation is a Hindu nation, he would go through the concept of a nation enunciated both by Western philosophers and their eastern counterparts. He would also put forward the Bharatiya thought process in this regard.

Thengadiji's writings carried the clear and comprehensive philosophy of Rashtriya Swayam-sevak Sangh on any subject. He had total faith in the ultimate triumph of Sanatana Dharma.

"The westerners have come 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 institution as a factor in economic growth."

— D. B. Thengadi

He had abiding faith in the ability of Sanatana Dharma to constantly change with time and assimilate things accordingly and had mentioned many times about this in his speeches and writings and had substantiated it through many examples. He laid the ideological foundation to build a new organisation of workers on the basis of this. He devised the necessary strategies whenever required in the growth of the organisation. He was the guiding light for the biggest ideology-based and non-political organisation of labourers called Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh from the beginning till his end.

He also undertook a serious study about Communism and Capitalism. It was not bookish knowledge, instead, he travelled to Soviet Union and United States and interacted with their hierarchy and shared the experiences. He announced to the world that the Soviet Union would not last long at a time when that nation was at its

height of glory. But many people took that prediction as a strategy aimed at enhancing the morale of Sangh workers. But as the saying, 'meanings will accompany the words of Rishis', his prediction was followed by the reality. Soviet Union met its end.

After that, when many analysers stated that now only the American capitalism will survive, Thengadiji declared that it was also nearing its end. Thengadiji had mentioned and written about a 'Third Way'. I remember an incident in 1992 at a large meeting in United States, the audience were taken aback when, as the biggest leader of labourers and thinker from

India, Thengadiji criticised the American society and predicted its fall. One could hear the voice of a prophet in those words.

Thengadiji had an individuality totally merged with that of the labourers. His heart carried their difficulties, complaints, pressures, sadness and happiness. His mind always sympathised even with their weaknesses and mistakes. In this respect, I remember one incident. When Shri A.K Antony was the Chief Minister of Kerala, the government employees of the State organised a massive strike. The people felt lots of hardships. The common man was by and



Thengadiji in lighter mood with Govindacharya and others

large against the strike. Taking that into consideration, I wrote an article on the issue. Thengadiji came to know about that article which criticised the strike. He felt uneasy. Since he could not meet me, Thengadiji gave his opinion to some senior colleagues and instructed them to pass it to me.

When the workers are in strike, one should not talk in opposition to them, it will affect their morale and will weaken their organisation, especially when the person belongs to the same ideology. For Thengadiji, the interests of the workers itself were the interests of the nation. He had merged himself with both. He firmly believed, till his last breath, that the nation's progress to the 'Param Vaibhav' was through the welfare of the workers.

P PARAMESHWARAN
National President
Vivekananda Kendram



Thengadiji listening to a BMS worker

An Idealist Karma Yogi

DATTOPANT THENGADI alias Dattatreya Bapurao has passed away. The long life of an uncompromising ideologue and an untiring worker of people's welfare has come to an end. The founder of the biggest workers' organization in the country, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), as well as that of Swadeshi

Jagaran Manch, a patriotic organization, Thengadi was also a founder member of Akhila Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishat, Bharatiya Kisan Sangh and Samajik Samrasta Manch. A law graduate, he was also actively involved with politico-cultural organizations like Jana Sangh, Akhila Bharatiya Adhivakta (Abhibhashka) Parishad, Samskar Bharati as well as Swadeshi Sastra Prasthan.

He was also a member of Rajya Sabha for two times. He had represented India in the conference of International Labour Organisation. He had travelled through countries like China, Britain and Canada. His rejection of the Padma Bhushan awarded to him by the BJP-led NDA Government since he could not sympathise with the agricultural policies of that Government is a glaring example of his commitment to ideology. It is not possible for a man to be an idealist and a practical one at the same time. But Thengadi was both. When he started organizations for workers or for students or when he worked in the cultural arena, Bharatiya values guided him irrespective of political affiliations.

He never did anything for his own welfare or publicity. His character showed the innocence of a Karma Yogi. He had worked in Kerala, West Bengal and Assam as an RSS pracharak. He had worked tirelessly for building Sangh Parivar organizations in Kerala more than anybody else. He had strong relationship with Kerala which he kept till his end. His enthusiasm also played a vital role behind the formation of Bharatiya Vichar Kendra.

He was an enemy of the liberalisation that refused to take into consideration the aspirations of the poor. When the liberalization and globalization policies of the NDA Government started producing anti-worker policies, he came openly against it. The death of such an idealist is naturally a huge loss.

(The piece above is literal translation of an editorial that appeared in Mathrubhumi, a leading Malayalam daily, as obituary to Thengadiji. Translation done by

K. S. Kumar)

An Image of Love

"Piousness, forgiveness, energy, courage and humility, are his virtues who has come with heavenly wealth with him." – Geeta (chapter 16)

THE CHAPTER 16 of Lord Krishna's Bhagwad Geeta describes a great man who has been gifted with heavenly virtues, in the above lines. Dattopant Thengadi was one such person who had such heavenly virtues. He was the first generation pracharak of RSS. He dedicated his whole life for the cause of RSS or for the cause of the nation. RSS had become a part of his breath. Once Narad had asked Lord Krishna: "Who's your best disciple?" Krishna replied that it was Arjun. Narad was not convinced. He thought: "I have the Lord's name on my lips for all the 24 hours. Arjun doesn't even remember the Lord once a day." Sensing what was going on in Narad's mind, Krishna sent him to Arjun who was sleeping at the moment. To Narad's utter surprise, in the calm of the night, every single breath and artery of Arjun was resounding with 'Krishna Krishna! Thengadiji's situation was similar. His every breath was RSS. His life was RSS.

As a pracharak he was sent into different areas. He was with INTUC for a while. He was also active with Bharatiya Jan Sangh for some time. He founded Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh. Moreover, he was the brainchild of Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad, Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, Samajik Samrasta Manch and Swadeshi Jagran Manch. But he did not get involved in any of these beyond a point. Like a lotus growing out of muddy water, he maintained his aloofness. He worked without expectation for reward and in

doing so practiced non-violence, peace, sacrifice, compassion and forgiveness.

Thengadiji often gave the example of Kach. To obtain the Sanjivani from Shukracharya, once Kach came to the demons. Shukracharya's daughter, Devyani, fell for Kach. She rescued him from all catastrophes. Finally Kach acquired the Sanjivani powers. Now Devyani told him: "You marry me. Don't go back to the gods' abode, but stay here. Here you will lead a lavish life." But Kach didn't wait there. He returned to the gods' abode on finishing his task. A pracharak's primary responsibility is RSS' work, including shakhas. After achieving whatever is required in other areas, a pracharak should get back to the pavilion, Thengadiji would always say. He practiced what he preached. He was a brilliant, contemplative and foresighted organiser, but more than that, he was an image of love. Dr Muley from Pune, who monitored his health, said: "Thengadiji used to behave like 'I love you, but I don't expect anything in return from you'."

Innumerable pracharaks and swayamsevaks across the country experienced his love. Everybody used to feel that he was the closest to Thengadiji. All felt that he behaved like a close friend with everyone. The same has been said about Krishna's love. All of Krishna's playmates used to believe that he loves them the most. Only a

person who has dedicated himself fully can love like this.

A RSS song goes like this: "Love is the one that only knows sacrifice. And it is the one that gets personal satisfaction from such sacrifice." RSS, to which Thengadiji devoted his entire life, could grow in different fields due to the unconditional love of people like him. Thoughts are heavy. Philosophy is difficult to understand. Theories and corollaries can't be fathomed easily, but love can be experienced by everybody. All people who came in touch with Thengadiji felt blessed that they have been fortunate enough to be loved by him.

Thengadiji wrote more than 100 books. The number of 'boudhik' sessions that he conducted cannot be counted. His analysis of any given situation used to be astonishing. But all this does not necessarily remain in memory. But Thengadiji's loving pat and his compassionate talk in person will always remain fresh and blooming in the hearts of many, like a lotus flower.

(The piece above is literal translation of the editorial that appeared in Marathi weekly 'Saptahik Vivek' in 24th October, 2004 issue. Translation done by

Atul Sathe)

An Irreparable loss to the Labour Movement

THE PASSING away of Shri Dattopant Thengadi is an irreparable loss to the trade union movement. He was the founder of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) and with his devotion and honesty of purpose built it into a powerful force. In 1989, BMS was declared by the labour Ministry as the number one trade union of the country. Credit must be given to Shri Thengadi that he established for the BMS a position which surprised the Congress and the left trade unions. BMS had a membership of 31.2 lakhs, leaving INTUC behind at 27.1 lakhs and CITU at 18.0 lakhs, Hind Mazdoor Sabha at 14.8 lakhs and AITUC at only 9.2 lakhs on 31st December 1989. This unrivalled position of the BMS emanated from their genuine struggle for workers' demands and redressal of grievances. A unique feature of BMS under the leadership of Shri Thengadi was that the organization refused to accept any help from International Labour Organisation even to promote a project for the study of labour problems. Thengadiji believed that accepting aid from international bodies or industry organizations would weaken the BMS strength to further wage a fight for the labour.

I had the privilege of spending two days with Shri Thengadi at Pune where I had gone on the invitation of BMS to lecture on New Economic Reforms and their impact on labour. Thengadiji presided over the event and one could observe the free and frank exchange of views. How inspiring was it to listen to the great leader how he felt about the adverse impact of economic reforms on labour. Not only that he was totally opposed to the disinvestments of profit making public sector enterprises and frankly and unhesitatingly criticized the then BJP-led NDA government not to push forward the process of disinvestment. In that sense, his views were more akin to the leftist organisations of the country. He was, therefore, leading the movement for "economic independence" and advised the Swadeshi Jagaran Manch to raise its voice against state policies so that the sovereignty of the country could be preserved.

RUDDAR DATT
Renowned Economist



Thengadiji
supporting an
SJM resolution

An Efficient Organisation Builder

AN EFFICIENT organisation builder, Dattatraya Bapurao alias Dattoppant Thengadi, the trade union leader and RSS ideologue who died here today, was equally adept at mesmerising people by his words and deeds.

Born on November 10, 1920 at Arvi in Maharashtra's Wardha district, he had trudged the length and breadth of the country in his capacity as a RSS Pracharak in his early days and later the expanse of the world as a pioneer of trade union movement.

Twice member of the Rajya Sabha from 1964 onwards, Thengadi, a RSS Pracharak in Kerala between 1942-44, Bengal in 1945-47 and Assam in 1948-49 and as founder president of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, had been to Russia, Hungary, Geneva, the USA, Canada, Britain, China, Indonesia, Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Greece, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Eloquent in speech and versatile with his writing, Thengadi has some 100 titles to his credit in Marathi, Hindi and English. Most of his works are mainly focussed on the problems of the working class and some of his popular books are "Vichar Sutre", "Karyakarta", "Sanketrekha", "Ekatma Manav", "Ek Adhyayan", "Pragatipath Kisan", "Dr Ambedkar", "Saptakram" and "Lakshya Aur Karya".

Thengadi, a graduate in law, was not only the founder of BMS in 1955 but also helped set up Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad in 1949, Bharatiya Kisan Sangh in 1979, Swadeshi Jagaran Manch in 1991 and Samajik Samrasta Manch in 1983. He was also involved in a number of other organisations of all hues and nature like the Jan Sangh, Akhil Bhartiya Adhivakta Parishad (lawyers council), Sanskar Bharti and Swadeshi Science Movement.

A man of his mind, Thengadi hit the headlines when he chose to criticise the A B Vajpayee-led NDA Government for its "anti-farmer" and "anti-labour" policies and also politely refused to accept the Padma Bhusan on the ground that there were more deserving candidate than him.

(PTI, October 14, 2004)

Shok-Sabha in New York



Thengadiji in a shradhanjali sabha

A *SHOK-SABHA* was organized in New York on October 17 by Sangh Parivar activists to mourn the sad demise of Shri Dattopant Thengadi in Pune on October 14.

The community leaders and senior Sangh Parivar members paid rich tributes in his memory.

Addressing the gathering, among others, Dr. Mukund Mody, a well known activist and Founder of Overseas Friends of BJP, said that Shri Thengadi spent almost 70 years of his life in the service of Bharat Mata. 'My wife Kokila and I came in contact with Thengadiji 25 years ago. We were fortunate enough to

travel with him to Israel 10 years ago', Dr. Mody informed the gathering.

Shri Thengadi had the good fortune of working with all the Sarsanghachalaks of Sangh, including Dr. K.B. Hedgewar, the founder of RSS. Shri Thengadi was the founder of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, Swadeshi Jagaran Manch and several other organizations pledged to take India to the pinnacle of glory.

Thengadiji was a great intellectual. His very life was an embodiment of the noble ideal 'Simple Living, High Thinking'. He was a Rishi in true sense whose sole personal possessions were just four shirts and four dhotis. India in general and the Sangh Parivar in particular have lost a great philosopher, guide, and the nation builder. It is almost impossible to fill the void created by his demise.

Another senior Sangh Parivar member Shree Sidhwani explained in detail the concept of *Param Vaibhav* as propounded by Shri Thengadi. He said that Thengadiji believed that political power howsoever glorious it may appear to be while it lasts, it can only be transitory. After detailed comparative study, Thengadiji came to conclusion that the Western thought process and the Hindutva philosophy were two entirely different paradigms with their different value systems, institutional arrangements and parameters. While Middle Eastern and Western nations believe in materialistic and political domination of other states and nations, Hindu philosophy believes in the pursuit of truth, peaceful coexistence, liberty and fraternity for all nations.

In the end, a two minutes silence was observed in the memory of the departed soul.

Narain Kataria

Mananiya Dattopantji is no more with us in his physical form to guide us as up till now. From my school days I had the good fortune to hear him on various occasions.

However I came in close contact with him during the last seven years since I joined the Swadeshi Jagaran Manch in 1997. His views on the complex issues in all major fields - be it social, religious, spiritual, education, civilisational, economic, political or defence, were always highly inspiring and elevating the listener above the narrow petty selfish levels to a global humanitarian level. Even while commenting critically on the imperialistic aggressive designs of some countries and societies, he always used to quote from the enlightened thinkers among them to support his views. He was both a visionary a true Rishi, as well as an organiser par excellence.

After the recent parliamentary elections, I met him to seek his guidance on the appropriate future course of action, he quoted Maharshi Arvind as saying that the human history and civilisation always progresses by advances interspersed periodically by temporary falling back. The process of Bharatiya Renaissance is bound to continue despite temporary setbacks. He was for building

up the strength of the Good people in the Society to countercheck the power centers which often highjack the national agenda for their own ends.

Recently just a couple of weeks before his departure when we met him, although recovering from a minor surgery, yet fairly weak, he was his usual optimistic Self. He assured us that he is going to be around for as long as required to see the tasks in hand completed. What a spirit - truly Mrutyunjayi! Nature has taken her inevitable toll but Mananiya Thengdiji is still with us in his indomitable spirit. The greatest tribute to him is to carry on his mission in the same spirit as his, with redoubled vigour to fulfill our common Goal to see Bharat Mata as the Jagadguru and the Mother of all nations.

Ramesh Sheth

Convenor, Rashtriya Matdata Manch

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The Board of Trustees of Swadeshi Research Institute are shocked by the news of sudden demise of Shri Duttopant thengadi. He was a great thinker, a philosopher and a path finder. Shri Thengadi always inspired us for Swadeshi model of economic development. His conviction to Swadeshi movement is manifested in the activities of thousands of

NGOs and research organisations working throughout the World. SRI shall carry the task for developing a Swadeshi model of his economic thinking and try to complete the unfinished agenda left by him for equity and justice to millions of people of this country and in all developing world. SRI team feel very grieved and request your Patrika to carry our message of condolence to the people he loved.

Dr. Dhanpat Ram Agarwal

Managing Trustee
Swadeshi Research Institute

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I express my deep condolences on passing away of Shri Dattopant Thengadi ji - the great patriot, social reformer, philosopher and founder of BMS, BKS and SJM.

My ex-pression of condolences indeed echoes the sentiments of thousands of Hindus living in USA who were saddened by the sad demise of the great thinker.

Hindu Swayemsevak Sangh of North America, too, has expressed its condolences on the sad demise of the great visionary ideologue and outstanding organization builder.

Yours, in grief.

Nandlal Jotwani, Ph.D.

Visiting Fellow to Stanford
University. USA



The Goal

D.B. THENGADI

(Some of the excerpts from a paper titled 'The Goal' written by Shri Dattopant Thengadi are reproduced here)

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. 'Param Vaibhavam' 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 goal dignified enough for the mature, Sanatana Rashtra?

Political power, howsoever glamorous it may appear to be while it lasts, cannot but be transitory.

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It is childish to be enamoured of the 'Super-power' status, believing that once acquired, it can last 'for ever and ever.'

It is interesting to note how short-lived the empires, the super-powers, are. But for the exception of the Byzantine empire which lasted for 1141 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.

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Even the current American hegemony will not last beyond 2010 AD, - which would mean a period of - at the most - 65 years).

Is it advisable to equate 'Param Vaibhavam' with the transitory super-power status?

And, again, the question is, super-power-status for whom? For, some of the main recognized concepts of the past have been losing their relevance and authenticity during the recent years.

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What, then, should be the shape of 'Param Vaibhavam'?

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Revered Sri Guruji believed that the world unity and human welfare could be made real only to the extent mankind realize, 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 visualized various groups of peoples coming together in a spirit of familism realizing the innate one-

| Western View | Hindu View |
|--|---|
| Compartmentalised Thinking | : Integrated Thinking |
| Man-a-mere material being | : Man a physical-mental-intellectual spiritual being |
| Subservience to Artha-Kama | : Drive towards Purusharth Chatushtayam. |
| Society, a club of self-centered individuals | : Society, a body with all individuals there in as its limbs. |
| Happiness for oneself | : Happiness for all |
| Acquisitiveness | : 'Aparigraha' (non-possession) |
| Profit motive | : Service Motive |
| Consumerism | : Restrained consumption |
| Exploitation | : 'Antyodaya' |
| Right-oriented consciousness of others' duties | : Duty-oriented consciousness of others rights |
| Contrived scarcities | : Abundance of production |
| Economy of rising prices | : Economy of declining prices |
| Monopoly capitalism through various devices | : Free Competition without manipulated markets |
| Economic theories centred around wage-employment | : Economics theories centred around self-employment |
| An ever-increasing army of the proletariat | : The ever-growing sector of vishwakarma (Self-employment) |
| Ever-widening disparities | : Movement towards equitability and equality |
| The rape of Nature | : The milking of Mother Nature. |
| Constant conflict between an individual, the society and the nature. | : The complete harmony between an individual, the society and the nature. |

ness 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. "The World State of our concept", says Sri Guruji, "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 full

and free scope for every small life – specially 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."

This Hindu concept has been elucidated elaborately by Rishi Aurobindo who envisaged the further stage of 'mass spiritualism'.

Some elevated souls from the West also are inclined to endorse such 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 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..... At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way of salvation for mankind is an Indian way."

This is the destination – 'Param Vaibhavam'.

Not the invariably transitory super-power-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.

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

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Against this background, it should be easier to comprehend why Gandhiji assured: "Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after Truth, and if today it has become moribund, inactive, irresponsible 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 the inevitable, the pre-ordained destiny.●

Marx and Deendayal



Thengadiji
with Chinese
Labour
leaders

D.B. THENGADI

(Some excerpts from a chapter titled 'Marx and Deendayal – The Two Approaches' written by Shri Dattopant Thengadi are reproduced here)

Marx

Like Deendayal Upadhyaya, Karl Marx was also a great basic thinker. Though like any other thinker, he also borrowed from diverse sources.

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However, he was not a blind borrower. Marx's genius transformed ideas. Nothing on which he worked was left in its original form. Though economics, sociology, political theory, history and philosophy are all used in his sweeping analysis, he synthesized all these disciplines into his own basic thought-structure. English utilitarianism, French socialist thought and

the beginning of German radicalism were suitably incorporated into his basic framework. All up-to-date knowledge was pressed into service of a single cause.

To be fair, one should not identify Marx with his more fanatic followers who carved a religion out of his thought-system. They have gone so far as to assert that real science must flow from, and further substantiate the Marxian dialecticism. They are making a ridiculous attempt to prove that all scientists are unconscious adherents of dialectical materialism.

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Deendayal

Long back Arnold Toynbee had observed: "On the surface, those Hindus who have adopted one, to them, extremely alien Western culture on the planes of technology and science,

language and literature, administration and law, appear to have been more successful than the Russians in harmonizing with their native ways of life a Western way, that is intrinsically more alien to them than it is to the Russians. Yet the tension in Hindu souls must be extreme, and sooner or later it must find some means of discharging itself."

"Whatever may be the relief that Hindu souls are going to find for themselves eventually, it seems clear that, for them, there can be no relief from the impact of our Western civilization by opening themselves to the influence of Communism; for Communism—a Western heresy adopted by an ex-orthodox Christian Russia—is just as much part and parcel of the Graeco-Judiac heritage as the Western way of life is, and the whole of this cultural tradition is alien to the Hindu spirit."

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It must, however, be noted that Deendayal ji was well conversant with all the thought-currents of the West.

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Deendayal ji had an additional advantage of being closely acquainted with different streams of traditional Indian thought. He had fully grasped the implications of the term 'Dharma' which is the characteristic gift of Hindu Seers to humanity. The claim of Shri Dange and Shri Bani Deshpande that most of the basic tenets of Marxism were anticipated by Vendanta may be controversial; but there can be no difference of opinion about the fact that Marxian thought system would have been considerably altered had Marx been conversant with the

Hindu view of life and inverse.

Realisation of unity in the midst of diversity, on the rock-like basis of Advaita Darshana; understanding of complementarity between the material and the non-material; comprehension of truth along the line of 'Syad-Vada', the art of dealing with immediate human problems in the light of the eternal universal laws; these, among other things, are some of the contributions of Hinduism which could have added valuable dimensions to Marxian thought and probably altered it beyond recognition. Both these thinkers were humanists of the first order, though their humanism assumed apparently different forms on account of differences in their mental backgrounds, sources of inspiration and contemporary world situations.

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Marxian Goals

According to Marx, "The goal for man is to realize his humanity, his human nature, and this carries the categorical imperative to overthrow all the relations in which man is debased, enslaved, helpless, contemptible creature." He sought to put an end to dehumanisation and self-alienation which is characteristic of capitalist system. He was sorry to find out "man exists in this world as 'Unmensch' (Unman)". For him, communism was "the actual phase necessary for the next stage of historical development in the process of human emancipation and recovery".

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The fundamental principle of a higher type of society, Marx thinks, is "the full development of every individual."

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He wanted man to be liberated from the bondage of economics, to leave behind the 'realm of necessity', and to enter 'the realm of freedom'. Under ideal conditions, "the productive labour", says Engels, "instead of being a means to the subjection of man, will become a means to their emancipation by giving each individual the opportunity to develop and exercise all his faculties, physical and mental, in all directions".

Marx observes; "The main principle which must guide us in the selection of a vocation is the welfare of humanity and our own perfection".

For this, it is necessary to change the current capitalist value-system, which debases both-the exploiter and the exploited, demolish the structure of capitalism under which a worker no longer feels himself to be anything but an animal; and enable him to separate finally from the animal world, to leave the conditions of animal existence behind him, and enter conditions which are really human. Being liberated from the bondage of material needs, man will cherish the vision of the 'realm of freedom' beyond which "begins that development of human power which is its own end." Mr. H.S. Sinha has ably shown in his 'Communism and the Gita' that the inspiration of Marx was in ethics, and he used economics as his instrument. But in his zeal to change the world instead of merely interpreting it, he allowed himself, as far as the solutions were concerned, to be completely pre-occupied with the then current maladies of the industrialized West dominated by the inhuman capitalists and the anachronistic church, and tried to generalize his conclusions which were partly valid in the immediate context.

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Integralism

Deendayal ji did not suffer from any such inhibitions. As a leader of a national political party he was called upon to offer solutions to immediate national problems and he did it in a commendable way. But this role did not overshadow his thinking process in his evolution of the theory of Integral Humanism. Only a mind that attains universality can conceive of remedies that are universal in character. In fact, his comprehension was not confined to the human species. He expected human consciousness -without suffering from homocentricism. He had a vision of the world-state enriched by the growth and contribution of

different national cultures, and of *Manava Dharma* enriched by the perfection of all religions, including Marxism. He had realized that the identification of an individual with different organisms, ranging from family to the universe, was only an outward manifestation of the evolution of his consciousness.

The more developed the consciousness, the larger and higher would be the organism with which one is identified. But this being a process of subjective evolution, the higher level of consciousness does not preclude the previous lower levels. It is inclusive, not exclusive, in character. One can be equally and simultaneously attached to all the organisms without doing injustice to anyone of them. This is an integral view of things. Every human being must be considered in an integrated way; the body, mind, intelligence and soul of a person must not be thought of as separate entities.

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 con-

sciousness, in absence of which no special order, howsoever meritorious, can yield its desired results. According to Marx, life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness is determined by life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. Panditji, on the other hand, believed that while life or social being and consciousness act and react upon each other, it is consciousness that is more decisive. Integralism and consequent stress on development of consciousness distinguish his approach from that of Marx.

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Marx advocated bloody revolution for destroying not only the superstructure but also the foundations of the existing social order; Panditji





stood for mass awakening, mass education and mass mobilization through appropriate *sanskaras* with a view to alter the superstructure, leaving intact the eternal foundation of Dharma¹.

Both these thinkers visualized full development of all the faculties of every individual. But while Deendayal ji considered man in an integrated way, Marx, under the influence of the then prevailing objective conditions, treated man as an economic being. In fact, Marx was against the power of money, against the sense of possession. He wanted man to be liberated from the lust for wealth and the bondage of economic factors. But, in practice, he emphasized mainly the economic aspect of human existence. This has caused lopsidedness in his theory.

Deendayal ji was a bitter critic of corruption and perversion in the field of religion. But he did not throw away the baby along with the bathwater. The western tradition of anti-religious intellectuals and the nauseating picture of the Christian church turned Marx against religion and he declared crusade against all religions about some of which he had no intimate knowledge².

Integral Humanism believes in the plurality in the midst of a single mankind in the form of different national personalities. It simultaneously believes that internationalism is the outward manifestation of the development of human consciousness from the earlier stage of nationalism. Marxism is the embodiment of national nihilism. 'The proletariat has no fatherland'. According to Lenin, "Socialism's aim

is not only to abolish the fragmentation of humanity into small states and to end all distinctions between nations, not only to bring the nations closer together but to bring about fusion". This is based upon the ignorance of the inherent strength of the nation-concept. Let it be remembered that nationalism has always been strong even in countries under communist governments. It has been the case even during periods of actual communist revolution³.

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On this point Marx was thoroughly wrong. Consider, for example, the resurgence of nationalism in all communist countries; patriotic uprisings in Eastern Europe; demand for complete internal autonomy by communist parties of the western Europe; conscious efforts in all countries, including India, to reconcile Marxism with national heritage; war between Vietnam and Cambodia, and tussle between USSR and China prompted by the instinct of national self-interest⁴.

Marxism proclaims the disappearance of the 'Bourgeois family'. Engels⁵ expounds in detail the Marxist views on the development of family, which is one of the superstructures erected on the economic base. In an ideal society, the management of the individual household would be turned into a branch of social work. The family will lose all its social functions. It will die out. Being purged of its social content, the family will wither away.

Marxism does not view marriage with favour⁶. Though Marx said, "we shall interfere in the private relations between men and women only insofar as they disrupt our social structure," what disrupts social structure is to be decided finally by the Communist State only. Academic discussion on this point seems to be superfluous. Even under communist regime, family has come to stay, and "official and open wife-sharing instead of hypocritical and concealed wife-sharing" could not yet acquire any measure of respectability.

Though Marxism ultimately pleads for the full development of every individual, it negates, in the immediate context, the individuality of men. In practice, equality is turned into equivalence. Individual citizens are components of the state-apparatus. Individual relations between husbands and wives, and between parent and children are to be destroyed. Children need not know their parents, and should be brought up by the state. The individual, family, marriage and the familial rearing of children should not exist.

Such a negation of individuality is bound to result in the destruction of man. As Igor Shafarevich puts it, the basic problem is really that "the establishment of a social order fully embodying the principles of socialism will lead to a complete alteration in man's relation to life and to a radical break in the structure of human individuality."

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'ISM' Lessness

The ideology of Deendayal ji as well as of Marx is essentially humanistic. But unfortunately, the traditional prejudices of European intelligentsia, coupled with pressing requirements of the immediate and lack of adequate knowledge of the Hindu Darshana, contributed largely to the imbalance and compartmentalization in Marxian thought system.

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Both thought-systems consider freedom from want and production or action for the sake of self-fulfillment, as an ideal condition. The final stage of communism consisting of 'socialised humanity; that is "a classless, stateless, and generally a structure less collectivity of complete individuals who live in harmony with themselves and with each other" is broadly compatible with the ultimate goal of integral Humanism.

But Marx was at a disadvantage in that he had no heritage to fall back upon, which would readily offer suitable instruments for achieving the end. How to raise complete individual? What precisely would constitute the sustaining force for the ideal society?

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The destination

The Hindu culture conceives of progress of man as simultaneous progress of the body, mind, intellect and soul. It places before us the ideal of the fourfold responsibilities of catering to the needs of body, mind, intellect and soul with a view to achieving, the integrated progress of man. The fourfold '*Purushartha*', i.e., Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, in an integrated way, constitute the ultimate goal of individual life. In this scheme of Purusharthas, the Artha and the Kama are sandwiched between the Dharma and the Moksha. The material is happily, and in a balanced way, integrated with the spiritual. And among these the Dharma is basic and supreme. It sustains society in its ideal condition. Dharma renders validity and stability to an ideal socio-economic structure and the various institutions functioning within its framework.

Thus, the Hindu heritage furnishes us with the tools of reconstruction at different levels. This is the destination envisaged by Integral Humanism. It would be superfluous to inquire about comparative merit of different thought systems. Each system is great in its own way. The problem is how to make them mutually complementary. For us, it should not be an insoluble problem. An aptitude for synthesis, as manifested brilliantly by Vyas and Sankara, has been one of the unique features of our national genius. ●

References

1. It is also noteworthy that in the West there prevailed nothing equivalent to Dharma which comprises eternal, unchanging universal laws and socio-economic orders changing from time to time in the light of the former.
2. Paradoxically enough, freedom of religion has been incorporated now in the latest constitutions of USSR and China, and religion is raising its head even in Albania which is "the world's first atheist state".
3. Fainsod in his *How Russia is ruled*.
4. *A short history of communism in Asia*.
5. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.
6. *The Communist Manifesto* devotes some space to wife-sharing.



Thengadiji
addressing
farmers
assembled
for the Maha-
Dharna

Dharma-Kshetre

D.B. THENGADI

(Excerpts from the Forward by Shri D.B. Thengadi for **'Swadeshi View of Globalisation'** written by Shri Daya Krishna in 1994)

The 'Swadeshi' is gaining momentum

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. Some Western countries also are trying to follow the same spirit as far as possible.

The patriots of developing countries are progressively realizing 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 reconstruction of the country. It is not a mere political agitation. But it conveys the declaration of political independence. As a matter of fact, this is a spiritual movement which comprises not only the objectives of economic development and political independence but also all the aspects of national consciousness.

This has only been explained by Rishi Aurobindo in his 'Vande Mataram' issue dated June 11, 1908.

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'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 Sri 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."

Shris Claude Alvaris, 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, Sri S.K. Chakraborty has elaborated the Swadeshi approach towards quality of work and working life and highlighted that the bulk of task of improving the quality of working life has to be performed within the inner subjective of each worker. Some major clues for key questions like what is work? Why 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 'lokasangraha'—either organizationally, or nationally or internationally, he says. "There can be no more super ordinate reference point for work commitment than sacrifice for work maintenance — through the family, the organization, the nation and so on," he declares. 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 fifties, the job-enrichment/ enlargement school of the sixties, and kindred offshoot from these schools.

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Because of its internal self-contradictions communism has failed; self-contradictions of capitalism are now manifest, - the most important one out of them being that the resources of the planet are limited and the consumerist desires are unlimited. 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' is 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.

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Developing countries have now realized that, in the words of D.N. Ghosh, the MNEs have their own strategies in the highly competitive global market place and 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 their impact on the ordering of domestic industry and service. We have to guard against complacent policy stances which advocate growth at any cost, regardless of the consequences of the strategies of the global MNEs. Mature economies have resources to ride out the storm but for the developing economies any minor disturbance has the potential of developing 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 strong set of state interventionist measures. The countries which were swept off by the euphoria of reform are rethinking their strategies. That shift in focus appears vital for the survival of those polities; otherwise, globalization and privatization, in combination, would be a lethal medicine.

The southern countries are aware that the World Trade Organization will be subservient to the G-7 countries and the multinationals. That organization 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.

Genuine 'Globalization' is a part of Hindu heritage. In ancient times we 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. 'The whole earth is our family' ¼olqèkSo dqaVqcde-½ — that 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. 'Globalization' is being preached to us by those who are known to history for their imperialistic exploitation and even genocides. Satans are quoting Bible. Hegemonism parading itself as globalization!

As a matter of fact, the measure that could have substantially helped the process of genuine globalization was the reconstitution of the United Nations with additional representatives of religious groups, ethnic groups, transnational trade

unions, environmental movements, human rights associations, welfare organization, 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.

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The main purpose of 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 cooperation on equal footing.

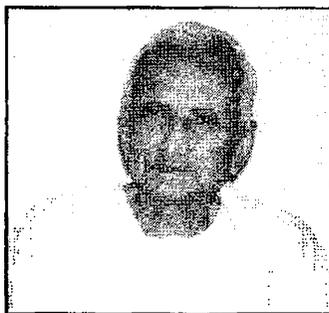
The inauguration of Swadeshi movement indicates that we are on the threshold of Swadeshi Renaissance. As Rishi Aurobindo points out, renaissance in Bharat would be qualitatively very much different from that in Europe. It will be beneficial not only to this country but to the whole mankind and the universe. Because of our values of life, the very concept of 'humanism' will

undergo a revolutionary change.

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Leadership of every western thought-system is failing. Consequently, the social orders based on such thought-systems are collapsing. Drucker rightly remarks. "Tree dies from the top, so do organizations." 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" (सर्वम् खलु इदम् 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 the mankind.

Thus the 'Swadeshi' movement which appears presently to be concerned with material goods and national sovereignty only, is to culminate in the emergence, ultimately, of a new variety of world-leadership. ●



Environment Protection

A Challenge Before Legal System

D.B. THENGADI

(We reproduce here some of the excerpts from the inaugural address by Shri D.B. Thengadi at All India Delegates Meet of Akhil Bhartiya Adhivakta Parishad at D.A.V. College, Chandigarh on 26 December, 1995)

THE WORLD was surprised to learn from Srimati Indira Gandhi at Stockholm Conference, 1972, that ecology-consciousness prevailed in India right from the Rig Vedic period. More than foreigners who attended the Conference as delegates, our own self-alienated, anglicized intellectuals resented this approach of their Prime Minister. In the past, in keeping with the tradition of the land, legislation for pro-

tecting environment formed part and parcel of the Dharma which stood for ever-changing socio-economic order in the light of the unchanging, eternal universal laws. Every smriti has dealt appropriately with the problem of ecology treating it as an integral part of the scheme for Dharma of the Society.

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It is necessary to remind the rules or the ruled that it is fundamental human right to live in an unpolluted environment and that it is fundamental duty of every individual to maintain purity of environment.

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Presently, damages are payable for injury to the person or loss to one's property. But no provision against injury to environment. Liability for environmental harm should be located and punished, notwithstanding the opposition to such provision by vested interests.

Now it is generally appreciated that there is need to restructure the law and practice on the protection of air, water and land against pollution, and the protection of the eco-system, together with those ancillary issues which help to explain these areas, such as, public participation, access to information, remedies and procedures.

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While taking protection of environment into consideration, prevention of harm should be given priority. For prevention of future harm, greater emphasis should be laid on progressive adoption of laws that set standards for products or the processes by which they are made, rather than on discharges or omissions. The introduction of integrated pollution control, a process-based control, is necessary.

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Protection of environmental pollution includes water, air, land and soil, forests, lakes, rivers, sea, wild life and other living creatures, and the inter-relationship which exists amongst and in between these elements-via-human beings and other living creatures, plants, forests, property and micro-organism, etc.

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It is difficult and inadvisable to disentangle our national policies or environment from global

ones. Environmental pollution is a global problem more on the premises that the atmospheric ocean is share by the peoples of the nations. As Arthur C. Ster suggests, the aim has to be the welfare and the preservation of health not only of the nationals of a state but of man throughout the world, with the other objectives of protection of and preservation against damage to plant and animal life, prevention or damage to physical property and interference with the normal use and enjoyment thereof, provisions of visibility required for safe air and ground transportation, ensuring continued economic growth and development, and maintenance of an aesthetically acceptable enjoyable environment.

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It should be a matter of pride and satisfaction for us that the problem of the protection of environment received attention of the members of the constituent Assembly, at that early stage.

The Indian Constitution is amongst the few in the world that contains specific provisions on environmental protection. The Directive Principles of State Policy and the Fundamental Duties chapters explicitly enunciate the national commitment to protect and improve the environment.

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The Supreme Court has throughout the last few years expanded the horizon of Article 12 primarily to inject respect for human rights and social conscience in the corporate structure. Any new and innovative expansion of human rights is bound to disturb the status-quoist vested interests, but their arguments should not deter the court from widening the scope of human rights and expanding their ambit. Article 12 of the Constitution should not be presumed to obstruct this process of expansion. The General public also is recently becoming aware of the valuable contribution of judiciary to the cause of environment.

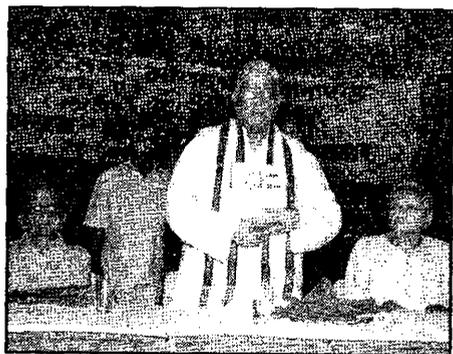
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But of particular importance is the spirit in which this subject should be considered by our law makers, lawyers and the judiciary. It is a matter of great satisfaction that appropriate lead in this matter is given by our judiciary. For the first time the spirit of Swadeshi was introduced in the field of law and jurisprudence, which has been a marked departure from the age-old tradition of our intellectual slavery. Dealing with the problem of hazardous industries, Justice P.N. Bhagwati (C.J.) has declared in un-equivocal term that judgments of the British Courts need not be followed by us blindly, the conditions in our country are different from those in Britain. We should, therefore, have our own law and its interpretation, keeping in view our national scene.

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I appeal to all political parties to declare in their manifestos that they shall provide fresh water and fresh air to all citizens and living creatures. We know that this is not easy and simple as some one would have us believe. Some authority on practical politics has said that "politics is a gentle art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich, by promising to protect each from the other". For this purpose, the parties will have to discard the current concept of 'development', and adopt a new one which requires 'development' to revolve round man, rather than man revolving round 'development.'

(Environment Protection, 1995)



Golden Age to Globalization

D.B. THENGADI

(Excerpts from the Forward by Shri D. B. Thengadi for 'Golden Age to Globalisation' written by Shri Daya Krishna in 2002)

Thengadiji at the release of the book 'Golden Age to Globalization'

ECONOMICS IS a subject in which every common man should be interested. But that does not seem to be the case today. Because, economic ideas and concepts have been elitised by the westerners. The ideas are taken out of the reach of common men and are converted into harmonic forms. This leads to cognitive dominance. If de-elitised, most of the economic concepts will become intelligible to masses.

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While western economics accepts Darwin's Law of the survival of the fittest, Kautilya's stress is on the 'arrival of the best to lead the rest.' Indian economics has as its goal the highest welfare of the all members

of society, i.e. 'Sarvodaya'- and not merely 'the greatest good of the greatest number. Sarvodaya offers fullest scope to every individual for his fullest development according to his aptitude, so as to fully utilise all faculties of all individuals for the collective cause of the nation.

It inspires every individual to progress always from "constraint to freedom, from credibility to faith, from status to contract, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to human dignity." It leads automatically to self perfection, professional excellence, character building, value based development of mind, overarching unity of

humanities with full grown skills of head, heart and hands.

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On the contrary, the approach of western economists used to be fragmentary. They had not realised that in this globally interconnected world, physical, biological, psychological, social, political, economic, cultural or ecological phenomena are all interdependent. They treated 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. They did not take cognisance of the findings of the psychological research on people's behaviour as income earners, consumers and investors.

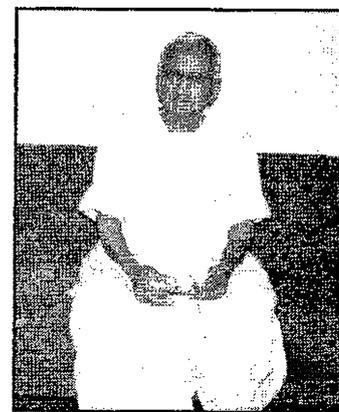
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What is the strategy of their globalisation? As Amartya Sen, a noble laureate in economics has said, the central question cannot be whether or not to make use of the market economy. It is not possible to have a prosperous economy without its extensive use. But that recognition does not end the discussion but only begins it. Market is one institution among many. Aside from the need for proper public policies within an economy (related to basic education and health care, employment generation, land reforms, credit facilities, legal protection, women's empowerment and more), the distribution of the benefits of international interactions depends also on a variety of global arrangements (including trade agreements, patent laws, medical initiatives, educational exchanges, facilities for dissemination of technologies, ecological and environmental policies and so on.)

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Before we try to form any opinion on the process of globalisation, which is being professed by IMF-World Bank, it is critical to understand the important basics of economics. In an ideal economy there is no profit or loss. Whatever will be produced in an ideal economy will be sold at a price that covers all the applicable

costs. In other words, in an ideal economy, there is a fair distribution of the benefits of improved productivity or development. Thought it is not possible to have such an ideal economy, it is important to realise that we should strive towards the direction of ideal economy to ensure that the benefits of development spread to as many people as possible in the world, by minimizing the aberrations which are not conducive to such an approach in our economy.



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In India, some experts had already forewarned that in absence of firm Swadeshi policy, there would be mis-direction of our economy. Swadeshi in industry must include capacity to innovate our own industrial prototypes and more genuine R & D, even if it means a little less rate of profit for the time, being. Swadeshi also must mean a policy that helps creation and expansion of gainful work.

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All negotiations with foreign companies must be on equal footing, keeping in view the national self interest; they should be preceded by open tenders and public debate. All agreements should be fully transparent, taking the people and the Parliament in full confidence.

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Our seers and sages realised that, "just as an individual, a nation too has an individuality all its own. Individuals and nations in all parts of the globe have distinctive traits and features, each of them having its own place in the scheme of universe. The different human groups are marching forwards, all towards the same goal, each in its own way and in keeping with its characteristic genius. The destruction of special characteristics, whether of an individual or of



Thengadji giving some suggestions to SJM leader Virendra Singh

a group, will, therefore, not only destroy the natural beauty of harmony, but also its joy of self-expression. Evolution of human life also, which is multifaceted one, is retained thereby.”

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Hence their efforts for the evolution of one world family, enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures, and evolution of ‘Manav Dharma’ enriched by perfection of all the religions including materialism. The spiral type development of human consciousness as developed by Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay is beyond the comprehension of the westerners because they can not even imagine the nature of the truth that “All in one.”

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Being materialistic, they have developed their concept of ‘globalisation’ which would, they hope, culminate ultimately in Westernisation of the world. For this purpose, all economies of the world must be integrated with the American economy. The American present this to the developing countries as TINA i.e. “There is no alternative.”

Their propaganda influenced the minds of Indians intellectuals who thought it inevitable to follow every lead given by Americans.

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Our westernised educated people did not take into consideration the fact that our values of life are entirely different from those of the

westerners. Their values of life, as stated by the Commission on Global Governance are based upon some preconceived notions about economic ideologies – i.e. free market, liberalisation, privatisation etc. as the values of optimum governance. They want these values to be universally applicable in all stages of development. Our values flow from Dharma. The confused thinking of our intellectuals is due to the tendency to accept everything western as standard.

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Gullibility of Indian Representatives at the negotiation table in earlier stages must have given a pleasant surprise to the representatives of the developed countries.

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Chitra Subramaniam’s book “India is for Sale” gives a number of examples how these negotiations were carried out with least seriousness. For a long time, India’s GATT wing in Geneva was headless. For a long time, the enormous task of defending such critical issues like textiles, environment, investment and social clause was left to two individuals. The US delegation comprised a battery of international lawyers, specialists in patents, specialists in trade matters, especially in specific subjects such as biotechnology, environment etc. India never invited representatives of trade and industry to join the delegation. Neither the specialists. Ministers visiting Geneva during those days had no time to coordinate their efforts on issues as critical as trade or investment. The degree of cynicism that marks some of our top bureaucrats can be gauged from the comments of one of the Indian Commerce Secretaries who took part in WTO negotiations. Commenting on TRIPs regime to a journalist in Geneva he observed, “This is not good for India. In fact the whole Uruguay Round package is loaded against us. But I would have retired by the time most of it comes into effect. So, I am not really concerned. Don’t quote me on this.”

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The same book quotes comments of represen-

tatives of other countries. For example, one of them said, "Trade is the business of buying and selling. Indian negotiations have given that word new meaning.' A senior European negotiator at the WTO compared Indian attitude with Mother Teresa. It looks like Mother Teresa has drafted India's trade script. It says, 'give, give, give, till it hurts.

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Mrs. Subramaniam quotes another interesting incident. When negotiations were going on about TRIPs, a particular bureaucrat was giving tough time to US negotiators. A phone call was made to Delhi and within minutes of that call the Indian minister called the Indian negotiator and changed his brief. India changes its course midstream. Minister pleased United States at the cost of his own country. American negotiators joked in private in Geneva that 'the Indian government should be sent a million dollar cheque for calling this representative home.

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Wherever their goods are competitive, they find a way to shut their markets on Indian goods. India faced their probe regarding its exports to textiles, seafoods, blankets, cotton type bedlinen, unbleached cotton fabric, fasteners, polyethylene sacho, etc. EU's commercial policy constraints, quantitative restrictions, technical barriers, anti-dumping and anti-subsidy investigations, barriers from sanitary and phyto-sanitary measures to packaging requirements and quotas, all these are thwarting access of Indian products to the EU market.

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Small-scale industries are the worst sufferers. Their units are being closed every day and millions of their employees thrown out of employment. Up to date figures of both are not available with the government or the Laghu Udyog Bharati, for the simple reason that every day brings new danger to this sector.

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Our big and small industries come from trading community and they would lose no time to

sell their manufacturing establishments to foreign investors and multinationals and convert themselves as dealers or traders of such foreign products. Already, there are takeovers, mergers and acquisitions of Indian companies by MNCs.

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For ensuring fair competition between the foreign and local goods and services, a special law will have to be enacted, which should, among other things, take cognizance of the problem of foreign and local trademarks, copyrights and patents. We will have to enact special laws on the model of US, EU, Japan and Australia. The law-makers must take into consideration fundamental structural changes in the world economy since the collapse of the International monetary system, followed by two price hikes in 1973 and 1979 and the emergence of debt crisis in the developing countries.

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For the purpose of law making, the item which deserves utmost attention is Agriculture. It is obvious that the removal of quantitative restrictions on import of farm products may totally destroy Indian agriculture.

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A word about a possible misunderstanding. There is an erroneous impression in some quarters that all American citizens want to exploit the developing countries for their own benefit. This is far from the truth. Only the vested interests in US and other developed countries are guilty of this crime. And, these vested interests do not hesitate to exploit their own countrymen also. Organizations of workers and consumers in US are opposed to such policies of the government (Those who ridiculed Ivan Illich who condemned the American concept of 'development' four decades back, are now realising the soundness of his warning.)

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Our sovereignty is being progressively eroded. Who is responsible for it? WTO? or US? Or other developed countries? No, our own inferiority complex is responsible for this. Sovereignty

of the country can be safe and secure only in the hands of rulers who dedicate themselves to the task of nation building. WTO curtail sovereignty of all its member countries, expect Unites States. Consequently, it has to adopt standards on various issues.

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In the name of globalisation, capital is to be given unhindered mobility, crossing all national borders. But the same mobility will not be granted to labour. This is nothing but a restrictive practice like non tariff barriers to trade. Of course, it is obviously in the interest of USA.

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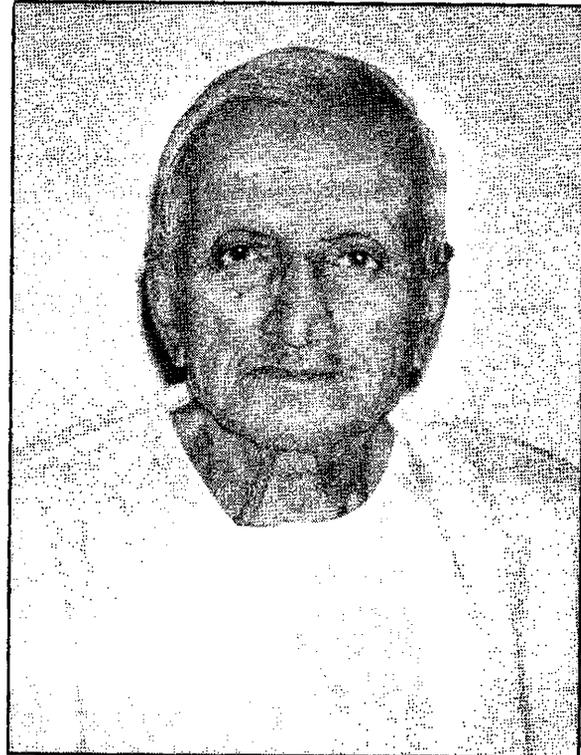
Very often, the term 'built-in agenda' is used. We are acquainted with their agenda. But for India, what it should mean is - agriculture, service sector, review of earlier WTO treaties, greater market access to India's agricultural products in European Union and US, methods of protecting textiles under the framework of safeguard measures, freer movement of labour abroad, GAIs visa for service providers, correction in imbalance and defects in the existing WTO agreements, faster removal of US and EU quotes on textiles, more transparency in the imposition of anti-dumping duties, changes in the TRIPS and TRIMS agreements, elimination of the clause of performance requirement in the TRIMs agreement, transfer of technology and information, and first and foremost implementation of earlier commitments. Will it be palatable to the bosses of WTO?

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Our developmental thrust should be on self reliance, based on local talents, local labour, local capita, local management skills, local talents, local methods in tune with social and cultural realities and local entrepreneurship. Scarce natural resources should be sparingly but efficiently used.

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Obviously, in order to stabilise and improve the state of an economy, it is imperative to redefine our relationship with WTO, World Bank, IMF and multinationals and resolve to



become self reliant in the immediate future. International Economic Order is desirable, but it must be on the basis of equal footing. There should be no erosion of freedom and sovereignty of any nation, big or small. If the developed countries refuse to give treatment of equality to developing countries within WTO, the later should quit WTO and form second WTO (of the developing countries) to fight the onslaught of economic imperialism of the developed countries.

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Those who term defeatism as 'pragmatism' cannot envisage the miraculous strength of idealism. Albert Schweitzer says, "The power of ideals is incalculable. We see no power in a drop of water. But let it go into the crack of a rock and be turned into ice, and it splits the rock; turned into steam it drives the pistons of the most powerful engines. Something happens to it which makes active and effective the power that is latent in it. So it is with ideals." ●

(Golden Age to Globlisation, 2002)