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THE TRACKS OF THE FUTURE

# Manthan

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## CONTENTS

1. The Meta-theory of Hindu  
Economy *B. S. Sanyal* 9
2. Were Marx And Engels Racists ?  
*J.D. Sethi* 27
3. You Should not have published  
Dr. Moghni *S.N. Nagarajan* 33
4. Narmada Project : the Conspiracy  
and the Shame *Sailendra Nath Ghosh* 35
5. News From Far and Near 39
6. Church services in the Kremlin 39
7. "Third World" in USA 40
8. Russian Economy Today Reminds  
you of USA in 1929 41
9. Annual Earthquake Exercise in Japan 41
10. First Class Histories of Two World  
Wars 42

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## The Meta-theory of Hindu Economy

By : Dr. B. S. Sanyal

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Shri K. R. Malkani has asked me to write on Hindu economy. He wants me of course to write out what we understand by the term, to outline a meta-theory of the Hindu economic system. In order to understand it, one has to define 'the Hindu Economy'. The Hindu Economy is, however, an integral part of the Hindu Society; so, one has to define 'the Hindu Society'. And Hindu society being an integral part of Hindu Culture, 'the Hindu Culture' too ought to be defined. And of course, one must define 'the Hindu method of definition'. (vide Appendix)

1. *The Hindu Method of Definition* : The Hindu language is Sanskrit. Sanskrit is the language for the total system of true knowledge both theoretical and practical. A Sanskrit definition is constructed in terms of a well chosen relevant verb and the six cases of grammar it governs or is governed by, viz. nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, locative. The last four cases are expressed in phrases beginning with the respective prepositions, 'by', 'for', 'from' and 'in' or in sentence factors which are their cognates. This is how we define a word with its referend as a process.

The definition of a word is said to be a Hindu definition if and only if it states the full meaning of the definiendum by spelling out a pivotal verb and the six cases it governs or is governed by for the sake of greatest coherence (non-dichotomous continuity) within and without the given sub-system out of Sanskrit semiotics (pragmatics, semantics, syntactics) in the total system of Hindu Culture. Historically speaking, however, the Hindu Culture, being a product of Sanatana Dharma and Yuga Dharma, sublates the changing surface structure waves as integral parts of constant deep structure currents and still waters. Alvin Toffler has used the analogy of waves, forgetting the deep waters.

2. 'Hindu' defined : An individual is a Hindu if and only if he seeks the dwelling in the proper nature (svarupe avasthanam) by his doing the caste duty (svadharma) for liberation (moksha) from continual suffering (duhkha) in the cosmo-bio-socio-psycho spherical life of eighty-four lac births. For a Hindu, the liberation is not just for the individual self; it involves his doing the duty to himself, other selves and to the whole reality.

2.1 '*Hinduism*' defined. The term has been severally defined in the sense of an ideology, religion and culture in my book, '*Hindu Ideology*'. Here I define it as a cognate of '*Hindu*'. Hinduism unites (The Hindu epigregation is a unity of) human individuals for realising the Self as it is or in relation to other selves or to the whole of reality by their living a long series of births and by doing each one's duty in each birth to self, others or all out of the initial state realization as a divinely individuated caste self and as modified by action in each birth in an ontogenetical within phylogenetical cross section of cosmo-bio-socio-psycho sphere through evolution (srsti shiti) and involution (shiti laya) in the beginningless endless cycles (of kalpa, kalpantara, manvantara, mahayuga, yuga yugantara).

2.2 'The Hindu Society' defined. The Hindu Society is a systematic unity of moral individuals who make four basic institutions (catuskula) viz. family (grhakula), market (sresthikula), state (rajakula), school (gurukula) by means of four basic castes (caturvarna) viz. health specialists (sudra), wealth specialists (vaisya), justice specialists (ksatriya) freedom specialists (brahmana) for the sake of four basic values of life (caturvarga) viz. health (kama), wealth (artha), justice (dharma), freedom (moksa) out of four basic relations (caturbandha) viz. progenitor-progeny (janaka-janya), employer-employee (yajamana-yajaka), ruler-ruled (raja-praja), teacher-taught (guru-sisya) in four basic stages of life (caturasrama) viz. preparation (brahmacharya), house-holding (garhas-thya), retirement (vanaprastha), renunciation (sanyasa).

3. 'The Hindu Economy' defined : This may be presented in three stages : from 'Economy' to 'Hindu Economy' to 'Hindu Economy Today'. An economy or economic system in a given Culture, of which it is a part in structure and function, satisfies the everyday wants of its house-holds and of its government by producing and distributing goods and services for consumption out of land, capital and labour in the Culture's ethos and the Country's ecosystem. 'The Hindu Economy' is a systematic set of activities of the Hindu Society that consume or *prosume* wealth by each doing his caste duty obligatory and supererogatory and receiving the fruit of his social labour for running the household and the government out of land (natural resources and ecosystem) and capital (produced means of production) in the Hindu Culture's ethos. It may be remembered that we have one country, one society, one and the same armed forces, and have many languages unified by Sanskrit, many castes unified by varnavyavastha, many religions unified by Advaita that is Hindu mysticism.

In order to understand the Hindu Economy of today (5091 *yugabda*) one has to define it as a changing surface structure of second wave grafting (*varnasankara*) of western technological industrialism of

both Smithian and Marxian genres on to the constant deep structure of perennial currents and still waters of ideology and sociology of caste system (*varnavyavastha*). The eclipse of *varnavyavastha* economy by means of *varnasankara* economy will be over at the turn of the century, when the total Hindu cultural system will come out of the eclipse.

3.1 The *varnasankara* economy probably covers only 20% of our economy. It has five distinct sectors : multinational economy, (permit-license-quota) kickback economy, conversion economy, smugglers' economy, and appeasement economy. These may respectively be called the perverted brahmin economy, the perverted ksatriya economy, the perverted vaisya economy, the perverted sudra economy, and the perverted pancam-varna economy. The multinational sector has two subsectors, transnationally capitalist and communist, but nationally and euphemistically called private and public sectors. We began in the sixties to appreciate the *Nehruvian* imposition on us of mixed economy as having blocked the headlong rush to either capitalism or communism. It is, however, impossible now to make out how the transnationals are working while exploiting us on a much bigger scale and in a much more hidden manner. They say it is risky to try to.

### *Hindu society consists of four institutions— Grhakula, Sreshthikula, Rajakula, Gurukula*

All the subsectors are of course anti-national, anti-democratic in character, and, therefore, anti-Hindu and immoral. These are all plainly directed against the *varnavyavastha*. These have been working at the instance, or with the connivance, of the powers that be ('*hastavihinna raja*'). The kickback economy has raised the question : 'Who has eaten the laddoos?' ('*modakam kena bhaksita?*'). The appeasement economy for both 5th and 4th castes, now extended to others in panchayats and mahapalikas has set up cafeterias for gourd soup and curry (*kusmanda bhejanalaya*). The *varnasankara* economy has piled up mountains of debt for the nation and of black money for individual depositors all over the globe. We are fast approaching the blackhole in the sociosphere. Or else, how come the disposition to shut down agro-based industries such as jute, cotton and silk textiles, to give away blocks of Motherland off the border regions to fell forests, to slaughter cattle and people.....

The most alarming fact about our *varnasankara* economy is that foreign loans have become the main source of our capital investment and

most of the fresh loans made go to pay off interest on the previous loans. Our government seems rich yet it is broke; we people are poor but not yet broke : *varnavyavastha* and subsistence economy protect us.

3.2 The *varnavyavastha* economy still covers not less than 70% of our economy. It has four subsectors. Its nucleus or nuclear field is the traditional sector of the self-employed : this may be called the brahminical subsector. The governmental economy is the *ksatriya* sub-sector. The economy of charitable subscription is the *vaisya* subsector. And the *sudra* subsector is the industrial economy both old and new. The new is yet to be assimilated from the *varnasankara* domain by BMS-type of Hindu cooperative economy. Finally, the election economy to be controlled and atrophied by a no-party Hindu system of forming public opinion is the *pancama varna* subsector.

The first one is the backbone of the nation. It has yet to take over the 4th one to become the Hindu Third Wave. The Tofflerian scenario, however, that the nation everywhere is cracking up, being squeezed by viselike pressures of multinationals from above and subnational groups seeking nationhood from below, won't apply to us. It would fail because of the perennial moral and normal character of the Hindu economy. This traditional *varnavyavastha* economy is not feudalistic. Neither is it primitive communist. Nor is it vaguely Asiatic as Marx badly described it to be. Finally, this is no Gandhian socialism either. Gandhian economy is partly infected with *varnasankara* messianic idealism, which Hindu Thought avoids by superseding. We may borrow technology; we reject ideologies and sociologies that fall short of Hindu ones.

The *varnavyavastha* is an integral part of the Hindu society. This society is not one among many societies. This is the sociosphere, an integrated matrix of five foursomes : four *kulas*, four *varnas*, four *vargas*, four *bandhas*, four *asramas*. Read the definition given at 2.2 above. This sociosphere is in its turn integrated with psychosphere in deep structure and with biosphere and cosmosphere towards the surface. This along with the Hindu sphere of gods goes into the making of dynamic absolute the *ksarabrahma*, which is in its turn an emanation of absolute the *purusottama*, which also sublates the abstract absolute termed *aksara-brahma*.

The Hindu Economy is bound to succeed in assimilating the smithian and marxian parts of the *varnasankara* economy by cutting out the parasitic growths such as the kick back, the conversion, the smugglers' and the appeasement economies as well as the election economy. And by transmuting the hidden imperialist character of both capitalist and communist economies by our sustained resistance. Our false reformers at

home and false gurus from abroad tried to mislead us. But they don't understand us. So, we would overwhelm them.

The Hindu Economy would economise on government expenses by restructuring the government itself as a limited government, as follows : *moksadhidhikarana* looking after, but not financing, education, culture, tourism and sannyasis .. : *dharma-adhidhikarana* managing and completely financing police, justice, defence... : *artha-adhidhikarana* looking after and partly financing finance and banking, trade and commerce, agriculture and industries, ecoestics and eco-planning, preventing *varnasankara* economy from destroying our national economy as all-time world model,... : *kama-adhidhikarana*, managing and partly financing health, sanitation, medicare, family planning. The limited government would cut out and prevent Parkinsonian proliferation. The very structure and function of the government would instruct citizens on what is what in Hindu Society and Culture.

The dharmada economy would run temples, publications, publicity, counteract proselytisation, carry on reconversion, run *bhandaras* and *langarkhanas*. (This is the economy of survival in crises, comparable to

*The question in the kick-back economy is:  
who has eaten the laddoos ?  
(modakam kena bhaksita ?)*

weak force in cosmosphere. Naturally Dr. Hedgewar chose this to pull on.) The second wave industrial subsector would be run by Dattopant Thengadi's BMS-type organisation of workers.

3.2.1 We may analyse the notion of Hindu economy as a set of seven concepts of 'Artha' as *paramartha* in the matrix or crisscross of total Hindu Culture (see Appendix for definition and tabulation of this).

7 Mysticism and Yoga view reality as the sole subject (*kevala-visayi*). So, here *artha* is *paramartha*. *Purusottama* the Absolute is *sarva-aisvaryamaya*, *artha-brahma*; *ksarabrahma* the dynamic absolute is *abhyudaya*; *aksarabrahma* the abstract absolute is *nihreyas*. Here is the origin of our economy.

6 Religion and Morality view reality as subject-subject relations (*visayi-visayi-sambandha*). The Hindu economy sprouts here as employer-employee relations (*yajamana-yajaka-sambandha*) organised as *varnavyavastha*. This gives the complete system of economy. Combined with the



mystical it remains open too. Thus the Hindu economy is superior to all others that are incomplete and closed, and pernicious.

5 Philosophy and Fine Arts, viewing reality as subject-object relations (visayi-visaya sambandha) or value, take artha i.e. wealth as wealthy man's seeking to realize wealth as one of the cardinal values, that is, a purusartha. In consequence Hindus are not misled into false asceticism, false messianism and negative mysticism.

4 Logic and Sophistry view reality as logical subjects (visayi); here artha is purchasing power, money or value-in-exchange. If cut off from the higher values, this leads to elitist consumerism, seeking to make more money and buy more things. The western economies, Smithian, Marxian and even Tofflerian get bogged here. Monetary economics belong here.

3 Science & Technology view reality as object-object relations (visaya-visaya sambandha). Here artha means raw materials from Nature transformed into goods. Even human services and skill to transform may amorally and wrongly be looked down upon as goods

2 Commonsense and Crude Arts, viewing reality as objects, takes artha or wealth as things for consumption, goods and persons serving.

1 At the level of bodily apprehension and behaviour, artha is mere economic events, economically significant events wheresoever. The cumulative effect of all these concepts rolled into one keeps the Hindu Economy open yet makes it complete and superior to concepts in other systems.

3.2.2 The Hindu Economy can be best understood in terms of employer-employee relations and the duties of both employers and employees. For the self-employed, the society is the employer. And in the definition of 'Hindu Society', yajamana-yajaka sambandha is a constituent element. This is woven into the caste structure. And the result is vocational caste (jivika). Vocational castes are the set of physical culturists, crude artists, scientists and technologists, logicians and sophists, philosophers and fine artists, ritualists and gurus, mystics and yogis. In the traditional that is old evergreen Hindu society, we come across all these kinds of people making both ends meet by serving the needs of one another. Some so-called modern vocations have been quietly integrated into the system. Myself a trained symbolic logician and philosopher, and my son a dhrupad singer and university lecturer in music, are examples. A near exhaustive enumeration of vocations operating in Hindu economy has been given in my 'Hindu Ideology: Made Simple' still in the making. (vide Appendix-3).

Most of our people are self-employed; some of them by other individuals or institutions in their private capacities; some by the government. They can help each other and ignore the politicians' trying to exploit them by creating all sorts of conflicts. The politicians' talk of progress, giving employment and help to people, seem irrelevant. People help themselves. Our first and foremost duty is to give our social labour, of the caste group chosen or born into. Next comes the supererogatory duty, to help others as far as we can and fight the tyrants and tormentors. If the govt. does its duty properly, people's supererogatory duties would indeed be less needed. (Vide Appendix-4).

3.3 Some modern Hindus, who are not anti-Hindu otherwise, think that the caste is a thing of the past. They agree with Benoy Sarkar and say: "O you past, you are my spittle!" They forget that before being spat out, spittle is saliva, that digests food. The past is an integral part of the flux of unbroken time. So they are wrong when they recommend Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave*. Toffler rightly goes beyond capitalist and communist economies, but not in the fuller Hindu way,

### *M. N. Roy's 'People's Plan' and Deendayalji's 'Integral Humanism' are attempts at Hindu economic models*

for all time, as well as for the present, that is already past and heralding the future. It suffers from most of the defects of value-free sciences and value-loaded reverse gear axiology and morality of western system. It sees the surface structure of transitory waves. It misses the deep structures of permanent currents and still waters and flora and fauna. It misses the perennial (sanatana, saswata) and sees only the epochal or historical-periodic and that too wrongly (yugadharma perverted).

Our sages and savants see both. Even in recent times, from M N Roy's *People's Plan* (V M Tarkunde, Amlan Dutta, Shibnarayan Ray, Janardan Bhattacharya) to Deendayal Upadhyaya's *Ekatmata Arthaniti* (S A Kulkarni, B K Kelkar, V V Nene, Moreswar Tapaswi, Dattapant Thengdi) to the practical experiments under precarious open air laboratorial conditions by Nanaji Deshmukh and others are not bad examples of how to reconstruct the Hindu Economy. Why, even a Nehru with all his ulterior motives attempts at only grafting the two western models of industrialism to the traditional sector (70%) and blocks the way of a headlong rush to either capitalism or communism (now only 20%)! It is another matter his motives led us to varnasankara economy, polity, schooling and bionomy. This is sad because even now they think Hindu Economy is feudalist or capitalist in character.

They become dramatically cissy about Varna. As an example read Krishnadhan Sardar Mashay in the *Organiser* (Aug. 6,89 issue). Another example is Kanshi Ram : his BSP is bound to flounder on the Islamist or christianist rocks. They love to do Hindu-baiting. They forget varna is not of our making, even as graded mangoes or apples are not. It is embedded in Brahma : remember *jannmadyasya yatoah*.

Our reformers were wrong. All we needed to do was to learn from the West, only the technologies high or appropriate, and begin to use them. Instead our reformers drew upon their negative and closed ideologies and sociologies, and began to appease both-ex and weak, Hindus : this neither helped them nor the nation. Yet not everything has been lost. Even Robert Gandhi and his Guru-ma Mother Teresa admit that our poorest of the poor smile, in a human manner. But, this is not because, but in spite of, the dynasty's dogged ventures to reform us, in order to reduce us to snobs and morons, fanatics and hypocrites joining the unthinking crowd of custom in the mysterious mafia operated multinational market. Yet Brahma who swallows all gods, men and things, is on our side : with his *varnavyavastha*.

4 The Hindu Economy is Caste Economy. God the *virat purusa* created the four castes—Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaishya, Sudra by his creative power out of mouth, arms, thighs and feet, respectively, for his own pleasure and our attaining moksa in pursuit of kama-artha-dharma through a long karmic journey inside himself that is ksarabrahma. The quality of our karma determines the ups and downs of our travel graph.

The English word 'caste' creates a semantic and pragmatic confusion by its politically motivated anti-Hindu uses and usage. In our society and culture, we distinguish five kinds of castes : axiological castes (varna), denominational castes (sampradaya), vocational castes (jivika), matrimonial castes (varma-gotra) and elitist castes (sreni). The classification of castes into these kinds are themselves made on the brahmin ksatriya vaishya sudra and pancama-varna principles respectively. In the context of Hindu Economy, the vocational castes (jivika) being based on the vaishya principle are the important ones; but for proper understanding they are classified at the first instance into four varnas according as they seek to realize moksa, dharma, artha and kama.

Likewise, elitist castes (sreni) are the most important in varnasankara economy. These are of two kinds : Smithian and Marxian. The Smithian divisions of people into upper, middle and lower classes on the bases of poverty line and affluence line are in the West called classes but since by and large children of these classes continue to be in the respective classes, these are castes though in the

varnasankara section. Similarly, marxian division into the ruling and the ruled can be said to be castes. These are definitely politico-economic in character and very important to today's Yuppies, that is, soulless headless heartless rahus and ketus heralding the blackhole in sociosphere. They condemn *varnavyavastha* as mythical in origin and recommend this to be discarded; they however stick to the elitist caste division, like limpets and leeches. The result is today's Tiananmen Square & Nehru Park turned Shahid Udyan and yesterday's genocide by Stalin & Mao, Islamists and Christianists. Alvin Toffler talks of blackhole in sociosphere as a figure of speech. We who don't demythologise, take it as real : we know the cause as we have the remedy—our *varnavyavastha*.

4.1 Varna is embedded in the total system of existence. So it can't be abolished. One can change from one varna to another along with one birth to another. There may be rise or fall. The four varnas correspond to the four vargas. The foursomes can be used as terms of value gradation and value judgement. The classification on this principle gives the pursuit of freedom-as-knowledge as brahmana vocations, pursuit of justice-as-power as ksatriya vocations, pursuit of wealth as satisfying-our-wants-for-goods-and-services as vaishya vocations, pursuit of health-as-

*Even Robert Gandhi and his Guru ma  
Teresa admit that even the poorest  
Indians have a human smile*

bodily-comfort-and-pleasure as sudra vocations. Varnas are thus axiological in operation (guna-karma-vibhaga-sah) but rooted in ontology (maya srstam).

We produce and operate the economy of charity and subscription as denominational castes. The money we give or take as yajamana or yajaka on building and managing temples, on pilgrims and pilgrimage, on bhoga-prasada, langar-khanas and bhandaras, on proselytisation, on rituals and artistic performances, on religious propaganda and publications, is not a small amount.

Vocational castes of all kinds have been enumerated from time to time. They are presently more than 3000 kinds and present among all religious denominational castes. By changing religion they imagine they become non-Hindu; but they only become avarna and continue to have the same jati : this is one reason why varna and jati are distinguished; they also continue to belong to the same Hindu Society with its polity, economy and school as they did before converting. They swell the ranks of the fifth caste of Hindu Society. Jivika-based jati too has thus been a red thread of unity of our society.

Vocational castes are not as permanent as the axiological ones. They are however set in the framework of varna and made hereditary by man to make them more abiding for the sake of greater security of producers and greater availability of useful goods for consumers. Those who produce the same goods from generation to generation family-wise enjoy the benefits of division of labour, perfection of skill, specialization, freedom with security, greater economy, self-employment and spiritual maturity, hard working disciplined industrious habits, tendency to cooperate in peaceful coexistence.

Each member of the Hindu Economy gives his social labour : (i) for making his livelihood to keep body and soul together; (ii) for earning an income, that is, making some money or acquiring some purchasing power with which to buy the fruits of labour of others; (iii) as a matter of DUTY so that society would respect him as a responsible credible person; (iv) as a pursuit of perfection in a particular skill that would be a source of joy for self and happiness for others. Thus, everybody in our society works on all the four caste principles and enjoys the fruit of his labour with contentment and with no sense of poverty.

Matrimonial castes maintain purity of birth on the basis of co-existence of endogamy-in-exogamy, the great principle of natural bionomy, instead of false hybridising eugenics creating blackholes in biosphere. All other virtues follow : for example, healthy body, sobriety, clarity of observation, correct reasoning, honesty of purpose, dutifulness, devotion. All this keeps the family fit, as the unit of society as a whole and of economy in particular.

These make for the excellence of Hindu social organisation itself, self-help, love of independence, least scope for being duped by people in authority : society as a whole remains free from tyrants. Varnavyavastha therefore is the perennial aspect of Hindu Economy. This gives us our democracy, our limited government, our immutable principle of long life, longer than the Adam Smithian and the Karl Marxian and the latest Alvin Tofflerian Third wave's emerging though equally passing scenarios.

4.2 Impatient reformers recommending abolition of caste system make the mistake of reductionism, dichotomous discontinuity. Technically, these are of four kinds: naturalistic fallacy (cf G E Moore), humanistic fallacy (cf B S Sanyal, in Prajna-BHU), idealistic fallacy (cf. Sri Aurobindo), and negative mystical fallacy (cf Sriharsa—Khandana-khandakhadya). Caste is an integral part of the true and total system of positive mysticism i.e. Hinduism. We are not materialists (whether atomistic, mechanistic, or mathematical), nor humanists (whether egoistic, pragmatic

October 1989

19

or radical), nor idealists (whether cynical, messianic or absolute), nor even Nagarjuna type of negative mystics (vide Culture: BS Sanyal). So, if they reject Varna on their grounds, we who find their lipperry grounds and their systems partially closed and false, need not be apologetic about varnavyavastha. Caste is no creation of Nature or Man, of Society of finite spirit. Caste, the varna, is created by the Creator.

5 Rejection of Second and Third Wave Economies: We summarily reject the kickback economy, smugglers' economy, conversion economy and appeasement economy not just as illegal immoral but as sinful. The actual elimination of these would be possible only with a change of government. The rest of varnasankara economy viz. multinational industrialism, whether second wave capitalist & communist or third wave emergent Tofflerian, would be said to be assimilated into our Hindu varnavyavastha as and when we shall be able to draw upon their technologies discarding their ideologies and sociologies.

5.1 Capitalism Rejected: Capitalism (called liberal humanism deemed as an ideology and called Adam Smithianism deemed as a religion) may be said to be an imperialist ideology that seeks to expand the

*There are five kinds of castes: Varna, Sampradaya, Jivika, Vamsa-Gotra, Sreni*

domain of market mechanism and pragmatic democracy by means of genocide, cultural and physical, for the exponential growth of plutocracy miscalced material welfare of all, out of societies functioning within a moral order in the name of Adam Smithian mystique of wealth and sentiments.

This definition itself gives reason enough for its rejection. I once refuted capitalism by axiomatizing the Smithian theory of economy and morality in a talk given at Adam Smith's bicentenary celebration (1976) at North Bengal University. This was printed in ORGANISER (Feb. 20, 1983 issue).

5.2 Communism Rejected: 'Communism' deemed as a cultural system is called socialist humanism, and as a religion, called marxism, may be defined as an imperialist ideology that seeks to expand the domain of market socialism and state capitalism by all sorts of cultural and physical genocide for world domination miscalced liberation of the proletariat of noncommunist societies in the name of mystique of history as revealed to Karl Marx. It has how reached the stage of openly using the organised physical forces of the people against the people themselves (a la Deng-Peng in China).



5.3. Alvin Toffler lumps these, Capitalism and Communism, together as Tweedledum and Tweedledee of what he calls the second wave economy, that is, industrialism. The second wave industrialist is a specialist that seeks to standardise the products by synchronization for maximization (of product, profit or power) out of centralization in concentrated urban centres. The six words chosen by Toffler to describe industrialism unawares define the term the way we do by six cases of a verb, here 'to seek'. (vide p. 76 : The Third Wave).

Toffler's main futuristic recommendations are : to close the gap between the producer and the consumer, to minimize the scope of dependence on others, to develop consumer genre of organization, to replace the old ground rules—the six enumerated above—that govern our daily lives and our social decision making (before they operate as Schwarzschild singularity in blackholes of the socio-and-psychosphere) and hail the third wave civilization sweeping in like a pre-big-bang black-hole rebounding in a diffuse state of energy. The gain in rhetoric leads him to a loss of logic. He is right in saying the third wave cannot operate with a second wave political structure. He has however no inkling of the perennial deep structure, culture that is, varnavyavastha. And this is not just Gandhian economy as made use of in 'Gandhi with Satellites' (Ch. 23, The Third Wave), but something more, that is, much more abiding, the perennial economy. The World Bank has recently said India has broken free of the low-growth syndrome. For this the credit goes to varnavyavastha, that is, Hindu Economy proper. The World Bank also notes the country faces a difficult balance of payment situation. For this varnasankara sector is to blame.

There are four forces in cosmosphere : i) nuclear force 10-cubed strong is the brahminic force; ii) electromagnetic force regarded as unit strength is the ksatriya force; iii) weak force with strength 10 to the power minus eleven is the vaisya force; and iv) gravitational force 10 to the power minus 39 is the sudra force. The normal operation of all the four forces gives us the steady state cosmosphere. The varnavyavastha with the fourfold kula-varna-varga-bandha-asrama is the steady state sociosphere. A blackhole appears in the cosmosphere as and when the three, brahmin ksatriya vaisya forces become dormant and only the fourth one works in an endless irreversible manner. The varnasankara is the sociosphere's blackhole.

In the biosphere (including the socio-psycho ones), the foursome is the birth-growth-decay-death of species, societies and cultures; and the blackhole in it is irreversible DECADENCE. The transnationals and their islamist christianist capitalist and communist power-brokers in the Hindu Society & Country are caught in this BLACKHOLE.

The dynastic elite is trying to drag us into the slow motion dark and cold and heavy irreversible process ...but VARNAYAVASTHA is not yet in the reverse gear. We shall survive and revive and carry Man and the home of man, the planet, with us.

A varnasankara society is a no-caste society, is a no-value society, is a nonhuman society of robots and dummies. It is doomed to loss of identity long before the mahayuga ends : it has still four hundred and twenty-seven thousand years to go. The anti-Hindu societies are going down and down irreversibly. The Hindu Society to the contrary will reach its yuga-end state of fulfilment by becoming a one-caste society, the society of all brahmins, brahmvadis, at the hands of the last avatar KALKI. (vide Govinda Das, Hinduism, Sanjay Publications, Delhi).

#### APPENDIX-I

##### 'Hindu Culture' Defined

Of all Cultures c, c is said to be Hindu, if and only if c is a systematic unity of seven crucial systems of theoretical and practical realization (Pramitisaptaka) viz. prelogical apprehension-cum-behavior,

*By changing his religion, a Hindu does not lose Jati; only he becomes avarna.*

commonsense-cum-crude art, science-cum-technology, formal logic-cum-argument, philosophy-cum-fine art, religion-cum-morality, mysticism-cum-yoga

which the seven crucial operational modes of the Self (Pramatrasaptaka) viz. body, senses, outer mind, intellect, inner mind, ego, self make

by means of seven crucial modes of experience (Pramanasaptaka) viz. organic sensation, sense perception, perceptual conception, conceptual reasoning, reasoned judgement, judged action, acted realization

for the sake of answering seven crucial questions (Prasnasaptaka) viz. 'What is happening?' 'What is this?' 'How come this?' 'Why this and not that?', 'What is the meaning, purpose or value of this?', 'What ought we to do?', 'Who am I?'

out of the seven crucial fact-forms or aspection of reality (Prameyasaptaka) viz. subjectless objectless events, objects, object-object relations, subjects (logical subjects), subject-object relations, subject-subject relations, the sole subject

in seven crucial realms of life (saptaloka) viz. physical realm, sensual realm, perceptual realm, conceptual realm, rational realm, moral realm, mystical realm.



## 2 Hinduism As A Total System

pramiti	pramana	prameya	pramata	prasna	loka
7 Mysticism : Yoga	7 Acted realization	7 the sole subject	7 The Self	7 Who am I ?	7 satyaloka
6 Religion : Morality	6 Judged action	6 subject-subject relation	6 Ego	6 What ought we to do ?	6 tapoloka
5 Philosophy : Fine Arts	5 Reasoned judgement	5 subject-object relation	5 Inner Mind	5 What does it mean ?	5 janaloka
4 Formal Logic : Sophistry	4 Conceptual reasoning	4 logical subject	4 Intellect	4 Why this & not that ?	4 maharloka
3 Science : Technology	3 Perceptual conception	3 object- object relation	3 Outer-mind	3 How come this ?	3 svarloka
2 Commonsense : Crude Arts	2 Sense perception	2 objects	2 Senses	2 What is this ?	2 bhuvarloka
1 Prelogical Appre- hension : Behaviour	1 Bodily sensation	1 subjectless ob- jectless events	1 Body	1 What is happening ?	1 bhurloka
karma	karana	apadana	karta	sampradana	adhiarana

Manthan

October 1989

23

## 3 Hindu vocations Enumerated.

- 1 Physical Culture : sports, games, athletics, martial arts (judo, boxing, karate, kongfu, yoyutsu, wrestling, fencing, shooting, ...), gymnastics, acrobatics, circus, masseur's art, bone-setting, mountaineering, kamakala, riding, driving, swimming, flying, dancing, climbing trees, haircutting, hathayoga, etc.
- 2 Crude Arts, in which commonsense knowledge is applied in making artifacts : (material) carpentry, smithy, pottery, idol-making, spinning, weaving, dyeing, plumbing, electrician's job, masonry, ... (living) raising plant life—agriculture, sylviculture, floriculture, horticulture, arboriculture, sericulture, vegetable raising, gardening, herbal gardening, ... , raising animal life—cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry farming, animal husbandry of all other kinds, pisciculture; dairyfarming, running cattle-centred complex of small scale industries (biomass compost & energy making, fodder raising, tannery, ...); (mental) vocations of all kinds of clerks and primary teachers.

*We shall survive and revive and carry  
Man and the home of man,  
the Planet, with us.*

- 3 Science & Technology : mathematics, computer science, astronomy, physical sciences and engineering courses in which physical sciences are applied; life sciences and medicine (all schools) & biotechnology; behavioural sciences—psychology, psychiatry, social sciences, sociology, management courses, teaching & research methods in these areas; ...
- 4 Logic & Sophistry : logical techniques, history of logic (Hindu, western, marxian), semiotics, dialectics, fallacies, sophistry, law, journalism, politics, diplomacy, art of public speaking, ...
- 5 Philosophy & Fine Arts : history of philosophy, core philosophy, peripheral philosophies (philosophy of history, of religion, of arts, of language, of maths, of science, of law, and so on); music, painting, sculpture, drama, dancing, architecture, poetry, literature, ...

## APPENDIX IV

## 5 Hindu Economy Contrasted with Western Industrial

The Hindu Economy is neither primitive communism nor feudalism, nor capitalism, nor socialism. Neither is it Gandhian socialism. It is caste cooperativism (Varnavyavastha), vocational caste (jivika) being the constant of economic life. In contrasting it with capitalism and communism, I choose some aspects of each and write three-cornered sentence-factors on three systems using the abbreviations 'L' for the liberal i.e. capitalist system, 'C' for the Communist, and 'H' for the Hindu economy.

1. The constituents of the market are :
  - (L) sellers and buyers;
  - (C) producers and supplied to;
  - (H) consumers and suppliers.
2. The component of market is :
  - (L) secondary, i.e. heartless, legal relationship;
  - (C) secondary, political relationship;
  - (H) primary, i.e. hearty, moral relationship.
3. The type of market is :
  - (L) market mechanism;
  - (C) market socialism;
  - (H) market moralism.
4. The best type of market is :
  - (L) sellers' market creating scarcity artificially and catering to elitistic consumerism;
  - (C) producers' market statistically simulating distributive justice;
  - (H) consumers' market with moral operation of the law of demand and supply.
5. The end of economic activity is :
  - (L) exchange;
  - (C) production;
  - (H) consumption

6. The main form of employment is :
  - (L) Self-employment;
  - (C) state employment;
  - (H) employment by society.
7. The best form of management is :
  - (L) private entrepreneurship;
  - (C) bureaucracy
  - (H) *yajamani* system.
8. The ownership of the means of production ought to vest in :
  - (L) entrepreneurs i.e. a few;
  - (C) the state i.e. none;
  - (H) the society, i.e. everybody.
9. The relation of economy with culture or morality :
  - (L) economy independent of culture or morality;
  - (C) economy determining culture or morality;
  - (H) economy of sub-system of cultural or moral system.

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## Were Marx And Engels Racists ?

Dr. J.D. Sethi

THANKS TO GORBACHEV, a serious debate has begun among the Soviet intellectuals about Marx and his theories. Although Lenin and Leninism are also mutely questioned, quite curiously it is Marx and Engels who are being subjected to intensive criticism, even though many of the problems of the present day Soviet society can be traced to Lenin. Russian nationalism cannot permit the denigration of Lenin for quite some time. However, unfortunately, there is not even a ripple of such a debate among the intellectuals of the Third World nations, whom Marx and Engels treated as historical dirt.

Marx formulated his theories and explained history and civilization in terms of class analysis only, while for other great many thinkers civilization was the unit of analysis and class analysis and conflicts as one of the many forces that made civilization survive, progress or decay. In other words a civilization need not be characterized by a particular class domination throughout its life, nor a particular mode of production. Marx's theory of stages of development from primitive communism to socialism has no corresponding civilizational stages.

One could dismiss or ignore the question of civilization conflicts for the short run, but for the fact that Marx's theories about Asian civilizations particularly the Asiatic Mode of Production, was a monstrous historical distortion. If the Indian Marxists never succeeded in arriving at a correct class theory it was partly because of their weak empirical understanding, partly because of confusion arising out of the simultaneous existence of several modes of production, but mostly because of their falling prey to European modes of thinking, thus ignoring the civilizational aspect of the struggle.

In civilizational analysis, class forces, like several other forces, have their autonomous power and roles—class may be even more autonomous than others—but none of these aspects can supersede civilization. Very early in his life, Gandhi, who for many years remained Communists' enemy number one, made it very clear that the role of classes, be they bourgeoisie, landlord, working class etc., was subsidiary to the survival of the Indian civilization and its conflict with the European civilization which has assumed the character of an epic fight. The enemy was not the British but the European civilization they represented.

During the British rule, a large chunk of India's elite society accepted the superiority of the European civilization and some even honestly believed that its introduction was necessary to throw out the social dirt that had accumulated over the centuries in Indian society. At the same

time there were others who saw the problems of social reform, particularly of the Hindu society, from its social rigidities and the struggle against British imperialism as two sides of the same problem, namely defending and modernising the Indian civilisation. Of course there were always a few who wanted to get tagged to tradition for everything. We need not bother about this last group. The important point to remember is that those who accepted the superiority of the European civilization, and those who wanted to re-establish the essence of Indian civilization, were both modernising. Gandhi was the most modern mind as he did not accept anything without testing its truth or validity.

Marx and Engels were largely concerned with the development of capitalism in Europe. They neither had the data and history, nor the understanding, of the civilizations outside Europe. Whatever they wrote was mostly written by the agents and representatives of colonial powers, non-Asiatic, non-African etc. Their attempt to understand the Asiatic society was a second-rate intellectual exercise. In fact it is a great reflection on the intellectual quality of Marx and Engels that they tried to fit facts into theory, even when the fit was very poor. This exposed their psychology.

Within the Marxian theory, it was legitimate to argue about the inevitability of every nation passing through stages of socio-economic formation in social evolution, but to impose the same pattern uniformly on the development of every society was neither theoretically nor empirically justified. Even to call the pre-British modes of production in India as non-capitalist flew in the face of facts. By the middle of eighteenth century India was the largest manufacturing nation in the world.

Marx and Engels were perplexed by, and could not stomach, the non-existence of private property in, and market price of, land as well as the existence of communal ownership of land in rural India, something which did not follow their sequence of stages of development. More than being perplexed, they were so angry that they turned racists, because they could not prove their point otherwise, let alone see the merits of the Indian system. For Marx and Engels, communal ownership of land thus became a lower stage of social organism or socio-economic formation. The system prevailing in India was neither feudal nor capitalist; nor did it conform to the simultaneous existence of two different modes of production. That is why Marx reached an absurd conclusion of defending British imperialism as playing a role of glorious revolution. Behind this approval was not merely the progressive role of capitalist classes but also its civilizational character. Marx said:

"England has to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia...

Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Moguls, who had successively overrun India soon became Hindooized, the barbarian conquerors being, by an eternal law of history, conquered themselves by the superior civilization of their subjects. The British were the first conquerors superior, and, therefore, inaccessible, to Hindoo Civilization."

Some Marxists have tried to explain away this racist arrogance in Marx in terms of ethno-centrism. For instance, Ivan Yujacic says "This demarcation of civilizations into 'superior' and 'inferior', calling the native peoples barbarians and similar pejorative names, gives a certain Eurocentric dimension to Marx's work. Furthermore, in some of his works there is a certain revision toward Far-Eastern civilizations and society." But in his article in 1852 for *die presse* Marx totally denounced the Chinese Revolution of that time when every historian sees its progressive development. Both in respect of India and China, the Europeans had already coined the phrase oriental despotism to prove their own superiority.

## Marx was blind to the fact of the Indian civilization

But it was on India that Marx and Engels poured their foulest scorn. Marx said that the Indian society "restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies. We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires, the perpetration of unspeakable cruelties. The massacre of the population of large towns, with no other consideration bestowed upon them than natural events, itself the helpless prey of any aggressor who deigned to notice at all. We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory and vegetative life, this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindostan. We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalising worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Hanuman, the monkey, and *Sabdala*, the cow."

The aforementioned statement is not only stupid and insulting but it is totally racist. One should not miss the point that while he was making a similar analysis of the Irish economy with many similar features with



Asian society, he did not justify the English rule over Ireland. For Ireland he said that Irish independence from European rule was a pre-condition for her development, yet India and China needed the British rule for their development. He went even to the extent of saying "Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history". And that "English interference... (has) produced the greatest, and to speak the truth, the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia."

It may be a harsh judgement, but Marx turned out to be an intellectual distorter and spokesman of racist imperialism, like the one practised in South Africa to-day. Obviously Marx was also seriously influenced in relying on the works of such notorious racist scholars of the century as Chamberlain, Gobineau and Knox who put forward the theory of White Man's Burden. There is hardly any difference between their theories and those of Marx. Marx's theory of the Asiatic mode of production was the economic side of the political racism of others.

One cannot explain this racism by some Intellectual of conceptual ambiguity or specificity. Some have argued that Marx's racism was not cultural or civilizational but only a heightened reflection of difference between stagnant and dynamic societies. In all his writings Marx generally identified civilization with industrial capitalism and the rise of the bourgeoisie, and referred to all pre-industrial societies as uncivilized and barbarian; hence, to the West as civilized, and the East as uncivilized.

All civilizations pass through phases of decay and development but when Marx introduced the Asiatic mode of production which rested on the absence of private property in land and the dominant role of the Government in organising public works, Marx should have modified his theory of stage of economic development rather than lumped together many countries as falling in that mode of production and thus deserving of imperialist rule. Many economic historians, including some Marxists, have proved false the theory of Asiatic mode of production but they have not been able to expose the racist basis of that theory.

It would not do, as Maurer or Morgan have argued, that Marx and Engels were rather ambiguous and changed their position. Subsequently towards the end of his life, Marx attempted the possibility of the Russian commune which was based on communal land ownership like that in India, being able to make a direct transition to socialism without passing through an intervening stage of capitalist industrialization but he made no such exception in the case of India. His racism was obvious right to the end of his life.

It is also useless to talk about the autonomy of the Asiatic mode of production. The point is that Marx and Engels failed to justify their

unilinear scheme of social development by putting on another "system cap" that did not fit it.

Although Marx applied the term Asiatic Society to include India, China, Spain, Middle East, Jawa and Asiatic Russia, his main attention was on India and China for which he said that, western imperialism was "the only social revolution ever heard in Asia."

The rationalisation of the imposition of the European civilization in countries having Asiatic mode of production proved a thin veneer for the racism of Marx and Engels. How can one explain that Engels openly supported the British occupation of Algeria and the Russian conquest of Central Asia as well as the U.S. invasion of Mexico. Engels might have been a more explicit racist than Marx, but the fact that they stood for the same thing and followed the same analysis shows that the difference was only minor. For Marx, values and culture could be sacrificed on the altar of brutal M-C-M (Money-Commodity-Money).

Marx's defence of slavery on economic ground was the worst aspect of Marxist theory. He revealed his cultural arrogance when he wrote :

### *Marx wanted Independence for Ireland, but not for India !*

"Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery, you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their value; it is the colonies that created world trade that is the precondition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance. Without slavery, North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe North America off the map of the world, and you will have anarchy, the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations." Marx was too deaf or too arrogant to listen to the anguished cries of the original inhabitants of America, Africa and Australia who were physically eliminated."

In the '*Communist Manifesto*', Marx summed up his argument that "just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West."

Marxists would certainly object to Marx and Engels being described as racists even though enough has been quoted above to prove our point.

Even if one ignores the charge of deliberate racism in Marx, how can one explain that a man of historical insight and intellectual brilliance like Marx could have ignored the racist character of imperialism.

Did he not conveniently forget the racist quality of British imperialism? The British maintained their economic monopoly by the instrument of racial discrimination against the Indians. Imperialism and racial discrimination were two sides of the same phenomenon. The educated middle classes and the politically conscious groups which led the national movement were provoked more by racial discrimination than by economic factors. The British racism was openly practised in the administration of justice, in the brutal economic and racial exploitation of the Ryots by the planters, in the burning of villages and the taking of lives in sport. After 1857, the discrimination was systematised, though made less cruel.

Alternatively, one can say that Marx and Engels were so infatuated by the torrent and fury of their theory that they unwittingly supported racism. This chritable view does not in any way absolve them of the responsibility of distorting history and imposing on it false laws of historical development. Anyway the post-industrial societies in Europe and America have made mince-meat of the Marxist theory.

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## You should not have published Dr. Moghni

By : S.N. Nagarajan  
20/Fith Street, Cross Road, Katpadi Township,  
Vellore—632006 (Tamil Nadu).

I read with mixed feelings the two articles—one by the English teacher, Dr. Moghni and the rejoinder by you, in the 'Manthan' issue of July 1989. My first reaction was that the article of Dr. Moghni should *not* have been published. It should have been politely returned—saying that its tone and content defeat the noble purpose for which the great dialogue has been opened.

Now let me comment on the aim of people like this Doctor. We have amidst the non-Muslims too, a similar kind.

No animal is cruel, idiotic, jealous or has any kind of vested interest. It is only man, who claims to have the sixth sense, who says that he has been graced by God with the capacity to be free (atheists say that freedom emerges only when you deny God). He can be cruel, arrogant. The sublime is no doubt the other side, a very rare phenomenon. The worst fruits emerge due to object bondage. From Buddha to Marx, they all say the same thing. The object may be wealth, your flesh or your false ego—to coercive power. Not merely all the illusions are due to this, but also all the crimes. This is the lesson in Gesta too. A Marxist can very readily appreciate and accept this.

But vested interest is expressed in many ways. One way is by professing that they fight for their people. This is the most hypocritical way by which narrow selfish interest conceals itself from the people, dupes them, uses them—and behind the scene laughs and enjoys it. I had an experience of this when I addressed Muslim friends in the Jamat-e-Islami meeting. I quoted a Tamil proverb to some muslim friends, which they can very well appreciate—because they are Tamilians. The proverb simply says : "If you feed the other's child, your child will automatically grow and flourish". So to protect the muslims, the devoted Muslims should help the non-Muslims. It will return ten thousand fold to the Muslim people. This argument found a very healthy response in my Muslim friends simply because they were ordinary people who were working for their daily bread, who had no chance to exploit others—but who were actually exploited by the richer Muslims. Secondly when I raised this question of the contribution of Muslims to the cause of non-Muslim brothers in this land, they immediately said that it was a very relevant issue, which should be clearly understood.

The Republic of Mohammed was destroyed by the Islamic male and petro-dollar combination. Issa, who, according to Mohammed himself, knew half of Quran—perhaps the more revolutionary half—should re-emerge to recreate that after my talk was over—in the course of which I said that Christians, down to present-day Marxists, all are pyramid-builders and so a new Christ may be born in the South American context—a doctor, a Muslim lady came to me and said that I had articulated that which was in her heart. Her husband also was happy to hear it. He too was a doctor. They are now in Libya. She was formerly a minister in Nasser's Egypt. Of course such Muslims are also there. But there are those who, saying that they are minorities, say that their interests should be protected. Such follows never live for anybody except for themselves. This is my experience of thirty years of political life as a communist. Such persons naturally provoke—and they gain by that provocation. They don't want the unity of the ordinary people. Such a unity is detested by them only because such a unity will be detrimental to their selfish interests. The ruling sectors in this land want such a situation to be perpetuated. So, while we should expose the ulterior motives of such a section we should never fall into the trap that this sinister section lays. In fact you, Malkaniji, should be very careful in answering these people. You demand their avowed alternative, you expose them.

Islam says that even pigs and dogs are Muslims. It is very good that Islam says so, which means they too should be respected. When one Muslim meets another he bows and says 'Salam'. So, here pigs and dogs also deserve such respect.

Let people who deal in such problems clearly understand that their words and deeds should be for the noble task of uniting the people, and never to divide them. Those who indulge in the latter are the worst enemies of mankind, They will not be excused by man or god.

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## Narmada Project : the Conspiracy and the Shame

Sailendra Nath Ghosh

IS IT NOT a matter of national shame that the major political parties in the country—the Janata Dal, BJP, and the Communist parties of different brands—have nothing to say on the world's largest multi-purpose river valley project, namely the Narmada Valley project, involving 30 major dams, 135 medium dams, the 3000 small dams, and laying claim to an outlay of Rs. 20,000 crores at current price? (I do not expect the Congress(I) to have any independent voice because it has become just an appendage of the Prime Minister, who is pushing the project.) Does this not mean that these national parties in the Opposition have kept themselves completely unconcerned even about a project of this magnitude? Does it not also mean that if voted into power, these parties would not know what to do with the project?

The BJP has so pre-empted its attention on other issues that it has no thought to spare on such a controversial and gigantic project, even though it affects *most* the lives of people of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat where it has big bases. The Communist parties have only known that the USSR, under Lenin's inspiration, had built up Dneiper Dam with foreign expertise: they are unaware of the sea-change that has come about in the world's thinking on ecology, "people's economy", and alternative science and technology. They do not care to know why the project for a big dam on the Danube has been abandoned, why the USSR's big "water-diversion plan" has been given up.

Possibly, until the USSR completely sheds its illusions about big dams, these "Marxist" parties will remain tongue-tied and practise fence-sitting. The Janata Dal, most of whose leaders, had earlier been under Pandit Nehru's spell and who had seen him build Bhakra, Hirakud, DVC dams, possibly feel that more of such big dams may be necessary. If confusions assail their minds, it would be more honest of them to come out with questions directed to both the Government and the critics of the project to start an issue-based, non-partisan national debate. This could open up a process of thinking and get clearer ideas. These could also help these bodies to throw light from their experiences and also receive light on complex issues of development alternatives.

Is it not also a shame that the Government does not let the people know (i) whether it has approved the Narmada Valley Project in its entirety or merely the Narmada Sarovar dam and the Sardar Sarovar dam; and (ii) what would be the cost of which component of the project at

which year's price-level? Is it also not a shame that it has kept secret its study of estimated costs and benefits from our own people? Is it not utterly shameful that it has kept secret the Environmental Impact Assessment which should necessarily be a public document?

A spokesman of the Government of Gujarat has recently claimed that "the Prime Minister had got the project examined in minute detail, particularly the environmental and ecological implications and it is only thereafter that he gave the green signal to the ambitious project." This is an atrocious statement. Is the EA (environmental assessment) meant only for the Prime Minister's satisfaction? Primarily, it is meant for scrutiny by the people who know the environment better.

There is yet another irony. What are being palmed off as cost-benefit studies are those by a genre of economists who have no concept of ecology, of long-run economic costs, and the differential distribution of costs on differing strata of the population—and who also consider everything emanating from the industrial West as "modern", "progressive" and "without a superior alternative". Such brain-washed, single-discipline-bound people are unsuitable for cost-benefit studies. In fact, such cost-benefit studies are a deception. We thus find, at the Government level, the combination of deceptions and secretiveness. The deceptions lie in both the seeming (economic) cost-and-benefit studies and the ritual of an environmental assessment. The shutting up of these reports from public view shows up a secretiveness, characteristic of a conspiracy.

The World Bank, too, has been party to this secretiveness. Its secretiveness is understandable, for it is not a genuine development institution. Like the private banks, it cares more for its own profits. Its efforts have always been directed to escorting the borrower countries to the "technology traps" and the capital markets of industrial nations and to keeping the debtor countries in permanent captivity in the name of development. The latest reports—as summarised in *The Statesman* of October 9—of the World Bank and the IMF show that both these institutions have been giving out less funds by way of credits and loans than what they have been receiving from the debtor countries. "The IMF received over the last three fiscal years, July-June 1985-86, 1986-87, and 1987-88, nearly \$ 1400 million more than it granted to member-countries, the vast majority of which were Third World nations". And the World Bank disbursed "loans nearly \$ 400 million less than it received in its dealing with 17 most indebted nations."

The twin bodies' subservience to the world's dominant commercial interests dictated this secretiveness. Moreover, "development thinking", even now, remains so divorced from ecological considerations that die-hard economists consider environmental assessment reports as a nuisance

and an "irritating externality", which is better kept away from public view.

Naturally, international organisations like Survival International (U.K.), Cultural Survival (U.S.) and IWGIA (Denmark) have found the World Bank-funded projects as environmentally disastrous, promotive of mass impoverishment, and originator of a new category of people, namely, "project refugees permanently condemned to destitution and beggary".\*

There have, therefore, been long-lasting demands from non-governmental organizations the world over, for<sup>†</sup>

- An open decision-making process;
- A significant role in the planning process, for the people likely to be affected;
- Completion of all impact analyses prior to making a decision on the project;
- Incorporation, in the analysis of a project, of the longterm environmental and social costs, and
- Independent audit of (i) all estimates of the project costs and impacts, and (ii) independent monitoring of the costs during the project's progress.

Faced with these demands, the World Bank has recently released its environmental assessment procedure, which is nothing but a sly and covert rejection of the NGOs' demands in the garb of conceding some. The new procedure

- Allows the environmental assessment (EA) to be a secret document *whose release is left to the discretion of the borrower country.*
- Treats the EA as if it is the concern of only the government officials and the technocrats (who, under the prevailing system,

\* Recently, three U.S. non-government organizations—U.S. Environmental Defence Fund, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Environmental Policy Institute—pleaded before the U.S. Senate that the World Bank-funded projects in India, Brazil and Indonesia are environmentally ruinous and that these projects betray lack of consultation with the people.



are oriented to compartmentalised, hide-bound narrow-discipline-based thinking and are purveyors of engineering outlooks);

- Limits the review process to Bank Officials, many of whom have a vested interest in promoting gigantic projects and are, at any rate, attuned to the Western commercial civilization's ways of thinking.
- Allows the project to be approved even if provisionally, prior to the completion of the environmental impact assessment report. (This has a grave implication. Once a promise has been made by the World Bank and construction has started, the Bank develops a trend to justify its promise for investment, no matter how riddled the project may be with problems affecting the environment or common people's lives. The media of the vested interests in the borrower countries and the large army of contractors and their political proteges and backers tend to mount such pressures that ecological and people's subsistence problems appear peripheral. Everything needs to be viewed in the context of the World Bank's tradition of operations. Whereas it has been loathe to make promises for projects which strengthen people's power and self-reliance, it has always been prone to support projects which suit the interests of, or are at least in accord with on the models favoured by, industrial nations.)

Thus, it is evident that the World Bank and the ruling political elite of the borrower countries have been colluding to severely limit the participation of the local people in the review of the EA report.

This is the reason why citizen's organisations around the world have jointly issued a fresh call for an "end to this secrecy", for public scrutiny of environmental impact statements and independent audit of the estimated cost-and-benefit statements prior to any loan-making decisions and for comparing the project's alternatives. These alternatives include development projects for watershed reforestation, people's water storage techniques, soil desalinization, anti-desertification measures, woodlots, small-scale farming with utmost care for natural fertilisers and pest control techniques, small-scale solar, hydro-and wind energy systems, restraint of demand for energy and materials, consistent with healthful living, and for efficient management of resources.

## NEWS FROM FAR AND NEAR

### China Building Giant Buddha in Hong Kong.

The world's biggest outdoor bronze statue, a colossal 275-ton Buddha, is nearing completion on the top of hill on Hong Kong's Lantau island

The building of the enormous Buddha, which measures more than 33 metres (108 feet) from ground to top, has been hailed as the most significant event of the decade for Buddhists. But it is being built by Beijing's Ministry of Astronautics, a government agency in a country that officially is atheist.

The Lantau Buddha, intended to "endure indefinitely," is the brain-child of some 100 monks and nuns of the Po Lin monastery, over which the statue now towers from top of a hill 482 meters above sea level.

The Buddha, made of a steel frame with bronze mounted on it, is composed of 242 bronze pieces, each one cast at China's Nanjing Chengguang Machinery Works. The bronze pieces were brought by boat from Nanjing to Hong Kong throughout July and August and were then driven up the narrow winding roads to Po Lin.

The Buddha sits in a meditative pose on a lotus throne with his right hand raised, symbolizing the taking away of suffering. His left hand, facing down and resting on his knee, bestows happiness. From the bottom of the hill, 260 wide steep steps lead up to the base on which the Buddha sits.

A huge clay model of the statue was made in Nanjing and a delegation of Po Lin monks visited the casting workshop several times to approve the Buddha's expression and position, since "China wouldn't know what a Buddha should look like," said Miss Tam.

The 60 million Hong Kong dollars (U.S. \$7.7 million) needed to build the Buddha is coming entirely from worldwide donations raised primarily by the Hong Kong Buddhist Association, with help from its counterpart on the mainland, the Buddhist Association of China.

### Church services in the Kremlin

For the first time since the Russian revolution, church services were held in the historic Uspensky Cathedral in the Kremlin, Moscow, on Oct. 13.

The 15th-century cathedral, where the czars were crowned and the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church are buried, filled with the smell of incense and the sound of prayer for the first time since the Bolshevik leaders made atheism a state doctrine and turned the Kremlin churches to museum pieces. The service celebrated the 400th anniversary of the Moscow Patriarchate.

"This is no longer a museum," said Arch-priest Gregory Coggetti, a leader of the Russian Orthodox faith in Italy.

When the priests passed by, the people crossed themselves and some prayed.

The Uspensky Cathedral is one of the glories of Russian church architecture. The interior features the throne of Ivan the Terrible. 17th-century frescoes and many extra-ordinary icons, including "The Saviour With the Fiery Eye."

### "Third World" in USA

David T. Kearns, chairman of Xerox Corporation, USA, calls it "the makings of a national disaster."

Brad M. Butler, former chairman of Procter & Gamble Co., fears the creation of "a Third World within our own country."

"More than a third of tomorrow's work force will be minorities," Mr. Kearns said, "and half of those are kids growing up poor. A fourth drop out and another fourth don't come close to having the skill to survive in an advanced economy."

The result, say leaders in government, business and education, is that the United States is developing into a nation of educational haves and have-nots, who are fast becoming employment haves and have-nots; that this polarization follows racial lines. and that the effect on the economy and the country could be devastating.

"If we continue to let children who are born in poverty fail to get the kind of education that will allow them to participate in our economy and our society productively," Mr. Butler said, "then some time in the 21st century this nation will cease to be a peaceful, prosperous democracy."

## Russian Economy Today Reminds you of USA in 1929

The Communist world is in a bad shape, and communist economies are in a mess, with Russia devaluing its Rouble by ninety percent. Today the American market economy has become a role-model for many in Russia.

In this situation, Soviet Foreign Minister Sheverdnadze has noted that nobody need gloat over another's problems, that there was a time when the US economy was in a mess and Russian economy was a model for many Americans. He writes in the Washington Post: "Permit me to draw some parallels between the current situation in our economy and the Great American Depression. In 1929, a powerful and confident state took an economic nose-dive. There were bread lines in New York's Times Square. People were dying in strikes and riots. On Oct. 7, 1931, 'Business Week' magazine reported that 100,000 Americans wanted to emigrate to the Soviet Union.

"Comparisons have limited value. But I still say that, to a certain extent, our economic problems today are similar to the problems the United States faced in the early 1930s. Then, uncontrolled rugged individualism upset the balance in your economy, whose major components were quite sound and efficient. In our country, rigid 'regimentation stifled our economy."

### Annual Earthquake Exercise in Japan

Ever since the disastrous earthquake of Sept. 1, 1923, Japan carries out an annual drill of Disaster Prevention Day. (That 1923 quake had destroyed Tokyo and killed 1,40,000.)

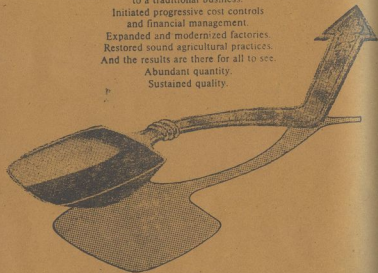
This year one in every ten Japanese took part in the exercise, carrying little yellow flags through clouds of smoke to the designated earthquake assembly points.

Every year, 1,000 quakes, ranging from imperceptible to nauseatingly real, jolt this island nation. And every year, the national government spends more than \$ 2 billion on quake research and readiness, while state and local governments spend much more.

Every Japanese school child knows to keep a jug of drinking water, a flashlight and some clear underwear in a handy spot. Every school swim-

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# Manthan

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**Gorbachov and Indian  
Communists**

**The Other Side of  
'Rural Development'**

**Kerala Government  
Ruins Forests to Serve  
Industrial Interests**

**Christianity's Use for  
Domination under  
Attack**

ming pool is equipped with machines that could render the pool water potable, and the ward has placed 2,500 small fire extinguishers in red boxes on streets throughout the ward.

Perhaps more important, Tokyo engineers say they build skyscrapers, subways, bridges and highways to withstand quakes. Skyscrapers are "flexible," with various technologies allowing them to bounce and sway instead of topple.

### First Class Histories of Two World Wars

A few years back Paul Fussell wrote the story of World War I—*'The Great War and Modern Memory'*, which became a classic. He has now come out with the story of World War II—*'Wartime: Understanding and Behaviour in the Second World War'*. This book sold 36000 in its first week.

The Second World War, he writes, was full of fatal errors—American gunners shooting down their own airplanes, planes bombing their own army's troops. It included sadistic behaviour, a smutty cynicism on the part of the fighting men and the unnecessary slaughter of civilians.

Moreover, Fussell believes that most of the reality of war has been obscured behind a retrospective campaign of prettification whose major exponent is the Time-Life Books multi-volume pictorial history of the war.

But "Wartime" has been sharply criticized on the ground that it is devoid of political judgment. Without the sacrifice of those who died in circumstances more meaningful than Fussell allows, the world would still be living either cowed or crushed by tyranny.

"I didn't write the book to annoy people," he said. "I really wrote the book so that young people who didn't have the experience, would know what the war was like. I was hoping that the reader might come out of this with a more complicated view of life and death than the Disneyland view of the world."

Is he a shatterer of myths? "Not everywhere," he said, "but only in places where the mythology is a threat to public maturity. I want everybody in the United States to be very highly educated, to have superior taste. I mean, people say, 'But aren't you an elitist,' and I say, 'Yes, but I want everybody to be an elitist'."

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