

FAITH TOWARDS HUMANISM IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION



Edited by : I. John Mohan Razu, Santiago Iswara Prasad and M. Rajkumar

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At the outset we would like to express our gratitude to Sr. Celestine, the Convenor of MAITRI who has been the source of inspiration to translate MAITRI's conceptual framework into reality.

It is difficult to single out individuals who have made important contributions to this project, but they include Sr. Jude of who co-ordinated in conducting the programme and Arulraj helped in transcribing the text.

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CORRIGENDUM

Prof. Babu Mathew's paper on "The Effects of Globalisation on the Organised Sector" should have appeared immediately after Ruth Manorama's presentation. The error is deeply regretted.

FOREWORD

Globalisation, a phenomenon that touches all aspects of life, is increasingly being felt by most of us, though we have greater difficulty grasping the interconnectedness of our existence. More people are concerned about the destructive consequences of Globalisation, and some act passionately. This book is offered as a contribution to greater understanding of globalisation from different faith perspectives. It is based on the belief that both cannot be understood apart from a humanistic frame of reference. Globalisation process cannot be trusted to take care of itself, nor can it be left to economists, politicians and professionals alone. In recent years there has been an intellectual and political onslaught for globalisation as an instrument of society more particularly in economic life. Their efforts are to integrate whole spheres of life from such debate in decision-making: education, health, welfare, conservation, labour relations, social inequalities and global economic relationships.

It was in this context, about 60 women and men drawn from various faith traditions came together at the SCM centre at Bangalore from 21-22 September 1996, to discover the theme 'Faith Towards Humanism in the context of Globalisation'.

It was a humanistic venture. The consultation was organised by MAITRI, a forum for inter-faith interaction for action. Scholars and practitioners of humanism shared their experience of their faith perspectives of globalisation. It was a sharing of experiences. The overall attempt was to discover faith responses and explanation. For all that supports and upholds humanism in their search for fuller humanisation process in the context of the diabolic phenomenon namely globalisation.

Dr. I. John Mohan Razu
Dean of Field Education
Dept. of Theology, UTC, Bangalore

WELCOME ADDRESS

Maitri - Forum for Interfaith - Interaction for Action

Sr. Celestine, one of the founders of MAITRI and one of the Chief functionaries of SUNANDA

Introduction

Our gathering together on this auspicious day is a challenging responsibility and a great privilege and joy for us. We believe that each of us as persons of Faith are filled with the rich cultures of life. And our Faith - no matter to which religion we belong, inspires and invites us to give expression to these cultures of life, to counteract the cultures of death created by global capitalism. Our get-together for this ultimate cause of marching towards humanism is the beginning of a great hope, that will lead us to resist and struggle against these gigantic and massive capitalist movement. Thus we will be able to counteract the evils of division and destruction and promote humanism. Other centeredness becomes the condition and consequences of lived Faith, resulting to be in this movement for humanism. It's good that we recall the present situation for our discussion, reflection and action:

- the widening gap between the developed countries and third world countries.
- the gap between donors and receivers, the debtors and creditors.
- global market forces deciding the fate of people.
- unbridled and private capital formation on the one hand and mass pauperization on the other.
- national sovereignty becoming a scape-goat.
- the elements of destruction of humanism in our country - devaluation, privatization, liberalization and marketization. The consequent plight of its dalits, women, rural children, landless and tribals who bear the brunt.
- communalism/religious fundamentalism dividing the entire people, religion and culture.
- the meaning system now filled with new meaning of seeing "Others" as "Dangerous".

May be, we could, in this get-together discuss the following questions :

- what are the operatives forces behind these trends?
- what are their ideologies? What are their gains?

- how do these forces affect their lives, and their community?
- as Faith persons what should be our Mission among the millions of people in our Nation who are excluded, marginalized, up-rooted and powerless?

This reflection or consultation may explore three areas :

- 1 How can we enhance, generate and make active the prophetic potentials in our various religions, particularly with reference to the economic order?
- 2 How can we find ways to concretise the vision of a new social order which is proposed in various religions?
- 3 How can we, the believers of the various religions, enrich each other and build solidarity in providing a common secular initiative towards a new, just, global socio-economic and political order?

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Faith Towards Humanism in the Context of Globalisation Globalisation : The Death of National Sovereignty

*Rev. Dr. Alwyn D'Souza, Director, Centre for the Study of Religion in Society, Bangalore.
A theologian with a social gospel*

The New World Order based on the logic of globalisation was legally established on January 1, 1995 with the coming into being of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to implement the final agreements of the Uruguay Round of GATT. In India, our experiment with globalisation began four years earlier with the new economic policy of 1991 as a result of the World Bank / IMF Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

In its essence, globalisation means the rule of some super-state institutions - mostly corporate groups (also Multinational or Transnational Corporations (MNCs/TNCs), who ensure their own commercial interests and the profits. They achieve this by circumventing the control of the people affected - particularly the people of third world countries. Thus the national governments' control over their own resources, human and material, are by-passed and regulated by these super-state institutions. In short, the idea of globalisation is best illustrated by the term "coca-colonisation". It refers to a neo- colonisation of the third world countries by the MNCs/TNCs for the purpose of exploiting the resources of the third world for their own selfish benefits.

While globalisation refers to the general phenomenon, there is also an added phenomenon called "liberalisation" by means of which national governments, particularly of the Third World countries, are forced to yield control over their national policies in favour of the MNCs/TNCs. Such de-regulatory exercises are termed "free-trade" or "free market" economic policies.

Thus, globalisation and liberalisation in effect mean the renunciation by national governments of their own peoples sovereign rights over the natural resources: land, water and biodiversity and their democratic rights over utilisation of these sources. In the ultimate analysis globalisation spells the death of democracy. It spells the end of national sovereignty and the demise of nation states. As such it reduces peoples of the world to pawns in the interest of the corporate giants of the

developed world. It is an affront to the dignity of any and every person in third world countries, specially so in India.

It is unfortunate that in many instances, particularly in our country, political parties of various ideological persuasions have not only failed to stand up to the bullying tactics of the MNCs in international fora, but have often very gladly collaborated with them in return for some favours. We have been witnessing in the recent past, the scams that have been tumbling out of the closets with sickening frequency. Hence the present trend of globalisation calls for another freedom movement.

Towards Localisation

In India the trend towards localisation was born along with the trend towards globalisation. If globalisation is the corporate driven agenda for removing all barriers or blocks to profits, localisation is the people driven agenda for introducing ecological limits and social responsibility and accountability in this process.

Localisation does not imply autarchy or insularity. It involves subjecting the logic of globalisation to the test of sustainability, democracy and justice in each concrete instance of foreign investment. It also involves reclaiming the state to protect people's interest and not be reduced to being mere instruments for foreign investors. It means making governments at the state and the centre, accountable to the electorate.

The contest between the transnational corporations, the conflict between globalisation and the citizens and local communities, (the force behind localisation) is presently being played out in our country as is evidenced by the Karnataka farmers' agitation against the Cargill Seeds Corporation, the Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Cogentriz, the Goa agitation against Dupont's Nylon 6.6 project; the agitation in Maharashtra, against Enron, the agitation against Aquaculture or shrimp farming in the coastal states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Orissa.

In all these instances, the response of the people has been "We will decide the pattern of investment and development". "We will determine the ownership and use of our natural resources". Therefore, a peoples' movement for localisation must build on these embryonic visions of a just and sustainable society.

The Faith Dimension

It has been our experience that movements dissipate and divide over ideological differences. History provides us with many examples of Peoples' movements that fizzled out over ideological differences. However, when people's faith was summoned and responded to, such movements have proved difficult to stifle and kill.

Mahatma Gandhi himself summoned the faith of the masses in actions like the *satyagraha* which proved to be the elan of the resistance to British imperialistic designs.

But lest we mistake religion for faith it is important that we clarify what we mean by each of these terms. It would therefore be good to start off our consultation with a definite idea that this is an exercise not in religion but in faith. That is, we meet here because we, each from our own cultural background, believe that the human person is the point of encounter with the divine being or principle. The human person, within the present confines of space and time that is the focus for our encounter with the divine.

It is strange but true that there can be no true worship of the divine as long as the human person is besmirched and degraded. Whatever may be our religious persuasion, we are all agreed that the true service of the divine is the service of our fellow human beings. The challenge of the hour is to respond to the trends of Globalisation and liberalisation that have been set in motion. People are already moving towards localisation around the various issues like Cogentrix, Enron, Dupont, etc. we need to add the faith dimension to these struggles. The task before us is to deepen and widen the faith perspective so that all human being may be free.

"ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE OF GLOBALISATION"

— Mr. Ali Khwaja, A known Islamic scholar, speaker, Banjara Academy, Bangalore.

I would like to start by sharing with you my experiences of how I feel Globalisation has come into our doorstep.

As we enter the 21st century, we find that technology has been advancing very rapidly. My grandfather got out of engineering college and, 35 years later, when he retired he still was practising what he had learnt in college. My father got out of college and 20 years later he found that whatever he had learnt from college was totally out-dated. Today we find students who are 5 years out of college, unless they keep abreast of what is happening, find themselves falling behind. That is the rate at which technology has been advancing. A few years ago we found the satellite dish antennas sprouting up all over our cities and villages. They have brought in a different culture. A lot of debate as to whether they should be allowed or not went on and the dish antennas proliferated all the same. I think the debate is still going on and the debate will continue to go on even though it is in a state of conflict. And we thought that itself is a great change, a very great advancement.

Suddenly, in 1996, we have started hearing of this thing called internet. And we find that information on any subject under the sun is available. At least on the TV, we have to switch on a particular programme and then listen, watch and accept whatever is told to us. Now the internet has come in and we find that I don't have to just accept what is being told. I can do a two way communication on the internet. Somebody in the U.S. has developed a technology and he has put it on the internet. I can talk to that person through my computer over here and tell him what I think about it. And I can have chat groups and I can have discussions and I can have personal e-mail service with any part of the world at almost negligible cost.

A generation ago when we were children we had to tell our parents and take their permission to see a movie, to read a particular comic or for whatever we wanted to do. And it was for our parents to decide whether we should be allowed or not. Nonetheless we used to do it without the permission of our parents. We used to go into the cinema theatre and invariably we would be caught while coming out, by some elders. And that would lead us to a lot of penalties.

Today we find that the TV. or the internet is in children's bed rooms. And there is no way a parent checking them. I would like to share with you something. A few days back I went into a teenagers bed room and the boy was fiddling around with his computer which was connected to the internet. I said, "Let me also search the net and see what is going on". We were looking at various topics. And on the internet we can do chat-shows, chatgroups. Chat-groups are people from any part of the world who want to converse on any particular topic. A topic is given and if you want to enter, you enter into the chat-group. And there is a lot of things coming on the screen. When anyone says something you can also key in and put in whatever you add - opinions or ideas.

When I came across one or two interesting or enriching topics on the screen, I told the boy, "Why not enter into these chat groups?". He said, "No, uncle". I said, "It sounds interesting : Let us peep into it and see". He said, "No uncle : That is meant for young people; not for people like you". Which means that we are such an unfortunate generation that when we were young and when we wanted to watch something we were told that it was meant only for adults and we could not watch. And now that we are adults we are told by our children that it is only for children and not for adults. That, according to me, is the final evidence that Globalisation has hit us.

Coming to my specific topic as to the Islamic perspective of Globalisation, Islam, as you know, has been one of the major religions of the world, brought in about 14 hundred years ago, being practised by a very large number of people in dozens and dozens of countries. India, incidentally, has the second largest population of muslims - next only to Indonesia. Islam has always been giving out an image of being a very conservative religion. Those who want to follow it or practise it or speak for it say that it is a religion which upholds the highest of values and which keeps the morals and keeps people in the right direction.

People who oppose it call it a very fundamentalist religion, an outdated religion which propagates very backward ideas keeping women under the purdah and practising barbaric customs and things of that sort.

Without going into the merits and demerits of that debate, what I want to stress over here today is that while at one time Islam has been thought to be a conservative religion which in some way hinders progress, at the same time we are all very much aware of the fact something seems to be heading in the

direction where there is a little too much of liberalisation. We are not happy with the way things are going in the world. And we are looking for ways to pull it back. At our personal level we are trying to do it by disciplining our children and saying 'Don't do this and don't do that' which just does not work with our children. Today's children are coming up in a world that is being globalised, in a global village. We were brought up as part of our communities, as part of our families. We were told to be proud of our families, proud of our communities, proud of our village and this and that. But these children are not going to do anything with their families, their communities and their village because they belong to a global village. And it just does not help to say, 'When I was your age I never did things like that'.

There were three little children playing. Suddenly there seemed to be a very animated discussion among them. A Priest was passing by and he stopped wondering what was going on in their animated discussion. He asked the children, "What is going on?" So they said, "You know, when we were playing all the three of us saw this puppy at the same time. And all the three of us wanted the puppy. So we started fighting for the puppy. Then we said, 'No, we are mature people not small kids. So we are not going to fight like this. Let's have a competition'. And you know what competition we decided? We said, 'The person who tells the biggest lie will get the puppy!' The priest was at a loss. Then he said, "Children, that is not the right thing to do. When I was your age I never used to tell lies," The children said, "Give him the puppy!"

Now I want to bring to you a few aspects of Islam first. And then I would like to go on to what Muslims as a community are.

Islam is a religion which even 1400 years back brought in the concept of social justice. It does not propogate asceticism; It does not propogate poverty; It does not exhort you to give up your worldly goods or your worldly life. There is no celibacy in Islam. If anything, we are permitted four wives. But, what Islam brought in was a system of social justice which said, 'Since you are human being and you have been brought on this earth by God you have your desires. There is something in-built in you. If you feel hungry you eat; If you have sexual desires you have sex; if you feel like having comfort, if you feel hot in the sun, have a shelter over your head and come down into the shadows of your shelter. But, what Islam propagated was that there should be a semblance of equality - not in the

sense of communism that everybody, regardless of how hard he works, should have the same things.

There are supposed to be five pillars in Islam. The first is expression of faith: 'La ilaha illallah mohamadu asadulla'. There is no other God except the one, true God. And Muhammad is the messenger.

The second is prayer. Five times a day, I say my compulsory prayers.

The third is, fasting 30 days a year, in the month of Ramzan. You fast from dawn to dusk and also follow a few other practices of abstinences.

The Fourth is 'Zakkath' which is compulsory wealth tax.

And the fifth is compulsory only if you can afford it and you do not have any liabilities and you do not have any responsibilities. That is the pilgrimage called 'Haj'. That is, once in your life time you go to Mecca - at that particular time which coincides with Bhakrid that we celebrate here - and circumambulate (?) the kaba which is the centre of the Islamic world and you show your solidarity with the rest of the Islamic community.

I want to talk to you about the fourth pillar that is 'Zakkath'. The Zakkath says that if I earn a lakh of rupees a month there is no tax on me. But if I earn Rs.10,000/- a month and I spend only Rs.5,000/- a month, at the end of the year I have Rs.60,000/- lying with me. If I have that Rs.60,000 lying with me for one year. I don't use it, then I have to pay 2.5% of that as my compulsory wealth tax. There the concept, as you will notice, is rolling; it goes out from my hands. Whatever I may be spending on, it goes in other people's hands. I buy something; I avail somebody's services; I employ somebody. So, the money rolls. The idea is that the money should keep rolling all the time. But if I am a hoarder, if I hold on to the money and say, 'I will save this Rs.60,000/- and put in my Bank Account', then after a year, if I still have not used it I must start giving out from that wealth. That wealth may not be even generating anything. I may put it in current account. May be, at the end of the year that Rs.60,000/- does not fetch me a single rupee, I still have to pay 2.5% out of that!. This is just to give you an example of how Islam in those good old days - more than 1400 years ago brought in the concept of how business should be done; how money should be lent and how there should be a system of social equality.

The other concept of Islam also generates a lot of debate. It is the concept of non-interest. Interest, as it is called, is banned by Islam. You cannot charge interest. I cannot give Rs.1000/ to somebody and say 'At the end of the year give me back Rs.1200/'. Because, Islam believes that money by itself should not generate money. Money and work should go hand in hand. So if I am giving Rs.1000/ to a man who is putting it into his business, if he earns profit he should share it with me. If he suffers a loss, I should share his loss. Here the concept is that the wealthier should not continue to become more and more wealthy.

Dr D'souza brought out the question of difference between the debtors and creditors, the advanced countries and the third world countries. That is what is happening. If we take a loan from the IMF or World Bank or from USA or somebody, we find that all the time what we are doing is just repaying our interest. And that is how the third world countries are sinking deeper and deeper. Even in the micro level of a single individual, of a human being, Islam has been very categorical and said 'You cannot charge interest on your adding wealth. You can share with somebody. You can take a risk. If he doubles up the money, fantastic, you give Rs 1000/- and get back Rs 2000/-. But if he suffers a loss, at the end of the year, instead of Rs 1000/-, you may get back Rs 500/-. Are you willing to take the risk? If you are willing to take that risk, he is putting in the risk of his labour; you are putting in the risk or money and that is how you are sharing with each other'.

These are just a couple of little examples which I wanted to bring forth to you. If you look at Islam in its utter simplicity, in its purity and in its roots, this is what Islam is all about. And this is what Islam has been trying to propagate for centuries now. And the significance of this sort of a thing has become much more important today, in India. We are worrying whether the rich will continue to grow richer and the poor will continue to become poorer, whether, as was discussed this morning, only the corporate people are going to get advantage of globalisation and the poor man on the road is just going to continue to languish and get just some sort of pseudo benefits like having a collection of satellite TVs and watching how the people in the west can go about in their jazzy cars, when he finds he cannot improve on the bicycles over here.

So we have been bombarded with different kinds of addictions. A person who gets very frustrated with his life and with his poverty lands up in an addiction where he

wants to drink away his worries. I would put all these stunts of Globalisation and the intrusion of the western media as some sort of an addiction where we find that today right from grand mother down to grand child everybody sits glued to the TV sets, so fascinated with that tube. And they go on watching something forgetting worries of that moment. But in reality they are only postponing, rather, compounding the problems, because next morning they have to get up to the reality of hunger, to the reality of hardwork and to the reality of their poverty that they are in.

To this view there are a number of things one can go on saying. I am not a theologian or a scholar of Islam to be able to expound to you all the facets of Islam. So, I do not attempt to do so.

This was just to give you an example that there are religious facets which can provide certain answers. And this would come in the form of inter-religious dialogues if one could pick and choose and be aware of the good benefits of this. For example, when we talk about non-interest economies, the western world laughs at it. There are countries like Saudi Arabia and Dubai who are trying to promote this interest-free economy; they have interest free banks. They have banks which function only on the basis of profit and loss rather than on fixed interest. And the western world and the western media laugh at them and say, "See, this is another example of how Muslims are trying to put the clock back. May be 1400 years back, in the days of Muhammad and Prophet that could have worked, but not today in this modern world. Everything has to move forward. It is a proven thing all over the world that interest works!"

But what they fail to tell us is that the Nobel laureate in Economics Paul Samuelson has quoted and said, "An ideal economy is one in which the interest rates are continuously brought down lower and lower aiming for the ideal situation of a zero interest rate." This is a person who has been given the Nobel Prize, a westerner, a person who — leave alone being a Muslim, probably he has never even heard of Islamic practices and principles — is a well known Economist.

(Post-Speech Interaction)

When I talk to people, each one comes out saying, "Yes I have got a Muslim friend who is very nice." And I keep wondering, if they are nice, how come that all other Muslims are so bad! In fact, time and again, I have been introduced to

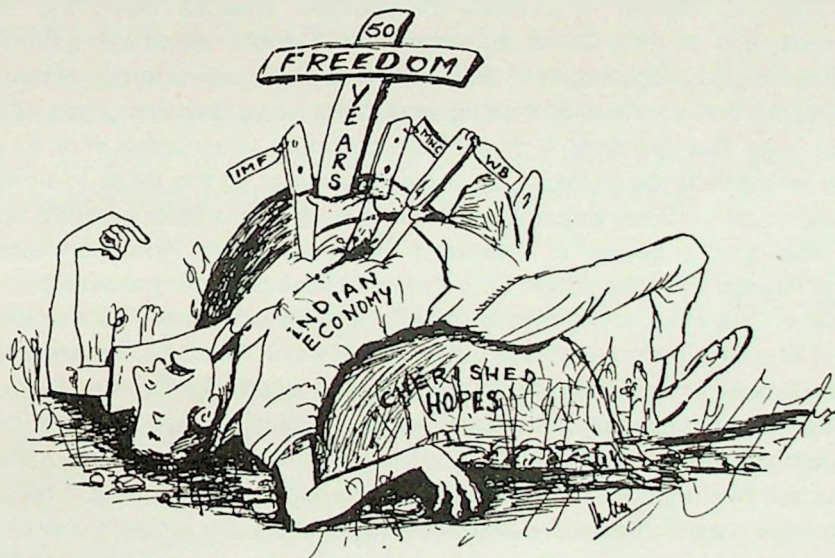
people who have said, "Ali is a nice person. Despite being a Muslim, he is a very nice person." That is again a part of the same psyche that holds: 'Islam is equivalent to terrorism'. When we ask a person individually, "What has been your experience?" He says, "My experience had been very nice."

I remember, last year at the invitation of Dr Pushparajan I had gone to Madurai and I had the occasion to meet 'Swamiji'. I asked him specifically, "How did you find my talk?" He said, "It was very Nice!" He was positive towards it, which is what he is expressing again today. So, when we have personal interaction we are very happy. But, when we look upon the community as a whole there is something wrong. That something wrong is partly because, on the Muslims' part, they are closed; they are conservative. As we said, in their festivals and things of that sort, they are not open. They feel that Mosques are places where others cannot go — which is not the case, mind you. But people feel so, so we don't know what is going on there. May be, they are taking out swords, daggers and things of that sort. I am yet to see a sword or a dagger in a Mosque although I have visited more than a hundred Mosques all over the country.

• And the other part of it, for which Muslims are not responsible, is the media invasion which goes on and on pointing out the negativity of Muslims and equating it to Islam. Even if I want to brand that Muslims are very bad it still does not mean that Islam is very bad. Muslims are only the packaging in which Islam is presented. If a product is packaged and sold poor that does not mean the product by itself is bad. Similarly if a religion is presented badly, that does not mean the religion itself is bad. That way, part of the fault lies with Muslims themselves and the other part lies with those who have the vested interest in seeing to it that Muslims are presented in a negative way. Not because they have anything against Islam but because, as I said, their religion is money and power. And they find that money and power can grow if they keep up this sort of things, whether they be the local politicians in India or the western powers.

Regarding the other question about what Indians can learn from Muslims, there is room for disagreement. Yes, what I wanted to clarify is that Islam is very clear and rigid as far as the tenets of the Koran are written down, the Koran being the Bible of the Muslims. And in that, whatever has been written down has not changed in the last 1400 years and is unchangeable. Anyone practising to be a Muslim cannot go against what is written down in Koran. Problem comes when people

misquote the Koran and say, "Koran says, anybody who kills will instantly go to heaven." I am yet to come across that phrase in the Koran. The Koran is available everywhere. In all book stalls, you can pick up an English translation for Rs 100/-. It will take you four hours to go through one end of the cover to the other. I know of innumerable Hindu brethren who have read the Bible, if not fully, at least casually, here and there, bits and pieces. But I know of very few Hindu or Christian brethren, other than those who are really interested in the religious practices of others, who have read Koran. And howabout the common man, especially the youth? I know of a negligible percentage who have even read five pages from the Koran. And yet they have so much to say about Islam negativity. So, barring those guidelines which are written down in the Koran, which are the basic guidelines about how to run your life, all other things are open to discussion, to come to consensus, to make changes. And as an evidence of that, If you take half a dozen countries all over the world where the practicing religion of the Government of Islam, the rules are not exactly the same.



HINDU PERSPECTIVE OF GLOBALISATION

— Prof. Krishnaswamy, A Gandhian and a well known academic scholar

I will start with a song. The song is from Saint Thukroji Maharaj who was a strong force for peace in the Vidartha area of Maharashtra. This is a Hindu song about a newer religion which is open to everybody. Thukdiya is the name of the author. He called himself Thukdiya because he said, "I am a begger; I beg for pieces of bread from everybody." Then he sang such beautiful songs, they called him 'Thukroji Maharaj.

I have been a student of religion from this point of view, the Gandhian point of view, the Vivekananda point of view which is more universal than a narrow Hindu point of view. That is why when it was suggested to me that I should talk about this topic from the Hindu Perspective I was hesitating whether I should call it the Hindu Perspective or the Swadeshi Perspective. Anyway, the organizers suggested that I should call it the Hindu Perspective. I agreed to it. And once I sat down to set down a few thoughts about this subject, found my reactions were very Hindu. And, therefore there is nothing wrong in saying this is a Hindu Perspective. When I wanted to talk about this subject, I could go back to the Vedas to get some ideas. That, of course, is a Hindu Perspective. Besides being the Hindu Perspective, it is also the Gandhian perspective. Gandhi has written extensively about interreligious reactions and action. In one of his very famous statements which you will find inscribed at the entrance to the Head Quarters of the All India Radio in Delhi, Gandhiji says, "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a begger or a slave. I refuse to put the necessary strain of learning English upon my sisters for the sake of false pride or questionable social advantage. I have our young men and young women with literary taste to learn as much of English as other world languages as they like. And then, I expect them to give the benefit of their learning to India and the world, like Bose or Ray or the poet Rabindranath himself. But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother tongue or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his or her own vernacular. Mine is not a religion of the prison — house". This was Gandhiji's Perspective to the problem of humanism and globalisation. This is a very important aspect of the subject that Gandhiji put

forth before us. We should have exposure to the whole of the thoughts of the world but we should not be shaken off of our own roots. Our strength, our sustenance, all this comes from our roots. When these roots are cut off, then we find our sustenance will no longer be there for us. Therefore it is important for us to protect these roots. These roots go back to the vedas.

What do the Vedas say about the globalisation? One of the most prevalent prayers of the vedas is the Gayatri Mantra. The Gayatri Mantra is always started by saying 'Om bhuhu bhuva suva'. What is this 'Bhuhu bhuva suva?' These are the three worlds. 'Bhuhu' is the earth, 'Bhuva' is the one above that, and 'Suva' is the heavens. These are the three worlds — 'Bhuhu, Bhuva, Suva'. And it is only after saying the names of these worlds that you go to say the famous Gayatri Mantra. What is this 'Bhuhu' and 'Bhuva' and 'Suva' and 'Maha' and so on? There are so many worlds described in our vedic literature. These names come in the Thaitriya Upanishad. For example : Like this the Thaitriya Upanishad sings : 'Bhuhu' the earth is equivalent to Agni, is also equivalent to Rig Veda and it is also equivalent to the Prana force in this body

'Bhuva' is the air surrounding the earth. It is also equivalent to the 'Vayu'. It is also equivalent to the Sama Veda and it is the 'Apanavayu' which is the downward movement of the air inside the body.

'Suva' is the heavens Aditya is the god of these heavens. Yajur Veda is associated with it. And the 'Vyana' is the psychic force that is operating here.

'Maha' is another 'Loka'. It is the 'loka' presided over by the sun. And the moon is the presiding deity of this area. And it is established in another Vayu.

Then there are other worlds like 'Tapa', 'Jala', 'Satyam'. The outermost one is supposed to be the 'Satya Loka'. These are all the worlds, the globes for the Hindus. And these globes, worlds have their own functions to perform in the life of the human beings. These are the upper worlds.

Then there are the nether worlds: 'Athala', 'Uthala', 'Suthala', 'Pathala', 'Rasathala' and so on. So there are 14 lokas like these. And Hindus believe in a Spirit inhabiting all these lokas. It is the universal spirit which has something to do with all the worlds, a spirit which is very universal in its character. The same spirit is there in the thoughts of other seers of India. One of the most famous mantras, of which Mahatma Gandhi himself was very fond was, the first mantra of the

Ishavasya Upanishad. About Globalisation this mantra says: 'The Whole World, whatever is there in this Jagat, is to be covered by the Spirit of God And with a spirit of sacrifice we should enjoy this wealth.' So here is the spirit of globalisation. In this, you should associate yourself with the whole globe. But in practice, we should not covet for other people's wealth.

The type of globalisation that is being practised today is exactly the reverse of this. You should not worry about the spiritual association of yourself with the whole universe, but you should exploit other areas where you can and make money by a process of exploitation of other areas of this world. That is the spirit in which globalisation is being practiced today.

And again, another vedic statement says that the whole world becomes a nest for the whole of humanity — a very beautiful concept of universal brotherhood. Vinobabhave was very fond of this statement. And he wanted Bangalore to be the home for an institution like this where people from the entire world will get together and live in a spirit of harmony and brotherhood. And that is why he had Vishwanilam Ashram started in Bangalore. People started with this idea but, unfortunately it did not work out exactly that way. Vishwanilam Ashram is still there in Bangalore today. But its doors are closed to people. They have to take special permission to go in — even the Bangalore people, let alone the people of the world. The spirit of Acharya Vinoba wanted this Bangalore to be a centre or all the thinking people of the world to come together and live together and think together. But that has remained only a dream. And again, when he was moving about in Karnataka for his 'Bhoo Dhan' movement, Vinoba was really surprised to hear, in one meeting, a Reddy stand up and talk about Karnataka. The Reddy said at the end of his speech, 'Jai Karnataka' and followed it up by saying 'Jai Jagat' Vinoba liked this idea very much. He said : 'Jai Jagat! What a wonderful concept! Why should there be a victory for a small nation only? Let us have victory for the whole world!" This became one of the important themes of the Bhoo Dhan movement of Vinobha. And, songs were written about his concept of the one world.

Wherever Vinobha went on Bhoo Dhan march the slogan 'Jai Jagat' was proclaimed. And at that time, the 'Jai Hind' slogan was very much in the air. Subhash Babu had popularized it from the Indian National Army. 'Jai Hind', he would start his speech with and end it with 'Jai Hind' which means victory for

India. But why Victory only for India? Let there be victory for every country in this world. Let there be victory to the whole world!

When my brother Suba Ananda sang 'Jai Jagat' in an international Telugu (?) conference in America, some of the Americans were very much taken up by this. One of the Theosophy movement leaders from Manila said, "I have heard many songs at many international conferences of this kind. But this is the first time I hear a song that unifies the whole world, that unifies the whole of humanity." That is the spirit of Hinduism! Hinduism is for the good of the whole humanity, not of India only, not of Hindus only. In the upliftment of the whole world, the upliftment of Hindus is also involved. That is the way of thinking of Hindus from ancient history.

Swami Ranga Nath Ananda was not very well; he was lying down. I spoke to him about the tradition in America of preserving nature. An American friend of mine had told me: "This is the heritage of the Red Indians to us — that we are lovers of nature. So, we have preserved trees which are 2700 years old. This tree which has been a witness to the birth of Buddha and that the Christ is living even today". When I told him this, he got little excited. Then he said, "No it is not true. The Americans have not inherited their country from the Red Indians. They have destroyed the Red Indians and their culture to take away this country by force".

Once I heard a tape of a speech of a Red Indian chief who said: "This America was a wonderful country before the white man came here. Before the white man come here we had trees, forests going from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. A squirrel that went on a tree at one end of the country could jump from tree to tree and go to see the other end of the country. The rivers were so full of fish we could walk upon the fish swimming in the water." Though this appears to be a little exaggeration, that is the type of life they had and the respect for life that they had. The country was full of bisons roaming the whole country fields. The whiteman came and destroyed all these. So, the Red Indians were very much sorrow — stricken at the way their world was destroyed under their own eyes. And the white man came and cut down the forests and planted some maize. So he went on destroying forests. Where there were wonderful forests, today we have deserts. So, the Red Indians and the white man had to fight for their survival. Today the Red Indians are an endangered species in their own country.

And coming to globalisation, this America is giving us lessons about globalisation. It is telling us that if we want to get loan from the world bank or IMF, we should

practise this globalisation. And if we don't do it, we won't get foreign aid.

People say we are falling into the debt trap. But I am afraid we have already fallen into it. The debt trap is such that to pay interest on these borrowings we have to go on borrowing more money. And then, after some time we can only pay back the interest on the capital.

We are not able to ever pay back the capital itself. That is the type of situation we are finding ourselves in. And our problem is how to get out of this debt. The IMF is telling us that the way to get out of this debt trap is to globalise, liberalise market economy. What would be the advantage of it? They will give you more money by way of loans. They will invest more money here. And why do they invest here? Is it out of any philanthropic motives? No! They will invest the money here and take away the profits. Then what happens to the ordinary man in this country? When all the wealth of this country is being drained away like this, what happens to him?

They say, "Look at the other examples of globalisation. Look at Singapore! Look at South Korea!" South Korea and Singapore are very small nations. By going through this mechanical methods it is possible to sustain an economy like that. But India is one of the the biggest countries, population-wise, in the whole world. Can you apply the same type of mechanism to India?

This globalisation process is helping only the elite of this country. A few chosen people in this country are getting the benefits of globalisation. They are getting richer. They are realizing salaries to the tune of tens of thousands per month. But, does it affect the ordinary man in a positive way? All along we hear problems like this; that small company had to wind up because they couldn't compete with the multinationals. Many, many companies, right here in Bangalore, have to close down because they cannot compete with the multinationals. And people working in those companies have to be discharged. Are they going to get jobs in these multinational companies? The multinational companies are not labour-oriented. They are mechanized completely. So, a huge company can be handled by just a few people. They receive fat salaries. But, there is no labour- intensive work going on in their establishments. So, you can have a bank being run by just half a dozen people. Whereas an Indian bank for doing the same type of work with less efficiency will be employing hundreds of people.

But, India's problem is not the problem of mechanization. India's problem is to find employment for the millions and millions of unemployed people living in our country. Globalisation is not an answer to this type of problems faced by our country.

Then what is the alternative? There is only one alternative; that is a Gandhian alternative. And what is the Gandhian alternative? It is the way of Gram Swaraj — to have labour-intensive activities. And if we don't have it, the result will be the impoverishment of the poor people and the enrichment of the rich people.

Swamiji very rightly put it that America is able to sustain a very high standard of living because the 4% of the world population that lives in America today is using 40% of the resources of the world — energy resources, capital resources, raw material resources, intellectual resources, that is brain drain. The whole world contributes its brain to America. So this type of economy is being practised in America. The magic of America is attracting all the capital, all the brain power, all the resources of the world to America.

America is very rich in oil. But it is not exploiting any of its oil resources. It is wanting to exploit the world's oil resources before it touches its own resources. And that is why it is so angry with Saddam Hussain. Because, he is standing in the way of America's exploitation of all the oil resources of the world. It is not that America is opposed to dictatorship which of course is what is practised by Saddam Hussain. America itself is supporting many dictatorships all over the world. But when it comes to Saddam Hussain, it is against dictatorship. Why? Because he is a hindrance to the American way of life. So Iraq has to be destroyed and personally this man Saddam Hussain has to be destroyed. That is the aim of America's foreign policy — to destroy this man. Fortunately or unfortunately, they are not able to do that. They are venting their anger sending missiles into Iraq. That is another problem. As Swamiji very rightly put it, the 4% of world's population is exploiting 40% of world's resources to sustain its luxurious standard of living. If we want to bring the same type of luxurious living to every Indian, not just to the elite only, the resources of one earth will not be sufficient. We will have to use the resources of ten different worlds, ten different earths. Bring all these resources, then we can also live like the Americans. We can also have our garages full of two, three cars. Every house, everybody can have a dishwasher a washing machine. That type of a life for everyone of Indians is possible only when we have ten different earths at

our disposal. We don't have them; we can't have them. So what is the alternative? The alternative is, as Gandhiji put it: "Simple living and high thinking." It is possible to live a very dignified life, a very happy life, a very contented life with less earthly resources but with ordinary comforts.

As another friend of mine just now said, "The earth has enough resources to satisfy everybody's need, but not to satisfy human greed". So if we are satisfied with our needs, we have quite enough resources.

India has enough resources to support all Indians for a comfortable way of living. But, for that, we have to have a different way of life. That way of life Gandhi called Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya is a society in which everybody does physical labour, everybody contributes to the intellectual well-being of the country, everybody adds to the wealth of the country and everybody takes only the minimum requirements from the country. That type of an egalitarian society is a viable alternative.

Today you go to a part of Bangalore called Koramangala. Koramangala is full of huge bungalows, each having twenty/thirty rooms. Wonderful, beautiful buildings! Who is living in this house? One watchman and two dogs! The owner is somewhere in the Gulf or in America. He wants to use this house when he comes here on holidays. That type of society can't be sustained by the Sarvodaya movement. Sarvodaya can have only a small cottage for a family. If it is practised properly, everybody will have sufficient to live comfortably but within the means that can be provided by this country. And everybody has to provide physical labour for producing this type of wealth. And then everybody can be comfortable.

Today what is the type of life that we have here, even in Bangalore? There is a festival in Bangalore. On that day of festival, I can't take a bath. Why? Because everybody in Bangalore is taking a bath on that day. Everybody is not able to take a bath on ordinary days. When other people go without a bath, then it is my privilege to have a bath. Otherwise, on a festival day, when everybody wants to have a bath my taps go dry. So, that is the type of economy that we are practising today. Everybody cannot afford to have a bath everyday in Bangalore. Then Bangalore will go dry. But what is it that we are having? Some privileged people like me have three baths a day. But there are millions of people who cannot have a bath throughout the year excepting a few holy occasions. So this type of economy is what we are practising today, not an egalitarian economy. Gandhi had

a solution to this. That solution is the Sarvodaya economy in which even the last man is being looked after. So much so, Gandhiji called it also Panthyodaya, as even the last man would be looked after. That is where everybody gets enough to live a comfortable life. So, that is the type of economy we can have. That is the type of economy we can practise. And for practising this, Gandhiji said, "Anytime you are faced with a problem, I will give you a talisman which will protect you." What is the talisman? He said, "Bring before your mind's eye the poorest, weakest man's face. Ask yourself if the state you are taking is to be of any use to him? Is there any profit for him in it? Will this bring him a control over his life and his future? In other words, does your strength bring self-rule to this poor, to the spiritually deprived? If you ask these questions, doubt and selfishness will vanish. You will see clearly".

There is a famous statement in one of our scriptures which says, "For the sake of a family, if there is one bad element in the family, throw him out. And for the sake of one village, if there is one bad family, throw it away. To protect the whole country, if there is one bad village, throw that village away, sacrifice it. But, for the sake of the individual you should be able to give up the whole world (?). Then only you will be able to find happiness". So that is the type of philosophy that is being practised by our country. And globalisation and liberalisation should be on our own terms. Globalisation and liberalisation should be able to go to the last man. In fact, Gandhiji called it the economy of Sarvodaya, that is, the uplift of the whole country, not of one individual. And that should be our aim. And that can be practised, globalisation and exploitation of the whole world, for the sake of everybody. That is the type of thing that can be accepted.

**"The Sabbath was made for man, not man
for the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27)"**

Thus Jesus revolutionized the whole religious practice of the Jews by turning the religion upside down, by making the religion of Israel, and for that matter, the culture and the politics of Israel, subject to the welfare of individual human beings.

This is further illustrated in another instance. A women was caught red handed in the act of adultery. As per the Jewish religious law, she should be stoned to death. People brought this women before Jesus for his judgement. Jesus instead of passing a judgement on her, asked one from those among the crowd who has committed no sin to stone her. Not one of them dared to stone her. One by one all of them slipped off leaving Jesus and the women behind. Jesus sent her away with the advice not to sin any more.

Jesus' parable of "Unto the last", the parable of labourers in the Vineyard, shows that justice is meted out to all people not according to their merits, but according to their needs. The needs of all people should be met — that is the criterion for our actions.

On a sabbath day, people brought a man with a withered hand to Jesus. The Jews standing there were waiting to see, if Jesus would heal him, so that they may accuse him of breaking the sabbath law and stone him to death. Knowing their mind, Jesus asks them a question.

**"Is it lawful on the sabbath to do good, or to do harm, to
save life or to kill?" (Mark 3:4)"**

The Jews had no answer; so Jesus goes ahead and heals that man showing thereby "doing good and saving life" are the criteria for all our actions.

Thus the Biblican revelation shows us very clearly that the welfare of every human being is the criterion for all our actions. No individual can be bypassed or ignored. A process of globalization which marginalizes and discards a number of people cannot be accepted from the Christian perspective.

Globalization and Particularism in Tension

In the Bible we see a movement from the Global perspective to the particular, nationalistic perspective.

The Bible starts with the story of creation and it tries to explain how the global, universal human family had its beginning. It goes on to tell about the origin of different races, peoples, languages and nations and thus move on to a particular nation and the people "Israel". Israel, a group of men and women, bonded slaves in Egypt, who were once "no people", became "a people" and soon came to be known as the nation Israel.

Israel believed that Yahweh their God had a special concern for them, that he cared for them and protected them over against other peoples. This led some among them to believe in a narrow exclusivism, to believe Yahweh is exclusively their God and that Yahweh had a special concern just for them alone, that he cared for them alone over against other nations and peoples.

This exclusivistic tendency in Israel has been protested against a religious thinkers in Israel. The typical example of this is the account given in the Book of Jonah. The Assyrians were the traditional enemies of Israel. In 721 BC the Assyrians destroyed Samaria and took a large number of the Israelites as captives in exile. Ever since then the Israelis hated the Assyrians bitterly. According to the Book of Jonah, the prophet Jonah was commissioned by God to carry a message to the people of Assyria — the message that unless they repent of their sins they will be destroyed. Jonah, a typical Israelite did not want the repentance of the Assyrians, their enemy, and their salvation. So he refuses to go to Assyria and preach there. So, God reveals to him and shows him how much he loves and cares for the Assyrians just as he cares for the Israelites. He takes pity on the large number of innocent people in Assyria. God loves and cares for even the enemies of Israel. This indeed was a strong protest against the narrow exclusivistic tendency in Israel.

Many in Israel thought that their election as a special people was an election for privilege, for special blessing. This was challenged by prophets. Election was not an election for privilege, but an election for responsibility. Israel as a chosen people has a responsibility for other peoples. Prophet Isaiah (Deutero Isaiah) thus sees global, universal mission for Israel. According to him Israel is given "as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blinded, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness" (Isaiah 42:6). Israel is given "as a light to the nations" that God's salvation "may reach to the end of the earth" (49:6).

The same message is reiterated by Jesus Christ. The Christian Community is compared with salt and light. Like the salt, the christian community is called to lose its external identity and to dissolve and disappear in mixing with others in the community, in serving the wider community. Like the light the Christian community has to shine before the world, bringing salvation to the word.

According to the Christian perspective, particularism and universalism are to be in constant creative tension. Both have to feed into each other. A particularistic approach without a global, universalistic perspective is in the danger of becoming exclusive and narrow. A global approach with no relation to the local and the particular is also in the danger of marginalising and discarding, large sections of people. The global and the particular should therefore be always in creative tension informing each other, caring for each other and challenging and correcting each other.

The Least and the All in the Global Order

God, as the God of all people, shows his concern for the salvation and welfare of all people. The Biblican vision for the future is a new heaven and new earth in which all nations and peoples are gathered. God's house "shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (Is.56:7). God's salvation should reach the end of earth, and all people should become heirs of God's salvation.

This concern for the global and the universal should not blind the eyes of people to see the needs of the individual and the particular. God's concern is more for the least and the lost. Jesus Christ came to seek and save the last. As a good shepherd who leaves behind his 99 sheep and goes after the one sheep which was lost, God also goes after the salvation of the least and the lost in the community. Until salvation reaches the lost and the least, God does not rest content.

The care for the least and the all, one and all, is what Christianity advocates. Christianity therefore protests against the marginalization and exclusion of a large section of people in the process of globalization. Christian concern is for a global order where every individual enjoys the God given heritage fully, because all belong to one global family.

The ideal condition of life is described by prophet Micah as follows —

**"they shall sit every man under his vine and
under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid"
(Micah 4:4)"**

The ideal condition of life is that in which every individual lives in freedom of contentment with no fear.

People's Participation in the Construction of a World Order

The Bible condemns the attitude of any one nation or people who claim to create a one world order for others.

The Bible speaks of the story of the tower of Babel where people tried to build a city and a tower with its top reaching the heavens in order that they may make a name for themselves (Gen.11). God did not approve to their plans, thwarted it and scattered them over the earth. Any nation or people attempting to build a world order in order that they may have a name is like those who wanted to build the tower of Babel.

King Nebuchadnezzar is another example for arrogance of power. By building his empire he arrogated himself to the level of God and he said to himself —

**"Is not this great Babylon which I have built by my
mighty power as a royal residence and for the glory
of my majesty?" (Daniel 4:30)**

While these words were still in the King's mouth, he was reduced to the level of a beast eating grasslike an ox.

A new world order is the concern of God. A new heaven and a new earth — God is at work in and through human history. In this, he wants the participation of every people and every nation. All people with the common concern of the welfare of all, can work towards such a global order. In this process we participate in God's work of new creation, the creation of a new heaven and new earth, the creation of a new world order.



GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON LABOUR

— Ruth Manorama, Director, Women's Voice and a social activist.

Economic reforms have integrated the Indian Economy into the world Economy through market mechanisms. Although international flow of goods, technologies and particularly finance, have grown rapidly in the past two decades, the national economies of the world are far from constituting a single economic system and far from being closely integrated by global markets. International differences in **production technology, capital availability, goods prices especially factor prices and living standards** remain large and persistent.

The growing of global transactions has been strongly associated with national and international economic restructuring. In the North this is traceable to the unravelling of the 'Fordist' regime of production and accumulation that under pinned a quarter century of **high economic growth**. While in the South it is additionally due to the **debt crisis** accompanied by creditor conditionalities pushing for so called globalisation. The increased mobility of **capital** together with a sharp rise in **world wide unemployment** and informalization in the periphery define the environment within which this restricting has occurred. Thus moves towards liberalization and global integration, define the central tendency in the North and South alike.

1980's — India

In the 1980's the world economy was hit by skyrocketing oil prices, second high level interest rates and the collapse of many primary commodity prices. In this hostile economic environment many developing countries experienced acute balance of payment problems, which were generally accompanied by high Government **budget deficism** and **inflation**. This led them to rely on assistance from the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and the **World Bank (WB)** in the form of **loans**. However such loans carry certain conditionalities in respect to trade and **price politics**, the **size and structure** of government expenditure and the extent of government controls **on production**. Hence the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in most of the developing countries came as a result of economic crisis in the late 1970's and early 80s.

During the first few years of the 1980's it became clear that the recession was not of a short term, cyclical nature that would work itself out within a short time frame. The structure of the industrialized economics gradually changed, and the objectives of the economic policy shifted in a way which made it less likely that rapid growth of production and employment would resume in the near future. To safeguard incomes and employment amidst these dramatic changes in the world economy, developing countries had to adjust. '**Structural Adjustment**' became the order of the day, replacing such slogans of 1970's "**basic needs**" or growth with equity.

The structural adjustment programme is defined as an adaptation to change in the environment. The term structural relates to anything that is not "**Short term**". '**Structural adjustment**' refers to changes in macro economic policies appropriate to enable the enterprise to compete in an internationally competitive environment. An ILO document describes structural adjustment as not a development objective in itself like meeting basic needs of alleviating poverty. It is a means by which those development goals can be reached in an environment which keeps changing all the time.

The response and effect on the 'structural' vary from country to country depending upon socio-economic structures, political administrative aspects, the severity of crisis, the intensity of foreign pressures and the interplay of the contending groups. In most African and Latin American Countries, policy changes occurred due to continued economic crisis because of the weaknesses in the early policy on management and pressure exerted by creditor countries, commercial banks, international financial agencies and trans national corporations. In the 1980's the South East Asian countries were among the first to adopt this change.

According to Jain the SAP could be classified into that of **short term** or **medium term**. The first one is **stabilising policies** which is intended to correct lapses and put the house in order in the short term. The second structural reforms are intended to **accelerate growth** over the medium term.

The principal features of this packages are :

- a Integration of the economy into world economy
- b Curbing the role of the state in the economy as enhanced regulatory role of the IMF

c Allowing the market forces to play a great role

Short term goals is to stabilize the economy and control the balance of payment crisis. Long term goal is to bring about structural adjustment which is achieved by

- Opening the economy to foreign goods and capital
- Devaluation of currency
- Unlimited export promotion
- Cuts in investment in public sector and privatisation of existing public sector forms
- Cut in expenditure in social sectors, welfare and employment generation aspects
- Reducing subsidies on food and fertilizers
- Freeing of industrial sector from Government control
- Strict control of money supply by :
 - i Deregulation of prices of goods and services
 - ii Opening doors to multinational corporations
 - iii Liberalization of foreign unjust policies

1 Arun Ghosh, a former member of the planning commission says that the globalisation of the Indian economy in terms laid down by the SAP, will benefit only some 10 to 15% of the population, infact the same people who had benefited from the liberalization region of the 80's.

2 Suresh D. Tendulkar, a Prof in Delhi school of economics categorises the privileged beneficialism of the old economic policies on the industrialised in the organised sector, the **Skilled Professionals, Central State Government Employees, industrial workers** (both public and private sector) bank employees and rich farmers. The victims are the lapless users and consumers of goods and services produced in the organised reformal. In the process, the unorganised segment of the economy was herring squeezed and exploited.

The first phase of economic liberalization in India began with SDR 5 billion loan IMF. This loan was conditional on an adjustrat programme. As a result of these condition the government 1. Liberalised import, 2. Regulated price controls, 3. Deregulated industrial production, 4. Oriented industrialization towards export market and tore down budgetary support for the public sector. Initiated in 1980 and consolidated in 1985, the new policy regime had significant effects on the economy.

THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALISATION ON THE ORGANISED SECTOR

— Prof. Babu Mathew, National Law School, Bangalore

I agree with every single word that Ruth Manorama has already presented before you. So I want to begin my presentation with an endorsement of her understanding of globalisation and its impact upon labour. I am extremely happy that she has reflected both upon the organised sector and on the unorganised sector. And I must also point out to you that, fortunately, we have been on common platforms on earlier occasions. And that is a result of realisation in the country that the impact of globalisation, the new economic policy, really cuts across all old barriers that existed.

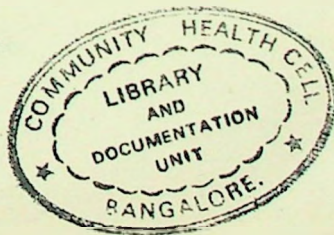
I want to focus upon what I think are a few key issues in relation to the present session that reflects upon the globalisation process. The first point that I want to convey is that when one reflects upon the impact of globalisation either on the organised or on the unorganised sector, it is not only on those human beings engaged in the sale of their labour power, but also on all those engaged in activity that revolved around this organisational work. From that point of view, every major development has been a kind of crisis that has developed on the ideological front. As a result of collapse of socialism, as a result of the triumph of the market forces, as a result of the emergence of the unipolar world, as a result of free market creating an impression that everything else has to be now washed away, there is an ideological crisis. And that ideological crisis comes through as if socialism is dead. I want to emphatically say that we do not agree to this understanding. One need to reflect upon what happened to the socialist block. Undoubtedly one variety of socialism has collapsed. And it is extremely important that we go on to an analysis of what that particular variety of socialism was. Because, if we fail to do so, then the popular impression is that socialism is over. This is far from true. The essentials of socialism are very different from what is popularly associated with socialism. In the Indian context, socialism simply means that everybody must have a job, that everybody must get a decent wage, that everybody's basic needs of life must be satisfied. And that shall be the priority. These elements put together constitute the basics of socialism. In the globalisation, as I understand, this agenda has no meaning left. Therefore, looking at the whole ideological framework as it then existed, and getting rid of the dogma associated with the earlier understanding of socialism, I think it is extremely crucial to the entire process that lies ahead.

From this point of view, I like to say that we must draw lessons from the collapse of socialist bloc, lessons based upon the primary premise that one variety of socialism has collapsed and that there are ever so many other forms of socialism which can be tried out at the level of humankind. In this context, I think that the Soviet experience, the eastern bloc's experience, has revealed to us a few things :

1. That the whole process of transformation through the planned economy has major limitations. This would mean that one should reassess the role of the market. I am

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entering into something a bit controversial. And I must caution that I cannot develop it adequately for lack of time. Therefore, please do not draw any hasty conclusions about what I want to say. What I want to submit is that there are market signals originating in any process of economic development. And these market signals can be easily converted into a socially useful institution in order to supplement or even substitute everything which was sought that the defence of socialism even today means the defence of concentrated, centralised, elaborate, exhaustive, planned socialism in this present context. There are many economists in our country who have reflected upon this process and tried to suggest that some elements of the market, signals from the market, can be converted into socially useful instruments provided the market is used under your control, provided we do not become a slave of the market. How to override the market? How to regulate the market? In other words, it does not mean the withdrawal of the state from all economic activity. It will require a form of intelligent intervention of the state where you use the market as a kind of a prime mover. But don't allow it the freedom to run amok. If you allow it the freedom the free marketeers want, the result is very clear. Not just now, it was historically clear. Even those who founded economic theories based on the free market have already admitted that.

2. The next thing that I want to touch upon is that associated with the earlier form of socialism was the idea that state-ownership is the most superior form of ownership. The Soviet Union transformed itself that way. And after the revolution two things happened: One on the agrarian front and the other on the industrial front. Some of you may be interested to take note of the fact that Lenin prepared something called 'Draft Thesis on the Agrarian Question'. And the key part of that agrarian analysis was that private property in agriculture must be respected and recognised. This comes from Lenin's Draft Thesis. But then, during the period of Stalinisation that was completely rejected and collectivisation of agriculture and the agrarian economy was resorted to. And it had to be done in such a cruel manner that all distortions and all the forces discrediting socialism arose from them.

In relation to industry, however, the Soviet Union thought that the only way is state ownership and so all forms of private ownership of productive, industrial capital were abolished at one stroke. But there was a major crisis that developed and, even at that point of time, there were unsettled debates. If private ownership of the means of production of industrial capital is abolished, what is the alternate ownership pattern? They just blindly went ahead with state ownership. And state ownership has again collapsed totally.

Therefore, the one question that I would call the friends of socialism to ponder upon is : Is state ownership the only form of ownership so far as socialism is concerned? I make it very clear, there is no question of the private ownership becoming the solution. Now, if you do not evolve an alternative to state ownership, then we are doomed to go back to private ownership as if that were the only alternative available. New forms of ownership and new forms of management will have to constitute one cardinal component of the new socialism that we want. And that is not just limited to the area of industrial production. It covers every walk of life. Not only the productive sphere, but even the service sector. So it

would cut across industry, it would go into the agrarian sector. I don't think the problem of marginal farmers and agricultural labourers and small farmers and the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and the backward communities and the minorities can ever be tackled in this country without thinking in terms of new forms of ownership and new forms of management. And here the obstacle would be a certain kind of dogmatic understanding of what we already have.

Along with this is the whole world Bank's tirade against us. And it is a very loaded infiltration into every walk of our life. If you attend, at random, ten programmes in the city of Bangalore - you look at the engagement column and go to World Bank's approach as the only approach. And here is ideological bankruptcy on the part of us who constitute social activism, intelligentsia and activists put together. We are not able to make a mark on this. Our protests are not enough. One needs to go to a higher level of ideology on this question. And the World Bank's package is highly researched. Extremely competent people from all corners of the world are drawn together, paid fabulous salaries not only during employment and even after employment. Manmohan Singh is already a pensioner of the World Bank. Montek Singh Ahluwalia lasts beyond governments; he is the permanent figure in the finance ministry. The Indian bureaucracy has been infiltrated by the World Bank. The top secretaries of the government of India are already the paid employees of the present or the future World Bank. So, the level of the ideological assault, is not a theoretical assault, it is getting into every single measure. And the revolutionary intelligentsia of which we are all parts - we have abdicated our role; we have got into intellectual sterility. And I think there we need to really pool in all our resources in order to put some things into an acceptable common package along which we must march forward.

Another major tactic of the World Bank - not just the World Bank but the unholy trinity combining, the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO, they are the ones who rule the world. They are determined to destroy the United Nations Organisation. They do not like any UN related agencies - be it the WHO or the ILO or the UNICEF or the UNESCO or the UNDP or the Centre against multinationals. Every single UN agency is scheduled to be shut down. If Boutros - Boutros Gali's candidature is not appreciated by the Americans, it is because he has not totally prostrated before them. They don't want him to be the next Secretary General. They would like to have their man, as decided in the security council, to be the next Secretary General. Their agenda at the top is dissolution of the UN. They cannot tolerate an ounce of democracy and yet they bomb countries in the name of democracy. So their double standard in every walk of life is absolutely incorrigible, unbearable and yet there is not sufficient anger from the third world.

And India is a great culprit. Many poor countries in the world always look forward to India's leadership. On the CTBT we have taken a high and mighty position. What were we doing in the WTO? Really, we have conducted a havoc across the world. Many third world countries even today say, "When the WTO debate was at its pinnacle, we were looking to India. And India betrayed us!" And I tell you, friends, this trail was partly inevitable because this great intelligentsia or the bureaucracy was unprepared for the task. A colleague of mine from the National Arts School who is an expert in the Intellectual

Property Rights had an occasion to interact with the top bureaucracy of the government of India. And he was surprised to hear the report that they were utterly, professionally incapable of meeting the onslaught coming from the developed world. Because, on every single thing they had, their plans worked out.

And one of their strategies is to put us into compartments. If you fight for child labour, there you shall be. They will direct the entire debate, set the agenda, push you into the next agenda - all within that sectorial compartmentalisation. This is the new might of the WB. If Ruth is in unorganised labour, it will see that it prevents the coming together of Ruth and me. If I am in the organised labour, it will somehow put me against the unorganised labour. If you are working with agricultural labour it will tell you to find a solution only in relation to that. The cross connections which are the part of the historical heritage of human kind as a result of the advance of social sciences are sought to be completely betrayed. And it is very difficult, I tell you, to participate in an intelligent debate today, because all the key factors, the chair persons already come with this premise: "Look, we take for granted liberalisation. Within the framework of liberalisation, what safety net can you devise? How can you protect people? How can you add a little money into the budget for poverty alleviation?" This is the framework that is prescribed. Therefore, if I want to narrow down on one thing it is this: namely, today, at the source is ideological stagnation from our end, ideological bankruptcy from our end and ideological aggressiveness from the side of the enemy. It is in that setting that one speaks on any issue like that, and I would rank that to be the foremost effect of globalisation on any sectoral of economic or social or cultural activity in India.

Ruth was mentioning the beauty contest. This morning we were invited to the Seshadripuram College. I believe there are 12000 students in that one institution. How they run that, I don't know. One class room was full and it was full to the brim.

And students had come at 6.30 in the morning, we started speaking at 12.00 and they would not let us go even at 2.30. Every single speaker, without exception, was in favour of the beauty contest. Their notion of beauty is completely as dished out by the mass media. But I must tell you that the young student of the age group of 16 to 18 listened with rapt attention to the exact opposite point of view. They listened with rapt attention. And what struck me was their whole Policy formulation on their whole mental making is ill informed! They don't have an opportunity to know the other point of view. And if only you can convey it to them, there is still a great deal of hope. And if you can move to the semi-urban and the rural section of India, there is no difficulty. They will sit for hours and listen to you. We are failing in our ability to put all these resources together and reachout to them and, thereby, surrendering all these potential areas to the enemy.

Having said this much, let me touch upon one more thing: the WB's agenda. In very many important areas, the new terminology they create and the ideology that is there behind the terminology - they pretend as if it is a new political approach. One such terminology that strikes me is involuntary resettlement and voluntary resettlement. Once it is a voluntary resettlement, none of us have any role - because it is voluntary. And what is this voluntary resettlement? It is due to unbearable economic pressure. If it pushes some people out, marginalises them and throws them into the street, takes them away from one locality and

throws them into the ocean - that is voluntary resettlement! So, on voluntary resettlement there should be no negotiation, no debate no discussion. About involuntary resettlement, let us see how the state should behave in an involuntary resettlement. But the premise underlying resettlement is that you must take for granted that policy is the right one and that it shall have to be imposed.

Take child labour. Government statistics say we have 20 million. Other independent analysis say there are 100 million children in the labour force. And those 100 million come from the reserve of SC, ST, other BC minorities - especially the muslim minority and artisans, the lowest section of the Indian Population. There is no doubt about what structural adjustment is doing to them; they are clearly being pauperized. The first process is pauperization which is inevitably followed by migration. They have to come in search of a job to the city. And child labour migrates along with the family or sometimes leaves the family and seeks its own fortune. You enter into debate with any of these guys. They don't want to discuss the cause of child labour.

They will endlessly discuss how to rehabilitate child labour - how to do this and how to do that. You talk about the cause and they get so irritated. They come to our country and they behave so arrogantly. And their premises, you know: "Bunch of Indians, fools who don't know how to run their economy! It is only a question of efficiency. Better learn from us. We have got the models; we have got the paradigms, we have got everything. Only you guys must look at us and learn. Throw away your prejudice. And then child labour will be finished". You tell them, "Your own structural adjustment programme is causing the child labour", they don't want to listen to that. That's uncomfortable. So this is the type of situation in which we are. And from that I mean - we have no doubt from the organised labour movement - that the structural adjustment programme is causing havoc.

Let me pause and be more honest. In the trade union movement, the major tragedy has been that every central trade union organisation has been an attorney of a central political party. And unfortunately the main stream political parties, as Ruth just pointed out, all subscribe to globalisation, liberalisation and the new economic policy. There may be some marginal critique of it. The common minimum programme is the continuation of Narasimha Rao's and Manmohan Singh's new economic policy. Chidambaram did not mince words. He said that what he could not do as commerce minister he will finish as finance minister. So there is no doubt in that regard. It is a thrust continuing in that direction. Well, I agree with Ruth; there is scope for greater intervention. I think Ruth herself has manifested that there are opportunities which must be utilised. And everyone of us must use that opportunity - but in terms of a thrust. In otherwords, they will not tackle the root problem; they will aggravate the causes. The whole sickness will come out in much greater magnitude. And then we will apply some balm to it. And in that regard, yes, Deve Gowda will listen to us and all the others will listen to us and pretend that something or the other may happen. So, that is the period in which we are living. This means we have to mobilise social forces which are outside the mainstream political parties not in order to arrogantly reject them, but in order to consolidate our strength - because there is no other way of effecting a dialogue with them. So there is this primary responsibility today that those who think in terms of people in India below the poverty line must be united in a new social

formation where the social movements will have a leading role and the NGOs will have the supporting role. And that kind of a process with the support of every kind of group must necessarily be mobilised in the coming days.

In terms of what is happening to organised labour, the most predominant phenomenon is closure of industries. Sickness! As on date more than 4 lakh manufacturing units in India closed. And everyday, the number is increasing. And there is no estimate of the number of workers who have lost their jobs. And the social tragedy that follows this kind of job loss is far more accentuated than the social tragedy accompanying unemployment. When one is used to a particular standard of life - one has migrated to Bangalore; one has taken a rented house; one has started buying milk; one has started paying rent; one has started sending the child to school; one has bought a TV; one has got some minimum consumer items - suddenly income stops indefinitely. And as for the labour laws and as for the trade union movements we had answers to everything on the labour front. But, when it comes to this, we have no answer; we don't know what to do. If the factory is closed and the employer is not there, what can the labour law do? Of course, even now when one bends backward and searches for legal remedies one will find India still has the best range of labour law remedies in the world. And therefore the WB cannot stand it or stomach it.

And one major ideological offensive with which they started was to dilute all labour laws in India. We have more than a hundred pieces of labour legislation emanating from the central government and hundreds more from each state government. Today we have a huge stock pile of labour laws supplemented by very well developed, reasonably progressive supreme court decisions. And that which we call labour law jurisprudence is the rich heritage of the Indian working class. I only feel sorry that sometimes it may not be sympathetically looked at. But to those of you who may be in that category I appeal not to be uncharitable to this. The labour jurisprudence is a great, people's achievement which started in the year 1920. Well, more than 75 years of toil and labour has gone into it. And the majority of those who contributed to these processes were extraordinary people who lived almost below the poverty line, whose social habits were very Gandhian though they belonged often to the communist party, who fought bitter struggles, who challenged the state, who suffered unprecedented repression. Existing social movements have not seen that type of social repression, state repression, that the old movement saw. That is why I say, "Don't be unsympathetic to that part of the working people's history". I just recollect one thing. When a communist leader used to be caught in Malabar, nails would be driven along the parting in the hair calling that the communist path of revolution. And that is how torture used to take place. All excruciating forms of torture had been tried. But then they did not give up. So, that is a fund of wealth and achievement of the toiling people.

And above all let me tell you, one difference that I see between the NGOs and the social movement is this: an NGO cannot multiply without fresh foreign investment; a movement multiplies on its own, through the internal strength of the people. And that is how the mass movements of India were built. And thousands and lakhs of people have benefited from that path.

Do you know the strength of the agricultural workers' movement in Kerala? There is not yet another country in the world where on part of land reform legislation was 100%

implemented. That is 'Kudi-kidathuvar'. In Tamil Nadu and Kerala it is the same expression. Land to all! The dwelling sites! Five cents of land! And there is a high quality of life in Kerala, which UN agencies have been forced to recognise. It revolves around the five cents of land; there is a hutment; there are five coconut trees. And along that, human dignity was built. Of course, many other things contributed to the quality of life in Kerala - not the least among which are education, social movement, social reform movement and politicisation. But don't think that politicisation in Kerala is to be equated with literacy movement. Certainly, literacy helped. But I know - in my childhood I have seen - illiterate people would sit with one literate guy and tell that guy, "Read out the newspaper. We want to know what is happening". That is political consciousness of a different order. And so, it is a combination of all these. Thus, you know, we belong to another generation in a sense that we come from another stream. And I appeal to this stream to which I also belong in quite a large measure, though I shared the part of the other stream also. My appeal to this stream is that we must go now in order to join hands with the other stream. And that cannot happen by merely asking for a dialogue. Then we are on the wrong path. There are a lot of problems that come with obstacles. Therefore there is a tremendous need for these forces, of which there are excellent representatives in this group, to come together and build something on the basis of which the dialogue can happen.

Well, I don't think this is the appropriate occasion to go into a number of things related to the impact of globalisation on the organised labour. But, I must tell you, one sad development has been demoralisation in the trade unions. I think this is an occasion on which facts and truth must also be shared. Because what we need is sympathy for each other in the coming days. And this demoralisation has originated from closures. The demoralisation, in my opinion, is disproportionate to the volume of closures. If 4 lakh units were closed, then if there is a unit by which demoralisation could be closed, then if there is a unity which demoralisation could be measured, it is at least 10 times or 20 times more than the number of units that were closed. So there is a crisis. One needs to have a different response to it. Of course there is the problem of rationalisation. Above all the capital is undergoing rapid transformation. Capital has taken on a new mobility - all in search of profits and more profits.

So the latest problem that we are confronted with is that not only loss-making units are getting closed down, but profit making units have started closing down. Why? Because the urge is for more profits. There is no limit to the greed for profits among the capitalists. We all know that; that is the prime mover. So profit-making units want to make more profits. That is why they find closing down the factory is the easiest way, sub-contracting is the easiest way, farming out is the easiest way. So they start producing the same products in another place and permanent labour loses its employment. And there is a lack of sympathy for a permanent labour.

This lack of sympathy is not alright. Whatever they gained, they gained as a result of long years of trade union work. The popular opinion is that unorganised labour and organised labour are antithetical to each other. So there is absence of sympathy when an organised labourer loses his job. But, I know, women have become prostitutes after their husbands lost their jobs, and after their husbands committed suicide. I know such a worker by his

name and therefore I know the family. And if the women turned to that state of affairs, it is only in order to save her children. The social tragedy that takes place is unbearable.

Our policy makes often talk about growth. And when they come to face the ballot, then they add to growth, social justice. We are not asking for growth with social justice. We ask, "Can there be growth through social justice? Can there be a restructuring of Indian economy in a manner in which the restructured economy becomes the basis for the generation of the new world?"

Let me, for a moment, talk about the argument within the SAP. I reject SAP. But, just for the sake of argument, let me accept the broad frame of SAP and point out that the type of structural adjustment that India has adapted is a blind replication of the WB's structural adjustment programme. Uncritically how could this great nation do that after it had the experience of both the market process and the planning forces? We have the public sector and the private sector. Garbachev's great dream and struggle was to bring back the private sector and keep it within the control of the public sector.

Those had become slaves of globalisation and liberalisation and market forces. Within that paradigm there is a charter which smaller countries have already adopted. And why should this great country surrender to them? And as a result, the impact of SAP on India, that is the blind package of the WB - has been disastrous. It is disastrous to the organised working class in every single respect.

Friends, I want to conclude by saying that the major disease in the trade union was something which was long ago identified as economism. That is, continuously fighting for economic gains without raising the political question. We were guilty of it. Though theoretically we understood that was the wrong path in practice one could not change it. And if we could not change it, the single most important reason is the failure to build alliances of people. Therefore in the coming era, lots of alliances will have to be built. And in that alliance - let me humbly submit to you the experience of the organised working class movement is a rich experience of struggle, of understanding, of politics, of organisation. That by itself cannot make a breakthrough. That will have to be combined with new social forces. I think such a possibility certainly does exist. Whereas the agenda is deunionisation. But in order to fight this - workers understand and respond and are willing to join hands with any new initiative. The obstacle is the trade union bureaucracy. It is not only a bureaucracy it is also a gerontocracy. The youngest national leader must have crossed the age of retirement five or ten years ago. So, that is the tragedy of the Indian trade union movement. And with these obstacles looming large, new alliances within the trade union movement and across various working people have to be built. And this process is happily on. This is not yet sufficient to attract public attention but sufficient in order to be recognised as a significant process.

I must conclude by saying that myself and Ruth and many people in this group, happily, are part of that search and that struggle. And there is progress in it.

Therefore, there is no need for pessimism. Only we need to reassess, reunite and really go forward with many more things to do.

The S.adjustment programme in India could be summarised

Fiscal Policy
Trade Policy

Industrial Policy
Financial Policy

Agricultural Policy
Poverty Alleviation Policy

In India SAP has two aims: to reduce twin deficits on the balance of payment as the state budget, structural change of the economy in the area of trade, industry, foreign investment, public sector and other financial sectors among others, so as to transform into a market friendly system and to accelerate the globalization process.

The new economic policy and SAP greatly affects the interests of the labour and trade unions. Issues such as **1. Changes in Labour Policy, 2. Employment implications, 3. Technology upgradation and modernization, 4. Closures of enviable sick unions, 5. Labour adjustment, 6. Privitisation etc.** threatens the infant of labour. When the new economic policy measures were announced in 1991, the business community welcomed the Government Measures. On the other hand working class and trade unions expressed their unhappiness over the issues.

Changes in labour policy

1 Industrial policy in India moves towards stricter regulation while industrial relation policy has become increasingly soft.

for ex. Industrial Disputes Act 1947 — to reduce the period of notice under section 9. Prior permission of lay off: Prior fore retrenchment and closures should be deleted.

2 Employment Issues: 4.17 lakh workers are employed in the 58 chronically sick unit in the central public sector which are initially identified for closure competitiveness in technology.

Privatisation: absence of appropriate safeguards may lead to erosion of wages and employment security.



THE PANEL SESSION

The Chairperson: Prof Babu Mathew

Prof. National School of Law, Bangalore. Active member of a number of People's Movements.

I think the objective of this session is to pull out the important issues that came across during yesterday's deliberations. The panelists who are here will present, from their perspective, the main issues that came up yesterday and around those issues they will reflect. These reflections will also form the base for group discussions in the afternoon.

When I read this folder of MAITRI, on the front page there is a small paragraph. I am totally in agreement with what is stated in that paragraph. And I want to add that many of us across the country, all over India, have got together to form something called the National Alliance of People's Movement. That movement came out of Narmada Bachao Andolan, and it came into contact with many other similar movements across the country. now NAPM is launched all over the country. And I find, to my great surprise, that what is contained here is exactly the agenda of the NAPM. That is to say, reflecting upon what is going on in the country, there are many people thinking on identical lines. To put it in NAPM's language, we also are seeking to build alliances with people's movements across the country. We have said, we want a political platform. And we have identified two key points for that political platform :

- I Opposition to communalism
- II Opposition to the New Economic Policy

In fact, you are a step ahead of what I have been talking of, because you are engaged in positive work of building interfaith harmony which, I think, is necessary. Often we talk of secularism and leave it at that. And secularism does not grow in conditions of stagnation. It is communalism which grows in conditions of stagnation. I extend my solidarity to what you have initiated. It is very good that this process has begun.

Panel Presentation I

Prof Hassan Mansoor

President, PUCL, Bangalore.

Humanism is common not only to religion but also to democracy. What underlies faith and democracy is humanism. So, it is a cementing factor. In fact, humanism encompasses all faiths and also transcends them. I am gratified to note that the organizers of this consultation have chosen this title: Faith towards Humanism, in the context of Globalisation. Here, I want to emphasize that our perception of globalisation is that it is anti-humanistic. And, it is there the term 'humanism' is significant. Because, globalisation affects the poor, — the marginalized, women and all those who have been, for centuries, persecuted, victimized — the Dalits and the tribals. The globalisation process goes against the very spirit of humanism.

I want to highlight the two objectives of this consultation and of the NAPM (National Alliance of People's Movements), viz. 1. Opposition to any form of communalism — I would rather call it fanaticism which grows under some faith or the other. 2. Opposition to globalisation. Well, how are they related?

We are gathered here to forge bridges between communities and, at the same time, we want the communities to come together in order to fight great evils like globalisation. We find that the market forces find a ready ally not in the democratic forces but in reactionary forces. And, these forces of reaction are found only in fanatical groups. And, these forces of reaction are found only in fanatical groups. For instance, the Western powers whose sole faith is in market forces and in globalisation have as their allies, to start with the Muslim world, Saudi Arabia, the Sheikdoms and Egypt which are far from democratic, and Algeria which is a kind of military dictatorship. The sole objective of the market forces is profit, money making. Faith is something alien to them. Their faith, if any, is in money and profit. The faith that we are talking of is faith in values, which values consist in the preciousness of human life. A life of dignity is most precious to the human person. It is this dignity of human person that is targeted by the market forces. Whether it is Pakistan or Saudi Arabia or the Middle East, all these are behind the market forces, behind globalisation. Thus, communalism and globalisation have a kind of rapport.

All political parties, bereft of ideologies, are supporting globalisation. Who does the globalisation process benefit? The beneficiaries of globalisation process are the middle class. The market forces clearly state that their sole interest is the 200 million middle class in India. The other 700 million don't matter to them at all! This shows the utter disregard for the overwhelming majority of this country. They have

no regard for human life. They have absolutely no concern for the poor, for the discriminated, for the marginalised. That is where the cynicism of the market forces lies. And, their ready allies are the most fanatical groups — in India too.

All political parties, devoid of ideological moorings, are all a party to the global conspiracy. The tragedy of India, which calls itself democratic and socialist, is in allowing groups that can talk of social justice only in words, but not in spirit. For instance, I will just point out how the most fanatical communal outfit in the country, which mouths a lot of slogans about self-reliance, Swarajya and so on, has at the same time comes up with this slogan which was voiced by Dr Murali Manohar Joshi: "We want not potato chips. We want computer chips." Thus, this party wants computer chips on one hand, and Mandir on the other hand. How do you relate Mandir and the computer chips? This only shows the close alignment between globalisation and communalism in this country.

It is the 200 million middle class which is the harbinger of communalism. This is a harsh truth which we have to face. I have been in the university for 40 years and I have interacted with teachers and professors who have got their degrees from USA, Canada and from countries in Europe. I found that they were all rooted in old medieval thinking. Where is the scientific temper? Where are the democratic ethos in this so called educated middle class? It is this middle class that spearheads communal forces. It is the same middle class which is hell-bent on prosperity, good living. And, the other 700 million in the country have to serve the interests of these 200 million.

How does globalisation actually affect us? We have all read about the fishermen's strike all over the country. Imagine the log of millions of fish-workers who will go without jobs, if deep-sea trawlers are allowed into our oceans, by our government. Take land reforms, land is being sold to multinationals, while there is hunger, among Dalits, for land. And, the tribals are being displaced from their forest to make room for Taj Hotels, for tourism and what not.

The other day, I went to a place called Bhagyapalli. The people there told me that globalisation has reached their doorstep. The lands near Bhagyapalli have been bought up by multinationals! And agricultural lands are bought by big companies to the effect our farmers are being displaced. Also, our farmers are told not to grow wheat, not to grow ragi. Instead, they have to grow cash crops, they are told.

There are two ways of countering globalisation :

- 1 By strengthening the forces of democracy
- 2 By strengthening forces that stand for true faith, for true religion.

I don't think any religion worth its name will stand for consumerism, for immoral profiteering. Therefore, let us bear in mind, without humanism neither democracy

nor faith can mean anything. A large number of the people of India being deeply religious, we have got to take into account their religious feelings. It is good to see that the evil of globalisation goes against the spirit of religions like Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Hence, no religion worth its name can stand the kind of evil that globalisation is.

Certain Islamic forces and Hindutva forces claim, falsely, to fight globalisation. This is nothing but a vote-catching device. I give you the latest example of Enron in Maharashtra. The Shiv Sena and the BJP came to power on the plank of opposing Enron. But, the first thing they did after coming to power was to make Enron's entry absolutely legal. In their latest affidavit filed in Mumbai High Court, they have said that their earlier allegations about Enron's corrupt practices were only based on newspaper reports. And, they did not produce a single evidence of any newspaper report to that effect. This is only to say how the BJP and the Shiv Sena's claims to be opposing Enron were only false. Now, we find Enron is being welcomed in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Delhi and in some other states.

We have to campaign against globalisation giving people local examples. For instance, in Karnataka, we can talk to them about Cogentrix and its impact on the fisherfolk, its impact on soil, water and air. And, about land reforms, the landless are the most hit by land reforms; the landless people are invariably the Dalits and tribals. Also, we have to expose the unholy nexus between the political parties and the fanatical groups that pass for religious groups, because both these groups are ready allies to globalisation forces. Things have to be explained in simple, non-complex and non-technical words to the people.

What we have got to see, more than anything, is how these globalisation forces secure their validity even from forces that are supposed to uphold our constitution and our democracy. Please remember, the Enron project was okayed even by the Mumbai Court, and later, even by the Supreme Court. Thus, such unholy projects win easily clearance even from the judicial forces. And, about the Bhopal tragedy, the Supreme Court has acquitted all the executives of the Union Carbide company, who were accused of genocide. So, let us not cherish dreams about the Indian judiciary being the upholder of justice in this country. Because, as people, we are sovereign. Neither the parliament nor the judiciary nor the so called political parties is sovereign. It is the people who are sovereign. So, whenever the parliament or the judiciary or the political parties falter, it is we who have to rise up and say where they have gone wrong. Thus, I fully endorse Prof Basu Mathew's view that it is the people's movement, people's politics that should prevail over the conventional political parties. Strengthening people's aspirations, people's movements, people's politics is the only way by which we can counter globalisation forces that are unleashed in the developing countries.

Panel Presentation II

Ms Tabassum

A well known woman activist

I look at globalisation as another form of recolonization of the third world countries. Earlier, it was political colonization; now it is economic colonization. I don't see the bad effects of globalisation in the western countries. All the evil effects, all the bad effects are found only in the poor third world countries. And, I also see globalisation as another form of racism, a racial superiority which holds that one white man is equal to a thousand non-white men. That is why they have the audacity to suppress us with globalisation today and with something new tomorrow. So, they are fighting with us trying to over power us through various ways — economic, social, political and cultural ways.

Unfortunately for them, today, we have a big majority of people who can look through this. Previously, we had welcomed them with open arms. They came in as traders, they colonized us and, when we woke up, it was too late. But now, we have woken up at the right time. And, we have to act at the right time.

The media today are playing a very important role in promoting globalisation. I have yet to come across a news-paper which will frankly and openly look at our own issues with our own eyes. As things stand now, If I want to understand Hindus, I don't look at the Hindu next door; I look at the Hindu through the media report which is coming from the West. Similarly, if I want to understand Muslims, I don't look at the Muslim who is living next door — the Muslim who is living with me for centuries. Right from AD 712, the Arabs came into scene. But, I look at the Muslim only as the news-paper or magazines of the west tell me — that he is a fool; he is a fanatic; he is an introvert and so on. We, Indians, have had the fine opportunity of being together and living together, which no other country has had. And yet, it is very unfortunate, we try to understand our neighbours not through our first hand experiences, but through somebody else's eyes. So, naturally, all our perceptions are distorted and biased because we are not relying on our first hand experiences; we are relying on hear say. This leads to lots of misunderstanding and results in communalism.

We are fools who have studied neither our own cultures nor others'. We have not been able to find out anything liberative in these cultures. We have only been

trying to find out what is wrong; we have never tried to find out what is right. We have never tried to find out the tolerance aspect that is inbuilt in every culture.

It is the same old strategy of 'divide and rule' that the globalisation forces are following today. They kindle communalism and see we are disunited — to their advantage. That is how globalisation forces are overpowering all of us.

We will be able to fight globalisation by playing down our consumeristic and materialistic tendencies. Basically, we, Indians, are not materialistic. We are more inclined to asceticism. Many of us do not take note of this positive aspect of our culture. We have become so blinded by the glitter of the West, by the consumerism which is so rampant in the West that we have forgotten that there are stabilizing factors in all faiths of India. And, we have gone on to take — what I call satanic — consumerism which is ultimately going to deplete all the resources, leading us to a point of no return. If only we adhere to our faith in its right perspective, we become well-equipped to fight the non-faith, that is globalisation.

India, basically, is a god-obsessed country. We can take this godobsession and use it in favour of mankind. We have to search for the tolerance aspect in our own faiths, in our own cultures. When we look at our own cultures with our own eyes, we can also look at other cultures with new vision. And, a binding together will automatically stem the rot setting in.

Tolerance aspects are inbuilt in almost all faiths. In Islam, a Muslim has to believe in all the four books revealed by God. If you are a true Muslim, you have to believe in all the prophets sent down by God, whose number is 175,000 and more, and spread throughout the world. All knew that Buddha, Rama, Krishna were all prophets; these prophets demand faith in them, Islam holds. Similar tolerance aspects may be in other religions also. We should capitalize on such tolerance aspects to keep communalism at bay. Because, if we fight with one another, it is going to be advantageous to the enemy; we would be so exhausted that he could have a royal ride over us.

At every point of time, during crises, in history, it has been always the people who have to protect the country, to free the country. No power on earth, no weapon on earth can defeat the people, the masses, when they rise in rebellion. Because, they are the voice of truth. Now, there is the State's withdrawal almost from every field. The State is abdicating its responsibility to provide social security to the

people. And, globalisation is accelerating this process. Subsidies have been reduced, subjecting people to starvation and misery. And, we call our country a democratic, sovereign Republic of the people. But people have no value at all. It is money which being valued.

In this context, in order to fight globalisation, we have to strengthen democracy by joining people together through promotion of positive understanding and appreciation of one another's faith. Intimate, peaceful coexistence of people of various faiths only will strengthen the country. Look at another's culture to strengthen and deepen your perception of your own culture. That will lead to mutual acceptance of one another's cultures. This approach will bind us and unite us and facilitate the emergence of successful people's movements. If there is crack in any movement, anybody can widen the crack and split people. So, when there are cracks, the movement will fail. Our aim should be to avert such a failure, by educating ourselves about the need for tolerance, by uniting ourselves, by having a common goal, by fighting together and, thus, by actively working for our success. Only thus can we fight away globalisation forces and win for ourselves true, real, lasting independence.

SOLIDARITY CONTRIBUTIONS ARE WELCOME !

The average cost of producing and mailing of this book-let is of Rs. 25/- per copy. Readers are strongly encouraged to contribute as a token of their solidarity. Copies can be ordered from Maitri, Gollahli (Via) Bethamangala, Bangarpet Taluk, Kolar District Pin Code : 563 116, Karnataka, India.

Individuals, organisation and Institution willing to express their solidarity and be part of MAITRI may also contact Sr. Celerine, in the above address.

Panel Presentation III

Fr Sambath Kumar

Asst. Director, NBCLC, Bangalore, Prof. of New Testament, UTC, Bangalore.

A couple of weeks ago, I accompanied a group of students of Theology, from UTC, to Tumkur. There the REDS brought to our notice the following :

- Dalits' land being grabbed by the rich
- Caste discrimination
- Exploitation
- The need for local leadership to counter the above

Against the backdrop of these, we had our discussions. And, our deliberations were as follows :

God has made an option in favour of the poor; the Bible abounds with evidences to prove this. The Biblical concept of sin is the lack of or the absence of compliance with this option of God's. Jesus, too, made a clear option in favour of the poor to the extent of being branded as anti-rich.

Out of our discussions, this question evolved: Is our option in favour of the poor or in favour of the multinationals? This question is very relevant because we are in the context of globalisation which authorises the multinationals to exploit, to plunder the people — thus, exposing the poor to the cruel process of exploitation. While globalisation is making its onslaught, religions are playing a havoc in the society as they have done before. Religions are the cause of communalism and discrimination and the subsequent fighting.

Today's situation of a widening gap between the poor and the rich summons us to make a clear option for the poor and fight out communalism, globalisation and exploitation. It is capitalism which promotes exploitation of the poor by the rich. Hence, we require a socialist model — of Indian origin, based on Indian ideologies — to resist exploitation and to bring about an egalitarian society.

In the context of the above deliberations, I would like to raise a question which, I think, is not impertinent. What is the role of MAITRI in the task of creating a new society where equality of persons, respect for fellow humans and brotherhood are upheld and where exploitation and discrimination are done away with?



Panel Presentation IV

Rev Moses Paul Peter

General Secretary, SCM, Bangalore.

I would like to very briefly respond to one recurrent question that came up in the panel presentations: "How do we promote that faith which can lead us towards humanism?" I would like to respond to this question mainly from the students' perspective, because I work among students.

In the late 1960s, the Hollywood produced a film titled: Jesus Christ — Super Star. This popular film — popular among young people — highlighted the humanity of Jesus. In my understanding, Jesus' humanity was so transparent that through his humanity his divinity was visible, because his humanity was marked by and radiated humanism. Such humanism is vibrantly manifest in the lives of all religious leaders.

Let me cite Mr Kushwant Singh who said that in India we fight in the name of religions, kill in the name of religions, die for religions, but we never live by the way religions want us to live. That is the major problem in our country. I am saying this because globalisation has become a religion with market as a saviour. We have made globalisation a religion projecting market as the messiah. Thus we have made the ungodly and unholy things sacred; we have given up practice of true faith, true religion. The problem lies with us. Today, we have failed in our roles; we have failed to set models.

So, it is high time that we come together and think of new, relevant models which our young people are seeking. In our practice of religion, in our leadership we have miserably failed; we have failed to set models that the young people are looking for. That has been very much disappointing them. Therefore, they would rather go in for rock concerts and such other things than follow faiths that have failed to promote humanism.

Hence, it is the need of the hour that we live true to our faiths the essence of which is nothing but humanism.

Panel Presentation V

The Dalit Bahujan Faith : A Challenge to Globalization

— S. LAZAR, *Indian Social Institute, Bangalore*

The speakers yesterday discussed at length the character and consequences of globalization process in India and the relevant aspects in the teachings of the three major religions viz. Islam, Hinduism and Christianity. While speaking on the globalization, some speakers pointed out that it was not only the poor in India but also India as a nation which is a victim of a conspiracy hatched in the developed countries, particularly in the United States. Some went on to zero on the unholy alliance of the IMF, WB and WTO. Considering these three major religions in this context, the speakers held the view that these religions are quite opposed to the exploitation of all types. Though these two propositions have some grains of truth, they did not go into a few crucial issues which I hope to highlight in my brief presentation.

Indian Agents of Globalization

The Governments of the developed countries along with IMF, WB have been definitely instrumental in conceiving and implementing the diabolic globalization process. At the same time, we should bear in mind that there is a section of people in India which has been willingly collaborating and is still found collaborating with these agents of globalization in developed countries. They are our big business houses, the high level bureaucrats, the High Commands of almost all the major political parties. One has to only look at their possessions. Their children go around as the mobile show case of the latest multinational products like cars, dress, etc. This section is largely drawn from the upper layers in the caste hierarchy and of course, with a sprinkling of the so-called 'impure' castes.

They, who sponsored the freedom struggle and taught us to save Indian economy from the British through well-trumpeted slogans like 'be Indian and buy India', today want us to buy products they jointly produce with Multinational companies. They who imposed strict export-import regulations have suddenly realized their 'follies'. The question that comes to my mind is why are they taking this course at this point of time.

About 50 years of protected economy has enabled these sections to expand their financial capital to an extent that today they can compete with many of the MNCs. Their sons and daughters have acquired MBA degrees in USA and mastered the tricks of the trade. They have subsidised through the State a few IITs (Indian Institute of technology) and IIMs (Indian Institute of Management) enabling their children acquire the technical knowhow in the latest fields of science. On the whole, they have acquired the competence to meet the multinationals on an equal footing.

Around the same time, the economy in the developed countries goes through a process necessitating a different kind of production zone and an expanded market for their outdated and unsold goods. There is no more attractive place than India given her land-size and related resources. It is this convergence of interests which has given birth to the evil called 'globalization'. It is clear, therefore, that not only the conspiracy beyond our shores but also a conspiracy hatched by certain sections within, that has disinherited millions in this country. It is important to note that this disinherited millions largely belong to the lower rungs in the caste order besides the tribals.

In this context, our talks about losing sovereignty and 'swedeshi' must be situated. These concepts have surely lost their meanings that they acquired during the Independence movement. If not all these concepts are to be used today, as it was done extensively during this consultation, they do not definitely refer to those who mortgaged it to expand their capital, but to those whose land and other possessions that have been taken away in this deadly process called globalization.

Dominant Religions and Legitimization of Globalization

It is with this perspective I would like to reflect on the views held by the speakers from the religions cited above. All of them laboured hard to portray that their religion is totally opposed to all that is implied in globalization like profit, interest, misappropriation of others resources, disregard for human persons and communities etc. The question that comes to my mind is from where, then, the Indians who belong to these three religions derive their values that make them comfortable with the onslaught of the globalization process. Are they non-believers or atheists?

The answer to this questions lies not in the tenets of these religions which most of the speakers focused upon. It lies very much in the actual religious practices of these religions. These sections, on the one hand, stress the need to 'modernize' India through science and technology and through free market. On the other hand, they promote through extravagant festivals and mega- media productions religious in the abstractions of the teachings in the sacred books but also their historical expression in a given space and time.

As far as the question of religion in India goes, faith as the transcendental experience of the Ultimate, has been considerably mediated by a dominant tradition which divided the humans as pure and impure and therefore as superior and inferior. The super imposition of superiority and inferiority was not confined to humans but also to natural elements like time and space. Humans inhabiting a particular space either in villages, or in regions are considered inferior. The fragmentation in the process of conceiving a reality has expressed itself in the distribution of economic resources and the power over one's own life. The best example are the women who, as a social category, have been the victims of such ordering vis-a-vis the men. Characterization of female deities as young, fair, slim and beautiful weakens women in relation to muscular male deities endowed with enormous power for destruction.

This kind of inferiorization and exploitation permeates in every aspect of the dominant religions. The basic orientation of the dominant religion is that it is turned towards the other world and against this world. The other world is sacred and this world is profane. Knowledge of the other world and those who claim to posses the 'knowledge' about it are considered 'superior'. The knowledge about this world which consists of knowledge about ploughing, sowing, harvesting are considered inferior. The gods reside in this world far removed from the earth, except for occasional visits through their 'avatar'. They come to save some and destroy some others whose social locations are asymmetrical. Very often the weaker ones are punished or made to sacrifice crucial organs like eyes and thumbs. Enormous quantity of the earth's produce is expropriated as offerings.*

These features are not peculiar to the dominant religion in India. They are found in other dominant religions of the world including Christianity. Since our consideration is faith in the context of globalization in India, we restrict ourselves to the dominant religion in India and see its relation to the globalization.

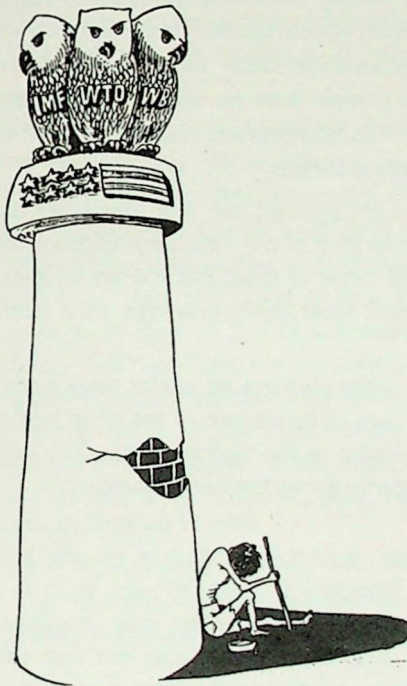
Globalization finds an acceptable location in the conceptual space provided by the dominant religion. Categorization of people as skillful and unskilled, efficient and inefficient, useful and useless, essential and surplus in globalization process gets easily accommodated in the pure and impure, the blessed and cursed, earthly suffering and heavenly bliss enunciated in the dominant religion. Thus, those whose religious consciousness is formed along these lines, find it earlier, consider it as right, to accept and advocate globalization.

Though this is a religious tradition of a particular social group, it has spilled out of the boundaries of this group and others, especially those in the middle levels of the caste hierarchy, which are being attracted to it as they enter into the orbit of globalization and achieve certain level of economic mobility. Those belonging to other religions like Christianity, Islam, Sikhism and Buddhism are no exceptions. Despite their conversions, they have carried their pre-conversion cultural and religious moorings which are in relation to their respective caste locations. They have reconstructed their new faith along their traditional moorings. So, the so-called converts from the upper castes have no qualms in sidelining the so-called 'impure', the 'untouchable' in worship, in sharing of resources. Hence, these religions also have lost their capacity to oppose globalization. They prefer to express themselves as religions on emotive issues such as claims over places of worship, whipping up frenzy among their respective believers whose historical origin is at the bottom layers of the caste hierarchy.

Does it mean that it is vain to search for the right kind of faith as an inner resource to experience the divine and overcome the evils of globalization? In my view there is hope. It is in the religion/s of the poor, majority of whom are the Dalits, the most backward castes and the Tribals. Though one can see the reflection of the dominant religious tradition in their fragmented perceptions of humans and other natural elements, their religious consciousness below the surface is humanistic in its orientation. There is a sense of community, willingness to share, consciousness of god as a giver of life and not a destroyer. Most of their deities are females, whose identity is not derived from a male deity, as in the case of dominant tradition. These deities show no unlimited interest in the produce of the devotees. The offering of goat or chicken is consumed not by an individual but as a community. They maintain intense personal relationship with animals, birds and plants so much so they call them by names affirming their individuality. They feel

for the animals when they suffer from some disease or other and nurse them not necessarily with an utilitarian motive.

We need this faith to sensitize us on the evils of globalization and to derive inner strength to engage on a struggle to overcome globalization. Those who have fallen out of this faith, need to respond to it at two levels. One is to recognize and respect not only the Dalit Bahujan tradition of faith but also the people of this faith. Second is to engage themselves in a process of self- transformation wherein they try to free themselves from the clutches of moorings of the dominant traditions. They need to integrate themselves with the humanistic faith of the marginalised groups - the Dalits, Tribals and others. Dalitization of the dominant traditions - be it Hinduism, Christianity or Islam - should be the faith project of the 21st Century.



Summation of Panel Presentation by the Chairperson

(After Prof Hassan's talk)

Based upon Prof Hassan Mansoor's input, I feel, we should find an answer to this question: How do we promote humanism in our country, today, in the political, social, economic and cultural situation of India.

(After Ms Tabassum's talk)

As I listened to Ms Tabassum's presentation, two things came to my mind. First, I was thinking of the Amaranth Yatra in Kashmir. We know what happened there. Perhaps, some of you took note of something interesting that happened alongside the tragedy. That is, when most of the ordinary people who were on pilgrimage were exposed to unexpected cold waves, ordinary people living in Kashmir, most of them Muslims, welcomed those pilgrims and gave them warm food and warm clothing, and put them in their houses. Yes, that is people-to-people relationship. What does that mean? That simply means: people don't want to fight each other; it is something else which causes these fights. And that is the central message of Tabassum's presentation today. So, if we want to create a secular, peaceful world in which communalism has no place, Tabassum has pointed out how we can strengthen interfaith human relations at the level of ordinary people drawing upon their own respective faiths.

Second, Tabassum pointed out that, as Islam understands, there are 1.76 lakh prophets. The essence of it is this: any religious leader has come forward with the useful social message of love, not hatred. Is there any religious leader who has preached hatred? How does one use that strength which is present in every religion?

And about the state shirking its social responsibility, it simply means the state's refusal to take care of its people — the poor, ordinary people. Whereas, the same state avows to cater to the needs of the rich. How can a government elected by the people refuse to serve the same people?

(After Fr Sampath Kumar's talk)

I think, it is an opportunity for me to cite a few findings from the Human Development Report of 1996, drawn by the United Nations' Development Programme. The report studies the question: 'Is the growth for human development?' And the report points out that since 1980, for the last 15 years, economic decline or stagnation has occurred in 100 countries, reducing the income of 1.6 billion people. The average rate of 70 of these countries has

become less than what it was in 1980. In 43 countries it is less than what it was in 1970. Over the period of 1990 and 1993 alone, the average fell by a fifth or more in 21 countries, mostly in the Eastern Europe.

Although many are aware of this economic stagnation and decline, the full extent and gravity are not yet realized. After 15 years of such disappointing performance, international policy makers need to question what is happening. The decline has been unprecedented — far exceeding, in duration and, sometimes, in depth, the decline of the great depression of the 1930s. In much of this success and disaster many of the people, poor people, have been disturbed. And even the batter of have been left vulnerable to unemployment and down-sizing of health and welfare services.

I don't know why all leading academicians and rulers still have doubts about what globalisation and privatisation have resulted in. This report has been drafted by intellectual leaders and academicians from across the world. From our own subcontinent, Mayhulul Hugh is there. He has been associated with writing UNDP Report for a long time. This 1996 March Report is a global report based upon global institutions.

There is something wrong with our whole process of thinking. One cannot rely on academicians to take the lead to change. People working in organisations like MAITRI must take the lead to bring change. When people rise in rebellion, clear-cut rebellion, then, only then, these great fellows, including professors, who have a lot of clarity about the New Economic Policy and liberalisation will join them. So, don't wait for their leadership. They will join only after the people have taken the lead. And the fish- workers struggle is the best example. When they rose in lakhs, the government said: "No new licenses for foreign products; old licenses will not be renewed; existing licenses will be cancelled through the legal procedure". Three importing demands have been conceded as a result of the struggle of fisher-people, the most ordinary people. Through their struggle, they have made the government to own its mistakes. So, if you don't struggle, they will continue to say they are doing the right thing.

(After Fr Lazar's talk)

The entire useful deliberations over the past two days must arrive at concrete conclusions and concrete tasks. May I request MAITRI to strain every effort to identify with clarity such talks.



ANNEXURE - I

FAITH TOWARDS HUMANISM IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION A Consultation Programme — 21st & 22nd September 1996

21st Sep. 96		
09.00 a.m.	Registration	
10.00 a.m.	Invocation	Ms. Suparna Nag
	Welcome & Introduction	Sr Celestine Prof Nasneen
10.15 a.m.	Keynote Address	Fr Allwyn D'souze
	Chairperson	Prof Hasan Mansur
11.00 a.m.	Tea Break	
11.15 a.m.	Session I	"Islamic Perspective of Globalisation"
		Mr Ali Khwaja Prof Santiago
12.15 p.m.	Session II	"Hindu perspective of Globalisation"
		Prof Krishnaswamy Fr Sampath Kumar
	Chairperson	
01.15 p.m.	Lunch Break	
02.30 p.m.	Session III	"Christian Perspective of Globalisation"
		Dr Gnana Robinson Dr Pushparajan
	Chairperson	
03.30 p.m.	Session IV	"The Effects of Globalisation on the unorganised Sector"
		Mrs Ruth Manorama Ms Tabassum
	Chairperson	
04.30 p.m.	Tea Break	
04.45 p.m.	Session V	"The Effects of Globalisation on Organised Sector"
		Prof Babu Mathew Mr J Vincent
	Chairperson	
22nd Sept. 96		
10.30 a.m.	Panel Discussion	Prof Hassan Mansoor Ms Tabassum, Fr Sampath Kumar, Fr Lazar, Rev P Moses Paul Peter Prof Babu Mathew
	Moderation	
01.15 p.m.	Lunch Break	
02.30 p.m.	Group Discussion	
03.30 p.m.	Plenary Session	Dr John Mohan Razu Mr Backianathan Mr Rajkmar
	Vote of Thanks	Sr Celestine

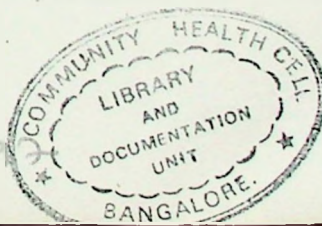
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Maitri Consultation on Faith towards Humanism in the Context of Globalisation SCM House, Bangalore September 21 & 22, 1996

-
- | | | | |
|---|--|----|--|
| 1 | Dr John Mohan Razu
UTC
Bangalore 560 046 | 10 | Mr Eranna
Director
Rural Development & Training Society
1st Main III Cross, SCR Colony
Tumkur - 1 |
| 2 | Mr Amaladoss
No.14, Parallel to I Cross
Cambridge Layout, Ulsoor
Bangalore 560 008 | 11 | Mr SM Louis
Asst Manager
R&D, BEML
KGF |
| 3 | Mr S Arokiadoss
No.14, Parallel to I Cross
Cambridge Layout, Ulsoor
Bangalore 560 008 | 12 | Fr Sampath Kumar
UTC
Bangalore 560 046 |
| 4 | Mr Mercy Louis Royan
"Presentation"
745/1, Chandramma Layout
Ramamurthy Nagar Road,
Dodda Banasawadi
Bangalore 560 043 | 13 | Rev Sway Sadha Shivananda
Swamy Vivekananda Sevashramam
Karumathur, Madurai 625 514 |
| 5 | Sr Marie De Britto
"Penn Thayagam
St Joseph's Convent
Bangalore 625 009 | 14 | Mr Aseervatham
Secretary, Rural Energy
Development Agency
No 2, 11th East Main Road
Gandhi Nagar, Vellore 632 006 |
| 6 | Prof Nazneen
6, Seetha Apartments
2A, Old Natham Road
Madurai 625 002 | 15 | Dr N H Abu Sayeed
Homeo Physician
Bamboo Bazaar
Bangalore 560 001 |
| 7 | Sr Margaret Mary
Jyothi Nivas College
Hosur Road
Bangalore 560 095 | 16 | Dr C Mohammed Eliyas
Lecturer
Dr Ambedkar College
Bangalore |
| 8 | Fr Louis
Anjali Ashram
Chamundi Hill Road
Mysore 570 011 | 17 | Rev Wilson
KCD, Wesley Tamil Church
198, Commissariat Road, Asoknagar
Bangalore 560 025 |
| 9 | Mr Vincent
PEAL
Madurai 625 002 | 18 | Mr K Ramaiah
YMCA Rural Centre
Indukurpet, Nellore Dt
Andhra Pradesh |

- 19 **Ms Mercy Kappan**
Programme Coordinator, Visthar
45, D'Cosha Square, 1st Cross
Bangalore 560 084
- 20 **Fr S Lazar**
Indian Social Institute
Bangalore 560 009
- 21 **Mr Ali Khwaja**
Banjara Academy, Queen's Road
Bangalore 560 052
- 22 **Mr N Ananda**
Programme Coordinator
CHAI-Karnataka Region
St Martha's Hospital
Bangalore 560 009
- 23 **Sr Mercy Abraham**
Superior
St Martha's Hospital
Bangalore 560 009
- 24 **Mr Daniel**
CSI - KCD
Mission Road Cross
Bangalore 560 001
- 25 **Rev I Fredrick Prasad**
Bethany Lutheran Church
MELIM Compound, Coromandel
KGF 563 118
- 26 **Mr Thomas Ninan**
Research Scholar
Department of Christianity
University of Mysore
Mysore
- 27 **Prof E P Menon**
Director
Centre for SAARC Solidarity
Vallabha Niketan, KP East
Bangalore 560 001
- 28 **Prof P V Arul**
Christ College
Hosur Road
Bangalore 560 029
- 29 **Dr Richard D Macphail**
Lecturer, Dept of Religion & Culture
UTC
Bangalore 560 046
- 30 **Fr Xavier E Manavath**
Rector, Claretian Seminary
PB 5556, Malleswaram
Bangalore 560 055
- 31 **Mr P Robert**
Organiser, CISRS - JWP
73, Millers Road, Benson Town
PB 4600, Bangalore 580 020
- 32 **Mr Solomon Bijja**
President, Pioneer Society
112/1, Gandhiwada
Hubli 580 020
- 33 **Mrs H Mansur**
No 46, Wellington Street
Richmond Town, Bangalore 560 025
- 34 **Rev P Moses Pal Peter**
SCM House
29, II Cross, CSI Compound
Mission Road
Bangalore 560 027
- 35 **Mr Babu Mathew**
President, BEL Employees' Union
No 12, King's Street
Bangalore 560 025
- 36 **Mr Farukh Sultana**
Abbas Khan College for Women
Bangalore
- 37 **Ms Suparna Nag**
Indian Social Institute
24, Benson Road
Bangalore 560 056
- 38 **Ms Sabiha Inasroor**
Lecturer, Abbas Khan College
Bangalore
- 39 **Ms Nadira Sultana**
Lecturer, Abbas Khan College
Bangalore
- 40 **Ms Nishath K Praveen**
Lecturer
Abbas Khan College
Bangalore
- 41 **Mr Sebastian Emmanuel**
TRADA, Carmelaram (PO)
Bangalore 560 035

- 42 **Mr & Mrs Coreuni & David Scott**
UTC
Bangalore 560 046
- 43 **Mrs Jyothi Raj**
Director, REDS
Shanti Nagar, SS Puram Post
Tumkur 572 102
- 44 **Prof Hasan Mansur**
President, PUCL
14, Wellington Street
Richmond Town
Bangalore 560 025
- 45 **Ms Tabassum**
MADHYAM
No 1, 10th Cross, 10th Main
Vasanth Nagar
Bangalore 560 052
- 46 **Mr Emerson Samuel**
Co-ordinator, CASA
14/65, Gospel Street
St Thomas Town
Bangalore 560 084
- 47 **Dr Gnana Robinson**
(Principal) UTC
No.46, Wellington Street
Richmond Town
Bangalore 560 025
- 48 **Mr Mangala Nathan**
'Premalaya'
No.13/6, 11th Cross, Pillanna Garden
Bangalore 560 084
- 49 **Mr Samuel Jesupatham**
ISI
Bangalore
- 50 **Miss Amitha Santiago**
Teacher, Jyothi Nivas College
Bangalore
- 51 **Mr Nagaraju**
Manager, HP Division
BEML
KGF
- 52 **Mr K Vijaya Kumar**
Asst General Manager
BEML
KGF
- 53 **Sr Celia**
Secretary, Mahilapragath Women's
Commission
Archbishop's House
PB No.2
Bangalore 560 046
- 54 **Mr Syed Kadar**
Lecturer, BE College
MG Road, Kodialbail
Bangalore 560 003
- 55 **Dr Pushparajan**
Madurai Kamaraj University
Madurai 625 002
- 56 **Mr Ramakrishna Bhat**
Community Organiser
CORD, Kushal Nagar
Coorg 571 234
- 57 **Mr Santiago Iswara Prasad**
English Lecturer
Cathedral Camp College
High School
Bangalore 560 025
- 58 **Mr Manmohan S**
Yoga Teacher
Dept of Physical Education
Gulbarga University
Gulbarga 585 106
- 59 **Dr S A Kasi**
Lecturer
Department of Social Work
Gulbarga University
Gulbarga 585 106
- 60 **Ms S Colette**
Social Organiser
Women's Voice
47/1, St Marks Road
Bangalore
- 61 **Mr V Nagaraj**
Human Rights Education & Action
Forum
SUNANDA, Krishnarajapuram Via O'pet
Peddapally PO, KGF 563 121
- 62 **Mrs Paulin Razu**
Teacher
UTC, Bangalore



- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 63 | Samuel Jesupatham
ISI
Bangalore | 74 | Mohsin Kouser
Abbas Khan College |
| 64 | J Backianathan
Sunanda
Krishnarajapura Via-O'Pet
Peddapally PO, KGF 563 121 | 75 | Haleema Zehra
Abbas Khan College |
| 65 | Sr Celestine
MAITRI
T Gollahalli
Bangarpet Taluk 563 1165 | 76 | Shahtaj Begum
Abbas Khan College |
| 66 | M Raj Kumar
Co-ordinator, SUNANDA
Krishnapuram Via O'Pet
Peddapalli PO, KGF 563 121 | 77 | Farhath Munisa
Abbas Khan College |
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JEPASA
C/o Lazarus Church
Madras 600 028 | 78 | Mumtaz Banu
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Maitri Sagar
T Gollahalli
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Abbas Khan College | 84 | M Rukhsana
Abbas Khan College |
| | | 85 | M C Krishna
C/o Kiran
No 876, Geetha Road,
Chamarajapuram
Mysore 5 |
| | | 86 | Mr Ruth Manorama
Director
Women's Voice
471 St Marks Road
Bangalore 560 001 |
| | | 87 | Prof Krishnaswamy |
| | | 88 | Fr Alluyu D'Souza |

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