

WHAT DO "HINDUTVA" AND "HINDU RASHTRA" MEAN?

The words "Hindutva" and Hindu Rashtra" have been constantly used by the BJP combine and its opponents in the recent past. Yet most people do not know what these words stand for, what their history is, and why they have assumed such importance today. The Sangh Parivar has tried to rewrite history and make people believe that these words and issues have been important for centuries. This pamphlet provides the historical background to these concepts and answers questions about the kind of society that the Sangh Parivar wishes to build. It is based on the writings and speeches of leading Hindu fundamentalist figures such as V.D. Savarkar, Golwalkar, Bal Thackeray and Sadhvi Ritambar, on the research of independent historians, on recent events, and particularly the recent actions of the Sangh Parivar.

What is "Hindutva" ?

Hindutva is a violent, aggressive, intolerant and death seeking instinct within India today. Although it claims to be the voice of Hinduism, demolishing places of worship, such as the Babri Masjid, burning the homes of Muslims, and terrorising people and violating the laws of the country has nothing to do with the spirit of the Upanishads, Kabir, Basavanna and Gandhi.

What is the concept of "Hindu Rashtra"?

"Hindu Rashtra" is the political expression of Hindutva that the Sangh Parivar hopes to bring into existence. It will be a theocratic state, where the "Hindutva" of the BJP combine will be the state religion. Only those showing allegiance to Hinduism as defined by the BJP will enjoy "citizenship" of this state.

Will such a state be very different from India today?

Yes. It will mean changing the secular democratic basis of the Constitution altogether. The definition of the "Hindu citizen" will leave out members of minority religions,

the lower rungs of the Hindu caste order and other Hindus who do not believe in the Hinduism of the BJP.

Some features of theocratic or right wing regimes worldwide include :

- Coming to power using democratic methods (say the elections) and then changing the laws so that they can stay in power.
- Defining citizenship in a way as to exclude those of differing religions, and labelling them "anti-national". Thus not only Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and Jains, but also Dalits, or Indians who may not profess any particular religion, will become second class citizens.
- Defining and fixing the role of women in very narrow terms and making it difficult for women to claim equal rights.
- Opposing political groups and processes which are democratic, and defining politics solely in religious terms.

How old is this concept of Hindu Rashtra?

Very recent! The concept of a unified "Hinduism" as a religion is itself very recent. Since Hinduism has more than one religious text, and no centralised church structure, people usually defined themselves in terms of the local caste or community. But when the British gained political control of India, they gave one name to all these multiple practices: Hinduism. This term was refined by the reform movements of the 19th century, such as the Arya Samaj, which tried to develop Hinduism along the lines of Christian Church.

As a political concept, Hindu Rashtra is even more recent: the term "Hindu Rashtra" did not really enter political discourse till as recently as the 1920s after the Hindu Mahasabha (1915) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1925) were set up.

Must a nation be based on common religious beliefs?

Not at all! Those who fought for India independence did not define India as the

homeland of the Hindus, but as a nation where several religions could co-exist.

The "nation" is the most recent of political formations in human history (as opposed to the monarchy, or the oligarchy). Nations are "imagined communities", unities that are consciously built around some identity, such as language, culture, or shared historical experiences, not necessarily religion. If all members of one religion belonged to one nation, there would be only a few nations in the world.

IN OUR OWN REGION, BANGLADESH SPLIT AWAY FROM PAKISTAN AROUND A BENGALI CULTURAL IDENTITY. THERE ARE SEVERAL NATIONS IN THE WORLD, SUCH AS INDIA OR THE USA, WHERE PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT RACES, LANGUAGES AND BELIEFS CO-EXIST.

Do "Hindus" and "Muslims" constitute two nations?

Absolutely not! The concept of "Hindus" and "Muslims" constituting two separate political communities is very recent, a British creation. When the British established their rule over India, they portrayed themselves as those who established law and order in a divided country. To them, religion was the prime moving force in history; that is why British historians started the practice of dividing Indian history into Hindu (pre 1206) and Muslim (after 1206 to 1757) periods. But they called their own rule "British" not "Christian"!

It was only during the colonial period that political representation began to be defined in terms of religious communities. This gradually led to the demand for Pakistan from some Muslim communalists. Yet even when India was partitioned in 1947, the majority of Muslims decided to stay on in India.

What does our history tell us about relations between Hindus and Muslims?

Most Indian rulers did not see themselves as "defenders of the Hindu faith" or the "Muslim faith". In fact, temples were routinely plundered even by Hindu kings, since they were centres of wealth and treasure.

• **Subhatvarman, a Parmara ruler (1193-1210 A.D.) attacked Gujarat and plundered Jain temples in Dabhoi and Cambay.**

• **King Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101) - (not the seventh century Harsha) melted down all metal images in his kingdom when he faced a grave economic crisis: he even appointed a minister called "Devotpatana Nayaka" i.e. "a high minister for uprooting gods".**

Destroying shrines was also a way of expressing political supremacy. The Jagannath temple at Puri is built on the ruins of a tribal shrine, and in Bodhi Gaya, a Buddhist vihara was destroyed by Sasanka to build a Hindu shrine in the sixth century.

• **IN JULY 1991, THE BJP/RSS/VHP COMBINE IN THE NAME OF KAR SEVA DESTROYED SEVERAL TEMPLES INCLUDING THE SANKAT MOCHAN HANUMAN MANDIR IN AYODHYA.**

• **ON 6TH DECEMBER 1992, THE SAME COMBINE DESTROYED THE RAM CHABUTRA AND SITA RASOI ALONG WITH BABRI MASJID.**

Even Tipu Sultan, who has been painted as a bigot by colonial historians and is believed to have converted large numbers of people to Islam, always had a temple very near every fort he built. He even assured the Sringeri Math of assistance when it was threatened by the Marathas.

We do have one Indian king who used all the state machinery to propagate one religion by declaring it the state religion. His name is Ashoka, the religion was Buddhism, yet he continues, even today, to be considered a great ruler.

What is the background of the Babri Masjid controversy?

The Babri Masjid was a small mosque built in 1528 at Ayodhya by one of Babar's nobles, Mir Baqi. There are several mosques and temples in Ayodhya. Until 22 December 1949,

namaz was offered daily at the Babri Masjid, and Hindus worshipped at Sita ki Rasoi nearby. On that date, the local District Magistrate, K K Nayar, allowed some priests, one of whom is still alive today, to instal a few idols in the mosque. The Babri Masjid was sealed, namaz was stopped, and the case was referred to the court.

THE DISPUTE OVER THE BABRI MASJID WAS NOT A NATIONAL ISSUE UNTIL 1986 WHEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF RAJIV GANDHI ALLOWED THE FAIZABAD ADMINISTRATION TO OPEN THE TEMPLE FOR DARSHAN ON MAY 1, 1986. EVEN BEFORE THE CASE WAS DECIDED IN COURT, SOON THE DEMAND FOR BUILDING THE RAMJANAMBHOOMI AT THE SAME SPOT AS THE BABRI MASJID BECAME AN ALL INDIA AFFAIR DUE TO THE EFFORTS OF THE BJP AND VHP. IN 1989, THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT, JUST BEFORE IT FELL, AGAIN GAVE PERMISSION FOR THE CONDUCT OF SHILANYAS PRELIMINARY TO BUILDING A TEMPLE.

On December 6, 1992, the BJP/RSS/VHP/Bajrang Dal and the Shiv Sena bigots destroyed the Babri Masjid in open defiance of the constitution, the judiciary and the central government.

Is it established that there was a temple where the Babri Masjid stood?

Eminent independent historians with national and international reputations who have extensively studied the historical and archaeological evidence have shown that there is no authentic basis for the existence of an 11th century shrine.

The VHP, however, has been claiming that there was a Vaishnava shrine celebrating the birth place of Rama at the site of the Babri Masjid.

How is the destruction of the Babri Masjid different from the destruction of temples and mosques during communal riots?

We condemn the destruction of all religious sites whether in Punjab, Kashmir, Pakistan, Bangladesh, or South Africa. Unfortunately, religious structures have routinely been destroyed in communal riots since independence.

- it is not even established whether the spot is the birthplace of Rama.
- no evidence exists in the texts before the 16th century that people venerated the site for being the birth place of Rama.
- 14 black pillars which were found at the site with figures on them do not match each other, were brought from elsewhere, do not have Vaishnava markings, and could not have been from a temple.
- the first suggestion that there was a temple at the site came in the writings of a Jesuit historian Joseph Tiefertalier in 1788; this was categorically denied by another colonial chronicler Francis Buchanan in 1810.
- the BJP historians have not allowed the independent historians to examine the archaeological notes on which they base their claim.

THE DEMOLITION OF THE BABRI MASJID IS DIFFERENT FROM ALL SUCH DESTRUCTION. IT WAS NOT JUST AN ACT OF VANDALISM BY A MOB OUT OF CONTROL, BUT WAS PART OF A SUSTAINED CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE RULE OF LAW AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED AND SUPERVISED BY THE LARGEST OPPOSITION PARTY IN PARLIAMENT. THE BJP, WHO SWORE TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION,

The events of the past few months have caused untold suffering, loss of life and property and serious disruption of normal life for millions of Indian people. Many of us feel pained, ashamed and extremely anxious about the future of secularism and democracy in India. Fascist goon squads have unleashed a reign of terror and appear to be bent on destroying the democratic foundations of this country; even those who have sworn to uphold the Constitution have violated the rule of law.

The activities of the fascist goon squads bear no resemblance to religious activity of any description. On the contrary these violent schemes have torn the fabric of the nation and polarised the nation in ways unseen since Independence. Hence it is imperative that these forces be countered. We must not be overwhelmed by the large numbers that have been mobilised by the BJP, VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal, and Shiv Sena. The choice is between the politics of life and death, between secular democracy and communal fascism, between India and Hindu Rashtra.

We believe that in a multi-ethnic, multi-language, and multi religious nation such as ours, there is no alternative to the path of secular democracy. Secularism must guarantee all citizens the absolute and unconditional right to practice the faith of their birth or choice, provided it does not impinge on the democratic rights and freedoms of other citizens.

The Indian state must guarantee equality of all religions before law, and cannot implicitly or explicitly support the demands of any single religious group. Neither language, religion nor ethnicity can be the sole basis of citizenship in this country nor should any of these identities be considerations to deny access, on a fair and equitable basis, to any of India's citizens.

Recent events have clearly shown that secularism cannot be merely a political ideal enshrined in the constitution and enforced by the state. The current situation demands a massive movement of all Indians committed to secular and democratic freedoms, i.e. the broadest possible alliance between parties, groups, organisations, unions and individuals committed to fighting these communal forces. Such groups have already emerged and begun working in all parts of India. In Bangalore too, several writers, artists, scientists and activists have formed a broad based coalition to bring out materials, organise educational programmes and network with the state. Come, join our fight for a just, secular and democratic India.

Begin now, by using the information in these pamphlets to counter lies and misinformation in conversation with friends, relatives and colleagues in schools, colleges and places of work.

COALITION FOR SECULARISM.

MY EXPERIENCE WITH SADGURU SAI SHANKAR



*(Lord Shankar manifest in the instrumental person
of Sri A. T. Kariappa)*

I am the grandson of Late Sir A.P. Patro, Kt., K.C.I.E., Minister of Law and Education, Madras State, leader of the Justice Party and member of the team led by Mahatma Gandhiji to the three Round Table Conferences held at London; son of late Sri A. V. Patro, M. B. E., I. P., Commissioner of Police, Madras, I. G. of Police, Hyderabad.

Having lost my grandfather and father by the age of nine, I was left entirely in the care of my mother who had to bring up my three elder sisters and myself. I completed my graduation and post-graduation courses in politics and public administration from Loyala and Presidency College, Madras, respectively. My pursuits in the athletic field comprised of being a minus one handicap polo player, tennis and swimming captain of Presidency College team, winner of the Earl Robert's International Shooting Competition, adjudged All India Best Cadet at Advanced Leadership Course held at Pahalgam, Kashmir, and represented Madras Gymkhana and Cricket Club in the Spencer Trophy Snooker Tournament.

I was brought up under affluent circumstances in an aristocratic manner moving in the higher echelons of society and at no stage was denied any wants, which ultimately boosted my ego to such an extent that I tended to look down upon people around me whom I thought were financially, mentally, physically or otherwise of lower degree than I was at. This conception was carried on along the years until the cycle forced it down to the lowest where I myself had to look to the same people around me for help. This original egoistic behaviour of mine proved very detrimental to the basic factors such as character, self-respect, social status, friendship and finance. It was due to this maladjustment in

personality that I tended to lean towards the Bohemian life. Gradually I became deeply involved in gambling, on horse-racing where I lost colossal amounts of money and indulged in about fifteen years of hard drinking and all the sensual pleasures that go with it.

It was at this stage when I was at the crossroads of my life that I just about realised that I had reached the end of the tether of a wasted life and would soon end in total ruin if not helped by some strong force. And it was in this frame of mind that I resolved to seek some spiritual guidance which I thought would recast my personality and make me learn the true values of life that would give lasting peace of mind. This I believed would show me the path to a more purposeful future. I sought solace and guidance in various ways, none of which proved fruitful. I wandered from town to town trying to assimilate various kinds of advices, apparently being given to a lost soul more out of pity rather than man to man and anything constructive or conducive to my frame of mind at that time. It was during this run-around that I remembered two close friends of mine, namely Sri M. Harish Chittiappa and Sri M. Pratap Chittiappa of Coorg, Karnataka who happened to be the life of parties that I used to attend during my Bohemian life. I heard that Pratap Chittiappa had turned over a new leaf and was treading a spiritual path of total dedication to Lord. He had set up a Spiritual Guidance Nilayam at his estate in Coorg, complete with cottages for aspirants, Bhajana Mandir etc. All this had been done through the guidance of his spiritual preceptor, Sri Sadguru Sai Shankar. I contacted Sri Pratap Chittiappa enquiring details of whether I could stay at the Spiritual Guidance Nilayam. He consulted Sadguru Sai Shankar who immediately asked Sri Pratap to give his consent to my request.

Upon arrival, I was taken to Prashanthi Nilayam, Ponnampet, where I was impressed by the atmosphere, activities and the general nature in which they were conducted. Of Sadguru Sai Shankar, I cannot say that my first impression was the best but within an incredibly short span, there was a complete upheaval of my mind towards the father-figure in every sense of the term. At present I would not believe if anyone told me that on the first meeting I had evinced doubt

that this figure did not manifest in itself the Supreme Power. Initially, in the first few days of my stay in the Spiritual Guidance Nilayam, I was deluded to think that the Swamiji clad in long gown, moving freely with me and intimately enquiring into my problems, was really the person who was instrumental in correcting and giving peace of mind and salvation to the numerous educated disciples and followers, both foreign and Indian, and persons drawn from every strata of society. The basic feeling of open mindedness to the subject on hand being discussed with Swamiji made me feel at ease that whenever I happened to mention that 'I did such a thing or 'I' did not do such a thing, the very fact that I got a neutral reply made me feel that I was emphasising my ego. This fact was more so brought out by the very simplicity that was the base of all these conversations wherein rudimentary facts and figures explained by Swamiji made me feel already ashamed to say once again that I had done this or that which only went to prove how small minded my thinking was.

To clear my doubts about the reality of Sadguru Sai Shankar, I approached Sri P. G. Kuttappa who, incidentally, gave up a lucrative executive job in a foreign Tea Company to become Sadguru Sai Shankar's first disciple. He told me that Sri A. T. Kariappa, in whom the power of Lord Shankar has assumed the role of Sadguru Sai Shankar using the figure of Sri A. T. Kariappa as His instrument, was, to begin with, a man basically shy and an introvert by nature. He attributed the changes in the personality of Sri A. T. Kariappa and all the activities that centred around him, which was drawing people from all walks of life, to the manifest power of Lord Shankar as an inner voice within him, starting from September 18, 1967. He further stated that it was in recognition of this great truth that he had chosen to give up his vocation and come to stay close to Sadguru Sai Shankar so that he could thoroughly purify himself by acquiring the knowledge of the self from Sadguru Sai Shankar and thereafter offer himself to be used in whatever manner the power of Lord Shankar deemed fit. This statement was indeed thought provoking and I realised that the figure of Sri Kariappa was only an instrument of the Lord to give guidance and salvation to the various people who gathered around him seeking the same.

After hearing the guidances of Sadguru Sai Shankar, I realised that the power of 'Inness' and 'Myness' should be annihilated totally which in turn brings about co-operative thinking and living built upon the base of simplicity and humility which is in itself love, which again in itself is God. The root cause of my base mode of life, I came to realise, had to be done away with. In the past I was made to give up drinking, smoking, etc., against my will and hence always had the incumbent desire to revert to the old habits after a period of time. In this case, the very initiative to give up sensual pleasures of drinking, smoking, etc., and the total desire to make a completely new image that fully reflects every word and deed had come from within. This inner urge to be good, to see good and do good was kindled by the guidance imparted by Sadguru Sai Shankar. The subtle nature of the mind and the pranks it plays on an individual makes a person take off at a tangent finally leaving the body unaware of how it came to be doing what it is doing. Simple self-control methods by Namusmarana (mentally chanting the chosen name of the Lord), Satsangha (good company), meditation, introspection, bhajans, etc., prescribed by Sadguru Sai Shankar has made me what could be termed "aware of myself" which in itself is a great step taken closer to the Lord.

During my sojourns through the various parts of the country, I happened to visit a couple of ashrams and listen to lectures and discourses by eminent scholars but none of them had come close to making anyone of the listeners of their lectures put into practice their sayings. But here I found that you are not only shown the right path but are told in more ways than one, how to implement the plan and practice it in the work-a-day world. Total renunciation of family life is not advocated whereas it is imbibed into you that the life of a householder can go hand in hand with a totally dedicated and spiritual life.

The root cause of 'Inness' and 'Myness' complex which essentially stems from basic 'attachments' to a certain person, place or thing if eradicated leads to a life of simplicity, humility and peace of mind which mankind longs for. The attainment of this wisdom, Sadguru Sai Shankar explains in simple terms, that action, work and duty all seem such a

pleasure to perform when the goal to achieve is such a beautiful prize.

I am now staying under the fold of Sadguru Sai Shankar with the purpose of perfecting the art of living a worldly life and doing one's duty in the society based on spiritual principles without having to renounce worldly possessions. After coming to Sadguru Sai Shankar, I feel that all the money wasted by me in the pursuit of my sensual pleasures could have been used for helping the needy by way of providing food, clothing, medical aid, shelter, educational facilities and drinking water amenities all of which form the main activities that are being undertaken by my friend Sri Pratap Chittiappa, who earlier was also wasting money for no constructive purposes. This radical change in him only follows the change of his behaviour towards his parents whom he used to grossly disrespect and to whom he now owes allegiance, and has utmost respect for. This former atheist to believe that the Supreme Power of Lord Shankar is manifest and also his radical change in attitude to life, I can now believe, could not have been effected by anyone other than the Lord himself.

After rational thinking and intensive enquiry, I have realised that the form and the embodied Supreme Spirit are two separate entities and it is the voice of Supreme Spirit that I take to be my spiritual guru. It is therefore evident that if it is not for the manifestation of the Supreme Spirit, myself and other educated youngsters will have no reason to take any guidance from Sri A. T. Kariappa who had studied upto S. S. L. C. and had only meagre worldly experience.

I write this to bring out mainly the reality that I found centred around all the words and deeds that I have seen, heard and experienced practically of the nature, being and self that is Sadguru Sai Shankar so that anyone of you who read this and are at present deluded by the present way of life based on fleeting values and so desire to re-orient your way of life, I put down my humble experiences.

—A. R. PATRO

A. R. PATRO

Follower of SADGURU SAI SHANKAR

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NEW DELHI

SEMINAR ON VALUE ORIENTATION IN HUMAN PROBLEM SOLVING
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Sponsored by : Vivekananda Nidhi, Calcutta
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KEYNOTE BY SWAMI YUKTANANDA

At the outset, may I express my cordial feelings and gratitude to Vishwa Yuvak Kendra, and to Dr. K.V. Sridharan in particular for having accepted Vivekananda Nidhi as joint sponsor of this seminar on Value Orientation in Human Problem Solving. It is a privilege to address this assembly of eminent people participating in the seminar because of the common concern for value identification and its orientation towards bringing in attitudinal changes in people which will improve the quality of life and also the environment.

2. Areas for deliberation:

The organisers have selected four areas for the deliberations with a view to drawing conclusions and preparing action programmes which can be implemented, viz. Value Orientation in

1. cultural interaction
2. social behaviour
3. upbringing of children
4. fighting poverty

3. Target - priority group :

When the value orientation movement was initiated, decision-making agencies and media people were recognised as the target group. The priority was fixed on the rationale that as a consequence of the over-growing structured socio-environmental system, the control over most aspects of human existence is now consolidated in a small number of decision-making agencies comprising Governments, Corporate Bodies, Political Parties, Trade Unions, Communication Controllers, Gurus (religious leaders) etc. In such a situation, parochial interests, errors in judgement or any irresponsible action on the part of one or more of these agencies could cause irreparable damage to all human endeavour instantaneously or in a slow process. The decision-making people therefore, have to be aware of value systems, of the absolute component in them, as well as of the components which vary with time and place and social condition.

4. Value Orientation:

4.1. When the question of Value Orientation arises in any context, there are two basic elements to be considered: the valuer, and the value-referent. For our present discussion man is the

valuer, and the value referent is the object, event, process or condition that forms the experiential locus of value concern. A definition of value places clear emphasis either on the attitude of the valuer or upon the value referent. In the first case we speak of man holding or entertaining values and in the second of objects, events, etc. having values.

It is significant that the basic human values such as love, truth, etc., remain indivisible even though application takes various behavioural forms.

4.2 The concept of value is essentially behavioural. A value when accepted by society in action is transformed into a social or behavioural norm, i.e. orientation does take place. A value not accepted, is not transformed into a norm, remains subjective and speculative, a mere conjecture or reverie.

4.3 In effect therefore, values mean a commitment to the expenditure of time, effort and/or other resources in appropriate circumstances in order to achieve an objective relevant to some experiential referent. In this context, what is to be emphasised is attribution of value. For, in a given situation it is what will make a difference in the behavioural response and condition of the valuer, thereby modulating the outcome. The valuer agrees directly or indirectly to contribute time and energy or to make the resources at his disposal available

to his fellow beings in their efforts to bring about the desired state of affairs. Without this commitment, value orientation is an exercise in futility.

- 4.4 It may be assumed that value commitments are implemented when the circumstances are appropriate. It is also true that the appropriateness of the value-directed behaviour depends upon the experiential context.
- 4.5 In this view, value is not in any way a property of the referent. Of course, this does not mean that the view of those who consider value as a property is absolutely incorrect. My contention is that the properties of the value referent are irrelevant to the selected subjects for our discussion.
5. Values - gratificatory, unconditional and conditional :

- 5.1 In practical terms, we are prepared to accept an activity as value-directed and make investments in terms of time, effort and/or other resources; even self-restraint, provided we obtain some gratification out of the investment or sacrifice. If the pursuit does not produce satisfaction or gratification for us, the valuers, we do not usually accept it as value-directed. This is so because the expected satisfaction or gratification motivates our behaviour, conscious and con-
nate, and imparts meaning and purpose to our existence. The gratificatory values may be unconditional or conditional.

- 5.2 Unconditional gratificatory values are those which are imperative or compulsive irrespective of the sacrifice involved or the consequence. Their sources are rigid ethnocentric beliefs and practices the tradition-bound society dictating what is good or holy or political rigidity. Such values are enforced by custom, ritual and social indoctrination. The enforcement is supported by selective interpretation of myths and legends and further strengthened by ceremonies and festivals. In this way unconditional gratificatory values are institutionalised, inhibiting change and always act as the motivating force behind struggles to maintain the status-quo. Because these values are quite unrelated to the experiential aspect, fresh experiences in altered situations cannot bring about any modification or correction in their behavioural or attitudinal components. Individual emotional experiences such as insecurity and frustration when of great intensity can generate similar attitudes. These result in a loss of flexibility and receptivity in the response to experience and a consequent immunity to modification. It is possible to replace myth and legend by objective reasoning in the minds of people, but the after-effects of emotional experience are not so amenable.
- 5.3 From the individual this may be an influence affecting a larger section of people when the condition is common to

them as in a war, large-scale unemployment or political instability.

- 5.4 There is of course the possibility of intense emotional experience being the cause of fresh unconditional gratificatory values which loosen the hold of the established values upon the personality of an individual. In such a situation, transmission of unconditional gratificatory values from one generation to the next stops and the result is generation gap.
- 5.5 Next to be considered are conditional gratificatory values, so termed because they are not so compulsive or imperative as to stop individuals absolutely from pursuing other interests and concerns. Conditional gratificatory values are not looked upon as beyond reasoning. They can be judged on the basis of their consequences, which fact effectively produces a control over their influence. Being flexible, conditional gratificatory values are modified by the assessment of a given situation and the anticipated consequences. Unlike the unconditional gratificatory values, conditional values by virtue of their flexibility and adaptability, allow themselves to be intellectually organised and to be pursued by choice, provided the circumstances are such that fixed habits and rigid customs are not functional.

Conditional gratificatory values are also transmitted from generation to generation, thus becoming a part of the heritage of a society. There are however, among these values, some which are born of personal experience and which do not survive longer than the life of the individual entertaining them. They vary with location, occupation, status etc., but those which form part of the heritage are usually accepted by the people unawares.

5.6 To free our society from the false view of the absoluteness of unconditional gratificatory values, the most effective means is a constant and alert exercise of the intellectual faculties so as to affect a devaluation of all extra-experiential considerations in thought and behaviour. Technological progress and interaction between different cultures do bring about social changes which gradually make the established unconditional gratificatory values irrelevant, and without going into the reason behind the change, a noise is raised that values are eroding. At this point, of course, there is always an apprehension of new ones being created by emotional disturbances in individuals and groups. Though these cannot by their very nature last long, they can give rise to cults or erratic social behaviour and such other deviations which may persist for some time afterwards but eventually die out. So-called value erosion or birth of cults have nothing with absolute values inherent in man.

5.7 It is a matter of utmost urgency that the minds of decision-making people be made free of unconditional gratificatory values, if the scientific and technological advancement in our times is to be fully utilised for the benefit of mankind.

5.8 Now that this whole planet of ours has effectively become one neighbourhood and pluralism in the field of changing man-made values inevitable, we are required to identify the conditional gratificatory values of greater flexibility in thought and behaviour, based on the dignity of the individual, and providing scope for tolerance of the values of fellow beings. This will be a slow process no doubt, but imperative for survival.

6. Value concerns and change, and dynamics of improvement :

6.1 This flexible approach and the pluralistic view of values does not in any way mean acceptance of any kind of permissiveness or disintegration of social value concerns or of anything damaging to some common purpose. The point is that change of social value concerns is inevitable, that they cannot forcibly be made to stay based on unconditional gratificatory values.

6.2 On the basis of what I have submitted to you, we can now refer to the four chapters for discussion and see how value orientation can provide the dynamics of improvement in these

four fields.

6.3 Values whether unconditional or conditional gratificatory are derived from some fundamental ideas drawn from the metaphysical component of human heritage and culture, and supported by the findings of science. Political ideology and religious faith are both founded on these two factors. Till before the advent of quantum mechanics and the theory of relativity, a large part of human civilisation oriented its beliefs, faith, norms and political concepts on the mechanistic world view. Now that science has replaced this by a holistic world view, it is high time that the clutter of notions in our minds is cleared up, and we freed ourselves from the hold of unconditional gratificatory value systems to replace them by a conditional gratificatory value system sanctioned by objective reasoning, based on the inseparability of things, events and consciousness and on the denial of cessation of existence. Once we accept the oneness of the cosmos of which the individual and the world are components, most of the problems mankind is facing in its efforts to reach individual and collective fulfilment disappear. A completely fresh approach to social behaviour, political ethics and religious pursuits is opened up. This, I submit is value orientation. I shall indicate briefly its implication in the four fields chosen for discussion.

6.4 I. Value Orientation in Cultural Interaction:-

While working to preserve the uniqueness of one's own culture, all other cultures are required to accept the inevitability of interaction with other cultures, without denouncing any, or attempting to destroy another culture for the supposed benefit to one's own.

II. Value Orientation in Social Behaviour :-

The social system is inclusive of all without exception and alienation or isolation of individuals or groups is a contradiction. The economic system is not a means for instant gratification of needs or desires but provides a frame-work for living together on the basis of mutual trust, interdependence and communication.

III. Value Orientation in the upbringing of children:-

This is the most sensitive and vital part within the range of the deliberations. It is so because of the fact that even before the human mind is formed, loyalty fixation takes place. What type of a person the infant will develop into is to a large extent pre-determined by the physical and social environment in which the infant grows. The home and the parents are the primary contributory factors to the development of the adult from the infant. The problem here is that the adults

who create the infant's environment have already acquired loyalty fixation. However, acquired conviction in a value system (which is also socially acceptable) and commitment to it can bring about a re-orientation of attitudes. It is a great responsibility which does not admit compromises if we desire a better society.

IV. Value Orientation in fighting poverty :-

This has to do with the ultimate aim of value orientation which is character building. Truly to fight poverty to the finish, we have to include in its definition not only material poverty but also poverty of the intellect, of emotions and power of action. For it has become increasingly clear that in any scheme for economic uplift of any kind of development whatsoever, we are not deriving the expected output from more than adequate input in the form of investment, infrastructure, technically created planning etc. This is true not only on the national scene but also on the global level. Something is amiss somewhere. It is not difficult to identify the defect as lying in the performance of the human component in implementing plans. If the individual or group responsible for implementing any programme is not receptive to the value system as the dynamics of planning, not only is development retarded

but antivalues grow and result in insincerity, indiscipline, and corruption becomes institutionalised. An awareness of values need to be created in people who form public opinion, in order to reverse the effects. This requires the initiation of a massive movement in the field of value systems.

6.5 It is, of course, not only in these four areas, but in every field of human pursuits, value orientation in terms of the changing values and the enduring ones is imperative. By changing values and enduring values I mean, by the former unconditional and conditional gratificatory values and by the latter the fundamentals of the value system, i.e. metaphysical and scientific truth.

6.6 There are other classes of values as perfunctory values and instrumental values, but for our present purposes it is not necessary to go into them.

7. Value directed action :

In conclusion, I humbly draw your attention to the urgency of our taking some positive steps:

1. to develop convictions regarding the enduring values as found by physics and metaphysics; a holistic world

view in which the valuer and the valued are manifestations of the same existence.

2. to define the situation, identify the location of the individual, find the role-identity of the individual, and its relation to collective existence and to acknowledge the reciprocity of obligation.
3. to accept value-commitment in playing our mutual roles.
4. to be aware of the interdependence of individual humans, of individuals and the ecosystem, and their interrelation.
5. to evolve work programmes to achieve these objectives, which will also make value orientation a shared experience; to take part in various development and service projects with a view to making them value-directed.

RJS

THE INDIAN IDEOLOGY

Remarks on Manu's Defence of the Caste System :

India's caste system may be one of the most inhuman social systems of the world. With its thousand and one precepts and prohibitions, the caste has been able to regulate the minute details of the individuals life, erect walls between man and man and condemn large sections of the people to inhuman conditions of life. The caste is no doubt the result of a complex historical process, and racial, cultural, economic, geographical and political factors have gone into making of it. Caste difference is not identical with class difference, but it is doubtful if caste discrimination could have flourished so long and gone to such lengths without the backing of socio-economic and political power and the ideology which it produced to legitimize and stabilize the whole thing. There are certain basic beliefs and dogmas that gave the system the status of a natural or divine institution, made its observance a religious duty, and immunized it against criticism. These seem to constitute the most important ideological component of Indian thought; indeed they may be said to make up the Indian ideology.

Though there are statements that favour or justify caste discrimination in several books of the Hindu Sruti, the most typical expression of the caste ideology may be found in the Hindu law-books the Dharma Sastras. The purpose of this short article is to draw attention to the ideological character of Manava-Dharma Sastra or of Hindu-laws. The extant Manu smriti attributed to the mythical personage Manu, is a collective work and dates back at least to the early centuries of our era. It contains laws and regulations that might have originated in different times and in different communities. A study of Manu smriti would require the investigation of origin, development and codification of the different traditions in terms of the dialectics and beliefs and life-interests. Such a study is still outstanding and I do not presume to be qualified to make a beginning in the direction. Therefore, I shall consider the extant Manava Dharma sastra as it has been there for centuries, influencing the life and thought of generations of Indians, including those muslims and Christian converts from Hinduism who are hindu atleast in this respect.

The way the word Dharma is usually understood betrays a basically conservative tendency. For Dharma refers not only to those rules and laws that regulate man's conduct, social and individual, it refers also and above all to the cosmic law, rta. In fact it is in virtue of its being the law of being or the law of the world that Dharma becomes the law of Man's life and conduct. "The pattern of the laws of behaviour corresponds with the pattern of the laws of being". True, the laws of behaviour have or should have something to do with the reality of Man's life and the world. But to make this a matter of ontological correspondence would raise historically conditioned laws and regulations to a cosmic or ontological status and give them an absolute, metaphysical quality. It is not surprising in this context Dharma viewed as eternal, sanatana, and that one's duty, svadharma, is determined by what one is by birth rather than through decision. In this way of thinking, what, is sat, is good; what is not, asat, is bad. One's duty is to be what one is or to become aware of what one is.

It is not realized that what is, is often not as it can or should be, and thus what is, is not necessarily good. On the contrary, it may be bad and in this case, what is not, would be the good man can and should strive for, and this would imply criticism, change or overthrow of the existing situation rather than conformity with it. One attains one's true self not simply by being what one is not, by change, revolution, metanoia. The truth of our being consists not so much in knowing what we are but in realizing what we can be and thus are not. This realization is, of course, not independent of what we are but dialectically related to it. The upanisadic, tat tvam asi would in this light have to be as much a matter of praxis, karma, as of theory jnana. Such an approach can hardly accept doing a 'duty' that is found to be devoid of merit rather than one that is found to be good; it would rather challenge or overthrow a duty, dharma, that is less than good, and not submit to it merely because it is said to be one's duty, svadharma.

The fact that one's dharma is essentially varnasrama-dharma binds man to the role he has to play according to his birth and age. We cannot enter here into the enslavement this means to the individual's free self-realization, whatever caste one may belong to. Our concern is rather the way this compartmentalizes the society, erected a rigidly hierarchical social system and

favoured the oppression and exploitation of the large sections of the population in the name of religion and morality. For if the caste system is something natural and God given, its inequality and discrimination are not wrong. On the contrary man is bound to approach (accept) them willingly, without protest.

It is in this light that we should understand Manu's repeated stress on the divine authority of what he says : 'In order to clearly settle his (i.e. the Brahmans's) duties and those of the castes according to the order, wise Manu sprung from the Self-existent, composed these Institutes (of the sacred Law)'. (1:102) The brahman is to study and teach them (V. 104) and if he does fulfill its injunctions 'he is never tainted by sins, arising from thoughts, words or deeds' but will secure welfare, learning, fame and supreme bliss (V. 106:CF:10:131) "In this (work) the sacred law has been fully stated as well as the good and bad qualities of (human) actions and immemorial rule of conduct to be followed by all the four castes". (1:107) This rule of conduct corresponds to or follows from the order of creation. "But for the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brahmans, Ksatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra, to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs and his feet". (1:31) Manu describes in detail the duties and occupations of the four castes, varnas, brahmans (priests and teachers) Ksatriyas (warriors, princes) Vaisyas (peasants and traders) and Sudras (servants) (1:87-91) of these the first three castes are twice born, dvijas, whereas the sudras have only one birth(10:4). All others are outside the pale of system (ibid). They are outcastes, avarnas and as such are not born from the four parts of the deity (10:45) Divinely instituted as they are, the caste duties are absolutely binding. Those members of the four castes relinquishing their proper occupations except in case of distress are to become servants or dasyus, after having passed through despicable bodies (12:70:C. F VV 71-72) It goes without saying that this must have been a powerful incentive to observe the caste duties. It facilitated the acceptance of intolerable living conditions without criticism and protest. For if the evils of the present life are the consequences of one's own actions in a past life, karma, there is no use in criticism or protest. All that one can do is to bear them patiently and hope for a better life next time. As if this other-worldly sanctions were not enough Manu enjoins the king to see that the caste duties are observed by all (7:35).

Manu interprets the story of man's origin in the rigvedic purusasukta in such a way as to establish the superiority of these higher up in the social ladder as something divinely instituted and therefore immutable. 'Man is stated to be pure above the navel (than below hence the Self-existent (Svayambu) has declared the purest (part) of him (to be) the mouth" (1:92)

"As the Brahmana sprang from (Brahman's) Mouth, as he was the first born, and as he possess the veda, he is by right the lord of all creation (V.93). As R C Zaehner points out, seldom in the history of the world has a class of men arrogated to themselves such powers and privileges and such honour as the Brahmins of India: Of created beings the most excellent are said to have those which are animated of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent mankind; and of men Brahmanas;..... The very birth of a brahmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law; for he is born to fulfill the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman. A Brahmana coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana is indeed, entitled to all. The Brahmanas eats but his interest on food wears but his own apparel, bestows but his own alms; other mortals subsist through the benevolence of Brahmana" (1:96-101)" By his origin alone a brahmanais a diety even for the gods, and (his teaching is authoritative for men, because the veda is the foundation for that". (11:85) No wonder if the 'gods on earth bhudevas or bhuras, could lay claim to all sorts of rights and privileges. And the ordinary mortals were naturally reluctant to refuse what the brahman sought.

Some of Manu's ordinances are meant to assure the priestly classes the means of subsistence without undue care. So is also the injunction that Brahmin is not to take up other occupations except in case of distress. (4:2-7) As proceeds, however, to lay down what brahman should do or avoid, the legislation becomes strange and self-interested. For Instance, the brahmin is asked to take care not to unduly fatigue his body" (4:3) he is to avoid at all costs serving others, the only occupation allowed to the sudras, as service is in reality the 'dog's mode of life', svavriti (VV.4-6) Agriculture is either strictly forbidden or allowed with great reluctance. For manu fears that the Brahman, engaging in agriculture would have to injure the earth and the beings living in it, while ploughing (3:64:10.82:83-83) if this is the case, it may be asked how brahman came to be such a landed and landed class, which they are even now for the most part.

Some of manu's ordinance indicate the direction in which an answer may be sought. Manu exhorts the king to give liberally to learned Brahmanas "The king shall offer various (srauta) sacrifices at which liberal fees are distributed, and in order to acquire merit, he shall give Brahmanas enjoyment and wealth, (7:19:CF also VV37-38) A gift made to a Brahmana is never lost (VV:82-83) Indeed it is better than agnihotra the sacrifice to the God of fire. (V:85). "An offering made through the mouth of fire of Brahmanas rich in sacred learning and austerities, saves from misfortune and from great guilt" (3:98) while "a Brahmana who stays unhonoured (in the house) takes away with him all the spiritual merit" of the householder (V.100) Honouring the Brahmanis said to be one of the best means for a king to secure happiness (7:38). The knowledge governing interest of these statements is evident. Equally obvious is the effect it would have on pious sould. History bears witness to the importance Indian princes and aristocracy attached to brahmadana, the bestowing gifts on brahmins in the form of gold and landed property. Manu ordains that "on failure of all (heirs) brahmanas shall share the estate" (9:188) while, the property of a brahmana shall never be taken by a Kind" he may do this only in the case of other castes (V:189) The Brahman may take an article necessary for the completion of a sacrifice, from a vaisya (11:11-12) he "may take at pleasure two or three articles (required for the sacrifice) from the house of a sudra; for a sudra has no business with sacrifices" (V:13) But manu is careful to warn that this may be done only under a "righteous King" (V.11) and he advises the "righteous kind" not to inflict punishment on the brahman for doing so" for (in that case) the Brahmana pines with hunger through the Ksatriya's want of care" (V.21) The Ksatriya, on the contrary, must never take the property of a brahman; when starving, he may take the property of a dasyu, or of one who neglects his sacred duties (V:18).

In the same way Brahmanas are to be exempted from punishments which ordinary mortals are liable to. His dignity immunises him against all capital punishment. "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmana; a king must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brahmana" (8:399) Whatever crimes he may have committed, he may only be banished from the kingdom, and that "leaving all his property (to him) and his body unhurt" (V:380) Based as it is on the fundamental inequality of men, the caste-based laws are to be applied differently to different jatis and varnas. It is only after the British introduced their laws in India that the fundamental equality of all in civil matters was

at least theoretically admitted. While the killing of a brahman constituted a severe offence Mahapataka, the killing of a vaisya, or a sudra was a minor offence, upapataka (9:235;11:55 and 11:67). This is the case with giving pain to brahman by a blow; as a minor offence, it was to cause the loss of caste, jatibhramsa (11:68). To be sure the Mahapataka demanded more severe penances after death than the upapataka. The slayer of a Brahman will have to enter the womb of a dog, a pig, a chandala, a pukkaso etc. (12:55)." A twice-born man who has merely threatened a brahmana with the intention of (doing him) corporal injury, will wander about a hundred years in the Tamisra hell". (4:165) The intentional striking of a brahman even with a blade of grass will have to be atoned for by passing through twenty one existences (V:166;CF.W:167-169).

It is natural that community of men endowed with such divine and human prerogatives despise and exclude the others. Manu draws long lists of those to be despised and excluded by the twice-born, especially the brahman. Numerous professions, not to speak of ordinary labour, are qualified as impure, and those engaged in them are condemned to be outcastes (3:155-166). The twice born are advised to avoid these lest they should themselves be reduced to the category of outcastes and condemned to despicable births afterwards. Even the other two categories of the twice born, i.e. Ksatriyas and vaisyas, are not pure nor noble enough for the brahman. He may not treat the ksatriyas visiting him as a guest, atithi, and may feed him only after the guests proper, i.e. brahman may feed him only with his sarvants 'showing (thereby) his compassionate disposition". (V.112).

If this is the case with Ksatriyas and vaisyas on whose protection and patronage the brahmin's well-being largely depended, the condition of the sutra can be imagined. Born of the deity's feet, the sudra is in Manu's view a slave or domestic servant of the twice-born, especially the brahman. "One occupation only the lord prescribed for sudra to serve meekly even these (other) three castes." (1:91)" But let a sudra serve brahmanas, either for the sake of heaven or with a view to both (this life and the next life) for he who is called a servant of Brahmana thereby gains all his ends. The service of brahmanas alone is declared (to be) an excellent occupation for a sudra; for whatever else besides this he may perform will bear him no fruit. (10:122-123) The king is asked to order the sudra to serve the brahman(8:410)" But a sudra whether bought or unbought the (brahmana) may compel

to do servile work: for he was created by the self-existent (Syayambhu) to be the slave of a Brahmana" (V:413) man cannot even imagine how a sudra can be free: "A sudra though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude since that is innate to him, who can set him free from it ?" (V:414) In another place, the interest behind this emphasis on the servile nature of the sudra is somewhat naively admitted: "No collection of wealth must be made by a sudra even though he may be able (to do it) for a sudra who has acquired wealth gives pain to Brahmanas" (10:129)

In contrast to the other three varnas, the sudra is not entitled to the sacred initiation, he has to be satisfied with one birth (10:4) Besides, the sudra is forbidden to study the Veda(3:156: 4:99:10:127) and he is not to be instructed by the brahman(4:80)". For he who explains the sacred law (to a sudra) or dictates to him a penance, will sink with that (man) into the hell (called Asamyta" (V:81) Indeed the sudra is so low that "he cannot commit an offence, causing the loss of caste (pataka) and he is not worthy to receive sacraments; he has no right to (fulfill) the sacred law (of the Aryans, yet) there is no prohibition against (his fulfilling certain portions of the law)" (10:126)

Even a brahman who has nothing but his name may interpret the law to the king," but never a sudra" (8:20:CF also V:21). Manu even contends that the presence of many sudras is enough to destroy a kingdom (V.22). However inhuman and servile his duties may be the sudra is bound to fulfill them, as he is created by God for that purpose and as disobedience will mean punishment in the next birth(s) Manu says that the sudra neglecting his duty will be reborn as a ghost feeding on moths (8:414).

The inhumanity of caste system is most evident in the treatment meted out to those sections of the population the upper classes call out castes, avarnas. Manu defines them as "those tribes in the world, which are excluded from (the community of) those born from the mouth, arms, the thighs, and the feet of the (brahman)" (10.45). The fact that they are called Dasyus, and are said to speak either the language of the Mecchas or that of the Aryans (ibid) seems to point to racial differences that might have been, at least partly, responsible for their segregation. However, it is not likely that all these communities are the result of mixed marriages between the different castes and those outside, as Manu contends (10:7-49). Whatever that may be, they are all "base-born" apasada, subsists by and are enjoined to "subsist by occupations reprehended

by the twice-born" (10:46). And these groups include not only butchers and fishers and cobblers but also carpenters, drummers, horse-breeders and chariot makers (VV:46-49). They are to live near well-known trees, burial grounds, and on mountains (V:50). What makes their lot all the more miserable is the fact that they are not only defacto dependant on socially despised occupations but are bound to continue being so by the caste ideology (10:46) Chandalas are to live outside the village, the vessels they use are impure, and their only wealth shall be dogs and donkeys (V.51). Further "Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place" (V.52) The authors of these regulations if not also their practitioners" seems to have has a measure of sadistic pleasure in condemning other human beings to such inhuman conditions.

In the eyes of the well to do, the poor and despised sections are often also morally deprived. The way Manu describes an impure caste shows how the depressed classes are stigmatized; "Behaviour unworthy of an Aryan, harshness, cruelty, and habitual neglect of duties betray in this world a man of impure origin" (10:58) It would seem that the presence or absence of these vices is all a matter of birth, whether one is born of brahman or chandala parents. The base-born candala and pukksas are so polluting that the twice-born are asked to avoid them by all means. In case a brahman happens to touch a chandala he is to purify himself by a bath (5:85) Indeed a brahman approaching a candala or a very low caste woman or eats with such persons, will become himself an outcasts (11:176) And infringing caste regulation meant, as we have seen, also other worldly sanctions in the form of despicable births and re-births. The only way to beatitude open to the outcasts is to die "without the expectation of a reward, for the sake of brahmanas and cows, or in defence of women and children" (10:62)

It may not be said that all Manu's prescriptions and prohibitions are meant to safeguard the interests of the higher up in socio-religious hierarchy. They are not. But a good many of them seem to serve the purpose, and quite a few statements betray an explicit interest in legitimizing the status quo. This is all the more evident in view of the fact that the twice-born, especially the brahmanas, were for the most part responsible for both the making and interpretations of the laws of dharma, we have seen how Manu enjoins that the law be interpreted by brahmanas and not sudras.

On doubtful points of the law, what good brahmins and sistas profound is to have legal force, and good brahmins are those who have studied the vedas and can adduce convincing proofs "from the revealed texts" (12:103-109) In this perspective, it is natural that the brahman interpret the law in such a way as to protect and legitimize their rights and privileges.

That the underprivileged had no right on grounds of faith, to study the scriptures, let alone interpret them, made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the others to criticize or challenge the brahmin's interpretations. True, some of Manu's extreme claims may be the expression of wishful thinking rather than of reality. For instance, the sudras were not everywhere forced to serve the brahmins, as Manu ordains; on the contrary, there have been instances where the brahman has to depend on the sudra. Yet, much of what Manu says reflected the social and political reality of India's life till recent times. There is no denying the religious apartheid that caste fostered and the opportunities it gave to the upper classes to oppress and exploit the masses of the working population in the name of God and dharma. We may not say this was made possible solely or mainly by the ideology of varnasrama-dharma. But there can be no doubt it has helped to cement and perpetuate the division and differences arising from a complex of economic, political, racial, social, cultural and geographical factors. It gave the subjugation and exploitation of the poor and weak by those who came to yield power and influence the cover of respectability. Indeed, it provided a basically inhuman situation, a cosmic or divine legitimation so that the privileged classes could enjoy their privileges without the prick of conscience and the underprivileged could accept their suffering and servitude as something inevitable. Infact the caste even now is a determining factor, in India's social and political life. This makes the uncovering and criticism of the caste ideology a necessary step on the way to the all round emancipation of India's masses. But this is only a step, and no more than that. For emancipation has now to be above all economic, and this would require a politics of development for all as well as the elimination of oppressive and exploitative structures. It would be impossible to achieve this end without the organised action, especially of the sufferers themselves, cutting across the traditional barriers of religion and community. In this process, the criticism of enslaving ideologies, whether religious, cultural or social will form part of a theory of the new man to be realized by emancipatory praxis.

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