

INTEGRAL HUMANISM AND WESTERN ISMS

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It is quite appropriate to begin the analysis of comparison between Integral Humanism and Western Isms by first referring to the genesis and growth of both paradigms, as such a reference will provide a back ground or a setting essential for comprehending the proposed comparative analysis.

We all know that Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay expounded the philosophy of Integral Humanism in April 1965 through the series of four lectures at Mumbai. One should therefore study the choice exercised by the Indian Government as well as by the Indian elites in favour of Democratic Socialism during seventeen post independence years upto 1965. That such sort of a choice mirrored attraction for the crossbreed of capitalism and socialism is obvious. The elites in India then found it desirable to borrow polity from capitalism and economy from socialism. Swatantra party was of course a worshipper of capitalism. But such worshippers happened to be in minority. There was of course a unique commonality between the protagonists of socialism and those of capitalism, they had a fascination for Euro-American models of development and a suspicion about Hindu ethos.

Background of Deendayalji's Presentation

As for the fascination for Euro-American models of development one may point out that during the decade preceding to Deendayalji's presentation of Integral Humanism, Capitalist world as well as socialist world were undergoing turbulent upheavals causing rethinking of the respective ideologies. What astonishes us most is the fact that despite such a rethinking then observable in the respective citadels of the ideologies in the Euro-American arena, the Indian followers of these philosophies remained loyal to their paradigms.

That the capitalist model of development started losing its charisma can be substantiated by referring to the list of selected books and articles published then. The list is as follows.

- 1) Richard Nelson, "Theory of Low Level Equilibrium Trap", American Economic Review (1956)
- 2) David Macord Wright, Open Secret of Economic Growth (1957)
- 3) Leibenstin Harwey, Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth (1957)

- 4) Kuznets Simon, "Economic Growth and the Contribution of Agriculture: Note on Measurement", International Journal of Agrarian Affairs (1961)
- 5) Schultz, T.W. "Transforming Traditional Agriculture" C.T Yale University Press(1964)
- 6) Phelps Edmind S, Golden Rules of Economic Growth (1966)

One may also allude to the aspersions cast against capitalism by Latin American thinkers such as Andre Gunder Frank and Frantz Fanon etc As a matter of coincidence, Soviet Union also witnessed then leaders and protagonists of communism levelling criticism against tenents of Marxism. Soviet events like the de-Stalinisation–campaign launched by Nikita Khrushchev, profit-sponsoring economic reforms introduced by Kosygin, macrolevel disaffection for cooperative and collective farms were indeed clear signals of the anti-Marxist-Leninist approach. Nehruvian propoganda in favour of cooperative farms in India in the latter-half of 1950s caused a rude shock to the sane Indians against the backdrop of such Soviet happenings.

Deendayalji was distubed not only because Indian elites were fascinated by Euro-American models of development, but also because the very gentlemen and ladies happened to be diffident about Indian ethos. The Indian elites in fact had possessed serious misconceptions about Indian ethos. They had thus developed solid convictions that reliance of masses on Indian paradigm had made them superstitious passivists and turned them backward reactionaries!

Deendayalji was, of course a very balanced and integrated thinker. If he was against then prevalent elite sponsored diffidence about Indian ethos, he was equally opposed to the status-quoist approach on the part of the leaders of Rama Rajya Parishad. He undoubtedly attacked tendency on the part of Indian elites to rely on the import of foreign ideologies in India. Similarly he was in favour of accepting and adopting certain appreciable pluses of Euro-American development models such as activism, entrepreneurship etc. I am tempted to quote here certain extracts from Deendayalji's Mumbai speech – " There are some who suggest that we must go back to the position when we lost our independence and proceed from there. On the other hand there are people who would like to discard all that has originated here in Bharat and are not ready to think about it. They seem to think that western life and thoughts are the last word in progress and all of it should be imported here if we are to develop. Both these lines of thought are incorrect, though they do represent partial truths and it will not be proper to discard them altogether."¹

"Those who advocate starting from where we left off a thousand years ago forget that whether it may or may not be desirable it is definitely impossible. The flow of time cannot be reversed"²

“It is similarly neither possible nor wise to adopt foreign isms in our country in the original form in toto. It will not be helpful in achieving happiness and prosperity”³

Deendayalji rightly concluded that India should develop its own model conducive to its ethos and appropriate for the present era. How lucidly he articulated his views- “We must absorb the knowledge and gains of the entire humanity so far as eternal principles and truths are concerned. Of these the ones that originated in our midst have to be clarified and adapted to changed times and those that we take from other societies have to be adapted to our conditions.”⁴

Genesis & Growth of Western Isms

From the viewpoint of Deendayal Upadhyaya genesis and growth of Western Isms such as nationalism, individualism, capitalism and socialism need to be studied in order to locate peculiar traits of these ideologies. Among these isms, nationalism is the oldest and the strongest through-current, as it emerged in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Holy Roman Empire. World observed during 15th century the emergence of a strong alliance, comprising old kings, protagonists of Roman Catholicism and feudal lords with a view to preserving Holy Roman Empire. It was constrained to wage an existential war against another alliance which accommodated in its fold new kings, protestant bishops and mercantile capitalists like Columbus and Vasco de gama. The alliance interested in preserving the Holy Roman Empire lost the war and accordingly there came into existence new nation-states at the expense of the Roman Empire. Modern European nations which have thus arisen due to the joint blessings of new kings, protestant Christians and mercantile capitalists have shaped themselves as nation states. They proved to be quite autocratic and rude as well as crude in their dealings with individual citizens. The resultant struggle between the nation state and the individual shaped the modern democratic polity with the individual as the centre⁵. Individualism in short emerged in Europe in reaction to autocratic nation states. During the years of industrial revolution in Great Britain from 1760 to 1830 classical economists like Smith and Ricardo provided legitimacy to individualism. Least wonder, the pendulum swung from one end of nationalism to that of individualism. Newly emerged capitalist class obtained solid boost thanks to the Smithian legitimacy of individualism. The capitalists in fact grabbed the commanding heights of the polity and utilised state power for crushing just urges and simple needs of labourers. Capitalism thus facilitated the rise and spread of plutocracy at the cost of democracy. Swami Vivekananda’s comment is quotable in this connection. “The wealth and power of a country are in the hands of a few men who do not work but manipulate the work of millions of human beings. By this power they can deluge the whole earth with blood. Religion and all things are under their feet, they rule and stand supreme. The western world is governed by a handful of Shylocks. All those things that you hear about - constitutional government, freedom, liberty and parliaments – are but jokes”⁶.

Rampant individualism of this sort was bound to generate its reaction. Marxian socialism thus invoked labourers to launch bloody revolution with a view to controlling state and to facilitating the rise of socialism. And the emergence of the proletarian state converted individuals into nuts and bolts of the huge machine!

It is obvious that the origin of each Western 'isms' has been shaped by the state and it is equally obvious that each western ideology took roots in reaction to another thought current. Western nationalism thus goaded each nation state to establish its own empire in the Third World. Individualism morphed into capitalism and took pride in exploiting ordinary proletariats. Socialism which took roots through the proletarian grabbing of the state in reaction to capitalism put an end to the freedom and dignity of the individual. How aptly Deendayal Upadhyaya sums up his commentary- "The Western political thought has accepted Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism as ideals. All these ideals have however proved to be incomplete and mutually opposing."⁷

Having discussed so far about the rise and spread of both paradigms, we can turn our attention to the comparison and contrast between Indian ethos and Western Isms.

Comparative Analysis

Even a cursory glance at the history enables us to locate specific nuances in the traits of thought-currents pursued by Indians and by Westerners. We can elaborate these nuances under six heads.

A) Integral Humanism has emerged for positive reasons where as Western Isms have arisen in reaction to something else

We have already referred to the fact that European Nationalism arose in reaction to Roman Empire. We have also stated that if democracy in the garb of individualism was a reaction to the autocracy on the part of the Nation-State, socialism was sponsored as an antidote to the capitalist exploitation of common masses. The genesis and growth of Integral Humanism have however been positive. They remind us of unique rise and unfoldment of our nation - the Hindu Nation. Here the contrast with other nations is quite remarkable. European nations thus reflected the disappearance of the Roman Empire; the rise of Iraq, Syria mirrored the demise of Automan Empire and the present day Russia, Ukraine, Georgia etc inform us of their emergence at the cost of Soviet Empire!

According to Swami Vivekanada " We never preached our thoughts with fire and sword,"⁸. Swamiji also stated that India is the land where Humanity has attained its highest towards gentleness, towards generosity, towards purity, towards calmness above all the land of introspection and of spirituality." (collected works)pp.550

It was again Swami Vivekanadan who highlighted India's contribution to the world in the most notable way: "Like the gentle dew that falls unseen and unheard and yet brings into blossom the fairest of roses has been the contribution of India to the thought of the world."⁹

Unlike Indian Nationalism that in Europe projected itself as a nation state and it relied rather exclusively on the institution of state, its policies and practices have been mainly negative, restrictive, proscriptive and prohibitory. Indian Nationalism has however acquired name and fame because it has informed the world of positive, constructive, prescriptive and recommendatory policies and practices.

Deendayalji has rightly pointed out that Indian Nation has never relied exclusively on the state and that is why even when the state was subjugated by foreign invaders, our Nation marched ahead uninterruptedly. Deendayalji of course does acknowledge the significance of the state in the life of a Nation. He reminds us of the great loss to our Nation due to the neglect on our part of the role played by the state! "We forgot that though it may not be central, the state is definitely an important institution serving some needs of the Nation just as a limb of the body –" thus comments Deendayal Upadhyaya.

What is fundamental is the fact that though the state is important it is not supreme (सर्वोपरी). It is dharma, which offers sustainability to society is supreme in the life of a nation. This is why, we have bothered always to strengthen higher tendencies of human nature like love, sacrifice, etc. We have thus preferred happiness for all to the happiness for oneself, non-possession or अपरिग्रह to acquisitiveness or लोभ, service motive to profit-motive, restrained consumption to consumerism and so on. Western Isms like capitalism and socialism have however built their respective paradigms on the basis of the six lower tendencies (षड्विपवः) of human nature, such as desire, anger, greed, temptation, insolence and jealousy. If capitalism has relied on desire, greed and temptation (काम, क्रोध and मोह) as pillars for its development-model, socialism has opted for anger, insolence and jealousy (क्रोध, मद and मत्सर) as foundation stones for building its own model of development. Followers of both ideologies have, of course realised in subsequent years that their reliance on lower human tendencies has caused a great damage to the humanity at large, and that is why, they must go beyond the boundaries of their respective isms. Mikhail Gorbachev thus underscored the necessity to prefer "human" interests to "class" interests. It was Mikhail Gorbachev, the last Soviet President, who declared that the following quotation from Bhagwan Gautam Buddha is quite relevant today - "The greatest victory is one in which nobody is defeated and all can share in that victory."¹⁰ As for capitalism, Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the Fedral Reserve of the U.S. testified before the U.S. Congress after

Lehman's collapse that "there is a flaw in the capitalism – ideology that self interest would protect society from the financial system's excesses."¹¹

B) If Integral Humanism believes that Man is a physical-mental-intellectual and spiritual being, Western Isms treat Man as a mere material being

Spiritualism is definitely the most salient feature of Integral Humansim, though of course, physical, mental and intellectual urges of a human being do get due recognition at the hands of Deendayal Upadhyay. The materialist West, however considers matter as basic and offers accomodation to all non-materalist things in the superstructure. Western Isms assume that a human being's happiness depends on the fulfillment of physical and at the most mental and intellectual needs and demands. They thus ignore human beings' divine or blissful aspirations. Nilkolai Berdyayev, a Russian philosopher does of course consider that a human being is divine, but he belongs to the exceptional category of Western thinkers. The Indian philosophy has however a faith in the divinity of a human being. Do we not know that Swami Vivekanand called all human beings as अमृतपुत्राः? (sons of immortality?) All Indian philosophers including Deendayalji of course do underscore due significance of the fulfilment of physical needs. They however distinguish between the need and the greed. The philosophy of integral Humansim thus teaches us the Mantra of Self-hood rather than that of brotherhood as according to the conviction on the part of this philosophy each and every human being is divine!

We trace the seeds of consumerism, permissivism and philistinism, the signs of present crises in the pursuit of western Isms, as these isms, which rely on lower human tendencies, have blessed our march from shyness to shamelessness! The eighth stanza of the sixteenth chapter of the Bhagavat Gita aptly articulates the view point of the modern man, who has embraced consumerism, permissivism, and philistinism. The following are the contents of this stanza."

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम्। अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत् कामहैतुकम्।।

(The Tamasi or the un-godlike or the demoniac people treat this world as unreal, as without support, as without God and as not created one from the other. They therefore question: what is the object of this world, if not enjoying the objects of senses by human beings?)

Integral Humansim has faith in the divinity of a human being. That is why its impact on the human action is quite unique and distinct. Integral Humansim thus teaches each one of us to treat everybody including himself or herself as a divine being and therefore one must deal with others with genuine concern and affection. The commentary of John Kleinig in this connection is quotable here:-

“Unless there is love, care and concern for others as individual, in addition to the recognition of rights, there remains a moral lack in relationships. There is something morally inadequate in doing something for another, because it is the other’s due. Actions motivated simply by the rights of others remain anonymous or impersonal whereas if motivated by love, care or concern for the other, their focus is on the other’s particularity. Only relations of the latter kind are morally adequate. They are person-specific whereas rights are species-specific.”¹²

C) Integral Humanism with its integrated view point underscores complementarity underlying the diversity, whereas Western Isms think of life in sections and then try to put them together by patchwork

Deendayalji points out that the Hindu approach is quite scientific. He argues that if chemists have found out a few elements which comprise the whole physical world, the physicists have overtaken them and proved that all these elements consist only of energy.

As per Integral Humanism, that person is a fully developed human being who possesses a fully integrated personality in the sense that he develops to the full extent five dimensions of his being such as physical, vital, mental, intellectual and blissful ones. These dimensions are actually sheaths (कोषः) encasing the soul of the being. They are physical (अन्नमय), vital (प्राणमय), mental (मनोमय), intellectual (विज्ञानमय) and blissful (आनंदमय) sheaths (कोषः). If the integrated personality informs us of the complementarity of the just mentioned five dimensions, our integrated Hindu Society similarly informs us of the complementarity of several institutions and castes. Deendayalji is of course fully aware of the present distortion, present conflicts between castes. He considers that as the soul of our society has weakened, some institutions have become not only feeble and ineffective, but in fact useless and even harmful. He has recommended remedial measures as well: “mutual complementarity and a sense of unity can only be the standards of proper conduct.”. His elaboration is equally quotable:-

“Family, community, Trade Union, Grampanchayat, Janapada, State and such other institutions are various limbs of the nation and even of mankind. They are interdependent, mutually complementary. There should be a sense of unity through all of them. For this very reason there should be a tendency toward mutual accommodation in them, instead of conflict or opposition.”¹³

Western Isms, with their faith in dualism not only believe in but actually rely on conflict for shaping the human progress. Marxism is indeed a great sponsor of the theory of class-conflict. Deendayalji informs us not only of the Hegelian paradigm of thesis, antithesis and synthesis as well as of the Marxian reliance on this paradigm for presenting his analysis

of history and economics but also of the Darwinian conviction in his conclusion that the principle of survival of the fittest is the sole basis of life.¹⁴

Deendayal Upadhyay has further commented that the West has failed in conceiving the organic unity in the midst of apparent diversities. That is why there is degeneration of stability into stagnation, dynamism into adventurism, national self-reliance into jingoism, nationalism into imperialism, internationalism into disloyalty to one's own nation, liberty into licentiousness and discipline into regimentation. The west has indeed failed in offering genuine, full happiness to the human being. If in a capitalist society liberty caused inequality, the socialist society converted citizens into slaves of a bureaucratic state, where party loyalists enjoyed more equality than others. Integral Humansim is undoubtedly quite superior to all Western Isms.

D) Integral Humansim is holistic, in the sense that it underscores the complete harmony between an individual, the society and the nature. Western Isms, have on the other hand opted for undue glorification of anthropocentric Humanism

As Integral Humanism believes in the divinity of each being it concludes that very divinity assures us of full harmony between individual (व्यष्टी), society (समष्टी) and nature (सृष्टी). Divinity means (परमेश्वरी)! The humanism sanctioned and sponsored by Hindu philosophy is thus bound to be unique, in the sense that it reminds every human being of the silken bond between him or her and the surrounding circumference! Western Humanism which has arisen in reaction to the Church and to the state has gone to the other extreme end and opted for unbecoming glorification of an individual being. Enthusiastic Western Humanists have driven out God and placed a human being in the centre, they have reduced God to nothing. They have also revolted against the theocratic state but their slogan- "Man is the measure of all things" has led human being to be cruel against nature. It is quite legitimate to say that nobody should exploit anybody. When however one and the same slogan gives licence to the human beings to go on exploiting nature in a cruel manner, we realise the disastrous consequences of Western Humanism. The way the modern man causes cruelty to the bovine species, the fish, the musk-deers, the love birds, the honey-bees etc has prompted NGOs like the S.P.C.A. (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), the B.W.C (Beauty Without Cruelty) to fight for getting certain laws enacted in different countries. As a result of sustained campaigns by such NGOs, people have realised how cruel it is to torture and kill innocent animals for enhancing human pleasure! These campaigns have undoubtedly caused a great shock to the materialistic mind of the West! One and the same awareness has prompted us to place "Profit" in the midst of "People" and "Planet". We all have realised now that the unbecoming rush on the part of an individual (व्यष्टी) has caused an incalculable harm not only to the people (समष्टी) but also to the nature

(सृष्टी). That the anthropocentric Humanism endorsed by the West has made human being inhuman is now acknowledged by everybody.

If Integral Humanism teaches us to consider every human being as a part of nature, the anti God, anthropocentric Humanism sponsored by the West has led the same human being to be cruel against nature. We find everywhere at present massive consumption of non-renewable raw materials and energy sources as well as equally massive pollution of air and water because of rush for industrialisation. Late Thengadiji has invited our attention to the deep concern on the part of Manavendra Nath Roy regarding spirituality of a human being. Let me quote here his comment - "Roy advocated reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and fraternity of freemen by the collective endeavour of spiritually emancipated moral men". Just mentioned advocacy of the reconstruction of the world has been further substantiated by Thengadiji through the following content- "West sponsored anthropocentric Humanism which treats our own human species as the centre of entire existence, which does injustice to all other non-human species and components of the existence needs to be replaced on the war footing by the philosophy of Integral Humanism."

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E) Integral Humanism gives priority to the transformation of the human mindset whereas Western Isms rely on institutional transformation for changing social order

I intend to elaborate this tenet by expalining first the West-sponsored social transformation where institutional transformation receives priority. One may thus refer to the capitalists' attempts to grab state institutions for getting the laws changed in their favour. We have already mentioned how Swami Vivekanand had attacked through his speech the conversion of British democracy into plutocracy. Marx had noted the emergence and spread of capitalism in Great Britain through the capitalists' manipulation of state institution. Incidentally, he prescribed the adoption of the same means for establishing a new socialist order. Thus during the years and in the aftermath of the industrial revolution in Britain, capitalist-manipulation of the state facilitated the replacement of feudalism by capitalism and the Twentieth Century witnessed the Leninist as well as the Maoist manipulation of the state for inaugurating the so called socialist order. We have also stated above how capitalism as well as socialism have failed in achieving their objectives and prompted their respective protagonists to start rethinking about presumptions and convictions on their part.

Integral Humanism being the latest articulation of the Hindu-ethos emphasises that it is the individual mindset which needs to be changed on the priority basis for shaping the required socio-economic and political transformation. Lokmanya Tilak has dealt with this issue in a very lucid and apt manner. According to him, the Western Materialistic School has recommended that questions of Morality must be decided by the purely external material

test of the greatest good of the greatest number. Lokmanya Tilak, of course accepts that according to some protagonist of this Western School, questions of Morality must be decided by the welfare of the entire creation. Both groups belonging to this school, (according to Tilakji) however apply purely external material tests for deciding the questions of Morality. Both groups thus underscore the importance of the calculating mind and ignore the role of pure mind. Tilakji has rightly attacked this viewpoint because in his opinion, it is the pure, self identifying and greedless mind which decides the question of Morality and that is why when Yudhishtira sought blessings from Kunti Mata after the Bharati War, She did not expatiate on the advice of doing the greatest good to the greatest number but simply said- “मनस्ते महदस्तुच” (O my son, may your Mind be always great”).¹⁶

Integral Humanism, of course does recognise the role of institutional change in the process of broad socio-economic transformation, but it emphasises the basic or the fundamental role of the change in the individual mindset! Dr. Rammanohar Lohia also shares this viewpoint. In his opinion, religious thought particularly of Ishopanishad abolishes private property subjectively; Marxism abolishes it objectively. His comment is quotable here.

“As long as the objective reality of private property continues to exist, religious thought can only act as an amendment and a poor one at that. As long as the emotional lure of private property exists, Marxism or any similar social doctrine will be continually at war with its own handiwork. Private property may be abolished in a major way but the desire for unequal comfort or show will continually make erosions on the social order.”¹⁷

Deendayal Upadhyay rightly integrates objective and subjective realities, in the sense that after underscoring the crucial role of subjective change he prescribes that simultaneous change must also be introduced in the objective reality. Deendayalji’s view point that the state is significant though not supreme has already been mentioned above.

F) Integral Humanism is inclusive, accomodative and pluralist as well but liberal Western Isms are on the other hand exclusive, divisive, dogmatic and fragmentary

The discussion made so far in connection with five tenets prompt me to comment that Integral Humanism is capable of accomodating all sublime views of several thought currents and paradigms. Western Isms are on the other hand materialistic and fragmentary, they refuse to be all inclusive. No wonder, if Integral Humanism opts for “as well as-Isms” approach Western Isms choose “either or-Isms” outlook. Integral Humanism is the latest manifestation of the Sanatan Dharma. This is why like Sanatan Dharma which has integrated Shankaracharya’s intelligence with Gautam Buddha’s Compassion, Integral Humanism has done full justice to its adjective by reconciling contemplative Hindu ethos with active European civilization. It has similarly endorsed reconciliation between

spiritualism and materialism in the sense that although it has deep faith in spiritualism it recognises the importance of accomplishing the basic needs and comforts of all.

The story of Western Isms is quite different. The unfoldment of globalisation since 1991 in the world in the light of Western Isms informs us of the disastrous consequences such as growing inequality and poverty throughout the world. Dr.Murali Manohar Joshi has highlighted through his article how the West-sponsored globalisation can be held responsible for this phenomenon. According to Dr.Joshi, the world that has emerged due to the impact of the West-sponsored globalisation is global in terms of commerce, trade, science and technology only. Cultures and civilisations in this world are conflicting against each other! As the Western paradigms are divisive and exclusive, the globalisation that has been blessed and shaped by such paradigms tends to bind economics, but people and communities tend to maintain their distinct cultural identities. Accordingly there does arise a conflict between economic integration and cultural separation. In the early 1990s, when the globalisation had just begun its course people at large had very high expectations, they had then hoped that the entire world would enjoy the benefits of growing prosperity. By the end of the last century, however, the process of globalisation had generated unbalanced outcomes, both between and among countries. It had become obvious by that time that in the world of six billion people while one billion owned 80% of the global gross domestic product, another billion led hand to mouth existence. Subsequent years have still widened the gap between the haves and the have nots.

As for the political implications of globalisation, market forces have affected democracy, as tycoons have emerged as market dictators. Cultures and civilizations during the last two decades have sown the seeds of separatism.

Dr.Joshi makes a very valid recommendation through his article. The recommendation runs as follows:- “For enduring world peace and harmony we need a new paradigm and a new world order based on a free and frank dialogue among civilisations conducive for the making of a global culture.”¹⁸

It is obvious that the philosophy of Integral Humanism does offer the holistic, all-inclusive and pluralist paradigm which assures us of our march towards just and humanitarian world order!

END –NOTES

- 1) Deendayal Upadhyay ‘Integral Humanism’ (Mumbai, 1967) P.20.
- 2) Ibid
- 3) Ibid. P.22
- 4) Ibid
- 5) S.Gurumurthy ‘Eternal India and the constitution’ (New Delhi, 2005) P.27
- 6) See ‘Lectures from Colombo to Almora’ (Kolkata, 2009) PP 64-65.

- 7) See the footnote no.1, P.23
- 8) See 'Selections from Swami Vivekananda' (Calcutta, 1981) P.180.
- 9) Ibid P.235.
- 10) See 'Dialogue between trusted friends' (New Delhi, 1986) P.51.
- 11) See Roman Frydman and Michael D Goldberg, "Did Capitalism Fail?" in Times of India(Mumbai), 16 September 2013, P.12.
- 12) See Dattopant Thengadi, Third Way. (New Delhi, 1995), P.14
- 13) See the footnote no.1, P.50
- 14) Ibid. P.25
- 15) See the footnote no.12, P.229
- 16) B.G.Tilak, Gita Rahasya (English Translation) (Pune,2012) P.678.
- 17) Rammanohar Lohia, Marx, Gandhi and Socialism (Hyderabad,1963) P.117
- 18) "The Making of Global Culture: Speech by Dr.Murli Manohar Joshi" in Organiser (New Delhi, 30 May 2010), P.4.

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