

## Unit-III

### Political Ideologies

#### 1. Liberalism

**Liberalism** is the undisputed achievement of permanent values. Liberalism is an ideology which emphasizes on the personal liberty and rights of an individual. This is an important legacy of both European history and philosophy. This is actually the contribution of Renaissance. Liberalism as a political and moral philosophy is centered on two main principles - these are individualism and liberty. Firstly, liberalism places the individual at the heart of society and argues that the highest value social order is one that is built around the individual. Secondly, the purpose of society is to allow individuals to reach their full potential if they want to, and that the best way to do this is to give the individual as much liberty as possible. Liberalism is the ideology under which human beings are considered as prudent creatures, and social institutions are result of human understanding and collective efforts. John Locke is considered the father of liberalism. Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham are also counted among liberal thinkers. Liberalism is a strong ideology of political theory. In fact, the tradition of liberalism is one of the oldest among the modern political ideologies. The rise and development of liberal representation is linked to Renaissance and Religious reform movements of Europe. Firstly, liberalism places the individual at the heart of society and argues that the highest value social order is one that is built around the individual. Secondly, the purpose of society is to allow individuals to reach their full potential if they want

to, and that the best way to do this is to give the individual as much liberty as possible. In the 16th century, generous liberalism came in the form of a revolutionary philosophy and ideology, as a tremendous reaction against the medieval system like the Feudalism, Monarchy and the Pope. This word was first used in England in 1815.

#### 1.1 The Literal Meaning of Liberalism

The word liberal is derived from the Latin word *liber* which means free men. *Liberalis* is also a derivative of liber. The central idea of all these words is freedom or liberty. Liberal also denotes generosity or open-mindedness. Open-mindedness/generosity indicates liberty in taking food, drink, social attitude, behaviour and selection of the alternatives. Thus we find that freedom is always associated with the word liberal. There are large numbers of definitions of liberalism which convey more or less same ideas. "It means the belief that it is the aim of politics to preserve individual's rights and to maximise freedom of choice." Liberalism is a political philosophy or worldview founded on ideas of liberty and equality. Liberals espouse a wide array of views depending on their understanding of these principles, but generally they support ideas and programmes such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, free markets, civil rights, democratic societies, secular governments, gender equality, and international cooperation. Liberalism is an obscure, intellectual, dynamic,

positive, anti-poor, unjust, immoral and inhuman concept which supported the capitalist system. It is an ideology which changes its form, nature and perspective with the change in time. Since its beginning till the date it has changed many times. Sometimes it appeared directly in favour of the capitalists, and then later it also talked about the interests of capitalists in a mild manner. Later out of the fear of Marxism, it started talking about the interests of the poor to save the capitalists. Liberalism became a strong supporter of the concept of the welfare state. When the communist system of the Soviet Union collapsed in the 1990's, it again changed its colours and inclined towards its traditional nature. Renaissance and religious reform movements gave birth to it, industrialization provided it its basis and the capitalism brought it near liberty. The belief in individualism made this ideology limit the authority of the state. Generally liberalism is more than an ideology; it is a way of thinking, a vision to look at the world and an effort to keep politics oriented towards liberalism.

## **1.2 Origin & Evolution of Liberalism**

We find glimpse of liberalism in the works of Locke, Bentham and Adam Smith. Then it was negative in nature and known as individualism and classical liberalism. In the 19th century, John Stuart Mill gave it a positive shape. Liberalism emerged as a reaction to Europe's decaying feudal order in the 17th and 18th centuries. The rising urban business class, sometimes called the bourgeoisie, sought increased political influence to match their growing economic and social power. Momentum for change accelerated as political philosophers, developing ideas of natural rights and the social contract, began to articulate an ideology that rejected hereditary privilege and fit the political aspirations of these growing political actors. These ideas were profoundly influenced by two major movements in Western civilization. The first movement was the Protestant Reformation and its notion that a person has an individual relationship with the divine. The Reformation Movement broke the authority of the church. The second movement was the

Enlightenment with the assumption that the world has a natural order that individual reason can discover and understand independently of faith, a rationalist philosophy. In the 20th century, Laski and McIver presented it in a new form, and now the state began to be considered a good and necessary institution and the law became the defender of the person's independence.

Instead of considering the state as a necessary evil, it was considered a positive institution which emphasised on restraining the uncontrolled individual freedom considering it a threat to the system. In the latter half of the 20th century, fearing the rising popularity of Marxism it again bent towards the individual's autonomy and stressed upon limiting the powers of the state. This state considers the instrument and the person to be practical. It favours reforms and liberalization in all areas in place of conservatism and traditionalism. The rule of constitutionalism, decentralization, independent elections and judicial system, democratic system, rights, freedom and justice system are some other characteristics of liberalism.

## **1.3 Nature of Liberalism**

Nature of Liberalism is linked to stages of its rise and development. The Glorious English Revolution of 1688, not only rejected while the rulers' divine principles, it also tried to make the state a human institution. In western society, the French Revolution of 1789 invoked the ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity and abandoned the medieval dictatorship. These developments made it as an ideology related to freedom. The American War of Independence and the subsequent US Constitution invoked the personal rights as an ideology related to the rights of individuals. Liberalism emphasizes constitutionalism against autocracy. Montesquieu saw despotism, in particular, as a standing danger for any government not already despotic, and argued that it could best be prevented by a system in which different bodies exercised legislative, executive, and judicial power, and in which all those bodies were bound by the rule of law. This theory of the separation of powers had

an enormous impact on liberal political theory, and on the framers of the constitution of the United States of America. He replaced the principle of concentration of power in one body by giving governance to different institutions. Liberalism speaks of a state with limited powers that do limited tasks. John Locke believed that political work is limited so political power should also be limited. Adam Smith and Bentham were supporters of the non-prospecting state. The state is essential, but it is a necessary evil. The Renaissance rejected the idea of the state as an institution made by God and made it as an institution made by men.

## 1.4 Two forms of liberalism

1. Traditional or Classical Liberalism
2. Modern liberalism

### 1. Traditional or classical liberalism

Classical liberalism is one of the most important of modern political and social philosophies. It considers religion as an internal and personal matter of an individual. It emphasizes on personal liberty. It accepts and supports the existence of limited state. It stresses upon unity in social paradigm. In the long run, liberalism became the ideology of the capitalists and no longer remained a revolutionary ideology. It now supported the private property. The concept of Scientific Marxist Revolution emerged in opposition to this liberalism-supported capitalist system. Marx came forward with a theory of class struggle to eradicate inequality in human life and bring about equality in the society. Consequently out of fear of Marxism liberalism had to change its form and perspective. Now it started favouring a new concept of welfare state to make itself relevant in the changed scenario.

### 2. Modern liberalism-

Positive freedom is one of the key differences between modern and classical liberalism. However, it is important to recognise that although the two strands of liberalism have different views on the role of the state, there are still overlapping themes between the two strands. The poverty and nature of

life in Victorian Britain led to the development of modern liberal views and values by the end of the nineteenth century. Politicians and theorists felt that there were weaknesses in classical liberal ideas and policies, which could not provide freedom for everyone, as shown by the high levels of disease and squalor. Modern liberals believe the government should actively intervene in the economy to correct market failures and promote fair outcomes (e.g., higher minimum wages, higher taxes on the wealthy, more regulations protecting worker safety and the environment). Modern liberals believe in a positive view of freedom, where the enabling state creates the conditions for people to choose to progress. Both classical and modern liberals believe that freedom is the ultimate political goal, in whatever form it takes. Modern liberals have also not rejected negative freedom entirely. The aim of modern liberals is to enable people to help themselves, thus the aim of both classical and modern liberals is to promote individual autonomy, or negative freedom. All liberal views on equality stem from a belief in individualism. This is true for modern liberals, who believe in a relative form of social equality that is still grounded in individualism where equality of opportunity and positive freedom allow individuals to choose to succeed. Qualified welfare is the means by which positive freedom and equality of opportunity take place. A free market, one that is unregulated and free of state intervention as favoured by classical liberals, creates inequalities in wealth and conditions similar to those in Victorian Britain. The state has a role to play for modern liberals in providing the welfare that enables individuals to help themselves. It is important to note though that the increased role given to the state by modern liberals is limited to providing qualified welfare and supervision of the economy, and does not mean that modern liberals support unlimited state power. They supported the cause of the welfare state and emphasized that the government should refrain from interfering in an individual's social or moral choices. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) writes about liberalism that the task of classical liberalism was to limit the powers of the kings but the work of

liberalism of the future must be to limit the powers of the administrators. He said, "If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, then he is free to drop connection with the state to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying towards its support" (Spencer, The Complete Works of Herbert Spencer). After Locke philosophers to promote and carry forward the liberal philosophy were Thomas Bentham, Paine and Montesquieu. They not only expressed strong faith in power, prudence, rationality, reasonableness and merit but also insisted on not intervention in the affairs of an individual. It was the liberalism which had influenced the declaration of American independence in 1776 AD and the French proclamation of human rights in 1779. Accordingly, the liberalism of the 17th and 18th centuries is also called traditional or classical liberalism. This liberalism was negative in character. Despite its having emphasized on human rights, prestige, rationality, independence, individualism and humanism its original character was negative. According to modern liberal perspective, freedom meant lack of constraints and was accepted as a necessary evil for the capitalist class. The state that works the least was considered the best under this view. In the economic sector, it supported the rights to private property and rights to free trade.

### **1.5 Characteristics of Traditional or Negative Liberalism -**

1. Excessive emphasis on individualism
2. Emphasis on the emancipation of man from the prevalent religious and cultural bondages (chains) of the Middle Ages.
3. Faith in absolute value of human personality and spiritual equality of the individual.
4. Faith in the free will of an individual.
5. Faith in essential rationality and goodness of man and also certain inalienable rights of the individual such as right to life, right to freedom and right to property.

### **1.6 Liberalism and Philosophy of Locke**

The Social Contract Theory and the Liberalism are the biggest contribution of John Locke to political theory. He is considered the father of liberalism. His theories on life, liberty, property, consent, and the social contract form the foundation of classical liberalism. For Locke, "freedom" means the ability to use and dispose of that which is properly one's own without the coercive interference of other people, including government.

Its main points are as follows-

1. The origin of the state is through social contract to protect the rights of the individual.
2. The relationship between the state and the individual is based on their mutual agreement. Whenever the state violates the necessary conditions of the agreement, then it is responsibility of the individual to rebel against the state.
3. The basis of law is reason and not the command.
4. The government that governs the least is the best.
5. State is a necessary evil.
6. Men must get a rights-based freedom in political, economic, social, religious, and intellectual areas.
7. Freedom must be unrestrained and without any constraints whatsoever.

Liberalism considers society as an artificial institution on the social basis. The objective of society was the accomplishment of interests of the individuals. The interests of the society were accomplished through the accomplishment of individual interests. Liberalism in the economic sector speaks of capitalist economy based on free trade and agreement. This is also called negative liberalism because it prohibits any kind of interference and control in the capitalist economy.

### **Criticism of negative Liberalism-**

1. The highly openness of liberalism in the social

sector is against ethics.

2. Limited state, anti-welfare concept.
3. Economic society of liberalism is a 'market society' which takes care of the interests of the bourgeois class only and ignores the interests of the common man.
4. Negative liberalism in the cultural field makes the person quarrelsome, unlike the interests of the society.

### 1.7 Modern and contemporary liberalism-

There has also been a radical change in liberalism in the changed economic, political and social conditions after the Second World War. Fear of Marxism and Socialism Improved liberalism, positive sentiment was born.

This perception emphasizes the following:

1. It emphasizes the establishment of a welfare state.
2. It emphasizes the all-round development by giving total freedom to the individual in all areas.
3. It emphasizes on giving equal opportunity and rights to all individuals.
4. It aims to empower people by fulfilling their basic needs.
5. Faith in the perception of public development and scientific advancement
6. It emphasizes on universal adult franchise, fair election and comprehensive political participation.
7. It considers state positive means for fulfilling interests of the society.
8. It emphasizes on reducing communalism and class discontent in society.
9. It emphasizes on the political culture of democratic society.
10. This form of liberalism, in contrast to the revolutionary methods, believes in a reformist, peaceful and gradual social change.
11. This form emphasizes the need for

strengthening the interests of minorities, the aged and the downtrodden.

12. Modern liberalism emphasizes a mixed and controlled economy rather than '*market system*'.
13. It speaks of collective interest.
14. It emphasizes on making the capitalist economy flexible and meeting the objectives of the controlled economy.
15. It focuses on the problems of democracy in a new way.

### 1.8 Criticism

1. This form of liberalism is also related to the bourgeois class. It basically supports capitalism and the status quo.
2. The hidden aim of this form is to dilute and suppress the revolutionary voices of the poor.
3. It emphasizes in making the state powerful so that the poor can be suppressed in the name of political legitimacy.
4. It is related to the capitalist class.
5. Its social justice is just a scam.
6. It does not eliminate the capital system rather it gives responsibility for creating the necessary conditions for freedom to the state which itself is the biggest usurper of the liberty.

#### Important Points

- Liberalism is the epitome of Renaissance and Religious Reform Movement.
- Liberalism originated in 16th and 17th century.
- Liberalism, which is derived from the Latin word 'liber', means freedom.
- Liberalism was born to grow and promote the market economy.
- Liberalism is a philosophy in itself.
- It is a system of governance and a conviction committed to freedom in the form of policy.
- It emphasizes faith in human intelligence and reason.
- It considers the self-interests and the general

interests of the individual alike.

- It opposes Puritanism, Conservatism, and Traditionalism.
- The revolutions of England, America and France were influenced by Liberalism.
- Liberalism emphasizes on liberty and considers the state as means and individual as an end.
- It expresses faith in democracy, popular sovereignty, elected government, adult franchise, fair election and independent judiciary.
- Liberalism emphasizes the establishment of a secular state and religious freedom.
- John Locke is regarded as the father of liberalism.
- There are four notions of liberalism Free market liberalism, Idealistic liberalism, Democratic liberalism, Reformist liberalism.
- In economic sector liberalism emphasizes in the production, exchange and distribution of the products, entrepreneurship, in accumulation of capital and property, doing any business and regulating business.
- Adam Smith is known as the pioneer of traditional or classical liberalism.
- Liberalism supports the laissez-faire policy.
- The utilitarian thinker T.H. Green was supporter of liberalism.
- Bentham, Mill and Richards Cumberland are the originators of utilitarianism.
- Herbert Spencer emphasized on the concept of the minimum rule and the limited state.

## Exercise

### Multiple Choice Questions

1. Positive Liberalism does not believe in which one of the following -  
(A) Limited state  
(B) State as an ethical institution  
(C) Welfare State  
(D) Micro State ( )
2. When and where was the word 'Liberalism' first used?  
(A) In 1815 in England  
(B) In 1776 in the United States of America  
(C) In 1917 in the Soviet Union  
(D) In 1885 in Germany ( )
3. Which one of the following statements is false?  
(A) The term 'liberal' refers to the class of free individuals, who are neither peasants nor slaves.  
(B) The term 'liberalism' was first used in 1812 in Spain.  
(C) There are differences in classical liberalism and modern liberalism.  
(D) Moral deficiencies of market opponents are also have moral shortcomings of market-supporters ( )
4. Which of the following is the contribution of liberalism?  
(A) Capitalism (B) Communism  
(C) Gandhism (D) Constitutionalism ( )
5. Which one of the following is not a powerful ideology in the contemporary society -  
(A) Socialism (B) Communism  
(C) Monarchy (D) Liberalism ( )
6. Which of the following is not a supporter of liberalism?  
(A) Karl Marx (B) John Locke  
(C) Jeremy Bentham (D) Spencer ( )
7. Traditional liberalism was a political theory that -  
(A) Supported capitalism  
(B) Talked about eliminating social inequality in society  
(C) Supported autonomous monarchies

(D) Supported the dictatorship of the proletariat. ( )

8. The thinker who is considered as a father of liberalism is -

(A) John Locke (B) Ricardo

(C) Adam Smith (D) Hobbes ( )

### Very Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. What was the main demand of liberalism in the economic sector?
2. What was the main demand of liberalism in the political field?
3. What was the main demand of liberalism in the social sector?
4. How did the liberalism emerge?
5. Who are the main thinkers of liberalism?
6. What is the meaning of negative liberalism?
7. What is positive liberalism?
8. What is the meaning of traditional liberalism?
9. Who are the profounder of modern liberalism?

### Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. Explain the political objectives of liberal ideology.
2. Describe the five characteristics of traditional liberalism.
3. Liberalism is a reaction against Marxism. Explain.
4. How does the Modern liberalism differ from traditional liberalism?
5. How has Liberalism helped in establishing the concept of the Welfare State?
6. What are the main points of criticism of liberalism?

### Essay Type of Questions-

1. Comparatively evaluate traditional and modern liberalism.
2. Liberalism is basically an ideology that nurtures capitalism. Explain.
3. Explain the main principles of Liberalism.

### Answers to Multiple Choice Questions:

- |       |       |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. B. | 2. A. | 3. B. | 4. B. |
| 5. C  | 6. A  | 7. A  | 8. A  |

## 2. Socialism

The world is split today into two hostile camps, fighting each other with the utmost vehemence, Communists and anti-Communists. In the modern political era, socialism has been watchword and the main objective of both the opposite ideologies the Marxism and the Liberalism. Socialism, which developed in the 19th and 20th centuries in Western contemplation, is generally considered to be contrary to capitalism. Since then it has become increasingly popular all over the world. Socialism is meant to establish equality-oriented society and state without exploitation. Many democratic countries of the world including India have embodied socialist goals in their constitutions. *Socialism* addresses the contemporary issues of economic inequality and argues that wealth can exist for long periods only to the extent that wealthy producers succeed in satisfying the consumers.

### 2.1 Evolution of the Socialism-

In the ancient times, Stoic philosophers of the Greece propounded the principle of economic equality and social justice. In the medieval period the concept of socialism or socialist thought first appeared in the famous work of *Thomas More* in his book '*Utopia*' which was published in 1516, few years before his death. Though Utopia is regarded as a first comprehensive and to some extent modern book on socialism, *More* was not interested in propagating the concept. He simply provided a sketch of an imaginary island, with ideal economic, social and political conditions which modern scholars treat as basis of socialism. In the 17th Century, **Francis Bacon** expressed his socialist ideas in his book '*New Atlantis*'. At the next stage

we encounter three Utopian socialists Robert Owen, Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier All the three socialists are called Utopian because the methods suggested by these three socialists had no relevance with the real world and because of this F. Engels called them so. After the Utopian socialists the most prominent names linked with the theory of socialism are F. Engels and K. Marx. But the French State Revolution of 1789 proved to be a milestone in the progress of the socialism. It accepted *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity* as the "*goal sentence*" of the revolution. The French Revolution indirectly prepared the advent of the proletariat. It realized the two essential conditions for socialism: democracy and capitalism. In this period, Frances Babeuf advocated socialist theories. The French political revolutionist and writer François Noel Babeuf (1760-1797) was active during the French Revolution. He was among the first to advocate socialism as a political institution for solving the problems of society. Babel's ideas were later further spread by Blanc. It was during the July Monarchy in France, in the era immediately preceding the Revolution of 1848, that the ideology we call socialism became more than an abstraction held by isolated intellectuals and conspirators. A series of individuals, loose-knit associations, and more formal écoles were active during the 1830s and 1840s, developing a varied agenda of social reform, economic cooperation, or association, mystical Christianity, and women's liberation. In the 19th century, thinkers such as Charles Fourier, Saint-Simon, Proudhon, and Louis Blanc, and then under Robert Owen talked about social and economic welfare and eliminating the flaws of capitalism on

the basis of human self-consciousness. **Proudhon** treated private property as theft in his book '*What is Property*'. A new socialist tradition was started by Bakunin and other anarchists who favoured end of the state. Bakunin seeks to destroy the state, whereas Marx seeks to capture and use it. Marx thus ends up on the side of authority, against liberty. Beside anarchists many other streams of socialism such as Fabianism, Guild socialism, Labor Unionism etc. also developed. Thinkers such as George Bernard Shaw, G.D Cole and George Sorrel contributed hugely in constructing and interpreting the principles of the above streams of socialism. The theory of socialism was however formally formulated by **Karl Marx** in his book "*Communist Manifesto*" in 1948. The Industrial Revolution, which gave birth to the urban labor class and made socialist revolution possible, was first introduced in England and this is why England is called the home of socialist ideology. The idea of socialism was adopted by the British people because of their unique nature and their faith in values. Socialist ideas are neither embodied in a single book such as 'the Bible' or the 'Communist Manifesto' of Karl Marx nor are they propagated by particular thinkers that make them universally applicable.

In the words of William Ibenstein, "In England there have been many towering socialist thinkers in England who have not held any significant position in political parties or government. But still they were influential mainly because of their moral strength and style of writing." Pt Jawaharlal Nehru, Ram Manohar Lohia and Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya are among the notable Indian thinkers who have also expressed their views about socialism.

## 2.2 The Meaning of Socialism-

Socialism is a harmonious blend of two ideologies and two systems democracy (capitalism) and the socialism (communism). It believes in a liberal philosophy based on human freedom. In the modern political era, socialism has been watchword of both the opposite ideologies the Marxism and the Liberalism. It stresses upon establishing such a democratic government through ballot which

strictly adheres to democratic norms in carrying out all its functions and finally paves way for establishing a welfare state.

Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterised by social ownership and democratic control of the means of production as well as the political theories and movements associated with them.

## 2.3 Definitions of Socialism-

Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Decentralization of political and economic powers and establishment of a just system by mutual consent of people and not by force is democratic socialism." He said, "Socialism is... not only a way of life, but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems." Nehru was of the opinion that no ideology other than socialism could fit in the democratic pattern as that of India. He was convinced that no democracy could succeed without imbibing the socialist pattern.

"Socialism has accepted the common goals of Communism's economic goals (ownership of society over means of production and planned economic development), and national goals (national independence, democracy and human rights), the aim of democratic socialism is to establish harmony between these two." -Dr. Ram Manohar Lal Lohia

According to Justice Gajendragadkar, "Democratic socialism which succinctly expresses the socio-economic content of the concept of a democratic welfare state is based on social philosophy which may be aptly described as modern liberalism." To him democratic socialism is a system for bringing the principles of public welfare state into practice. It is based on liberal social philosophy. It emphasizes that an individual should fulfill his social obligations. Thus, socialism seeks to establish economic and social justice by adopting the democratic path. The dignity of an individual and the establishment of social justice is the foundation of this ideology.

## 2.4 Evolution of Socialism in India -

In India, socialism started with in the first

national struggle for against British imperialism. In the first session of the 1929 Lahore session, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress had declared: "The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.... Therefore... India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence."

"In the opinion of this committee, the terrible depreciation of the Indian public is not only due to exploitation by the foreigners but also due to the economic system of the society, whose foreign ruler To continue their exploitation, there will be a revolutionary change in the current social and economic system of society."

Similarly, in the year 1931 the Karachi session was said in the preface of a famous proposal passed by the Congress, "If we want to make Swarajya a real self in general, its meaning is not only with the political freedom of the country, but also the economic independence of the general Gandhiji has rendered socialism in line with Indian ideals and circumstances. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Manvendra Rai, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, among the leaders of the Swatantraya movement and later popularized socialist ideology within and outside Indian National Congress And had made significant contributions in the establishment of human dignity.

Since independence, the Central ruling party and the opposition have been declaring themselves as socialists, but in actual practice they have not done much in this direction so far. Socialism will definitely be considered incomplete because the gap in the society on the economic basis is widening further.

## **2.5 The Key Elements of Socialism-**

Some common traits of socialism can be described are as under -

### **1. Capitalism and Communism are both**

### **Extreme Ideologies-**

Democratic socialism is equally opposed to the ideologies of capitalism and communisms. Accordingly, capitalism is based on inequality and exploitation of the general public and such a system can never work the general welfare of the people. Simultaneously, it is basically opposed to communism as it is opposed to capitalism. Democratic socialism opposes communism because it is based on opposition of religion and morality, believes in the notion of class struggle, violent revolution and totalitarianism (Dictatorship of Proletariat). According to democratic socialism, these ideas can never do any good for humanity. That is why he considers communism as its first enemy and call it "Instrument of New Imperialism". Democratic Socialism paves a new path in the field of economic and social life while opposing both the Capitalism and Communism

### **2. Faith in the Democratic System**

The most prominent trait of socialism is that it opposes all forms of totalitarianism because in such regimes human dignity, independence and dignity are of no significance. Contrary to the authoritarianism, it has full faith socialism. The path of socialism has been adopted as a supplementary form of democracy and hence in no way does it contradict it. In the words of Norman Thomas, "Socialism is the complete fulfillment of democracy." Democratic socialism strongly believes that for whatever changes are to be brought in the economic and social sphere that must be done through the democratic system. According to Avon F.M. Darwin, "The democratic system is an integral part of socialism and it can not be separated from it."

### **3. Belief in humanity-**

Both the two ideologies, the capitalism and communism consider man as an economic creature but the socialism considers man as a moral creature. The Capitalism is based on a misconception that a person actively works only out of fear of the punishment or for the profit motive. Unlike Capitalists, the Communists believe that any work

can be done only on the basis of inhuman elements such as violence, fear or terror. But, the fact is that man is not only a physical or an economic creature but a moral creature. He is not only influenced by physical needs, expectations and thoughts but also by ideals and feelings of cooperation, socialism and fraternity. Socialism adopts this optimistic view of human nature and emphasizes the moral development of humans.

#### **4. Supporter of Spiritual and Moral Values-**

The socialism believes that all social systems rest on the edifices of religion and morality and if efforts are made to reject this foundation then the entire system is likely to collapse. Political culture belongs to the means of spiritual production in our human society, the existence and development of it is based on the social value system. It reflects the political demands of ruling classes and serves their political rights. Core value system of socialism is inner spirit and soul of life of the socialist system, democracy in the widest sense is the value pursue, which shows the chief idea and development direction for the future development of the political culture of socialism. The most of the thinkers of socialism believe the socialism draws its motivation from the religion and morality. But, the for the socialism religion and ethics do not mean adopting of specific rituals, belief in fate or destiny , or other mischief of religious life. It believes in human dignity. Simultaneously, socialism does not associate itself with any one particular religion, but with the general principles of ethics and spirituality equally defined in all the religions.

#### **5. Socialism refrains from the Class Struggle**

Although, the socialism accepts the existence of workers and capitalists in the society, but it altogether rejects the theory of the class struggle. The tendency of class struggle creates a contaminated and violent atmosphere and instead of increasing production causes the deadlock in the industrial sector. According to socialism, unity can be established between the interests of the capitalists and the working class. The basic mantra of socialism is not the class struggle between various classes of

but developing harmony and cooperation between them.

#### **6. Supporter of Economic and Political Freedom**

The Communists consider only economic independence necessary for the development of individuals. According to them, the right to work, proper remuneration and the right to leave are everything for the people and hence give highest priority to them. Capitalism, on the other hand, emphasizes the political independence of the citizens, but the economic independence is not given the same weightage by them. But the socialist system considers both the political freedom and economic freedom necessary for human development. They emphasize on freedom of thought, speech, organization and conference also believes that there should be economic independence along with political and civil liberties.

#### **7. Democratic Control over Production and Distribution-**

In the capitalist system, the people have say and the determining power in relation to political questions, but they do not have the ability to influence the economic sector. Hence, the socialism considers this system as faulty. It believes that the economy should be governed by the democratic government meaning thereby that it should be controlled by the people directly through the elected parliament. In the words of British thinker Richard Howard Stafford Crossman, “Socialism should challenge all economics authorities and power which is vested in responsible and semi-responsible authorities. Just as the municipal business agencies are liable to the municipal council, in the same way every nationalized industry should be fully responsible to the parliament.” He said that it is not power itself, but the legitimation of the lust for power, which corrupts absolutely.

#### **8. The Goal of Production is Socialization**

In the beginning, socialism gave more emphasis on nationalization in every field, but soon it realized that nationalization was not the solution

of all the problems of the economic sector. So in the revised system, socialism emphasized more on socialization rather than nationalization. Nationalization refers to public ownership of the industries. But socialization emphasises that the industry whether it is in the public sector or in the private sector its controlling system should be governed by the direction of the state and purpose of its operation must not be limited to profit alone, but also cater and further social interests. Socialization is based on the assumption that the purpose of the operation of the industry is more important than the ownership.

### **9. Against the Unlimited Accumulation and Collection of Property -**

Socialism is a supporter of limiting private property rather than restricting and abolishing it. According to socialism, property that gives rise to exploitation should be abolished. For example, the state should exercise the ultimate control over large industries and not the private capitalists, because in lack of the state control; the capitalists can make the people their economic slave on the basis of these industries. But the private property which plays a useful role for the society should be maintained, i.e. private house, personal things of used in daily life, agriculture, handicrafts, and retail and midium-class industries. Socialism does not advovate abolition of private property altogether, but it is against the tendency of accumulation of too much of private property which may be harmful for the interests of of state and can make it its slave. In other words, unlimited concentration of huge wealth and resources in few hands is basically against the pirit of socialism.

### **10. Aims of the Best Human Life**

Socialism belives that the state is not an evil or an instrument of exploitation rather it is an institution that develops social virtues and core value system. It wants to make the jurisdiction and area of operation of the state to be comprehensive and broader. All socialists acknowledge that the collective power of society can prove to be more useful in meeting the requirements of education,

health, medical, entertainment, basic amenities and facilities for its citizens to help them lead a superior cultural life. Therefore, the state should sincerely and honestly work towards developing facilities and institutions such as hospitals, shops, parks and public roads. In a nutshell, the state should strive hard to emerge as a unit of human welfare.

## **2.6 Society The Main Component of Socialism-**

Socialism considers society as an element which should be gradually developed and which has an ability to change itself in the process of development. Socialism wants to foster the goal of development with the cooperation of all sections of the society. It emphasises that the concept is not only beneficial to workers alone but as a system it works for the benefit of all the sections of the society. Through its high ideals and moral principles of socilism a large part of the people can be drawn to it including the workers and the elites of the society. Promoting socialism with patience, caution and intelligence will lead the people to the path of development and there will be no need for any revolution. Socialism extends and manifests itself on the basis of ideas and speeches, media, forums, literary publications and other publicity tools. Socialism always believes in obtaining power through peaceful statutory means.

## **2.7 Main Elements of the Socialism-**

1. Income tax should be imposed on the growth of the income of the rich people and amount so received as tax should be used in the interests of the poor.
2. The practice of accumulation and collection of black money should be stopped in any condition.
3. The farm holder who is the actual tiller should have the right to land.
4. Industries and banks should be nationalized with effective governance of the state on the economy.
5. Private sector industries should be directed by

the state and their operations must be in the public interest.

6. Economic inequality should be removed immediately.
7. All persons should be provided employment, proper remuneration and leave according to their qualifications.
8. The state should work hard to provide basic amenities and arrange welfare services to enable which the citizen to lead a happy and comfortable life.
9. The planning should be adopted as a method for economic development.

## 2.8 Characteristics of Socialism -

The certain features of socialism have made it the world's most popular ideology today. The capitalism and communism are two mutually opposed to each other on the basis of their fundamental ideological differences and principles followed by each of them. Both these ideologies are extreme philosophies of life. On the contrary, the socialism is relatively a liberal doctrine which has accepted best things and properties from both the systems-the Capitalism and Communism.

The main characteristics of socialism can be described in the following points:

1. Socialism takes care of the interests of both the individual and the society alike.
2. Socialism is familiar to the flaws of capitalism and communism both and maintains equi-distance from them.
3. Socialism believes in the full development of the personality of individuals and provides political and economic independence to the citizens to the maximum possible extent.
4. Socialism does not want to abolish the private property, but is in favor of limiting it for the larger societal interests only.
5. Socialism accepts the importance of religion and ethics in making the human life systematic and the essence of all religions is based on human religion.

6. It follows the path of decentralization of economic and political power.
7. The authority should be liable to the parliament, which is elected by the people.
8. It is helpful in establishing a social system based on equality.

## 2.9 Defects of Socialism-

Socialism is said to be the most useful and practical ideology but there are a few critics who find certain flaws in the Socialism.

Its main defects are as follows -

**1. It is not a clear ideology -** The socialism as an ideology is full of ambiguity and uncertainty. For example, some socialists insist on nationalization, whereas others emphasise on socialization. There is a wide range of differences among various socialists as regards the extent of the control over private property.

**2. It accepts elements which are opposed to each other-** Democracy believes in freedom whereas socialism has faith in the control system. There is a paradox in the ideology of socialists due to mutual opposition of democracy and socialism.

**3. It is Contrary to Natural Possibilities -** The socialism is based on the notion of equality, but in terms of nature, men are not equal because they differ in physical strength, intellect and character. In such a situation, those individuals who have acquired more property than other persons on the basis of their qualifications, hard work and financial integrity should also have the right to use the property according to their will, but the socialists want to share and spend wealth of hard working and qualified persons on lazy and inactive people. It is wrong in principles.

**4. It protects the corrupt system-** In the socialism, the powers of the state are increased to great extent and in practice these powers are actually used by the bureaucracy. It is a well known fact that corruption, favouritism and red-tapism are an integral part of the process of bureaucracy. So, there are chances of more corruption in socialist systems.

**5. Loss of the interests of consumers-** The socialism imposes state control on production units and ends the sovereignty of the consumer and producer both. As per the socialism, since the consumer will need to meet his own requirements as per the wish of the state and hence it will lead to loss of his interest in the production activity because he will not be able to make any profit out of what has been produced nor use it for his consumption. Naturally, this will result in loss of his interests.

**Conclusion-**

Although, Socialism is criticized on many grounds but despite all these criticisms and flaws, it is a very significant ideology today. The criticisms levelled against socialism has some significance from the theoretical point of view nonetheless it is most popular political ideology in vogue today. Like democracy, we also have no viable alternative to socialism.

**Important Points**

The socialism is a doctrine which strives to establish economic, social, justice in the society and maintaining the human dignity of the person by adopting a democratic path.

**Major elements of socialism -**

- Both Capitalism and Communism are extreme ideologies.
- Faith in the democratic system.
- Faith in the Democratic System.
- Supporter of Spiritual and Moral Values.
- Socialism refrains from the Class Struggle
- Freedom of economic and political independence.
- Democratic control over production and distribution.
- The Goal of Production is Socialization.
- Against the unlimited accumulation and collection of Property

**Exercise**

**Multiple Choice Questions-**

1. Which concept do the Indian socialist thinkers favor?
  - (A) Establishment of human dignity
  - (B) Class struggle
  - (C) Unlimited wealth collection.
  - (D) Distance in moral values ( )
2. Which country is considered the home of socialist ideology?
  - (A) India
  - (B) Soviet Union
  - © England
  - (D) USA ( )
3. Which one of the following ideologies has the goal of "imposing tax on extra income of the rich and using this money for the welfare of the poor"?
  - (A) Capitalist (B) Socialist
  - (C) Lobbyist (D) Individualist ( )
4. Which one of the following is not a socialist thinker?
  - (A) Ram Manohar Lohia
  - (B) Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay
  - (C) Lord Macaulay
  - (D) Harold Laski ( )
5. Indian Socialism is counted as a form of-
  - (A) Democratic Socialism
  - (B) Guild Socialism
  - (C) Communism
  - (D) Religious Socialism ( )

**Very Short Answer Type Questions-**

1. Where did the socialism originate from?
2. What is a key element of socialism?
3. Where is the corrupt system more likely to flourish?

### **Short Answer Type Questions-**

1. Who is the most prominent exponent of socialism in India?
2. Explain four main principles of socialism.
3. Describe the four characteristics of socialism.
4. Give four arguments against socialism.
5. What is the meaning of socialism?

### **Essay Type Questions-**

1. What do you understand by socialism? Elaborate about its merits and demerits.
2. Explain the main components of socialism.
3. Describe the main principles of democratic socialism.

### **Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-**

1. A      2. C 3. B    4. C    5. A

## 3. Marxism

Marxism is the organised series of the ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Lenin, Mao, Gramsci etc. Marx is not the first thinker to propagate the socialist ideology or speak of the change or transformation of the social and economic system. Socialist models and ideas espousing common or public ownership have existed since antiquity. Prior to him, many thinkers of UK and France had also expressed socialist views. François-Noël Babeuf, Saint Simon and Charles Fourier in France and Louis Blanc, Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi, Charles Hall, Thompson and Robert Owen in England, had also talked of socialism. They criticized the free competition, state policy in the economic sector and the inequality of wealth existing in the capitalist system. But, they could neither underline the causes of why such inequalities in the society arise nor could they suggest any measure for prevention of the same. Marx attempted systematically to seek the structural causes behind the system of capitalist exploitation and degradation, and to offer solutions in the spheres of economics and politics. Marx, first of all, presented a practical plan for the establishment of socialism (communist) based on scientific analysis of socialism.

### 3.1 Meaning of Marxism-

By emphasis on the word Marx, we may generally infer that Marxism is basically an ideology based on the ideas of Marx alone but that is not wholly true. In the 19th century Germany had two great thinkers named Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). Together they critically discussed and analyzed a variety of

problems of philosophy, history, sociology, science and economics in a very detailed manner and came forward with a new approach and an ideology to analyze and study these problems. The new theory of economic and social system based upon the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels is known as Marxism. Friedrich Engels worked closely with Karl Marx and contributed a great deal in development of Marxism. The scientific and philosophical perspective was studied by Engels whereas political and economic aspects were analyzed by Marx himself. The British also made an important contribution towards ideology. He had inherited from earlier philosophers and economists, including Hegel, Johann Fichte, Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill. However, principal exponent of Marxism which is a form of society is German philosopher Karl Marx. Since he has rendered socialism based on historical interpretation, he is called Scientific Socialist. Apart from Marx and Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Dowski, Mao, Gramsci and George Lucas etc. are also the main exponents of Marxist ideology.

### 3.2 Karl Marx : His Life History-

The revolutionary and the pioneer of scientific socialism, Karl Heinrich Marx was born on the 5th May 1818 in Trier (Treves) Germany in a Jewish family. His father, Heinrich Marx who was a lawyer accepted Christianity when Karl was a still child. Karl Marx studied at Berlin University and it was here that he was introduced to Hegel's dialectical thinking. Marx wanted to be a university scholar, but due to his atheist ideas this could not happen. In

1841, Marx received a doctorate from University of Jena and in 1843 married to Jenny von Westphalen at the age of 25. Karl Marx died in London on March 14, 1883. Karl Marx's friendship with Engels is well-known in the history.

### 3.3 Sources of Marxism-

According to Ebenstein, *"In his own difficult and lengthy quest, Marx did not get his ideology readymade from any thinker, but he collected it from various sources and placed it before the world."*

Gaitle wrote that *"The main basis of Marxism is the principle of historical materialism and class struggle; these two are closely related to Hegel's dialectical thought."*

Secondly, Marxism is based on theory of surplus value which is drawn from the economics of England. Thirdly, it also includes in it various elements of French revolution and French socialism. Marx has largely from drawn theory of development and progress through revolution and the withering away of the state from French revolution.

**1. Influence of German scholars-** Marx adopted Hegel's dialectical method for the development of society; He took the idea of materialism from young Hegelian Ludwig Feuerbach.

**2. Influence of the British Economists -** Marx adopted the main principles of labor from British economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo etc. He interpreted the theory of surplus value on these principles.

**3. Influence of the French Socialists-** Ideas of French sociologists François-Noël Babeuf, Saint Simon and Charles Fourier rendered their bit in formation of socialistic structure of Marxism. Apparently socialism as propagated by French thinkers was utopian but it was revolutionary in its character. The principles of ownership of the means of production, the theory of destruction of the producing and exploiting class by the workers, and the idea of establishing a classless society of Marx are attributed to the socialistic thought of French

thinkers.

**4. Socio-economic conditions-** The exploitative character of the then capitalist society also motivated Marx to present revolutionary ideas. In short, Marx had built the huge palace by collecting bricks from many places. But he built the huge palace of Communism that is absolutely fundamental. By providing logic to the proletariat he made it progressive and powerful. He gave great progress and power by giving logic. Since he gave socialism (communism) a scientific form, he is called the father of scientific socialism. His scientific socialism is based on these four pillars-the dialectical materialism, the materialistic interpretation of history, the principle of class struggle and the theory of surplus value.

### 3.4 Major works of Marxism-

1. The Poverty of Philosophy (1847)
2. The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844
3. Theses on Feuerbach
4. The Class Struggles in France (1848 to 1850)
5. The Critique of Political Economy (1906)
6. Value, Price and Profit (1865)
7. Das Kapital (Volume I, II, III) (1894)
8. The Civil War In France (1871)
9. The Critique of the Gotha Program (1875)
10. The Holy Family (1845), The German Ideology, The Communist Manifesto (1848) - Marx and Engels
11. The Origin of Family, Private Property and The State- Engels
12. State and Revolution- Lenin
13. On Contradictions- Mao Tse Tung
14. The Prison Note Books - Gramsci

### 3.5 Some Facts Related to Marx's Compositions-

1. In Das Kapital (1867) Marx analyzed the basic economic principles.
2. The full name of Das Kapital (1867)- A

Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy(1859).

The first volume of Das Capital was written by Marx and the remaining two volumes were written by Engels after the death of Marx

3. Proudhon wrote a book titled “The Philosophy of Poverty” (1847), in reply to which Marx wrote a composition called “The Poverty of Philosophy” (1847), and gave a positive definition of class.
4. In “The Civil War in France”(1871),Marx amended his ideas on the states given in “The Communist Manifesto”(1848).
5. In “The German Ideology” (1845), Marx profounded the principles of dialectical materialism.
6. Taylor called “The Communist Manifesto” (1848) by Marx as a sacred book like the Bible or the Qur'an.

### 3.6 Major Ideas of Marx & Foundations of Marxism-

1. Dialectical materialism
2. Materialistic or the Economic Interpretation of History
3. Theory of Class Struggle
4. Theory of Surplus Value
5. Marx's Theory of State
6. Views of Marx on Democracy, Religion and Nation
7. Marxist Method, Programme (revolution)

There are three grounds to know about Marxism -

1. System of Production
2. Means of Production
3. Relation of Production

Karl Marx identified in his theory two components of production in a society that forms its backbone

**(a) The material component-** it mainly consists of the material, thing, resources, capital,

and technology and is also called *means of production* through which production is done. e.g. land.

**(b) Ownership of means of production-** it comprises those who all are working on the resources. These are always social components. It is called **relation of production**. The nature of these relations would vary from society to society. These two together are called mode of production which according to Marx forms the base of economic infrastructure of the society.

The mode of production indicates two things -

- (i) What is the means of production, equipment, machinery etc.?
- (ii) What is the level of knowledge, experience, expertise and capabilities of the producing labor power?

Relations of production mean the social relations found among the people involved in the process of production. These social relations are determined by the level and character of the development of productive forces. Relation of production is not merely the ownership of means of production. The employer's relation to the worker is one of domination and the worker's relation with co-workers is one of cooperation. The relations of production are relations between people and people whereas means of production are relations between people and things. The relations of production can influence the momentum and direction of the development of the productive forces. This relationship depends on ownership of the means of production. The one who is owner makes the dominant class on the contrary the deprived sections who are not in the position of ownership make the underprivileged class. Relations of Productions constitute the basis of the society at any given point of time. What are called the social relations among the people are, for the Marxists, the relations of production.

#### 1. Dialectical Materialism-

The principle of dialectical materialism is the basic idea of Marx's entire thinking. It emphasizes

that political and historical events result from the conflict of social forces and are interpretable as a series of contradictions and their solutions. The social changes take place because of the material factors and through the dialectical materialistic method. Dialectical materialism adapts the Hegelian dialectic for traditional materialism, where he adopted principle of materialism from Feuerbach. It examines the subjects of the world in relation to each other within a dynamic, evolutionary environment, in contrast to meta physical materialism, which examines parts of the world within a static, isolated environment. The conflict is seen as caused by material needs. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is materialistic. It is the sum-total of the general principles which explain as to why and how social changes take place.

Dialectical materialism consists of two words- (1) dialectical and (2) materialism. It maintains the material basis of a reality constantly changing in a dialectical process and the priority of matter over mind. It is the Marxian system of thought that combines philosophical materialism with the Hegelian dialectic and forms the theoretical basis for Communism.

## 2. Dialectical Process-

It determines the three dialectical stages of development: a thesis, giving rise to its reaction; an antithesis, which contradicts or negates the thesis; and the tension between the two being resolved by means of a synthesis. Marx and his followers have explained the dialectic process by an example of wheat plant. That the wheat grain (granule) is a thesis, the plant which comes out as a result of sowing the grain as seed in the field is anti thesis, and in the third stage, the grain comes out after ripening the grain head after removing it from the dried and dead plant is synthesis.

**Materialism-** According to Hegel the essence

of creation of universe is idea or consciousness but according to Marx root cause of creation is matter. The differences between Hegel and Marx are important. In Hegel's opinion- Idea is of first importance because it arises at first and matter is of secondary importance. Engels says, "*The Hegelian system is a colossal miscarriage.*"

## 3.7 Characteristics of Dialectical Materialism-

1. According to *dialectical materialism* that the world, material in nature that all phenomena in the universe consist of "matter in motion," wherein all things are interdependent and interconnected and develop according to natural law;
2. Nature is unstable, dynamic and constantly changing;
3. According to Marx, The process of development and change in the goods is simple. The world process, which is based on motion, attraction, and repulsion and is mechanical, is circular. It moves continually through thesis, antithesis and synthesis. But it is not a closed process.
4. The qualitative changes in the objects are not gradual but occur suddenly with speed.
5. Marx adopts Hegel's dialectical method as regards the qualitative changes that takes place in the objects. "Motion is the mode of existence of matter".
6. Dialectical materialism interprets the nature on the basis of the matter and treats it as the controlling power of the world.

## 3.8 Principles of Dialectical Process of Development-

1. **Unity and struggle of the opposites.**
2. **Change in quantity results in change in quality** - Changes in quantity also result in changes in the quality as on heating the water becomes hot and then on further heating turns into vapour.
3. **Principle of negation of the negation** - In this process, an element (thesis) does not come into

its initial state by colliding with its anti-element (anti thesis) but reaches a higher state (synthesis). Marxist interpretation, negation of the negation is the theoretical side of social change in which the exploitative capitalist system is superseded by a socialist revolution that negates the negation, the very essence of capitalism, namely, exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie.

### 3.9 Historical Materialism-

Marx's theory of Historical Materialism is recognized as a supplementary principle of Dialectical Materialism. Historical materialism springs from a fundamental underlying reality of human existence: that in order for human beings to survive and continue existence from generation to generation, it is necessary for them to produce and reproduce the material requirements of life. Marx then extended this premise by asserting the importance of the fact that, in order to carry out production and exchange, people have to enter into very definite social relations, most fundamentally "production relations". Marx's general ideas about society are known as his theory of historical materialism. Materialism is the basis of his sociological thought because for Marx material conditions or economic factors affect the structure and development of society. His theory is that material conditions essentially comprise technological means of production and human society is formed by the forces and relations of production. It is historical because Marx has traced the evolution of human societies from one stage to another. It is called Materialistic because Marx has interpreted the evolution of societies in terms of their material or economic bases. Materialism simply means that it is matter or material reality, which is the basis for any change.

According to Friedrich Engels, the theory of historical materialism was discovered by Karl Marx, but Marx thought it was Engels who has conceived the materialist formulation of history independently. Materialism means the materialist structure of society. It is how the super structure of

society is based on economic infrastructure. Marx's theory of historical materialism is the materialistic interpretation of the history of societies. All the societies have experienced similar pattern of history and every history is built upon its materialist foundations. Marx has tried to suggest that all society passes through unilinear evolution, every society progresses stage by stage and every society has marched ahead. To clarify the impact of economic causes on the development of human history, He has classified the history of society in 6 stages :-



**In Marxist theory, human society consists of two parts:**

- 1. The base (or substructure)**
- 2. Superstructure.**

In the base, it incorporates the economy and production system, and superstructure incorporates in it social, political, cultural status. The base comprises the forces and relations of production (e.g. employer/employee work conditions, the technical division of labour, and property relations) into which people enter to produce the necessities and amenities of life. The base determines society's other relationships and ideas to comprise its superstructure, including its culture, institutions, political power structures, roles, rituals, and state. While the relation of the two parts is not strictly causal, as the superstructure often affects the base,

the influence of the base is predominant. Under above classification Marx has stressed upon the fact that three stages of historical development of society have already passed in the history. The fourth stage is continuing and the last two stages are likely to happen in future. Marx's theory sought to explain all social phenomena in terms of their place and function in the complex systems of society and nature. This was without recourse to what may be considered as metaphysical explanations clearly outlined in those early writings of Hegel and his followers. This eventually became a mature sociological conception of the making and development of human societies. According to Marx, the class which exercise control over the economy and system is called an exploiter class and the one which acts under it is called the exploited class.

### 3.10 Deductions of Economic Interpretation of History-

1. The development of human life and civilization is not the result of thoughts and actions of God or super human. There are definite rules for the social change and the operator of this process is the economic element.
2. In every age one that controls the economic system also exercise control over the social and political system.
3. Economic changes lead to political and social change.
4. There is always class struggle under capitalism except in primitive communism.
5. By materialistic interpretation of history, Marx announces the end of capitalism and the arrival of communism.

### 3.11 Criticism of Economic Interpretation of History

1. Excessive and unnecessary emphasis on economic element
2. It is not possible to interpret all historical

events on economic basis

3. Neglect of element of coincidence in interpretation of history
4. It is not possible to determine the program of human history
5. The economic power is not the only basis of political power
6. Economic relations are replaced by political power
7. It is not possible for the theory of interpretation of history to stop at classless and the stateless society

### 3.12 Theory of Class Struggle Communist Manifesto (1848)

Theory of Class Struggle is another tenet of Marxism. Marx says in his first translation of Communist Manifesto (1848) that all hitherto history has been the history of class struggle between opposing classes. Class struggle is the characteristic of class societies. In the classless societies, there is no class struggle because there are, in such societies, no opposing/ antagonistic classes. Class struggle, in class societies, (i.e., in slave-owning society, the feudal society, the capitalist society) is of mainly three types: economic, ideological and political. Marx's dialectical materialism is based on the principle of historical materialism and the principle of surplus value, is based on the theory of class struggle. According to Marxism, there are two main classes of people: The bourgeoisie controls the capital and means of production, and the proletariat provides the labour. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels say that for most of history, there has been a struggle between those two classes. This struggle is known as class struggle.

Engels writes in his book (**Origin of Family Private Property & State**) that the family is the first exploiting body and the first victim is a woman. According to him, first private property was the plow and the class struggle arose with the emergence of private property and the state emerged to suppress the class struggle.

**Class-** According to Marx, the group which has similar relation with means of production is called a class. i.e workers, capitalists etc.

**Conflict (struggle):-** The broad meaning of conflict is dissatisfaction, frustration, fury and non-cooperation.

### 3.13 Criticism of Class Struggle

1. Partly and faulty
2. The basic element of social life is cooperation, not conflict.
3. There are more than two classes in society.
4. There is a difference between the social and economic class.
5. Revolution is ignited by the revolutionary intellectual class rather than the working class.
6. The entire history is not all about class conflicts.

This theory of Marx created awareness among the working class.

### 3.14 Theory of Surplus Value

Marx was hugely influenced by Ricardo and he later drew from the labor-cost theory of value; his *theory of surplus value* which emphasized that since labor is the sole foundation of value, the entire product of labor belongs by moral right to the laborer. Marx in his book elaborates about the theory of surplus value. Ricardo was a capitalist thinker. Ricardo said that the price of an object is determined by labor and hence represented the labor-cost theory of value.

According to Marx the general formula of commodity circulation is C-M-C, that is to enter in the market with a commodity, earn money by selling that commodity, and then leave the market after buying another desired commodity with that earned money. Money becomes capital at a certain stage of commodity production. The formula of capital circulation is M-C-M', that a capitalist enters the market with money (M), he buys labour force by this money and produces such commodity, which is sold on more money (M'). This M'-M is called Surplus

Value by Marx, which is a gain from the initial value of money invested in the circulation. When the money starts creating surplus value it converts into capital. Capitalist buys the whole labour force a worker at the subsistence wage. Thus the labourer is compelled to work more than his subsistence wage which is his value in exchange, and the resultant value is surplus value. This surplus value is not given to the labourers, but accumulated by the capitalist. It is noticeable that the surplus value is generated during production and is inherent in the value in exchange of the commodity. The profit which capitalist earns through the fluctuations of demand and supply in the market is separate from this surplus value.

According to Marx, the surplus value affects the society in following manner-

1. Poor state of workers
2. It causes proletarian revolution
3. It causes additional population

#### Criticism -

1. Labor is not the only means of production.
2. It neglects the cost of capital and the mental labour
3. It lacks originality; it is more influenced by Ricardo.
4. It is a contradictory principle.

**Importance-** It has been most helpful in the promotion of socialism.

### 3.15 The Theory of Alienation

The theory of Alienation is related to the 'young' Marx as he wrote more often and directly of alienation than the 'mature' Marx. There was an ideological break but more or less the concept remained central. Traditionally regarded as a theme of Marx's early work, alienation remained a theme throughout his life, giving shape and form to his insights even when Marx does not name alienation as such. It is one of the most misunderstood and misused terms in the whole of Marxism. He expressed the theory of Alienation in the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. In this book,

he compares the capitalism to the feudalism and considers latter better than the former. This concept is frequently taken to be a moral notion based on a concept of universal human nature. While describing capitalism Marx states that *capitalism is essentially alienating and exploitative*. He says that due to capitalism, man has become an alienated human being.

#### **Four Aspects of Alienation**

1. *Alienation from the Production System-The product of labour*
2. *Alienation from the Environment*
3. *Alienation from the Colleagues or Fellow Beings*
4. *Alienation from the Self (Alienation from one's own Activity)*

Neo-Marxism is also influenced by the theory of alienation. The leading figure in the Neo-Marxist movement is Georg Lukacs who discussed alienation it in 1923-24, while the ideas written by Marx appeared in the year 1932 in form of Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.

#### **3.16 Analysis of Capitalism and its Future Perception-**

Capitalism is a mode of production based on private ownership of the means of production. Capitalists produce commodities for the exchange market for profit and to stay competitive must extract as much labor from the workers as possible at the lowest possible cost. The economic interest of the capitalist is to pay the worker as little as possible, in fact just enough to keep him alive and productive. The workers, in turn, come to understand that their economic interest lies in preventing the capitalist from exploiting them in this way. The social relations of production are inherently antagonistic; giving rise to a class struggle that Marx believes will lead to the overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat. The proletariat will replace the capitalist mode of production with a mode of production based on the collective ownership of the means of production, which is called Communism.

#### **3.17 Marxist View of the State and the Government-**

Marx's perception of the state and the government is quite different from his other ideas. Karl Marx considers the state as an institution dominated by a particular class. According to him, the origin of the state itself is based on class division. State is an instrument used by the capitalist class to oppress and exploit the working class. According to Marxist theory, the existence of any government implies the dictatorship of one social class over another. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is thus used as an antonym of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a class society this special role of the state is inevitable.

Marx explained the role of the state and the government in the form of the following points:

1. In any state or the class society there are two main classes and the origin of the state was caused by the class division in the society and to protect the interests of the capitalist class.
2. Since the interests of these two main classes are opposite conflict between the two important classes is inevitable because the interests stand in direct opposition is irreconcilable.
3. The capitalist class (the bourgeoisie) uses the state machinery (particularly the police and army) as instruments of exploitation to control the revolt fuelled by the working class (the proletarian).
4. The class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; [and] that this dictatorship, itself, constitutes no more than a transition to the abolition of all classes (to eliminate the remaining residues of state and capitalism-bourgeoisie class) and to a classless society. The state itself provides the basis for the establishment of a stateless and classless society.

#### **Criticism -**

1. State is not a class organization, but it is an ethical organization.

2. At present, the state is not an enemy of the proletariat but is a friend who works for the welfare of the proletariat.
3. State is not temporary but permanent.
4. The concept of state extinction by Marx is hypocritical.

### 3.18 The Perception of Marxism in Relation to Democracy, Religion and Nationalism-

Karl Marx had an antithetical and complex attitude to religion, viewing it primarily as *"the soul of soulless conditions"*, the *"opium of the people"* that had been useful to the ruling class (capitalists) as a means of exploitation since it gave the working classes false hope for millennia. Marx evoked the workers and the peasants of the whole world to unite as there was no country meant to cater for laborers. In this way, the concept of nationalism was also meaningless for them.

#### Marxist programme

There are three stages of the Marxist program

1. Revolution against the capitalist system and the Bourgeois State
2. Dictatorship of the proletariat for transition period
3. Establishment of state and classless society (communist society) after the withering away of the state.
4. The communist society will be technologically progressive and advanced society.

*"When at last it (state) becomes the real representative of the whole society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary."*

### 3.19 Criticism of Marxism

Marxism has been subjected to severe criticism from many thinkers. It is seen as an enemy

of the open society. The class division of society into two classes, *'the haves'* and *'the have nots'* as perceived by the Marxists is far from the reality. Infact society is very complex and is divided into many groups. There is no clear cut division of classes as envisaged by Marxism. Moreover, there exists a huge middle class. Marxian thinkers predicted that with the advancement of capitalism, the middle class would disappear and merge with the proletariat class. But this has not happened so far and there is no possibility of it ever happening. Infact, the reverse has happened; the middle class has strengthened its position and increased its size. Marxists also predicted the narrowing of the capitalist class. Here again, just the opposite has happened. Events that took place after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent opening of Russia to the West tell a different story. Anarchists have often argued that Marxist communism will inevitably lead to coercion and state domination. Mikhail Bakunin believed that Marxist regimes would ultimately lead to the *"despotic control of the populace by a new and not at all numerous aristocracy"*. Marxism as a set of social, economic, and political ideas to change the world has died a quiet death-except in China where it is still alive as a different offshoot called Maoism. Liberals have portrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat as the anti-democracy in context of Soviet Union's Stalinist and China's Maoist dictatorial regimes. Marxism is widely perceived to be in crisis, and many believe the crisis is terminal. Marxism it is said has had a long run and now its energies are spent and its usefulness is long past. Marx did not foresee the rise of Fascism, totalitarianism and the welfare state. His analysis of capitalism was, at best, applicable to early 19th century capitalism, though his criticisms of capitalism as being wasteful unequal and exploitative was true. However, his alternative to genuine democracy and communism seemed more official to realize in practice, for they did not accommodate a world which was becoming increasingly differentiated, stratified and functionally specialized. Sartori called it a *"Fantom Alternative"* and said that in reality the dictatorship

of the proletariat in the Soviet Union was dictatorship over the proletariat. Karl Popper claimed that Marx's scientific socialism was wrong not only about society but also about science. He claimed that the capitalism that Marx described never existed. He wrote thus: "*Marx misled crores of intelligent people by saying that the historic method is the scientific way of approaching social problems.*"

Further Marx made the economy all important, ignoring factors like nationality, friendship, religion, sex etc. Society was far more complex than what Marx described. As Popper has rightly mentioned "*Marx brought into the social science and historical science the very important idea that economic conditions are of great importance in the life of society. There was nothing like serious economic history before Marx*". He compared Marxism to a closed society which lacked democracy and freedom both and also rejected Marx's social engineering as dangerous for it treated individuals as subservient to the interests of the whole. Popper rejected the historicism, holism and utopian social engineering of Marxism. In contrast, he advocated piecemeal social engineering, where change would be gradual and modest, allowing rectification of lapses and errors for it was not possible to conceive of everything. He claimed that the capitalism that Marx described never existed. Marxism claimed to have studied the laws of history on the basis of which it advocated total sweeping and radical changes. Not only was it impossible to have firsthand knowledge based on some set of laws that governed society and human individuals. Eduard Bernstein in his book '*Evolutionary Socialism*' (1899) argued that the very success of the social-democratic Left made Marx's "revolutionary" predictions, and his politics, obsolete. Kautsky, in his book '*The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*' (1918); said that the fundamental aim of the Communists of every country is not the destruction of capitalism but the destruction of democracy and of the political and economic organizations of the workers. The theories of class struggle, revolution and proletarian dictatorship of

Marxism are undemocratic in nature and are unwarranted for peaceful and constitutional reforms. In her book '*Russian Revolution*' (1940). Rosa Luxemburg criticized Marxism for its lack of public control over the rule and lack of freedom of the press. In fact, the principle of class struggle of Marxism ends up with the possibility of all kinds of cooperation and co-ordination while talking about the constant conflict in society. In such a situation, continuous social violence and hurdles are likely to prevail in the society. Under the Marxism, the class division on the economic basis for the society is also beyond the truth. In fact, Marx has completely ignored the other social factors such as religion, race, caste, creed etc., on the basis of which and differentiating conditions are formed and many divisions take place in the society. Therefore, Marx's over emphasis on economic factors and the matter is meaningless. Moreover, the practical experience of Marxism has been extremely painful. The communist regimes of the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, Cambodia, Cuba and North Korea are some of the brute reminders of the Marxist violence, repression of democracy and disruption of the development.

In brief, Marxism can be criticized on grounds given as under:

***Marxism can also be criticized on the following grounds:***

According to Alexander Gray, "*Undoubtedly, Marx has created his ideas by drawing elements from many sources, but he has used them all to build a building that itself has its own sampling.*"

1. Unable to completely separate the inert and the consciousness
2. Automatic change in inert elements perceived by Marx is not possible.
3. Marxism lacks originality.
4. Marxism promotes violence and revolutions.
5. Marxism fatal for personal freedom.
6. Marx's economic interpretation of history and dialectical materialism is lop-sided and imaginary.

7. Assumption of withering away of the state's extinction is imaginary.
8. Considering the state as a tool of exploitation by Marxism is inappropriate.
9. Marxist approach to democracy, nationalism and religion is inappropriate.
10. Marx's idea of division of society in two classes is impractical.

### 3.20 Contribution of Marxism in Political Thought-

Marxism has made very significant contribution to the political thought. It provided an innovative approach to understanding the world. Karl Marx is undoubtedly one of the most influential philosophers of modern times. His ideas and doctrines have acquired the status of a powerful ideology and a programme of action. His ideas on Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Surplus Value, Class Struggle, Revolution, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Alienation, and Communism have been extensively discussed, debated, modified and sometimes even rejected and criticized by his followers and adversaries.

1. It provides the basis for various ideologies.
2. It was a challenge to Liberalism.
3. It presents a practical and scientific plan of socialism.
4. It has been used as a tool for social analysis.
5. Its economic theory laid the foundation for understanding labor and its relation to capital.

#### Conclusion-

Karl Marx is undoubtedly one of the most important and influential thinkers of the modern period. He was the first thinker who presented a solid and relevant programme to establish socialism in the world. Both a scholar and a political activist, Marx addressed a wide range of political as well as social issues, and is known for, among other things, his analysis of history. The ideas of Marx were practically implemented by Lenin in 1917 when he successfully established communism in the USSR by following Marxist ideology. Under the

influence of Marxist ideology Mao Tse Tung established communism through revolution in a predominantly feudal society of China in 1949. Interpretations of his theories, particularly those on political economy, have in the course of history generated decades of debate, inspired revolutions and cast him as both devil and deity in political and academic circles. The importance of Marxism lies in two fields. Firstly, it has been used as a tool for social analysis. Secondly, it gives a voice to the voiceless. It is the philosophy of the poor, the oppressed and the suppressed people. Under the pressure of forceful Marxist ideology the capitalism has to change and reform its ways and move toward the concept of welfare state. The credit of emergence of the welfare state is connected with the birth of communism as an alternate and effective ideology.

#### Important Points

- Karl Marx was born on 5 May 1818 in Germany and died on 18 March 1883 in London.
- A thinker and propounder who presented the concept of scientific socialism in a systematic form.
- Das Kapital and Communist Manifesto are two renowned books of Karl Marx.
- The main theories profounded by Marx Dialectical materialism, Materialistic or Economic Interpretation of History, the Theory of Class Struggle, the Theory of surplus value, the Theory of the State and the Theory of Alienation .
- Six Marxian Stages of State in Human History- the primitive communist state, slave state, feudal state, capitalist state, dictatorship of proletariat and communist state.

#### Contribution of Marx-

- Provided a scientific form to the utopian socialism.
- Awakened consciousness in labor and proletariat.
- Supported determinism and challenged

liberalism.

- Ideas presented in practical form.

### ***The Bases of Criticism of Marxism -***

- It is opposed to democracy
- It encourages violence and conflict in society
- It supports of state less society and anarchy
- It is against the principle of personal liberty
- Economic interpretation of history is lopsided and impractical

## **Exercise**

### **Multiple Choice Questions-**

1. Who is the main profounder of Marxism?  
(A) Fourier (B) Karl Marx  
(C) M. N. Roy (D) Louis Blanc ( )
2. Who is the exponent of Analytical Socialism -  
(A) Jeane (B) Ram Manohar Lohia  
(C) Karl Marx (D) Taylor ( )
3. The dialectical materialism of Marx was influenced by which one of the following thinkers -  
(A) Engels (B) Jeane Silmandy  
(C) Simon (D) Hegel ( )
4. Which one of the following ideas does not match with Marxism?  
(A) Centralized and organized state  
(B) Theory of class struggle  
(C) Theory of surplus value  
(D) Materialistic interpretation of history ( )
5. Existence of which of the following classes of the society was accepted by Marx?  
(A) Middle and Capitalist  
(B) Proletariat and Capitalist  
(C) Low and Middle  
(D) Exploited class ( )

### **Very Short Answer Type Questions-**

1. Who was the closest friend of Karl Marx?
2. Name the two compositions of Marx?
3. Which thinker termed religion as opium?
4. According to Marx, interests of which class were protected by the state?
5. Which country is highly influenced by Marxian ideology in the present world order?

### **Short Answer Type Questions-**

1. What is the concept of class struggle?
2. How many stages of human history are there according to? Write their name.
3. Why Marx is called an exponent of systematic scientific socialism?
4. What is the main source of Marxist philosophy?
5. Write a brief note about the theory of surplus value of Marx?

### **Essay Type Questions-**

1. The Marxism has given a new dimension to political thought. Do you agree with this? Give a detailed comment.
2. How relevant is the theory of surplus value of Marx in the present perspective? Evaluate.
3. Explain the theory of dialectical materialism.
4. What is the relevance of the Marxist theory in the present perspective? Evaluate.

### **Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-**

1. B 2. C 3. D 4. A. 5. B

## 4. Gandhism

Gandhism is a body of ideas and principles that describes the inspiration, vision and the life work of Mahatma Gandhi. Thoughts and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi are also known by the names of “Gandhian Philosophy”, “Gandhian Path”, “Gandhian Political Philosophy” and “Gandhism” etc. It is particularly associated with his contributions to the idea of nonviolent resistance, sometimes also called civil resistance. The term “Gandhism” also encompasses what Mahatma Gandhi's ideas, words and actions mean to people around the world, and how they used them for guidance in building their own future. A Gandhian can mean either an individual who follows, or a specific philosophy which is attributed to, Mahatma Gandhi. These ideas and ideals have been given different names. However, Mahatma Gandhi himself did not want any 'ideology', creed or theory assigned to him, nor did he want to leave any type of 'sect' behind himself. His method was experimental, empirical and scientific. Mahatma Gandhi was a 'practical idealist' who practiced what he preached. Mahatma Gandhi believed in action; he was a Karma yogi.

### 4.1 Mahatma Gandhi and His Life Values

Mahatma Gandhi was a priest of truth, non-violence, love, compassion and fraternity. Mahatma Gandhi's entire life revolved around these moral values. He felt that it was important to recognize the humanity. He accommodated in his personality many universal values such as love for his fellow humans, justice, peace, non-violence, tolerance, and freedom, and when faced with certain situations in

his lifetime, exhibited an attitude that is compatible with his principles related to moral values. By explaining these values to an individual; he wanted to remove the perverted tendencies in him. He advocated politics based on purity, religion and justice. Mahatma Gandhi was a messenger of love and freedom. He tried to explain the significance of *purushartha*. Thus; Gandhism is more related to the lifestyle or life philosophy rather than any theory or an ideology.

In the words of **Sitaramayya**, “*Gandhism is not a group of principles, of ideas, rules, regulations and orders. It is life style or life philosophy. It points to a new direction and presents ancient solutions for problems of human life*”.

Mahatma Gandhi talks about welfare of all and considered, non-violent means are superior to violent means and weapons. He emphasized on love and friendship in place of hatred and hostility. Truth, religion and God are the sources of inspiration and there is no place for deception, treachery, selfishness, cruelty, violence, malice and perverted tendencies. Mahatma Gandhi emphasizes purity of means and ends both.

### 4.2 Gandhism A Pool of Ideas

Mahatma Gandhi has expressed his views on different problems of life according to the particular situation and circumstances. Gandhism is not related to any one particular idea. Gandhian ideals - truth, non-violence, love and fraternity were not meant for any particular person, country or time, but are universally applicable for humanity. Mahatma Gandhi once said in this context that “Gandhi can

die but truth, non-violence will live forever". Mahatma Gandhi did not stick to a particular theory or method. He believed in the change. He changed his ideas as per the need of the hour. Mahatma Gandhi was thoughtful as well as a man who was a good man. The idea that he could not bring in the conduct was considered secondary. He believed in God and his faith and adopted the path of non-violence in all his actions. Mahatma Gandhi's ideas were broad, multi-faceted and multi-dimensional. He was on one side a practical individualist, idealist, socialist, moderate, conservative and nationalist on the other side he was also an internationalist and Universalist. Above all, he was a super humanist. Mahatma Gandhi was a thinker of group of ideologies, on the one hand, he was influenced by both Indian and Western thinkers. He was influenced by thoughts of Mahavir Swami, Gautama Buddha, Socrates, Kropotkin and Ruskin. He was also deeply influenced by influenced by Bhagwat Gi ta and Upanishads. Mahatma Gandhi's life philosophy was completely based on spirituality. He emphasized more on morality and religion than on capital. He was a staunch devotee of the state and also a follower of the law. He would not hesitate even to adopt nationalization and internationalization if they were helpful for the welfare of everyone. He rejected the Marx's theory of "**historical materialism**" or the "**materialist conception of history**" which is based on claim that history occurs through a dialectic, or clash, of opposing forces. He rejected the socialism as propounded by Marx as it was based on violence. He was opposed to the use of violence and class struggle and rejected the violence in any form. Mahatma Gandhi was also a liberal, moderate and ethical in his thoughts and actions He wrote in *Harijan Sewak* (20.03.1937), "The feeling of inequality and discrimination among human beings is bad, but I don't want this evil to be wiped out from the human heart by the force of the sword." He advocated the idea of progress in the economic, social and political fields through spirituality. He was an exponent of spiritual socialism and tried to interpret the history through spiritualism. He did not consider materialism and economic activities as the

sole carrier of culture and civilization. While he was a supporter of the stateless and the classless society but he wanted to create it through peaceful means. He was against the theory of socialism and class struggle as propounded by Marx and advocated class- cooperation and spiritual socialism. He was in favour of cohesive ideologies which promoted harmony and coordination among various classes. His socialism was based on morality, Hinduism, Village oriented humanism and democratic values and which could not have been accomplished and established by capturing the political power through the means of violence and blood sheds. True socialism is based on civility, goodwill and love. He was opposed to absolute sovereignty and power. State was needed for coordinating among unions formed as village republics and for establishing law and order. He believed in political and economic decentralization. If it was necessary for the welfare of all (*sarvodaya*) he would even go for industrialization and nationalization. He favoured the theory of stateless and classless society as propounded by Karl Marx but was totally against the materialistic interpretation of history, class struggle and use of violence. He abhorred violence even in thoughts and feelings. He gave great importance to self-control and self-restraint in life. He also gave importance to *Asteya* (non-stealing), (*Aparigraha*) non-possessiveness and **Brahmacharya** (celibacy) in life. For him, the person who "**consumes more than his needs**" exploits the poor and does injustice to them. Mahatma Gandhi interpreted his thoughts in his writings, especially in Hind Swarajya and in his Autobiography and magazines Harijan, Young India, Indian Opinion, Navjivan, and Aryan Path and also in his speeches. Later on various writers and thinkers compiled them in form of Gandhism.

### 4.3 Sources of Gandhism

There are four types of influences on Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts

- (1) The Impact of Religious Texts,
- (2) The Impact of Philosophy,
- (3) The Impact of the Reformist Movements and

(4) The Impact of Socio-Economic Conditions.

## **1. The Impact of Religious Texts -**

### **(A) Impact of Sanatan Dharma Texts**

Mahatma Gandhi was a complete religious person, spirituality was his favourite subject. That is why his thoughts, emotions and actions were rooted in religious sentiments. His religious feelings were developed from the study of the texts of the East and the West. He studied the Patanjali's Yoga Sutras in 1903 in the jail of Johannesburg. He made a deep study of Upanishads. He received vows from the Upanishads (such as not accumulating any object more than necessary) and discarded (not being obsessed of anything). Epics like the Vedas, Ramayana and Mahabharata had great influence on him. Mahatma Gandhi considered Ramayana as the best book of devotional path. He was also a devotee of the Bhagavad Gita. It was his 'path-finder', 'spiritual director' and 'spiritual mother'. As 'religious treasure' it showed him a ray of hope in the dark, made him confident in despair and always encouraged him to take daunting tasks. Mahatma Gandhi emphasis on karma is the gift of the Gita. "Do your work and don't expect anything in return". This message of the Gita became the basis of actions.

### **(B) The Influence of Jainism and Buddhism-**

Mahatma Gandhi was also influenced by various religions of the world such as Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Jainism and Buddhism. Jainism made a huge impact on Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence movement was influenced by Jainism. Both Jainism and Buddhism preached the virtue of Ahimsa (non-violence) in India long ago. This was Jain Sadhu Bechari who took three pledges from Mahatma Gandhi while he was going to England that he would remain away from alcohol, the women and eating flesh. What we give out is what we get back. This is what inspired Mahatma Gandhi to spread peace and non-violence. He believed it, experimented with it, and proved that it worked. He developed Satyagraha (meaning "the force of truth") as a means to passively resist violence, essentially making it his only weapon. He

used Satyagraha over and over again in his political battles until he honed it to perfection, and ultimately won India its Independence from British rule.

### **(C) The Influence of Christianity and Islam-**

Mahatma Gandhi was also influenced by the Bible very much. Mahatma Gandhi dedicated his whole life towards the service of humanity which he owed much to Christianity. Bible appealed to his heart the most. Messages of Bible to win over "evil by Good", "hostility by friendship", "violence by non-violence", "hatred by love" and "Curse by blessing" made a lasting impact on him. On many occasions, Mahatma Gandhi found consolation and derived inspiration and strength from the Bible. The ideals of Chinese thinker Lao Tse and Confucius also influenced Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi received the ideas of humility, goodness, purity from these ideologies. The Islam's peace-loving teachings also had huge impact on Mahatma Gandhi. As for Islam, Mahatma Gandhi declared that in his view, "the point of brotherhood is manifested in other religions as clearly as in Islam". According to Mahatma Gandhi, the chief contribution of Islam has been the brotherhood of man. Just as Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity; he considered Islam also as a religion of peace. Under the influence of these religious texts, Mahatma Gandhi adopted the following ideals in his life - (1) Satya (Truth); (2) Ahimsa (Nonviolence); (3) Brahmacharya (celibacy); (4) Aswad (Tasteless); (5) Asteya (Non-stealing) (6) Aprigraha (Non-possessiveness) (7) Abhay (Fearless) (8) Asparshyatab Nivaran (Prevention of untouchability); (9) Sharirik Shram (Physical labour); (10) Sarvadharmasambhava (all religions are the same); (11) Swadeshi "of one's own country" (Indigenous).

Even though religious texts had great influence on Mahatma Gandhi's life and ideas but he accepted the religious facts which logic proved. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "I do not give any importance to religious book more than intellectual wisdom."

## **2. Influence of philosophers**

Although thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi are

original but it has numbers of influences. Mahatma Gandhi was philosophically influenced by the ideas of John Ruskin, Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy and Socrates.

### 3. Impact of the Reformist Movements

One of the earliest influences that provided to Mahatma Gandhi's thought was that of ancient Hindu tradition. He had grown up in a family and in a tradition that has always respected orthodox Hindu ways of religion and worship. Mahatma Gandhi was also influenced by cultural, philosophical and religious reformist movements that took place in India, especially the influence of Ram Krishna and Vivekananda. Mahatma Gandhi learned this from the country and love of *Swadeshi*.

### 4. Impact of Socio-Economic Conditions -

The helpless condition of Indians and poverty also made impact on Mahatma Gandhi's ideas and became the basis of his socialist ideas. In the field of politics he understood the issues with special consideration based on Indian nature of socio-economic and politics.

#### 4.4 South Africa as a Laboratory of Gandhi's Experiments-

Little over two decades that Mahatma Gandhi spent in South Africa has been one of the least explored and understood periods of his life. It was in South Africa that his overall religious consciousness was developed and he studied the ideologies of various Western thinkers. It has been largely seen as a period of preparation, of apprenticeship as it were, for his eventual return to India and his role in the larger sub-continental theatre. In Mahatma Gandhi saw South Africa as a kind of laboratory for experiments in struggle that gave rise to several concepts which Gandhi would expand on later stage in his freedom struggle movement of India. The concept of *Satyagraha* developed in his opposition to white discrimination against the black. He conducted his initial experiments during his stay in South Africa. It was here that he learnt his first lessons of selfless service and felt about his duties towards the humanity. It was here that his

nationalistic outlook developed and he learnt about the importance of the labour.

### 4.5 Spiritualisation of Politics-

For Gandhi ji religion and politics are the two names of the same activity. He believes that the objective of politics, like the objective of the religion is to change those social relation which are based on injustice, oppression and exploitation and it arranges justice and justiciability in the society. Each action of man is related to justice. Therefore no aspect of human action is beyond the purview of religion and politics. For Gandhi Ji the basis of both is common and determined by the common values of morality.

Thus Gandhi as proposed the idea that politics must be based on moral and humanitarian religion. But this should be clarified here that Gandhi was not in favour of conducting the political system by the assumptions of any religious community or sect. According to him democracy is not a synonym of majoritarianism and state should not be the guardian of the dictatorship of majority, rather it should respect the beliefs of minorities. State should not be the supporter of any specific religious community, rather it should be the guardian of humanitarian and moral religion.

### 4.6 Purity of Means and Ends

Mahatma Gandhi did not see any difference between the means and the ends. He said, "For me, it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life". He used to say, "My life is a tool in philosophy and transcendent words". He further said, "Impure means result in an impure end..... One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach Truth. Are not Non-violence and Truth twins? Either is inseparable from the other. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbours impurity of mind or body and you has untruth and violence in you". He said, "The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable connection between there means and the end as there is between the seed and

the tree”.

Mahatma Gandhi, in the fight of independence did not support any profane (violent) means on any aspect, even when the stimulus was encouraged by the government. The use of unholy instruments for Mahatma Gandhi was far away from his imagination. Mahatma Gandhi was not interested in obtaining *Swaraj* through deceit, murder and animal force. I have often said that if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself. Non-violence is the means; the end for every nation is complete independence.

In his words, "I am ready to sacrifice the country for non-violence and truth, not non-violence and truth for the country." By emphasizing the purity of both the means and the practical, Mahatma Gandhi has brought a revolutionary change in politics.

### Human nature

In each philosophy, religion or political system; the fundamental question is "human nature". Although, different philosophers have different ideas about the human nature; each philosophy begins with the definition of human or by the analysis of human nature. There have been optimistic and pessimistic thinkers, who could see nothing but good and bad, respectively, in man. Mahatma Gandhi's indictment of modern civilization, his view of politics and especially of social and individual ethics is firmly based upon his assumptions regarding human nature and human perfectibility. Mahatma Gandhi believed in the goodness of human nature. The essence of *Satyagraha* was that every man is having goodness in him. He started with a very definite conviction about what man is in his essential nature and of what he becomes through a false view of himself, of what he should be and can become, and of his place in a law-governed cosmos. All political and social theory must begin with a clear conception of the psychology of man, at least in so far as it affects his moral aims and conduct in society. For some, such as Machiavelli and Hobbes, man is by nature rabid, selfish and jealous whereas Locke and Rousseau

considers as peaceful and just.

### Non-violence

The Indian term of nonviolence is ahimsa, meaning literally 'non-injury or non-harm to all sentient beings'. *Ahimsa* (*a* + *himsa*) means without violence. *Himsa* means inflicting pain and injury upon others. Ahimsa, therefore literally means not inflicting pain or injury upon others. Non-violence means not giving suffering to anyone with mind, word or action. It is usually understood and interpreted as non-violence. However, nonviolence is just one aspect of ahimsa or non-injury. The non-violent person is the image of love, mercy, forgiveness, sympathy and truth. He has no enemies. World love, compassion and manifestation from the creatures, giving home to its body, the name of the power is non-violence. Non-violence is a herb of love which can make a fanatic enemy even friend and can also defeat powerful weapon from its sheer power. This is the power which is invincible. This is "the quality of the soul" which is immortal.

### Origin of Satyagraha

Satyagraha was originally written by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. The term was also coined to show the difference in passive resistance in England and South Africa. In the words of Vincent Sheen, it was "the supreme invention or origin", through this Mahatma Gandhi taught the violent world to teach non-violence.

### Satyagraha

#### The meaning of Satyagraha

Satyagraha in ordinary language is a way to remove evil or disputes through nonviolent methods. For the ordinary Indian citizen, it was a way of fighting the independence of Indians against the British Empire. Professor N K Bose defines '*Satyagraha*' as "a way of conducting 'war' by means of non-violence." In fact, Satyagraha is "non-violent direct action." Literally, the term *Satyagraha* means "holding fast to truth". Mahatma Gandhi also called it "Love-force or soul-force." In Sanskrit, the word *Satyagraha* is constituted of two words, namely '*Satya*' and '*agraha*'. *Satya* means truth and

*agraha* means holding fast, adherence, or insistence. So, the word Satyagraha means clinging to truth, holding fast to truth, insistence on truth or final adherence to truth. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of life and his method of opposing evil are both called 'Satyagraha'.

The opposition to what is untruth is Satyagraha. Keeping the path of truth in every situation is Satyagraha. Violence, fear and death cannot distract him from this path. Applying the life of truth for the truth is the focal point of the Satyagrahi's program. This is "penance for truth." Mahatma Gandhi called the practice of holding to Truth "Satyagraha" and sometimes "soul-force." It is a commitment to conscientious non-violent striving for what is right. He said, "Satyagraha is a demanding discipline, involving the practice of self-examination and working on oneself, as well as confronting problems in the world. "Satyagraha is a process of self-purification."

Mahatma Gandhi said, "If I could popularize the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force, in place of brute force, I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst." Without these characteristics Satyagraha is incomplete -

- (1) Faith in God
- (2) Irrevocable trust in truth and non-violence
- (3) Character                      (4) Non-addicted
- (5) Purified goal                (6) Renunciation of violence
- (7) Passion, patience and tolerance

Satyagraha can be omnipresent. It can be against everyone - the government, the community, the caste, the individual, the group - if they are contaminated. It is more than a thing between rulers and ruled. As much as it can be used against the tyrannical policies or practices of the government, same way also it can be used to remove social evils such as social evils (untouchability), communal clashes etc. Mahatma Gandhi had used it many times successfully.

### **The Nature of Satyagraha**

The main form of Satyagraha are primarily as

follows

### **1. Non-cooperation and its nature**

Non-cooperation is the first technique in the methods of Satyagraha. Mahatma Gandhi called it "an expression of a continuous love". It was regarded by Mahatma Gandhi as one of the most potent weapons of the Satyagrahi. The basic idea is that all social relations, whether political or otherwise rest on the mutual cooperation of the parties involved. If one party withdraws its cooperation, the entire relationship ceases to exist. On such logic, no injustice can continue for long if the subject is of the oppression refuses to cooperate with the ruler of the state. This logic is applied to an individual, a group or a whole nation in their relations with internal or external political authorities. Civil disobedience and non-cooperation as practised under Satyagraha are based on the "law of suffering", a doctrine that the endurance of suffering is a means to an end. This end implies a moral upliftment or progress of an individual or society. Therefore, non-cooperation in Satyagraha is a means to secure the cooperation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice. Mahatma Gandhi sincerely believed that "non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is cooperation with good". No cooperation with anything that is 'untrue', 'illegal', 'immoral', and 'harmful'. Non-cooperation with evil is not only duty for Mahatma Gandhi but also his religion. Mahatma Gandhi believed that when the representations and the petitions fail, success can be achieved by non-cooperation with the evil. Pacifism, civil disobedience, rightful resistance against wrong policies, passive resistance, non-cooperation are some of the forms of non-violent struggles Mahatma Gandhi brought into practice. All these terms come under the common term "Satyagraha". Non-violent Satyagraha is never a method of coercion or compulsion, it is one of conversion. While using Satyagraha to bring social change and to resolve conflicts, Mahatma Gandhi negated even the slightest form of violence.

### **1. Various Methods of Non-Cooperation -**

**(A) Strike :** The strike means voluntarily

closure of the work. Strike is considered a voluntary suffering undertaken for the transformation of the erring opponent. Strike is a means by which a group of individuals or society can express their feelings. A strike must be non-violent and pacific. Strike is an inherent right of the working men for the purpose of securing justice. The last device a Satyagraha uses is the strike demanding justice for legitimate cause as well as the redressal of grievances.

He advocated that in strikes adequate care has to be taken to ensure that it remains non-violent as well as peaceful and makes their demands meaningful, just and feasible. Strikes are powerful method of direct action in a Satyagraha movement. In the concept of Mahatma Gandhi, "strikes mean cessation of business out of respect, or for mourning or as a protest."

**(B) Social exclusion** - Social exclusion is a very old tradition which was born with the rise of the castes. It is prohibitive and is a terrible punishment which can be used effectively in a big way. The person who does evil or causes harm to others is boycotted by the society. He is given a type of punishment by society which desist him from making any interaction any member of the society. He is isolated by the society for his wrong doing. Similarly, the boycott of the product and its consumption is not only an attempt to end that item but indirectly punishes its producers by causing them economic losses through boycott. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi has described the boycott as a siege.

**(C) Dharna-** A Dharna is a non-violent sit-in protest, which may include fast undertaken at the door of an offender, especially a debtor, in India as a means of obtaining compliance with a demand for justice, state response of criminal cases, or payment of a debt. It is to change the "thoughts". It must be essentially peaceful. There should be no use of "rude behaviour", "emphasis on threat" and "threat". In the words of Mahatma Gandhiji, "peaceful restraint is a friendly warning against the addiction that the reformer considers bad." "If a man had a large claim against a chief or another individual of social

importance, and all other means of obtaining his rights failed, he would post himself at the door of his debtor and vow to fast until his claim was satisfied. Dharna was not restricted to credit transactions, alone, nor was it always an individual act. Groups of people -- even an entire village -- would stage a collective hunger strike to protest atrocities inflicted by a tax collector or a rapacious landlord.

## 2. Hijrat

Hijrat is the process by which the person leaves his habitat and goes to another place. Etymologically, the term implies voluntary exile from ones permanent place of habitation. One of the main reasons for the people to resort to Hijrat is when they feel oppressed either due to loss of self-respect or honourable living; they attempt to migrate permanently to other places. In simple terms, it is a protest against the oppressor. It is used when an individual or the group of masses cannot live in homes or villages or the country without losing their self-esteem, and unable to protect themselves from violence through violent methods. In other words, when an individual or the group of masses have neither the power of the soul nor has the power of violence (of weapons) then they resort to the Hijrat. In order to save self-respect, Mahatma Gandhi advised Satyagrahis of Bardoli (1928CE) and Limbdi, Junagadh and Vithalgarh(in 1939CE) to leave their homes.

## 3. Civil Disobedience

Civil Disobedience is an important technique of Satyagraha. It aims to "to dissolve laws enacted unethically. "This is a kind of "non-violent revolution. According to Mahatma Gandhi, civil disobedience is an effective and bloodless substitute for the armed revolt. This is another method of violating the established order of the state in a non-violent and peaceful fashion. Mahatma Gandhi called it "a bloodless form of full-fledged effective and armed revolution." It is a non-violent alternative to the armed rebellion. It can take many forms, such as refusing to give taxes, refusing to accept state power or one by one opposing all unethical laws, and stopping government structure etc.

#### 4. Fasting

##### Difference between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance

| Satyagraha   | Passive Resistance                              |
|--|---|
| It brings change in heart  | It pains the heart of the enemies.              |
| It is a weapon of the strong                                       | It is a weapon of the weak                      |
| It avoids violence in any shape                                    | It adopts violence to gain its end              |
| It totally rejects physical force even under favourable conditions | It uses arms even during suitable occasions     |
| It adopts non-violence as love                                     | It adopts non-violence as an outward form       |
| It proceeds on the active principle of love                        | It proceeds on the negative principle of hatred |
| In it, injuring opponent is remote                                 | It contains an idea of harassing others         |

#### 4.7 Economic Views of Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi was not an economist and therefore his economic views were not based on the principles of economics. In his economic views, he did not follow the rules of economics. He did not propagate any economic theory explicitly. Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards economic problems was reformative and his suggestions were inspired by the time, necessity and humanity. They were largely based on reality and self-experience. That is why Mahatma Gandhi's economic views changed with change in time. Mahatma Gandhi's views in Hind Swaraj appear to be "anti-modern," "anti-instrument" and "anti-capitalist", his later views appear to be useful and compromised with instruments. His thoughts were influenced by colonial rule too. Mahatma Gandhi's economic ideals, much like everything else in his life, were governed by ethical and moral considerations. His stress on rural economy and emphasis on a simple life, coupled with his concern for universal well-being formed the foundation of his unique views on economics. Mahatma Gandhi's economic models were based largely on his understanding of the Indian situation. Mahatma Gandhi viewed life as a whole. He did not divide life into different

watertight compartments like political, religious, economics and so on. What he had said about politics must be largely applicable in religion, economics and many other fields of human life as well.

#### 4.8 Mahatma Gandhi and Present Times

**1. Over dependence on Machines-** Mahatma Gandhi has criticized the present civilization in his book, Hind Swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts about the machinery were influenced by ideas of Ruskin, Tolstoy and R.C. Dutt. Mahatma Gandhi was an early critic of the dehumanising character of the modern industrial civilisation which he described as "Satanic". Mahatma Gandhi was for machines as long as it did not tend to make atrophied the limbs of human beings. He regarded human body as a super machine. If machines were exploited by men he had no grudge against that. Where machines exploited men, his objections were to them. Practical idealist that he was, Mahatma Gandhi recognised the place of machinery, 'it has come to stay.' The machines were actually not meant to supplement the human or animal labour, or not to enhance its skills, but to acquire its place." Since there were many evils in the machines, he considers them undesirable. According to him there were three main evils in the machine - (a) It can be copied; (b) No limit on its development; (c) it may take the place of human labour. In addition to these evils, moral and economic evils were also found in machines.

**2. Opposition to Capitalism-** Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to capitalism and exploitation and he propagated to remove capitalism not by violent means but through economic decentralization, by encouraging cottage industries, and by making the capitalist trustees. He had great faith in economic decentralisation. He believes that capitalism has promoted the feelings of poverty, unemployment, exploitation and imperialism. The aggregation of capital is unethical for him. Though both Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx were opposed to capitalism and exploitation, yet they propagated different means to remove capitalism. Where Marx opposes capitalism on the basis of grabbing of

"surplus value" by the capitalists, Mahatma Gandhi opposes it because it generated inequalities in the society. Mahatma Gandhi was not opposed to capital but to the inequalities it generated. He dismissed capitalism for its exploitative nature and socialism for its connection to industrialization. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi shunned the idea of capitalist society fraught with opportunities for exploitation and ceaseless competition, eschewing laissez-faire and Keynesian economics. No longer should India rely on a global market based on the freedom of exchange of goods and capital, argued Mahatma Gandhi. Nor was socialism any more tolerable. In a 1940 interview, Mahatma Gandhi explicitly stated his objection to socialism: "Pandit Nehru wants industrialization because he thinks that, if it is socialized, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that evils are inherent in industrialism, and no amount of socialization can eradicate them. Capitalism and socialism quintessential hallmarks of modern civilization made man a prisoner of his craving for luxury and self-indulgence."

Mahatma Gandhi's postulations on the matter left his colleagues, particularly Nehru, mystified. In his autobiography, Nehru wrote off Mahatma Gandhi's economic ideas as "utterly wrong... and impossible of achievement." Despite this less than positive reinforcement, Mahatma Gandhi continued to extensively publicize his unorthodox social, economic and political views. Having rejected capitalism and socialism, Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings suggest that he envisaged an Indian state grounded in unconventional economics advocating self-reliance. It seems that Mahatma Gandhi desired a self-sustaining nation that embraced communal cooperation and manual labour. This is implied in the *Collected Works*, where in Mahatma Gandhi argues that society should be organized around the maximization of khadi (hand spun cotton) production: "Khadi is the only true economic proposition in terms of the millions of villagers until such time, if ever, when a better system of supplying work and adequate wages for every able-bodied person above the age of

sixteen, Mahatma Gandhi's Vision for the Future of India male or female, is found for his field, cottage or even factory in every one of the villages of India." Mahatma Gandhi advocated the rejection of private property in favour of public ownership; owners would be trustees of public property managed in the common interest. Accordingly, each person within this khadi economic arrangement would be "paid" in kind. For instance, a blacksmith would be paid with food for fashioning tools, while farmers would be paid in equipment for laying seed, and so on. This type of pre-modern exchange would have far-reaching benefits. "I have no partiality for returning to the primitive methods of grinding and husking," Mahatma Gandhi wrote. In fact, he suggested the return, "Because there is no other way of giving employment to the millions of villagers who are living in idleness." With an emphasis on tradition, Mahatma Gandhi promoted the spinning of khadi and manual labour as the ideal method to achieve genuine self-rule. Embracing an organic khadi-based economy would end exploitation, industrialization and modernization. It would overcome the moral hurdles preventing spiritual renewal, and hence create true swaraj.

Machinery was a case in point and represented a departure from Mahatma Gandhi's ideals. Through its allure of ever-increasing productivity and efficiency, machinery had serious ramifications that spoiled man's natural development. Mahatma Gandhi believed machinery whetted consumers' appetite to the extent that it inevitably produced exploitation, unemployment and ultimately, starvation. His solution was not to perfect industrialization but to eliminate the process all together. Mahatma Gandhi writes: "Instead of welcoming machinery as a boon, we should look upon it as an evil... It is not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibres. They, therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet."

#### **4.9 Gandhiji's Suggestion to Overcome Economic and Social Inequalities-**

Throughout his life, Mahatma Gandhi sought to develop ways to fight India's extreme poverty, backwardness, and socio-economic challenges as a part of his wider involvement in the Indian independence movement. Many forms of his activities were related to economic well being of society. He was clear that economic self-sufficiency for an individual and for a nation is unavoidable. This led him to think about and study various economic problems of the country and devise action plans for solving them. This was the root of his economic thinking. He suggested following measures to overcome economic and social inequalities.

##### **Asteya and Aparigraha (Non Stealing and Non-Possession)**

Asteya and Aparigraha are two of several important virtues propagated by Mahatma Gandhi. Asteya means that every person has the right to own property and no other person should violate his rights. In other words, the practice of Asteya demands that one must not steal, nor have the intent to steal another's property through action, speech and thoughts. Mahatma Gandhi held ahimsa as essential to the human right to life and liberty without fear, asteya as human right to property without fear. For him, exploitation of any kind, and possessing more items than necessary, or using them more than necessary, is also theft. Mahatma Gandhi gave a far wider connotation to stealing. According to him those members of the family who help themselves to better facilities depriving the other members, are thieves. Even those who enjoy luxuries not available to the lower strata of society are also thieves. So, a person who wishes to apply Asteya in his life ought to lead such a simple life that he takes for himself from society only his minimum requirements. By Aprigraha, he meant that one should not possess more than what he actually needed. Mahatma Gandhi says that absolute non-possession in life is not possible. Therefore, human

beings have the right to own property to meet the mandatory minimum requirements. The rest should be utilized in the use of surplus, i.e. general welfare. Aparigraha is almost a corollary of Asteya. In order to follow the dictum of non-thieving one must have as few possessions as possible. For Mahatma Gandhi; Non-possession was also a proof of one's faith in God. He used to quote instances of devotees who did not believe in keeping back a little food even for the next meal. Aparigraha also helped one in slowly giving up the attachment towards worldly possessions, an essential condition of a seeker of truth.

The Principle of Trusteeship - Trusteeship is a socio-economic philosophy that was propounded by Mahatma Gandhi. Trusteeship is Mahatma Gandhi's unique conceptualization of a bridge between labour and capital despite being contradictory to each other. Seeking to understand them as being complementary to each for meaningful socio-economic development and political understanding, the Mahatma evolved his own model of a relationship which is based on trust by the workers for the indigenous industrialists. Mahatma Gandhi did not like the Western capitalist model of economics because the system was based on capitalism and gave rise to exploitation, competitiveness and there is a tendency of concentration in it and hence not suitable to end the current economic discontent. He also rejected the Marxist model because it was based on violence and it increased the state power. It provides a means by which the wealthy people would be the trustees of trusts that looked after the welfare of the people in general. This concept was condemned by socialists as being in favour of the landlords, feudal princes and the capitalists, opposed to socialist theories. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the rich people could be persuaded to part with their wealth to help the poor. Putting it in Mahatma Gandhi's words "Supposing I have come by a fair amount of wealth either by way of legacy, or by means of trade and industry I must know that all that wealth does not belong to me; what belongs to me is the right to an

honourable livelihood, no better than that enjoyed by millions of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to the community and must be used for the welfare of the community."

Mahatma Gandhi's trusteeship system has the following elements :

1. It is the means of converting the current capitalist system into egalitarian society.
2. It gives no quarter to capitalism but gives the present owning class opportunity for reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.
3. It believes in heart transformation; it is a belief that human beings can be liberated from money and greed.
4. It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except in so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.
5. It does not exclude legislative regulation of ownership and use of wealth.
6. Thus, under the state-regulated trusteeship an individual; will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society.
7. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time, so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.
8. Its related more to social welfare than the ownership of money or property.
9. The production will not be determined by "profit" but rather determined by "social necessity".

**Swadeshi (Indigenous)-** Mahatma Gandhi's championing of Swadeshi and non-cooperation was centred on the principles of economic self-sufficiency. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the best

strategy for rural development is a self-help approach he called Swadeshi. Mahatma Gandhi said, "**Swadeshi** is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics, I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics, I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come." This definition of Swadeshi does not mean that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to ban all foreign objects. His definition was not narrow in any way. He only used to accept foreign items which are mandatory to make domestic or Indian industries more efficient. He believed in exchange of goods and international trade. Mahatma Gandhi did not want to separate India from the world; he only used to emphasize self-sufficiency. They could also compromise with foreign capital and technical knowledge if they were kept in Indian control.

**Economics of Khadi -** Economics of Khadi's has special place in the Gandhian scheme of economic reconstruction of India. Mahatma Gandhi believed that Khadi is a very natural, simple, cheap and practical way to solve the problem of economic crisis. Mahatma Gandhi had full faith that the problems arising from the concentration of capital and power and problems of production and distribution can be solved by the revival of Khadi. Even in the economics of Khadi, Mahatma Gandhi saw a glimpse of a life philosophy. Whereas Khadi,

on one hand, insists on fulfilling the necessities of life in the country, on the other hand, on the other hand, there is a way to make villages self-sufficient so that the total population cannot exploit village villages. This mill is the option of highly centralization of the system. In addition, this organization and public relations movement were also from a political perspective, in the freedom struggle, it became a symbol of unity for nationalists, which each Indian could easily understand. Although, the economics of Khadi do not satisfy the demands of economics to be rich, it is an immediate and lasting solution to the problem of laziness and unemployment. It is also a supplement of agriculture as it develops other cottage industries.

#### **4.10 Evaluation of Mahatma Gandhi's Economic Views:**

“Mahatma Gandhi enunciated his economic position in the language of the people, rather than that of academic economists. And so the economists never noticed that he was, in fact, a very great economist in his own right...” ....Schumacher (1978)

Mahatma Gandhi's economic views have been criticized by many on the grounds that his ideas are impractical and would take us to initial state of human society. His ideas emphasize only one aspect of nature of human beings and ignore their physical needs. He has made unnecessary demands of the machines and did not correctly evaluate the present civilization and its donation. The principle of Khadi is not only wrong in the current circumstances but it also neglects the achievements of technical knowledge. These thoughts are also unaware of the speed of history. Mahatma Gandhi's views on economics have usually been termed as utopian by many (including Indian) socio-economic thinkers, and this characterisation has tended to evoke two diametrically opposite reactions among policymakers and the general population the majority respect his views in so far as they are a reflection of his deep spirituality but tend to be extremely sceptical about their applicability to the real world; a small minority, however, see in this

utopian view the only alternative available to a poor country to correct an economic situation distorted by a history of colonial exploitation. While critics of Gandhian economic ideas were not uncommon in the 1930s and 1940s, his great moral and political stature kept the criticisms subdued. Anyway, in the pre-Independence era such discussion naturally had to be purely academic. In the Nehruvian era certain aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's economic policies were viewed as being in conflict with the prevailing Nehru-Mahalanobis brand of democratic socialism, especially his views on industrialisation, technology, business houses and private property. But as we have mentioned above, this period was characterized more by a neglect of Gandhian ideas, (which were largely considered otiose) and by some concessions in the policy arena laced with a large measure of lip sympathy, rather than by any active criticism.

#### **4.11 Mahatma Gandhi's Political Views-**

Mahatma Gandhi did not clearly outline his ideal non-violent society, as Plato, Rousseau and Karl Marx formulated their ideal society.

In the words of Jan B. Bandura, "he was a political activist and a practical philosopher, he was not the theoretician."

Mahatma Gandhi has clearly written that "I cannot say beforehand how the government based completely on non-violence will function." Yet his Ideas can be grasped from his book Hind Swarajya and as expressed in his speeches, articles, statements, and presentations from time to time. It is generally admitted that in the sphere of politics Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, was a great revolutionary leader who enabled his country to win, by the use of his technique of non-violence and self-suffering, her freedom and to achieve the status of equality with the rest of the world. Mahatma Gandhi was not a political philosopher in the conventional, western sense of the term. He was not destined to propound a new political philosophy, nor did he pretend or profess to do that. He did not discard old philosophies, and, adhering to certain fundamental principles and techniques based upon

truth, he led men to the realization of a better society. In India this obvious virtue, simplistic lifestyle endeared him to the people. Mahatma Gandhi was the epitome of humanism on this earth. Mahatma Gandhi had the dream of an ideal India - his dreams of India where he described India a nation, where all people irrespective of caste, creed, gender etc. will peacefully co-exist together. Mahatma Gandhi never claimed finality of his opinions. He styled his activities as search for, or experiments with truth.

It is also necessary to understand here that Mahatma Gandhi was a constantly evolving personality and his method was "deductive, experimental, practical and compiler". Mahatma Gandhi's ideas were a mixture of the ideas of spiritual science, ethics, economics, sociology and political science. He did not understand them separately.

His perception is that power is fatal for the freedom of the person. The compulsion of state power not only destroys the moral values of a person's work but also frustrates its development. The work is ethical until it is voluntary; Development is possible only in a free environment. When a person acts like a piece in a state machine, then there is no question of ethics in it. The work is ethical only when it is understood as knowledge and duty. He sees intelligence in the power of the state with great fear, although it appears that by reducing exploitation, it is increasing the good, but it destroys the individual's personality, which is at the core of all development, harms it. What he rejects is an organization based on violence and an organization based on violence. The organization should be electives.

#### **4.12 Contribution of Mahatma Gandhi -**

Mahatma Gandhi has contribution to political science extensively. This can be explained as follows -

1. Introduced and Assimilated New Ideas - All the ideas in Mahatma Gandhi thought are synthesized. His ideas related to Economics, Sociology, Political Science and Religion are

related to each other. The doors are always open for the reconciliation of new ideas.

2. Inclusion of ethics and idealism in politics - Mahatma Gandhi spiritualized the politics and made truth its core.
3. Non-Violence as a powerful Weapon- It is his biggest contribution to political science. His theory of satyagraha is completely based on non-violence. This provided the world an alternative to war to overcome injustice. Mahatma Gandhi is also credited for giving authority to the person to oppose injustice on moral grounds.
4. Faith in the purity of both means and ends- Most political and social thinkers have been concerned with the desirable (and even necessary) goals of a political system or with the common and competing ends that men actually desire, and then pragmatically considered the means that are available to rulers and citizens. Mahatma Gandhi seems to stand almost alone among social and political thinkers in his firm rejection of the rigid dichotomy between ends and means and in his extreme moral preoccupation with the means to the extent that they rather than the ends provide the standard of reference. He was led to this position by his early acceptance of satya and ahimsa, truth and nonviolence, as twin moral absolutes and his consistent view of their relationship.

#### **4.13 Appreciation of Gandhism-**

The ideas of Mahatma Gandhi are based on moral rules - truth, non-violence, love, sympathy, cooperation etc. It was his perpetual abiding to the moral principles of truth, Non-violence and satyagraha that has immortalized him as Great father of nation the and the World. Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts can be criticized as soon as he rejects these rules. Actually, the rules are so eternal that there cannot be a lasting peace in the world without abiding to these ethical codes. It is only through Gandhian methods that the environment of

mutual hatred, tension and distrust can be eradicated and converted into love to establish peace. Violent measures - invasion, war, revolution, nuisance, oppression - can never establish permanent peace. The war gives birth to war and not peace. This is the reason why Mahatma Gandhi's ideas are not only considered to be relevant for all-time but also cosmopolitan. Psychologically, these thoughts are revolutionary because they seek to change the basic sentiments of human beings. In the moral sense, these thoughts are superior because they are source of inspiration for peace and human happiness. He believes that violence brought with it hatred and feelings of revenge where as in non-violence there is no such danger.

### Conclusion

In the end, it can be said that Mahatma Gandhi's ideas have been completely infused with humanity, life and national identity, which prove their compatibility with respect to every era and time. Even today, all the rulers of the world are succeeding in finding ways to solve their problems only in Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts, who believe in peace and non-violence. This is also the essence of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi is not merely a political philosopher; he is a message and philosophy of life. His political ideas are stateless and party less democracy, decentralization, freedom of speech, abolition of untouchability, moral politics, secularism etc. There is great relevance of Gandhian political ideas or values in the present age of increasing violence and intolerance. Mahatma Gandhi was a practical thinker. Mahatma Gandhi was one of those philosophers, who believe in self-sacrifice, Satyagraha or Non-cooperation. Gandhian philosophy is so comprehensive that it has left no aspect of human life untouched. In the field of politics he understands the issues with special consideration based on Indian nature of socio-economic and politics. Thus he defines politics as the best means to regulate the national life and also he concluded that its power should decentralize in equitable manner. He thinks that the state in concentrated form of power structure is more

coercive than individual. So he suggests the political power decentralization in the democratic form of governance. Because decentralized democracy gives the scope to the public participation and representation. It ensures the liberty and autonomy to the individual, village and nation in its extensive application of the welfare world will be attainable.

### Important Points

- Mahatma Gandhi regards truth, non-violence, love and compassion as the value of life.
- Major sources of Gandhism - religious texts, representations, reformist movements and socio-economic conditions.
- The main ideas of Mahatma Gandhi - the spiritualization of politics, the purity of the means and the ends, the analysis of human nature, non-violence, satyagraha
- The form of satyagraha - non-cooperation, hijrat, civil disobedience, fasting, Non possession
- Mahatma Gandhi's Suggestions to overcome social and economic inequality - Asteya and Aparigraha, Trusteeship, Khadi and Charkha
- Contribution of Gandhism- Introduction and assimilation of new ideas, incorporation of ethics and idealism in politics, use of non-violence, purity of means and ends.

### Exercise

#### Multiple Choice Questions -

1. Among the following which one was not considered a life value by Mahatma Gandhi ?  
 (A) Non-violence  
 (B) Truth  
 (C) Love  
 (D) Wealth Accumulation ( )
2. The idea of Karl Marx which was supported by Mahatma Gandhi is-  
 (A) Class struggle

- (B) Materialistic interpretation of history  
 (C) Stateless and classless society  
 (D) The theory of surplus value ( )
3. The name of the book of Mahatma Gandhi from which we get a glimpse of his political ideology is-  
 (A) Hind Swaraj (B) Discovery of India  
 (C) Geetanjali (D) Leviathan ( )
4. What is the meaning of the Hijrat?  
 (A) Hajj  
 (B) leave your habitation to go elsewhere  
 (C) Non-violent Movement  
 (D) Social exclusion ( )
5. The trusteeship principle means that the person -  
 (A) Owns the public property  
 (B) He is a trustee of public property  
 (C) He cannot have a personal property  
 (D) He has abandoned the property ( )

### Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What are the four major life values of Mahatma Gandhi?
2. What is Gandhism?
3. What religious texts had the influence on Mahatma Gandhi?

4. Where was Mahatma Gandhi's first laboratory?

### Short Answer Type questions-

1. Which social reform movements influenced Mahatma Gandhi?
2. What is the meaning of spiritualization of politics?
3. What are the seven main characteristics of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha?
4. Write comment on the concept of fasting?
5. Describe the main contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to Political Science.

### Essay Type Questions-

1. What are the fundamental elements of Gandhism? Is it still worthwhile today? Prove it.
2. How does Gandhism affect modern civilization? Describe.
3. Why does Mahatma Gandhi want to delegate less work to the state? Describe.
4. " The source of economic equality passes through the trusteeship." Prove it.

### Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

- 1.D 2.C 3.A 4.B 5.B