LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

POLITICAL THEORY-II

Edited By

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Political Theory-II

Objectives

- To familiarise the students with the social, political, economic and intellectual contexts in which sociology emerged as a distinctive discipline.
- To help students gain an understanding of some of the classical contributions in sociology and their continuing relevance to its contemporary concerns.

S. No.	Topics
1	Marxism-I, Introduction to the Marx, Marxian theory of State, Lenin, Mao
2	Marxism-II, Luckas and Critical theory Gramsci, Frankfurt School, Socialism, Communism
3	Conservatism and Communal tensions, Fundamentalism, Nationalism, Multi-Culturalism, Impact of Globlisaiton and West on Culture, Fascism
4	Feminism, Feminist movements, Gandhism and Pacifism, Concept of Sawraj
5	Comunitarians and Civic Republicanism, Political Theory in a Globalising World, Characteristcs of Globlisation, Advantages and Disadvantages of Globlisation

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Unit 1: Marxism–I—Marx, Lenin and Mao

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know works of Karl Marx.
- Explain principles of Karl Marx.
- Discuss Marxian Theory of State.

Introduction

Karl Marx is such a philosopher of modern era who not only demonstrated the socialistic concept but also discovered scientific rules for bringing a change in social and economic arrangements. **Marx's** eternal publication "Capital" and "Communist Manifesto" are believed to be mine of the entire socialist thoughts. Mostly, Marxist Socialism is called as "Proletariat Socialism" or "Scientific Socialism".

1.1 Karl Marx

In the history of political reflection, **Karl Marx** is remembered as the father of "Scientific Socialism". His viewpoint created turbulence in the whole world; jolted not only intellectualists and rulers, but also common public. In 20th century the extent to which his thoughts agitated the world, that much probably no other thinker did. From this viewpoint his comparison can be done with **Mahatma Buddha, Jesus** and **Mohammed**. In the western world after Christianity and Islam there was no other public revolution like "socialism". Marxism is famous by his name and is alive in today's 21st century despite scary waves similar to Christianity and Islam.

1.2 Work of Marx

Karl Marx was a great writer, philosopher and learned scholar. He did not have any occupation or job. Writing was the only support for his livelihood.

Following writings of **Marx** are important:

1. The Poverty of Philosophy (1844), 2. The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1844), 3. The Communist Manifesto, 4. Class Struggle in France (1848), 5. The Critique of Political Economy (1859), 6. Value, Price and Profit (1865), 7. Capital Vol. I (1885) Capital Vol. II (1885) Capital Vol III (1894), 8. The Civil War in France (1871), 9. The Gotha Programme (1875)

With **Engels** he wrote 'The Holy Family', 'The German Ideology' and 'The Communist Manifesto'.

The topic of **Marx's** doctoral (PhD) thesis was "The Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature". Democrats ideology was materialistic by which **Marx** was very influenced.

1.3 Karl Marx–Father of Scientific Socialism

Karl Marx is such a philosopher of the modern era who not only demonstrated the socialistic concept but also discovered scientific rules for bringing a change in social and economic arrangements. **Marx's** eternal publication "Capital" and "Communist Manifesto" are believed to be mine of the entire socialist thoughts. Mostly, Marxist Socialism is called as "Proletariat Socialism" or "Scientific Socialism". It is true that **Marx's** thoughts cannot be called as completely basic, but according to **Marx**, because of this neither can we call him a philosopher of second standard nor his importance decreases. Before **Marx** there were several English and French philosophers by whom socialist thoughts had been presented. Amongst them main were—**Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Prudhoe, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc** etc. Robert Owen's thought was that new industrial arrangements should be cooperative instead of being competitive. **Saint Simon** was a supporter of the principle of class struggle. Prudhoe devised that all wealth is theft. **Karl Marx** has called all these philosophers as Utopian Socialist. In reality these philosophers used to stress upon justified wealth distribution in the society in place of economic disparity, but they did not convey from what reasons this disparity arises and what relation it has with the ways of production. They did not try to understand the rules of society's progress and development. What the way is to bring a change in the society, and how socialist arrangement can be established by using it, etc. questions' answers were not searched by Utopian Socialists. In other words, his socialist philosophy was an "ideal philosophy." **Vapor** has written in relation to this that, "They dreamed about beautiful roses but did not prepare land to grow rose plants."

Notes Marx's rationale is based on Hegel's dialectical system, but Marx has completely turned Hegel's dialect upside down.

Karl Marx did the great work of bringing this utopian socialism to grounds of reality. In his hands socialism turned from utopian ideal to behavioural ideal. **Marx** did the analysis of historical facts like a scientist and discovered the matters responsible for social progress. Along with describing faults of capitalism, he formulated a methodical process to establish a classless society by ending capitalism. By giving irrefutable argument **Marx** proved that capitalism itself becomes worldly preconception in the process of its development and gives birth to that social power which will bury capitalism and gave it scientific form by taking it out of the utopian background. Not only this, but with the motive of establishing socialist arrangement did the invocation of labour class for revolution in these words

"Workers of the world, unite!" and from this viewpoint the establishment of "First International" in 1864 was an important step. It gave great power and work speed to the proletariat section by giving it argumentative principle. In the words of **Jode**, "**Marx** is the first socialist writer whose thoughts can be called scientific. He has not only portrayed desirable society, but also comprehensively described those situations through which this target can be achieved."

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. **Marx** has received his dialectical system from ..... .
2. According to **Marx**, 'thesis' is a simple situation of ..... .
3. Materialistic world is continuously ..... .
4. The coming of qualitative change is known as ..... process.

1.4 Major Principles of Karl Marx—Marxism

Principles of **Karl Marx** are called Marxism. Following are its main principles:

Dialectical Materialism

The principle of Dialectical Materialism is the basic rationale of complete philosophy of **Marx**. In the propagation of this principle **Marx** got the dialectical thought from **Hegel's** Dialectical Process and materialistic viewpoint from **Feuerbach**. The mixture of both of these provided the principle of dialectics a completely new and basic direction. The utility of this new principle can be measured by this fact that **Marx** gave it the image of instrument for guidance for communists using which communists can decide the direction of their revolutionary activities. By its support every communist can "not only adopt correct viewpoint, but also understand the internal relations of social occurrences, can recognize its speed and can know that in present in which direction its development is happening but also know that in which direction its development will happen in the future".

There are two words in dialectical materialism—in this the first word clarifies that process according to which the universe is evolving and the second word "materialistic" informs the basic matter of the universe.

Dialectical process : The dialect of **Marx** is based on **Hegel's** dialectical system, but **Marx** has completely turned **Hegel's** dialect upside down. **Marx** himself has said that "My dialectical system is not only different from **Hegelian** dialectics, but it is completely upside down." For **Hegel** the life process of human brain meaning process of thinking which he has made free subject with the name "thought", is the creator of real world and real world is only outside, God-like form of "thought". In opposition, thought is nothing else that materialistic world is reflected in human brain and converts into forms of philosophies.

Hegel turned dialectics upside down. If you want to find out the mental summary hidden behind its mysterious curtain, then you will have to again reverse it and stand it straight on its feet.

Hegel believes that society's progress happened in a winding manner and did not happen evidently which has three parts—Thesis, Anti Thesis and Synthesis, this dialectical system is the basis of **Marx's** dialectical process.

According to **Marx,** "Thesis" is society's simple situation in which no internal opposition is found. After some time in reaction or refutation to "thesis", "antithesis" gets produced. This contrary situation is considered more progressive than thesis. As a result of the internal opposition of "thesis"

and "antithesis" an agreement is formed from which a new thought is produced. **Hegel** names it "Synthesis". Going forward this "Synthesis" becomes a thesis whose protest is produced and again a new thought gets produced by its "synthesis". In this way this process goes on continuously. In this process first something gets Negative and then negation of negation happens by which a topmost thing comes into existence.

In the context of Hegelian dialectics, Marxian Dialectics can be understood. **Marx** and his followers explained the dialectical process with the example of wheat plant. Wheat seed is thesis, when it is sowed into the soil it gets dissolved or destroyed and gets sprouted and takes the form of a plant. This plant is "Antithesis" of development phase. In second phase are the coming of spikelet in the plant, formation of wheat grain upon its ripening and withering of the plant. Third phase is "Synthesis". **Engels** also applied dialectics in Mathematics. According to him "A" is a number – 'A' is its Antithesis. The prohibition of "A" meaning it becomes $A \times A = A^2$. A^2 is Synthesis. In comparison of Synthesis and Contradiction, quantitative or qualitative form is more. In the context of the different situations of economic life this dialectical process can be explained—capitalism is "Thesis"; proletariat section's dictatorialism's situation is "Antithesis" and communist situation is "Synthesis".

In this way it is clear that dialectics is controlled by the means of imbibed struggle in opposing elements. In the end this struggle establishes coordination in those mutually opposing elements by which in the topmost situation the qualities of both those elements are existent. With time this coordination creates situation of struggle by again giving birth to opposing thoughts and once again by coordination of both thoughts attaint topmost level of polish. This process of struggle and coordination, which we know by the name of dialectical process, goes on till that time until when the ideal form of thought is not attained and it does not get free from its internal oppositions.

Materialism : Marx has obtained dialectical system from **Hegel**, but **Marxist** dialectics is very different from **Hegel**. The main difference between the dialectical system of **Hegel** and **Marx** is that **Hegel** was an idealistic. The basis of his dialectics was "thought" or "spirituality" but according to Marx not "thought" but "material thing" is the base of this world. In **Hegel's** vision history is the gradual expression of the "Spirit of Universe" and that too through a divine planning which is widespread in the entire universe. But **Marx** has left this **Hegel's** thought of the "Spirit of Universe" by calling it "utopian" and in its place accepted the importance of unadulterated material element. In the introduction of **Capital Marx** wrote that, "My dialectical system is not only different from Hegelian system, but also is a complete contrast. For **Hegel** the life process of human brain means process of thinking which he has made free subject with the name "thought", is the creator of real world and real world is only outside, God-like form of "thought". In opposition, for me thought is nothing else that materialistic world is reflected in human brain and converts into forms of philosophies". In this way for Hegel the basic element is "thought". For **Marx** the basic element is "thing". **Hegel** said that—thoughts are developed from dialectical process and the world changes along with their development. **Marx** said that—no, main element is thing and the changes in things happen with dialectical process.

Dialectical Materialism : Dialectical materialism is developmental and its nature is materialistic, not spiritual. The basic concept of dialectical materialism is that the base of the universe is materialistic element or substance. It is basically developed through its internal nature and takes different forms from time to time. This development is coordinated by the residing internal opposition in materialistic substance and in this, as **Hegel** has said, goes forward by carrying the triplet of Thesis, Antithesis and Synthesis and strengthens the path of materialistic development. **Marx** has called this as Inexorable Law of Human History.

According to **Marx** the world is a materialistic universe. In this happenings and things are related to each other. Because continuous changes keep happening in materialistic world, hence changes keep happening in social life also. The reason for these changes is not any divine power or God sent rules but the existence of materialistic situations. By the materialistic situations **Marx** means economic relations. According to **Marx**, substance meaning materialistic universe is progressive on the journey of its completion through dialectical system and its different forms are the different stops of this journey.

In the preface of "A Critique of Political Economy", **Marx** writes that, "In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond to definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."

"At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one cannot judge such a period of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production."

Characteristics of dialectical materialism: Following characteristics can be told of **Marx's** dialectical principle:

1. **Materialistic Unity :** According to dialectics, world is a materialistic universe in which happenings and things are related to each other. In all the elements of nature interdependence and interconnected unity can be found. Nature is a totality, all its angles are interdependent and affect each other.

2. **Mobility :** Every element found in nature is mobile. Changes keep happening in it by continuous mobility in whose result some things are born and keep developing. Hence this materialistic world is continuously versatile, and developmental.

3. **Versatility :** Economic powers are the inspirational powers of social progress. Because materialistic world is continuously versatile, hence social life also is versatile in accordance to it. This process goes on by the means of dialectics.

4. **Quantitative, Qualitative changes :** In nature, changes and development are not only quantitative but also qualitative in a simple manner. Qualitative changes happen in a jolt through revolutionary manner when old elements get destroyed and convert into new elements. The quantitative change in old element becomes qualitative change at one point. Like if water is being boiled, at a special point it will turn into steam and qualitative change will happen in it.

5. **Revolutionary process :** The happening of qualitative change is believed to be revolutionary process. The qualitative changes in elements happen rapidly suddenly instead of happening slowly.

6. **Negative, Positive struggle :** In every element of nature there is contradiction and are negative and positive angles whose process of mutual struggle is the process of development. The base of development is struggle, not consensus or unification. Only through the means of struggle, development happens by mutual collision in opposing groups.

Importance of dialectical materialism : On the basis of dialectical materialism, **Marx** wanted to prove the argumentative justification of the establishment of that new society whose creation in future he used to imagine. On the basis of qualitative change upon destruction of capitalist society he confirms socialist path. On the basis of qualitative change he tells that till the time torture will reach special destination, labour section's numbers and power will increase so labour section will do revolution instead of slowly ending capitalism. In this way in the place of reformism he proves the necessity of revolution. He also says on the basis of this principle that like the way in which in every substance there are inherent oppositions, the middle section struggle of these opposing powers goes on. In this way in capitalism itself the seeds of destruction are existent.

Materialistic or Economic Interpretation of History

To understand human progress, to apply the principle of dialectic materialism on historical progress we call **Marx's** attempt by the name of principle of "Materialistic Interpretation of History". The development of history or society happens by dialectic system and materialistic elements make that development mobile, this is the main recognition of the Materialistic Interpretation of History. This principle has been called by different names like "Economic Determinism", "Historical Materialism" or "Economic Interpretation of History".

Through this principle **Marx** has tried to show that social progress is not like a simple straight line and neither does it have any divine inspirational reason. Society's progress happens through dialectic system and process of progress and the economic matters deciding its last direction. In **Marx's** words, "Definition of history happens according to its economic situations in its last form."

According to **Vapor**, the starting of this principle happens with this simple truth that "People cannot live without food, clothing, home and other requirements of life but nature does not give these readymade to them. Humans have to work hard to get them. Hence labour is the basis of social life and a natural requirement for humans. Human life will be impossible without labour and production activities. Hence production of materialistic wealth is the main ingredient of production of social life." In other words, it can be said that the main characteristic of historical materialism is this value that production system plays deciding role in the development of society.

Did You Know? In the history of political vision **Karl Marx** is remembered as Father of Scientific Socialism.

Before **Marx** certain scholars have said while doing interpretation of history of society's progress that society's creation has been by big emperors, kings, wars and commanders. Thinkers like **Carlyle** believed that great chiefs like **Julius Caesar**, **Napoleon**, **Cromwell** etc. create history. **Hegel** believed that great thoughts have developed human history.

Marx does not agree with such scholars and historians who believed that history was result of just few special and great persons' work. In **Marx's** opinion all events of history are a result of changes happening in economic situation and for any political organization or to attain knowledge about its justice system the knowledge of its economic frameworks is very important. Human tasks are influenced only by economic matters not by moral, religious or nationality.

According to **Marx** the production that humans do on social level, in that they get tied to each other in set relations. These relations are necessary and they do not have their control on them. The character of these production relations are in accordance with definite situation of the development of their ethical production power. By the total share of these production relations society's economic

organization comes into existence, and that works as the true foundation of legal and political super structures. In other words, the mode of production of materialistic life decides the simple form of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

As the production processes change, in similar manner social relations of humans also change. When production is by hand grinder the prince comes into existence, when production starts happening by steam grinder then the capitalist, industrialist emerges. When according to materialistic production process social relations get established, then according to these relations principles, thoughts and ideals are brought into existence. In 1848, **Marx** and **Engels** have written in "The Communist Manifesto" that elderly and middle sections have changed the complete character of society by revolutionizing the means of production.

Keeping in mind social awareness **Marx** says that as a result of technical progress changes come in the production process and changes in social relations also become essential in accordance to it. But under old organization creation of some social and political ideals has been done which is not in accordance with the new organization. But because vested interests don't want to bring any harm to it, so that social section was tied down by old organization, awareness arises in it. It throws off these ties by suddenly jolting them. In this way emergence of social change happens by social revolution.

In this way, **Marx** describes that change process by proving that production system as the base of social system which along with change in the means of production gives birth to new phases of social development. According to **Marx**, every organization of historical order is better than its earlier organization, whatever bad it may look, because it is closer to ultimate eventuality of development.

Marx has distributed the history of society which is changing on the basis of means of production in the following five stages:

1. Primitive Communism : According to **Marx** the starting economic arrangement was a communist arrangement. Humans used to fill their stomachs with plants, fruits and hunter-gatherings. This situation of hunting gathering gave birth to colonial life. People used to hunt together and together eat it. At that time there was complete equality and complete freedom. Nobody was marauder and nobody was exploiter. Those days there was no family and the complete tribe used to be one family in which without any specific relation, relations based on equality and freedom used to be there between every man and woman. In this society there was no exploitation of human by human.

Going ahead the human struggle with nature gave birth to tools. New tools were invented and humans learned to light a fire, rear animals, making utensils, sowing plants. Sowing plants was the first step towards farming. As a result on one hand different tribes had different occupations and on the other hand fights started between tribes. Firstly, in the new occupations more efforts were needed, and then to fulfill the demands of the fights more production had to be done than their own requirements. Now more work was needed to be done than before. Fights also kept on happening between the tribes. These fights bridged the deficit of laborers. Now the defeated were made slaves and made to work. In this way the division of social work divided the society. Society was divided into two parts – master and slave. Now such a section was formed in the society which remained alive on others' labour.

2. Slave Society : As it has been said above that in the beginning there was communist arrangement. After this the arrangement changed and slave stage began. With agricultural development private property appeared. Along with it division of labour started. Division of labour gave birth to parasites. Some people forced people to become slaves and started using them for labour work and started spending their own time in pleasure, education, arts and politics, etc. Primitive classless society was now divided into two classes of free citizens and slaves. In the slave era the master had similar rights on the slaves as on their home, land or animals. People were sold like animals. Slave's wife and children were also called as property of the master. In the slave era the number of masters was less and slaves were more. That's why the masters feared that the slaves may destroy them by mutiny. Hence to control the slaves' physical power they created power of the state (law, police and jail). By studying European history we can find this kind of social arrangement in ancient Greece's city states.

3. Feudalism: In this era the slaves got freed from the master's slavery, but they became slaves of the land. Feudalism king and his soldiers were masters of the feudal land, because their maximum time was spent in wars, hence farmers did production work. Farmers were not slaves, but were not completely free also. They were liberated from slavery on this condition that they will win their master's land and in return they will get a portion of the produce or part of the land. They will not have the right to leave the master's land. In this way by giving him a part of the land the monarchs started exploiting them by making them work on their land for the maximum time.

In Feudalism the society got divided between two opposing sections of monarchs and farmers. Now monarchs started exploiting the farmers. But in feudalism the farmer got a lot of time after farming. In this situation, loom and handicrafts were invented, with the help of which the farmers started making other things of their need. Earlier he used to fulfill his needs by this, later its give and take also started and now things were created not only for fulfilling requirements but also for business. This process gave birth to such a section which used to buy things from one section and give to the other. This section was known as business class. Slowly, this section started accumulating wealth and it daily developed and became the master of the business. When machine was invented Feudalism converted to Capitalism.

4. Capitalism : New means for production (machines) gave birth to new relations of production and capitalism started in place of feudalism. Capitalism got its true form by industrial revolution. In reality industrial revolution is the name of a great change in production process. In capitalism the means of production were expensive machines, industries, etc. For common public neither were these means accessible nor they could carry on their old occupations of hand skillfulness. They were compelled to sell their labour. In this era labour started being bought and sold like other things. Capitalism made slavery even more permanent instead of eradicating it and salaried became "slave getting wages".

Amidst the development of such an economy middle section arises which remains in middle of capitalist section and proletariat section, and does not let any direct struggle happen between these two sections. But with time this middle section also becomes like the proletariat section. Hence no other option remains for the capitalist and proletariat sections except severe war against each other. This war ends only when capitalist section gets completely destroyed and state has complete right to the means of production.

According to **Marx** capitalism hides the seeds of its own decline in itself. **Marx** said that to achieve the target of socialism the materialistic situations that are necessary, they are hidden in the womb of capitalist society. Naturally, there is chaos in capitalism. Result of capitalism is—fulfillment greater than demand, production more than needed, markets full of products, commercial trouble, unemployment, lesser employment and wrong employment. After this instead of private wealth slowly joint companies and trusts get established and later "monopoly wealth" and "stock exchanges" are created. This situation is the ultimate limit of capitalism and from here the decline of capitalism starts. After the decline of capitalism "ownership of proletariat" gets established.

5. Socialism : Capitalism is based on exploitation of proletariats and when this exploitation reaches its ultimate limits and labour finds his own existence in danger then he raises flag and does mutiny against it and uproots the power of capitalist section. This is known as revolution. As a result of this revolution a "Stateless and Classless" society will be established. But before this system a transitional era will come in which "ownership of proletariat" will be established and means of production will be socialized. After the end of this stage such a society will be established in which there will be no classes, a person will not exploit another person and state will vanish. **Marx** has told two symptoms of socialist era—(1) This society will be Stateless and Classless implicitly. (2) In this society the principle of distribution will be—"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Conclusion of materialistic Interpretation of History – Following conclusions can be made of the economic or materialistic interpretations done by **Marx**:

1. Study of history is done to know about the rules of development of human society.
2. There are some rules for the development of human history similar to the rules for development of nature.
3. Changes in social life are not a result of God's will or thoughts and actions of great people and they are not by chance but they are due to the changes in economic powers.
4. In the process of development of any nation or society the exchange of economic matters or production of economic things and role of distribution system is pivotal.
5. On every stage's complete social arrangement there is possession of that section that had the ownership of means of production.
6. When there is a change in production powers then a change comes in the production relations also.
7. Class struggle is the key to social progress and from slave society stage to dictatorship of proletariat class struggle has done the job of changing social arrangements, but by the establishment of socialist era classless society will be established and this process of class struggle will end.
8. On the basis of economic situations in production relations the history of society has been divided into five main stages.
9. Through economic interpretations of history **Marx** explains the necessity of end of capitalism and advent of socialism.

Importance of the materialistic interpretation of history: Whatever disadvantages may be pointed out in the economic (materialistic) interpretation of history formulated by **Marx**, but this is true that by stressing upon economic factors in social organizations **Marx** has greatly served social science. To change the history economic powers may not be the only reason, but this fact cannot be refuted that the share of economic powers is the most in changing history. Apart from this due to the materialistic interpretation of history by **Marx** now the process and viewpoint of the study of history is great. This is useful principle from this view also because it formulates that by neglecting economic powers true or scientific study of history cannot be done.

Theory of Class Struggle

According to **Vapor**, in **Marx's** thoughts the concept of class struggle has special importance. His theory of class struggle is based on his materialistic interpretation of history and his theory of surplus value. According to **Sebain, Marx** considers class struggle the means for social change and believes that from ancient times all changes are a result of that. "The history of all within the existing society is the history of class struggle."

In reality the theory of class struggle is the produce of historical materialism. **Marx** saw the most important expression of economical determinism in the fact that there has been always an opposition of the existence of economic sections in society. This class struggle always goes on between two sections present in society of mutually opposing interests.

The bases of these sections are economic. Out of these one section is economic power acquired section which has ownership of the means of production and the other which only does labour work meaning section deprived of economic power which sells its labour to sustain life. **Marx** says that in every era there has been existence of these two sections in one or the other form. The first section always exploits the second section. Exploitation of society and exploited; both these sections have always mutually struggled. Agreement between these two sections is impossible.

Implication of class: That group of people is known as class who are related to some special process of production and whose interests are one. Due to stressing upon economic interpretation of history **Marx** stresses upon its symptoms on economic reasons and says that the group whose economic interests are the same, is known as a class, like mill owner, landlord, businessman, farmer, labour, etc.

Implication of struggle: Meaning of struggle is not only fight, but its detailed meaning is dissatisfaction, anger and partial non-cooperation. In this way, according to **Marx**, meaning of struggle is not that in society situation of continuous war stays but its only meaning is that there is essentially such a class in society which is always dissatisfied because its needs are not met. This dissatisfaction is expressed in many forms from time to time—non-cooperation, strike, etc. and when this dissatisfaction becomes unbearable then based on dialectics it takes the form of revolution in which the victory of exploited class and the decline of exploiting class are essential.

Class struggle and capitalism: According to **Marx**, development of society is not on the basis of mutual harmony, cooperation and peaceful co-existence but as a result of mutual struggle of the classes. All the changes in the society are on the basis of class struggle and development of society happens by this. In slave era master and slave, in feudalism chief and farmers classes were there and in today's capitalist era society can be divided into two parts on the basis of means of livelihood—(1) Capitalist or bourgeoisie and (2) working class or proletarian.

According to **Marx**, capitalists and labourers, even after needing each other there is mutual opposition in their interests. Capitalist wants to pay least pay so that he makes maximum profit and labour wants maximum pay, hence due to opposition in their interests a struggle starts between them. This is the foundation of class struggle and because of this class struggle has been going on.

Marx has believed modern capitalist era to be the extreme situation of class struggle. His speculation is that in production process based on wealth as a result of continuous competition between producers all land and wealth will slowly collapse into the hands of these few people. Middle class will be forced to blend with labourer class because they will not be able to stand on their own feet. As a result capitalist class will become small and labour class's form will keep increasing. Capitalists will not be able to use their own profits, hence they will again apply it in their industries. By this production will increase but poor labourer will not be able to get market because of lack of work. Then a search will being to find work outside the country. Hence relation will be formed with different countries by the advanced means of transportation and communication. Aware labour class or proletariat class will start using these means to strengthen their organization and to make their revolution widespread. In this way, the probability of direct struggle between capitalist and proletariat section will become bright. Proletariat class will certainly be capable and successful in defeating handful capitalists by the power of their large numbers and robust organization. As a result 'expropriator will be expropriated'; after the victory of proletariat old capitalists will be compelled to become labourers by keeping main production means in 'social ownership', by which all members of the society will be producers; nobody will be living on others' labour. In this way in the end classless society will be established.

Along with being the most persecuted class of the capitalist society proletariat is also the most revolutionary class. In his struggle with the bourgeoisie class it goes through different phases of development and its struggle no longer remains self-motivated and becomes class struggle. "Every class struggle is a political struggle."

How the feeling of class struggle commends the path till the end of capitalism, by clarifying this **Kokar** has written that, "Capitalism increases the number of labours and assembles them in united groups, onsets class consciousness in them and to establish mutual contact and cooperation in them presents means on worldwide level. Reduces their purchasing power and inspires them to do united resistance."

Marx says that in the history till now the class that snatched power from exploiters, with time itself it was provided to be the exploiter. Hence till now whatever revolutions happened, with them history could not reach its extreme target. But the revolution that will happen from the struggle of capitalists

and proletariat class, that will be different from all older revolutions because as its result existence of exploiting class will be removed and classless society will be established.

Conclusion of Theory of Class Struggle : Marx says that capitalism digs its grave itself. By throwing light on the destruction of capitalism **Marx** has said that "In this struggle its destruction and victory of proletariat class both are unavoidable". Following conclusions can be drawn from his theory of class struggle:

1. Class division in society is clear from the base of production relations.
2. Development of society is as a result of mutual struggle of the classes, not by mutual cooperation.
3. There are mainly two sections in the society whose interests are mutually opposing.
4. Class struggle is not fast and does not proceed in the direction of revolution until there is consciousness and unity in the class.
5. Class struggle gives birth to revolution as a result of which the power of one class comes into the hands of the other class.

Importance of Theory of Class Struggle : Marx was the first person who has interpreted history on the basis of class interests. Many forecasts of **Marx** related to capitalism have proven wrong, but the flow of development of capitalism is approximately the same as told by **Marx** and **Engels. Marx's** theory of class struggle is a great source of inspiration for the labour class because unavoidable victory of labour class has been told by him. If we assess this theory from the view of impact then we find out that by adopting the instrument of class struggle a big part of world humanity has gained success in getting rid of capitalist evils. Not only this, all the ventures undertaken to improve the conditions of labourers in capitalist countries and to provide them social safety, the theory of class struggle has played an unprecedentedly important role in inspiring them.

Theory of Surplus Value

Analysing capitalist arrangement Marx proved that this arrangement is based on exploitation. **Marx's** "Theory of Surplus Value" is that theory through which he tries to prove that capitalists exploit the labourers. **Marx** has propagated this theory in his book "Das Kapital". "Theory of Surplus Value" is based on "Labour Theory of Values". According to this theory, "In the end the exchange value of any object depends on the profitable labour put in its production from social view."

Marx has told two types of values while formulating his theory of surplus value:

Value in Use : Marx has differentiated between value in use and value in exchange. Value in use means to fulfill human's desire. Those things that fulfill his desires, they are of use to him, hence they are important and valuable for him. Those things that do not fulfill his desires, they do not hold any value to him as they are not useful to him. For example, in a desert there is too much sand and scarcity of water, hence water is more useful and sand is not. Water is used to quench humans' thirst hence in comparison to sand water is more valuable.

Value in Exchange : Second basis of value is exchange, it is known as value in exchange. Exchange in this fact, that what can be gained in exchange for that thing. Exchange value is that approximation by which there can be exchange in return for things. There can be no value of anything without it being used but it is not necessary that everything of use has exchange value. Bread has value in use because it is food, but when bread is sold, it has a different value which we call as exchange value. According to **Marx**, the exchange value of any object depends on the profitable labour put in its production from social view. This is the benchmark of value. If the exchange value of five ton wheat is 10 yards of cloth then its reason is that the labour put in to produce 5 ton wheat is the same as the labour needed to produce 10 yards of cloth. Hence the value of any object is decided on the basis of

the labour put into it. According to **Marx**, "Every object's true value is that labour that has been spent on it to make it human usable, because that brings 'exchange value' into it." Marx clearly formulates that the exchange value of objects does not depend on their value of use, but depends on the labour put into its production.

Surplus Value : According to **Marx**, in capitalist arrangement labourer sells his labour power and gains "wages". Every labourer works more than his wages and produces more value. According to **Marx**, exchange value of every object is equal to the human labourer put into it. Capitalist earns "profit" not by selling an object but by giving lesser wages to the labourer in proportion to the work put by the labourer. Every labourer gets lesser wages but has to do extra work. Every labourer produces extra value. Surplus value is the difference between wages obtained by the labourer and value produced by him. The definition of surplus value has been done like this—the value that is essential for the livelihood of the labourer, apart from that whatever value they produced, that is surplus value, which goes into the pockets of the capitalist. According to **Marx**, "surplus value" is the difference between the values of the wages which a labourer produces and which he actually receives. For example, according to Iron Law of Wages rate of daily wages is ₹ 5. Labourer working in industries makes the objects of that value, i.e., ₹ 5 only in four hours, but the owner of the industry makes him work for eight hours. This means that he produces objects of value of ₹ 10 in the whole day, but industry owner puts ₹ 5 in his pocket everyday by giving him only ₹ 5. According to **Marx**, the labourer should get this surplus value, but the industry owner does theft of his labour, this theft is his profit, from this his wealth is created; no part of profit is given to the labourers. By accumulation of this surplus profit wealth is created. According to **Marx**, the definition of "wealth" is– "The use of private means for complete production to gain surplus profit." Hence wealth is exploitation of labour. In earlier societies the way in which there has been exploitation of slaves in that way in capitalist era there is exploitation of labour class. Labourer gives his capabilities and labour to capitalist, but they do not get even enough money for their livelihood. The master of that wealth snatches the "surplus value". This exploitation circle of capitalists against labourers has been going on from a long time and its end will only be by the end of capitalism.

Importance of the Theory of Surplus Value : Theory of surplus value clarified on scientific basis the exploitation, tyranny and torture hidden in capitalist economic system and production arrangement and supported socialist economy.

May be **Marx's** theory of surplus value is not completely true but this fact cannot be refuted that capitalists have constructed their castles of enjoyment over labourers' hard work. Probably the profit obtained by them is not surplus but a big part of their profits is such for which they are not worthy in any way. It can be said by looking at the miserable condition of labourers that a big responsibility of this condition is on the capitalists.

Even if in the form of theory of value **Marx's** theory of surplus value has become out of date, but in a theory of exploitation it is correct in the same way even today as it was in **Marx's** times. In the words of **Lenin**, "Before **Marx** the origin of classical political economics was in England, which was the most developed nation amongst capitalist nations. **Adam Smith** and **David Ricardo** laid the foundation of 'Labour Theory of Value' by his research in the subject of economic arrangements. **Marx** further carried forward his work. He proved this theory and developed in a proper manner. He proved that the value of every object is decided by this fact that how much required labour has been put into its production from social viewpoint."

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True / False:

5. According to **Marx**, exchange value put on every object is equal to the human labour put into it.
6. According to **Marx**, every labourer works lesser than his wage and produces more value.

7. Second basis of value is exchange, we call it exchange value.
8. Class struggle gives birth to revolution.

1.5 Marxian Theory of State

Like **Pluto** and **Aristotle**, instead of thinking the state to be a public welfare organization, **Marx** thinks that the state is a class organization. It originates out of class-struggle. It is a suppressor community which maintains class-differences. As long as state exists, the class will remain in the society. The ideal of **Marx** is classless society from which 'state' will disappear and communist society will be there. "The state is product of class-society, its emergence took place with emergence of classes and it will disappear with the end of class-system. And it will shrivel gradually."

Class-distinction due to origin of state : The ideology of **Marx** concerning origin of state is entirely contradictory to the common opinion. **Pluto**, **Aristotle** and other thinkers were of the opinion that the state is a natural and moral institution which is linked with human life. But **Marx** contends that the state is a class-oriented institution. In aboriginal communism there was no conflict about interests among members of the society, so the whole society would solve their matter on their own and there was no existence of the state. But the situation changed in slave period. In this period, the masters had 'land' property and all the resources of production and they exploited the slaves. The number of members of the master class is very less and they took the help of force to maintain their status against the multi-numbered society. The arrangement of army, police, judiciary and prisons were done by them. The people, who were supporters of rulers, had right over those institutions. From this point, institution of state came into existence. Engels writes, "The state, in the form of government belongs to most powerful economic section through which the medium of state also becomes the member of higher section politically and thus, this is the new weapon of exploitation of oppressed class. The state of ancient time was the state of masters of the slaves who ruled over the slaves. Feudal state was the state of capitalists who ruled over farmers and land-less people." **Engels** thinks that the state and class originated side by side. The state is a weapon to exploit one economic section by the other economic section. **Marx** writes, "The state is an organization of a wealthy section which protects them from the destitute."

The state as an instrument of exploitation : The views of **Marx** about the form and objective of the state are amply different from the other philosophers. In his early writings he severely criticized state related views of **Hegel. Hegel** was of the view that the state is morality and it finishes all conflicts. **Marx** criticized this view vehemently and declared that the state does not represent feudal interests above personal interests, but it is slave of property. **Marx** has also accepted that political liberation is not human liberation. The state can be free without the freedom of the human beings. Thus, in his early writings he made it clear that the state is an aspect of the society; it is inferior to the society. The state is associated with interest of the personal property.

Marx has put up one more important thing about the state, "The state does not organize the helter-skelter civil society. It is a political myth that the state systematizes the social life. Whereas the fact is, that the social life systematizes the state. Thus, according to this view the state is not outside the society but it is product of the society."

According to **Marx**, the state is just a means or instrument to maintain the security of the interests of the ruler class. In present capitalist system the state is organization of capitalists. Its aim is to exploit the workers class. To realize this aim, it enacts laws keeping in view the protection of his entire property and interests. It also makes arrangement to capture and punish those who flout laws by setting up police and courts. In the words of **Engels**, "The modern state—whatever be the form—is basically a capitalist machine, it is the state of the capitalists, it is an ideal image of entire wealth. The more he handles the productive powers, the greater national capitalist he becomes and exploits the

more numbers of citizens." In The Communist Manifesto the state is called "Executive Committee of capitalists". The executive of the modern state is just a committee for the oppression of one class by another.

The Dictatorship of Proletariat class in Transitional Period : According to **Marx**, the end of capitalism is imminent. The capitalism will be destroyed by revolution. The dictatorship of proletariat will be established. The setting up of classless society will take some time and in transitional period there will be regime of proletariat. 'Even after the end of capitalism the existence of the state will last for some time and dictatorship of proletariat will be established'.

In, 'Critique of The Gotha Programme' **Marx** has given a very important preface—"Between capitalism and communist society the time is of revolutionary changes. Its contemporary is a political transition, in which the state is revolutionary dictatorship of proletariat class."

In this transition, use of power of the state is done to exterminate the reaction of the capitalists and to finish the residuals of capitalism by the proletariat class. **Marx** notices that during social revolution how many vital and complex tasks will have to be done. It includes—suppressing the reaction of the ruler-class, to bring the most expanded and diligent common people in favour of proletariat class, the financial set up, politics, culture and social relations' re-organization. **Marx** here presents a very important issue; the state of proletariat dictatorship is historical need of proletariat period. In this period, according to **Hallowell**, the outline of communism will be:

1. The eradication of land-ownership and the proposal to spend revenue earned from land in public welfare works.
2. Income tax generated by increase in income.
3. Termination of right to inherit.
4. Confiscation of property of those who settle abroad after leaving the country and of revolutionaries.
5. Centralization of government owned industries by national banks which have government fund and have total ownership.
6. Centralization of means of transport and communications.
7. The expansion of state owned workshops and means of production. To take up the task of making barren land worth farming and make the land more fertile.
8. To make it compulsory for everyone to work in the same manner and to maintain industrial services especially for agriculture.
9. Appropriate absorption of farming and industry and justified distribution of the population of cities and villages.
10. Free education and restriction on child-labour.

Marx thought 'dictatorship' of 'Proletariat class' as democracy. Proletariat class has to organize itself as downtrodden class and raise it up to the level of ruling class. For this, proletariat class will organize itself in the form of a political party and take over the political control in its hand.

Disappearance of state institution : After the transitional situation of proletariat's dictatorship, **Marx** imagined such an ideal system, in which existence of the state will disappear. This age will be of classless society in which there will be no place of state. It is clearly mentioned in 'The Communist Manifesto'—"In chain of development the difference of classes will be abolished and the whole production will be centralized in the hands of whole nation's huge group. Then the public authority will lose its political form". In the words of **Engels**, "'Termination' of the state is not done, it 'fizzles'."

According to ideology of **Marx**, "As long as classes in the society exist, the supporters of particular class will maintain the authority of the state." But due to dictatorship of proletariat, capital class will be exterminated. After this, the conflict of class struggle will naturally disappear and the individuals will

have equality. When there is no special class, then there will be no utility of the state for maintaining its authority and state will automatically disappear. In such a situation, an individual will enjoy freedom for the first time. There will be right of entire society on the means of production. Everyone will work according to one's capability and get facilities according to one's needs. For the people who are not capable to work, there will be arrangement of social assistance or social insurance. Thus, **Marx** thinks of social communism and economic framework, in which people and the society will be fully independent and will have all kinds of facilities of progress. On the means of production, there is control of not only of the capitalists but also of the entire society. If there is no exploitation of one individual by another, there will be no scope of hunger, poverty and unemployment in the society. In the words of **Marx**, "In place of ancient bourgeois society's classes and conflicts, we would establish a society in which the progress of one individual will be the essential condition for the progress of the whole society."

1.6 Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924)

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was born in 1870 in Russia's Simbirsk town. His father was a supervisor in a school and he had inclinations towards democratic views.

In the duration of his life, he wrote about thirty books, one of them was, 'The Development of Capitalism in Russia'. In this book, on the basis of principles of **Karl Marx**, there was an attempt to analyze the progress of economic development of Russia. In 1902, he wrote a book entitled, 'What is to be done' in which there was a stress on the topic that the leadership of the revolution should be in the hands of a disciplined party whose prime function should be to make an effort to revolt. The Russian socialist democracy was divided into two branches—the factual supporter of revolt, Bolshevik organization and Opportunist Menshevik's group.

In 1905–07, during first revolution of Russia, **Lenin** directed the tasks of **Bolshevik** of instigating the public to revolt, and to move towards their objective

- In November 1905, the expelled **Lenin** returned to Russia and contributed up to his capacity, to prepare for armed revolution and manage activities of central committee.
- After the failure of first Russian Revolution, Lenin had to go out of country. In 1912, in accordance with **Lenin, Mensheviks** were shunted out of Revolutionary Socialist Democratic Party.
- In 1913–14, **Lenin** wrote two books, 'Evaluation on the question of nationalisms' and 'The Right of Nations to Self-Determination'. In his first book he severely criticized nationalism of Bourgeons people and endorsed the principles of internationalism of the workers. In his second book, he put a demand that they should agree to the right of the nations to decide about their future. He put a stress on the point that they should help those countries which want to get rid of slavery.
- After the exit of power in the hands of rivals of revolution, in July, 1917, during his exile, he wrote a book, 'State and Revolution' and continued to hold responsibility of directing the preparation of revolution and organization of the party in secret way.
- The public of Russia was uttering slogans of 'Peace, land and bread'. In the leadership of **Lenin, Bolsheviks** continued the preaching of their views through the medium of the newspaper, Pravda.
- The interim government of rivals was dethroned and in the leadership of Lenin, Soviet government was established.
- Soviet regime entered into a treaty with Germany giving emphasis on peace, land was snatched from the land owners and the ownership of the nation was set on the land and property, there

was control of the workers on trades and factories and banks and means of transport were nationalized. There was creation of Red Army to protect newly formed Soviet Republic.

- According to **Lenin** dictatorial system of the workers is true democracy for most of the public. Its prime function was not pressure or use of force but is related to organization and education.
- During extensive disturbance and home-war (1920) also, **Lenin** started planning of improving the conditions grown due to war and destructions of the country, development of electrification, expansion of transport and to set up big farms after assimilating small farms on the basis of cooperative societies.
- **Lenin** gave emphasis on the protection of the country from enemies and to strengthen the defense strategy and enhance the spirit of international fraternity with the workers of different countries.
- **Lenin** in his book, 'State and Revolution' has written that the establishment of the society is possible only through revolutionary means.
- Various followers of **Marx** accept that the publicity of the principles of **Marx** should be done peacefully. They made **Marx's** principle of 'Withering away of the state' as their base. They were of the opinion that due to expansion of the right to vote and by purchasing most of the shares of companies by the workers of those industries and participation of workers in the management, the socialism can be established peacefully without revolution.
- **Lenin** vehemently opposed this idea and emphasized on the compulsion of revolution. He gave different interpretation to **Marx's** principle regarding 'Disappearance of the institution of the state' and linked it with the weakening of the state of proletariats which was established after the communist revolution, which cannot be implemented in the state before the revolution.

Task Express your views on Vladimir Lenin.

- **Lenin** is understood to be the expert scholar of 'Theory of Revolution'. Abenstein has written that the greatest contribution of Lenin is his thoughts about 'Professional Revolution'.
- **Lenin** gave lot of stress on this point that the party formed with trained professional revolutionary can only provide successful leadership to revolution. He gave more importance to expertise and merits than the number.
- According to **Lenin**, the organization of such a party should not be huge and free but it should be concealed. **Lenin** has called such a party as forerunner of revolution and forerunning party of the worker-class.
- The significance of **Lenin's** principle is implicit in the fact that with this he used it in 1917 in **Bolshevik** Revolution and later on got success in sustaining the communist regime strong.
- **Marx** had this opinion that communist revolution takes place when highly developed capitalism is shattered due to internal defiance. According to the principles of **Marx**, feeling of capitalism is essential for communist revolution. But **Lenin** was of the opinion that without the development of capitalism, communist revolution can be successful if a powerful communist party is formed and full advantage is taken from the suitable conditions. So **Lenin** gave priority to the formation of a special kind of communist party in order to make the revolution successful **Lenin** called it fighter vanguard.
- **Lenin's** emphatic saying was – "Until the party is organized in form of firm army troupe like the stony rock, linked with unity of intention, unity of action and unity of discipline, the worker-class will not be able to act like advance fighter party."

- Three conclusions can be drawn from the principle of communism, postulated by **Lenin**, which are adverse to original principles of Marxism—(i) Revolution takes place because of publicity of thoughts, whereas in opinion of **Marx**, the physical conditions of production rise to revolution; (ii) **Lenin** has strongly supported use of force, whereas **Marx** and **Engels** gave stress possibly on peaceful means, and (iii) Revolution is carried out with hostile means, but **Marx** had the opinion that revolutionary public has so much of power that there will be no need for doing violence.
- **Lenin** emphasized on reducing the shape of administrative machinery, for improvement and decreasing the expenditure. He requested the educated and scholar section to take an active part in the creation of new society by helping farmers and workers.
- After the success of revolution of 1917, **Lenin** announced his future programme
  1. Early closure of war for peace treaty.
  2. The right of government on personal land without paying damages.
  3. The workers must have hold on factories.
  4. Deprive capitalists from political rights
  5. Centralization and Nationalization of banks.
  6. To finish free economic system.
  7. Control of the state over production
  8. All free commercial companies must compulsorily become member of the syndicate.
- By the revolution of November 1917, the government came into the hands of **Bolshevik** leaders **Lenin, Stalin** and **Trotsky**. They wanted peace to establish internal administration and activate their planning. So they initiated talks with Germany to materialize treaty and finally on 3rd March, 1918 the foreign minister **Trotsky** signed treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. This treaty was insulting for Russia. In this treaty dialogue, except for these two countries, the representatives of Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey also participated.
- From November, 1917 to the beginning of 1919, there had been Civil War in Russia. The horrible work of Bolsheviks was called 'Red Terror' and those of their rival, were termed as 'White Terror'
- In Russia, during civil war, a special court Cheka was founded. Its president **Felix Dzerzhinsky** had a belief that in order to display the power of proletariats, opting of extremist policy is essential. Cheka gave important contribution in terminating the excessive opposition by the revolutionaries. The Bolshevik revolution which was bloodless in beginning turned out to be the most bloody and horrible revolution in the end.
- During civil-war Soviet regime opted for the policy, which is known as 'War-Communism' This policy continued from July 1918 to March, 1921. It is also called 'Economic Revolution'.

1.7 Mao Tse Tung (1893–1976)

- The staunch supporter of communism, and immensely impressed by **Lenin, Mao Tse Tung** was born on 26th December, 1893 in China. **Mao** got inspiration from the success of Bolshevik Revolution (1917) He founded 'China Communist Party' with **Li Dazhao** and **Chen Duxiu** of the University of Beijing.
- **Mao Tse** went to South China and interlinked youths with communist party and prepared Red Army. He gave military training to these men apprised them with guerrilla – war.
- In 1930, he announced about China–Soviet–Republic. In 1934, he got order to leave China so he came to Xinfeng province of north China with his army. **Mao** had assumed the office of President of China Communist Party by then.

- In 1949, **Mao Tse** had acquired authority over Chinese Regime and established communist rule in the country.
- He founded Maoism after associating military war strategy with Marxism and Leninism. Through his policies and programmes, **Mao** exercised a great role in development of economic, technical and cultural aspect making China a super power in the world.
- There are three basic aspects of **Mao Tse Tung's** ideology—Appropriate search on the basis of facts, to keep close relationship and to keep the right of self-decision.
- The centre of the ideology of **Mao Tse Tung** and ideological way of Chinese Communists indulge in appropriate search based on facts.
- The principle of **Mao** is a revolutionary concept. There was **Mao's** original philosophy in the roots of this principle that there is more importance of will- power in comparison to knowledge and action is mere important as compared to principles.
- **Mao** basically believed in such revolution which is fully infested with village people and is in rural areas. In his outlook, this was the only method of giving this revolution a permanent feature.
- **Mao** had firm conviction that the peasant-class of China and other Asian countries are capable of bringing about revolution.
- Through the medium of Proletarian Cultural Revolution, **Mao** challenged the Marxist and **Lenin's** ideology and the significance of communist party and its organizational structure.
- Through his own movement **Mao** raised a question of communist party vs public and tried to enhance the importance of public.
- In order to keep control over communist party of China, Mao time and again indulged in public-insurrection. In the cultural revolution of 1965–1966, Mao used 'Red-Guards' to weaken the organization of the party.
- The mentor of modern China, **Mao Tse Tung** was the leader of Cultural Revolution which began on 16th May, 1966.
- In the beginning of Cultural Revolution, **Mao** and his supporters asked thousands of red-guards to come together and instructed them to blow up four old pillars of Chinese society—(i) old customs and conventions (ii) old methods of living (iii) old culture (iv) old concepts.
- During this campaign all those items were attacked that were against communism. As a result, hundreds of people were killed and thousands had to tolerate hostilities and sufferings. It greatly harmed the cultural structure of China.
- After two tears of Cultural Revolution or at the end of 1968, China arrived at the position of civil-war. After this, **Mao** proclaimed merger of red-guards.

- Many sensible people examine this step of **Mao** as a big social experiment, by which a new China was established after uprooting old social and cultural structure of China.
- Various critics are of the view that **Mao** made use of this cultural revolution to annihilate its rivals in communist party and to claim his right on the government, China had to pay greatly for this action

1.8 Summary

- According to **Marx**, capitalism has hidden in itself the seeds of its downfall. To realize the objective of socialism, the physical conditions which are required, are hidden inside depth of capitalist society. There is naturally a disorder in capitalism. The end-result of capitalism is—supply more than the demand, more production than the requirement, overflowing of markets with goods, commercial crises, unemployment, under employment and wrong employment. After this in place of personal fund, there is emergence of combined companies and trusts gradually, and later on there is establishment of 'sole capital' and 'financial-investment'. This position is of supreme limit of capitalism and from this point ensues the debacle of capitalism. After the debacle of capitalism, there is establishment of 'Dictatorship of Proletarians'.

1.9 Keywords

- **Negation:** Refusal, Denial, Absence
- **Interdependence:** Dependence on one another

1.10 Review Questions

1. Give a description of the work of Karl Marx.
2. Karl Marx is the father of scientific socialism—Present your views in this respect.
3. What do you understand by the Marxian Theory of State? Describe.
4. Comment on 'Mao Tse Tung'.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Hegel	2. Society	3. Changing	4. Revolutionary
5. True	6. False	7. True	8. True

1.11 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science—*Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science—*Sterling Publishers.*

3. History of Political Science—*Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

Notes

Unit 2: Marxism-II–Frankfurt School, Lukacs and Gramsci

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know critical Theory.
- Discuss central Problem of Critical Theory.
- Explain critique of Science.
- Elaborate Hebarmas Analysis of "The Public Sphere".

Introduction

The prime source of the principle of critical theorizing is struggle principle. Since **Karl Marx** created struggle principle, his struggle principle can be seen in various social sciences. This is not surprising that **Marx** has written as many pages on struggle principle, as many more pages have been written later on by other writers. **Marx** has kept many principled concepts in this struggle principle. He has elaborately discussed production processes, production forces and production means. He has proclaimed that process of production gives rise to class-struggle. Later on in his propagation of his principle, **Marx** declares that the culmination of class-struggle is in revolution, and after revolution there appears end point of history—then there is no existence of class or state.

The central attraction of the struggle principle is emancipation of man. **Marx** has declared strongly that capitalism and state have overpowered the man. Both of them are his exploiters. So the happiness of man lies in emancipation from exploitation and oppression. The main concept of struggle principle of **Marx** is emancipation of man or his emancipation from exploitation. Emancipation from dominance is important base of struggle principle of **Marx**.

Notes

Critical theory is just a continuation of emancipative struggle principle of **Marx**. After **Marx** critical theoreticians tried to edit it according to the needs of the current society. But first two decades of 20th century were not suitable for the making of emancipative struggle principle. In that age, the interest of the scholars was in the development of capitalism. The people felt that emancipation of man lies in earning more and more money and live happily. The struggle done for emancipation was not liked by the society. Just contrary to it, the society wanted to adopt more and more intellectualism and bureaucracy. The intellectuals and theoreticians thought that Marxism was just a utopia. They could only make out that **Marx** and **Weber** knew social truth much closely. The atmosphere before first half of 20th century was that emancipation struggle theory was not congenial in both Europe and America so certainly no work for this theory's development was taken up.

2.1 Critical Theorizing

The theoreticians, who have done work of critical theorizing, usually agree that critical sociology is not in any way, an aspect or branch of Sociology. In fact, there is a personal existence of critical sociology. There is a historical explanation of this word 'Critical'. In Europe when 'Enlightenment Period' came, and there was public-awakening. This word was used by humanitarians and reformists. The reformists thought the sermons stored in various religions are able to unite individuals in social bonds. These religious books had put control over logic of the individual. The reformists and humanitarians did not approve of all this. So they criticized all religious books even the Bible. When in Enlightenment period of Europe such criticisms started, for that the use of word critique or critical began.

After some time, these religious critics thought church to be their enemy and the church also did the same. The critical theory which came up in the beginning had only one objective to let others feel that all the religious principles are notions of only prophets, priests and incarnations. These principles lack logic. Whatever is available in religious principles is merely a dogma. This was primary form of critical theory.

Notes Lukacs declared while interpreting Marx that he has linked physical things with social relations.

In the third decade of this century means from 1932 to 1939 the literature of critical theory was published. Whatever is available in critical literature, has two forms. In other words, the principles of critical theory can be divided into two clear parts. The first form of these classes is available to us in Germany. If we examine from local point of view, the birth of critical theory took place in Frankfurt in Germany. The critical theorizing of this place looks at Empiricism and Pragmatism from depreciating point of view. Critical Theorizing proposes to establish rapport between philosophy and social sciences. The second form of critical theorizing corresponds with the Theorizing of America. Its base is Empiricism. If we examine both from critical point of view, we will conclude that both forms are contradictory to each other. The critical theorizing of Germany is based on philosophy whereas the base of American Critical Theory is only Empiricism.

Despite two mutual contradictory forms or kinds, the common fact between both is that they are based on **Karl Marx's** proposed Para dream. **Marx** in 'Critique of Political Economy' has discussed the emancipation of man in context of economic exploitation. This is central point of critical theorizing. If we look from this point of view, philosophical assumptions and empiricism are pushed aside. The prime topic is the emancipation of man and this emancipation is possible with the chains of enlightened class. The second common characteristic of critical theorizing is that this theory wants to

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keep Praxis principle of **Marx** activated. **Marx** himself wanted to give this theory practical form. He, himself organized the community of workers, and initiated revolution. Even after all this **Marx** could not interlock the theory and practical. The critical theorizing wanted to activate the interlocking of them. Third similarity in both is this that both originated in Frankfurt of Germany. So it is essential to give some description of Frankfurt School.

2.2 Frankfurt School

Frankfurt Institute for Social Research was founded at Frankfurt in Germany in 1923. In fact, this institution was just a department of Frankfurt University. Some theoreticians of this department went to New York and then to California. In these two cities where these scholars went, they in accordance with the tradition of **Marx**, continuously worked for amendment of struggle theorizing. In decade of 1940 these scholars were scattered and this institution was again organized at Frankfurt University. In 1930, **Max Horkheimer** became its director. This institution continued working in later years. During 1932 to 1941, these theoreticians developed critical theorizing. It is not like this that in spite of working so hard these theoreticians could not achieve any thing important. Fact is this, that the time had not been suitable for the development of critical theory. During those days, movement of Leftists had been unsuccessful in Europe and America. Since First World War, these countries had been going in grip of fascism. During decade of 1930, the Russian Revolution of **Stalin's** time started stumbling. Then the thinkers felt the need of total transformation of interpretation of **Marx**. The results of Industrial Revolution were also available by now. The clamps of big countries increased, bureaucracy became complicated and common man started emphasizing on reasoning in the debate for end-means. It had been understood through social sciences that whatever interpretation **Weber** gave about European society, was correct. This kind of intellectual atmosphere was disappointing for the development of critical theorizing.

It was a strong logic of theoreticians who wanted to develop Frankfurt School that we should combine Theory and Practice. The basic of this logic was **Marx** propagated 'Praxis'. The theory should be able to induce fervor in people to take action. On the other side, the activity should be able to introduce total change in the theory. This situation had been challenging for the scholars of Frankfurt School. But they were helpless. They wanted that the critical theory might disclose the tales of exploitation and dominance. But in those days, there was great political and economic supremacy that they were not able to do anything. Thus, the development of modern critical theory took place when there was no hope of the fact that the aim of emancipation of man, the idea of **Marx**, would ever be achieved.

Even though, the development of critical theorizing took place in America and Europe in two phases. First phase is of the duration of 1932–1941 and the second was, after 1960. In first phase, George Lukacs was the leader of those theoreticians who worked for it. When his first book History and Class Consciousness, 1922 was published, it was confirmed that he was a great critical theoretician. In the decade of 1960 **Max Horkheimer** and **Theodor Adorno** appeared. As a matter of fact, in various contexts, **Lukacs** is such a link who connects **Hegel, Marx** and **Weber** to modern critical theory. The books of **Horkheimer** and **Adorno** came in seventh decade. The understanding of both these writers is based on foot-prints of **Lukacs**. If truly examined, in both phases of development of Critical Theory, these writers greatly influenced **Jurgen Hebarmas.** The name of **Hebarmas** is ahead of all modern Critical Theoreticians. Fact is that we cannot grasp critical sociology without grasping **Hebarmas**. But first of all, we should comprehend early critical theory.

2.3 Previous Critical Theory—Lukacs

Case is, that **Hebarmas** has presented evaluation of all the three theoreticians; **Lukacs**, **Horkheimar** and **Adorno**. He told that **Lukacs** was such an evaluator theoretician, who tried to blend **Marx** and

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Weber. Marx had declared that capitalism had done commodification of social relations through the medium of currency and market. **Marx** called it production relations or relation between master and worker, but in fact it is nothing but buying of social relations through the medium of wealth. On the other side, according to thesis of **Weber**, entrance of rationalization in various spheres of modern life has become quite common. **Lukacs** has included the combination of commodification of **Marx** and rationalization of **Weber** in his principle and this is his important contribution to Evaluation Theory.

Lukacs has declared while interpreting **Marx** that he has linked social relations with physical objects. Social relations are supposed to be the objects which can be interchanged, bought or can be sold. We can buy workers to carry out our works, as we buy objects. While criticizing **Weber, Lukacs** said that the theory of rationalization which **Weber** has presented is just settlement of conversion of values. **Lukacs** has combined both **Marx** and **Weber**. He says that when there comes a change in traditional societies, their moral surface starts submerging and people start talking about utility of currency, market and rational settlement. In such situations the mutual relations of people are being performed by commutative values.

Lukacs is confronted with a serious question—if under historical process social relations are determined by materialism or rationalization, then how can this process be restricted? **Lukacs** presents a reply that **Marx** completely transformed the theory of **Hegel**. It means in human life, combat does not appear due to medium of thoughts or consciousness. **Marx** proved on the pretext of historical facts that the reason of combat is not thoughts but physical objects. **Hegel's** stand was based on conclusive influence of physical objects. Lukacs has expressed his disapproval of **Marx** here. According to him, **Marx** was having a different view and Lukacs completely overhauled his stand. **Lukacs** said that the combat we face in physical objects is in fact imbibed in human consciousness. Here **Lukacs** disagreed with **Marx**. About **Weber, Lukacs** said that rationalization is not an end in itself. People have some Inter-qualities that do not uphold rationalization after a certain limit.

Chief Characteristics of Evaluation Theory

1. Evaluation Theory emphasizes on process of consciousness. It declares that the concepts of people are input of the society in which they live. Our concepts are related to sociability. So we cannot observe things objectively. It is very difficult to understand objects after separating them from the stamp of our age. That is why, process of consciousness is very important for the theory of evaluation.
2. According to **Hebarmas** early Evaluation Theory was too subjective. It was greatly inclined towards the psychoanalytical principles of **Fried**.
3. Evaluation Theory does not approve historical processes of **Marx**. It returns to **Hegel**. It accepts Dialectics of **Hegel** in place of Dialectical Materialism of **Marx**.
4. Evaluation Theory describes historical powers which keep a hold on the liberty of an individual.
5. This theory opposes ideological outlooks which give argument to sustain dominance over an individual.
6. The method of Evaluation Theory is inter-disciplinary. By this method differently trained inventors and theoreticians have discussion on various subjects and make a definite policy for their eradication after analyzing social conditions.
7. The centralism praxis of Evaluation Theory is combination of theory and practice.
8. The greatest objective of Evaluation Theory is to liberate human being from exploitation, suppression and dominance. Owing to this, this theory presents outline of pathetic conditions of neglected class of the society.

2.4 Critical Theory

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Horkheimer and Adorno

In later generations, after **Lukacs**, names of **Horkheimer** and **Adorno** are significant in Frankfurt School. Both of these critical theoreticians seriously thought about questions raised by **Lukacs**. He rejected the Physical Determinism of **Marx**. Along with this he has negated the Rationalization of **Weber**. His conviction was that the problem of liberation from dominance should be sought in dialectics of **Hegel**. **Horkheimer** and **Adorno** both looked at the solution given by **Lukacs** with doubt. Their argument was that **Lukacs** tried to separate Individualistic Consciousness and Physical Precision. But both of them cannot be separated. When **Marx** looks at social relations with commoditization or Weber connects it with rationalization, the human consciousness cannot naturally oppose these processes. So **Horkheimer** and **Adorno**, both assert that Critical Theory must compulsorily do two functions. First, this theory must describe the assaulting historical powers and second, these powers should be rejected on theoretical basis. The reality is that the critical theory should bring up the practical problems of down to earth people.

Adorno and **Horkheimer** are contemporary. There have been reciprocity of ideas regularly and because of this, the understanding in reference to critical theory is similar. In writing of **Adorno**, philosophizing is greatly found. He has done important research on Authoritarian Personality. In this research his philosophical and psychological attitude can be seen. But in **Adorno's** contribution in critical theory, shows influence of **Horkiheimer**. **Adorno** was not very optimistic about critical theory. He criticizes the powers which dominate individual. Even then he felt that Critical Theory cannot exert appropriately in the sphere of emancipation of man. **Horkheimer** and **Adorno** emphasized on this point that as a result of publicity of Rationalization, the aspect of man's Subjective World had been suppressed. As a matter of fact, according to these two writers, two processes had been in action regularly. First process is of subjective world and the second is of physical world. Physical world dominates the subjective world and exploits it. In fact, man is trapped in the vicious circle of dualism. On one side is his subjective world and on the other there is physical world. Critical theory has to pierce through dualism.

Did You Know? The main source of critical theory is struggle theory.

Hebarmas has criticized the critical theory of **Horkheimer** and **Adorno**. They say that this process is nothing but philosophical scrutiny. In **Hebar's** words:

The critical literature of **Horkheimer** and **Adorno** is badly ambiguous, there is lot of assumptions and this theory has surprisingly left some facts that when people do introspection, how far do they use their consciousness in it.

The logic of **Hebarmas** is that **Horkheimer** and **Adorno** have given such a critical theory which in reality is fateful. Under this situation their suggestion is that critical theoreticians will have to provide new dimension to their understanding. They must give up the concept of subjective consciousness. Except this they should know those processes of the individuals through whose medium Inter—Subjective understanding can be developed. If we really wish to get rid of suppression and dominance, we should find out those means through which medium an individual is dominated.

The Critical Approach of Jurgen Herbarmas

Jurgen Herbarmas is a German Critical Theoretician. For the last two decades he has conceived very rich and creative literature. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to keep his literature abridged.

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One of the reasons is this, whatever he has written; its style and language flair is so profound that it is very tedious to clarify it. Not only **Herbarmas**, but to a great extent this problem imply with all German thinkers. The problem with **Herbarmas** is this that the arguments that he has presented about critical theory, have been covered up on being him to be a prose writer. To seek those arguments is a new research in itself. In spite of having all these problems, we shall try to keep the contribution of Herbarmas in the sphere of critical theory in simplified form in this unit.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Adorno and ..... are contemporaries.
2. In the writings of Adorno, there is too much of ..... .
3. Jurgen Herbarmas is a critical ..... .
4. Herbarmas has written many compositions in the field of critical ..... .

2.5 Central Problem of Critical Theory

If we study the literature of **Herbarmas** deeply, there are many questions implicit in it whose concern are with critical theory. Here are some of the questions:

1. How to develop the concepts of social principles with which the problem of liberation of individual, as proposed by **Marx**, can be solved? It is also to be noticed in the thesis of **Marx** where is the scarcity of experience in the nature of capitalist society?
2. How to counter the analysis of rationalization by historical method as presented by **Weber**?
3. How to move backward or get rid of subjectivity and subjective consciousness as propagated by critical theoreticians like **Lukacs, Herkheimer** and **Herkheimer**?

The misadventure that occurred with creation of Critical Theory is that early theoreticians gave too much stress on inner—subjective consciousness of an individual, means again enabled **Hegel** to stand on his own. Owing to this, it had greatly hurt the inner-vision given by **Marx**. He told that the dominance of individuals is forced by social relations. The concept of subjective consciousness fizzled it.

4. How to mould critical theory so that it can include physical production and political organization in its context?

Herbarmas has risen above mentioned questions at different places. In fact, the whole composition of **Herbarmas** revolves round these questions. Thus, these questions determine the approach of **Herbarmas's** Critical Theory. They insist, and there is truth also, that the criticism of dominance and exploitation is just a repetition. His logic is, if we have to do meaningful criticism, we will have to notice which is the binding force of the capitalists of the society. Until the binding forces of sustaining capitalism are not encountered, there will be no decrease in dominance and exploitation and there will be no emancipation of the society. If we do not look at social activities how do they go on with theoretical point of view, our analysis will only be surfaced and it will serve no purpose. So, if we have inner wish that we should conceive of Critical Theory, we shall have to recognize the forces which keep the society active.

Herbarmas has written various compositions in the sphere of critical theory. The gist of all of this is to seen in his two folder book 'The theory of Communicative Action'.

19.6 Hebarmas Analysis of "The Public Sphere"

In 1962, first and important book, "Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" was published. In public sphere, **Hebarmas** meant that society has its sphere. In it the people assemble and discuss

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the problems associated with public life, argue or debate and generate public-consciousness for the problems. This is sort of assembly of public where people talked openly. In discussion there was no scope of custom and traditions, religious community and revelation of force. Of course, the people brought the problems of public sphere up to the level of decision and, thus, the forces of dominance and exploitation used to weaken. This was the public sphere where mutual differences would fizzle out and there emerged feeling of amiability emerged in public life.

In his early composition, **Hebarmas** displayed his interest in history. He said in 18th century in Europe there were many organizations and platforms—club, coffee-houses, newspapers—there used to be public debate from the medium of these means. He added that those platforms were so well-powered that due to their pressure, legality of Feudal set-up became weak on religion and customs and traditions. Owing to these debates market economy developed and the individual got rid of autocracies of feudalism. The position reached up to that stage that free citizens, property-holders, traders and other people of the society discussed openly in sphere of the society.

Hebarmas said that when the pages of history started unfolding, it was a great blow to public sphere. The capitalist machinery increased and the powers of the state enhanced. **Weber** spoke evidently that in 19th century, on one side there grew rationalization, and bureaucracy commenced. All of them defined exploitation and suppression again. The analysis of this position made **Hebarmas** the top critical theoretician. At one point, he said that there were two main reasons of downfall of public-sphere: first, the collapse of the liberty of an individual with the expansion of capitalism, and second, development of bureaucracy and control over an individual by the laws of the state. **Hebarmas** thought that its solution of all the problems lies in re-emergence of public sphere.

In his second composition, **Hebarmas** had criticized capitalist society in reference to science and knowledge.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The prime source of critical theory is:
   (a) struggle Theory (b) economic theory
   (c) critical Theory (d) none of the above
6. The main attraction of Marx's struggle is:
   (a) criticism (b) emancipation of man
   (c) labour (d) none of the above
7. The important foundation of Marx's struggle theory is:
   (a) emancipation from dominance (b) emancipation from labor
   (c) emancipation from life (d) none of the above
8. Critical Theory is:
   (a) only continuation of (b) a chief function
   (c) rival (d) none of the above

2.7 Critique of Science

In 1960, **Hebarmas** picked up project of knowledge system and critique of science for analysis. In his book 'The Logic of social Sciences' and 'Knowledge and Human Interest', he analyzed the systems of knowledge. The objective of this was to prepare an outline for critical theory. His ultimate objective

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was to establish that science is one type of knowledge, whose aim is to fulfil a special type of interest concerning existence of human being. From this point **Hebarmas** divides total knowledge in three types:

1. Empiricist / analytical knowledge :

   The aim of this knowledge is to know various aspects of physical world.

2. Historical knowledge :

   The concern of this knowledge is to understand society through study of historical books.

3. Critical Knowledge:

   This knowledge reveals suppressions and dominance on human beings. Hebarmas says that one aim of knowledge is to fulfill prime interest of an individual.

In this context, total interests of an individual is divided into three types:

1. **Technical Interest :** An individual wants to live. He has reproductive power. He wants to sustain this recurrence by controlling the environment, by making life most convenient and by establishing dominance of human beings on nature.
2. **Practical Interest :** Through its medium he wants to figure out conditions of past and around him, and wants to know their meaning.
3. **Emancipatory Interest :** For increase in knowledge of an individual and for its improvement and culture or in other words for its emancipation gain of knowledge is essential.

Hebarmas has reached this conclusion that if an individual wants to lead a secured and safe life, it is in his interest that he should maintain technical control over environment. The conditions must be understood in historical and practical form and get emancipation from dominance and suppression. To fulfil its trio interests, he needs some means. **Hebarmas** has kept in three categories—first means he does not have for activities and public debate. In his opinion all these points or problems are mainly technical. The state holds the view that the solution of these technical problems can only be done by those specialists who work in workers union. Its meaning is that the state is doing depoliticization of disputes and problems. The solution of any problem can be done with technical method. For example, if in reference to our country due to the result of policy of liberalization, small industries incur loss, then it is not a political but only an economic problem. To opt the policy of liberalization is a political problem.

Hebarmas strongly asserts that today in many countries such as Europe, America and Asia the process of technical development has been going on rapidly. This new air is overflowing with technocratic consciousness. In fact, this interference of the state has given all the problems of the society, a special and technical form. This process has given rise to crisis of legalization. When **Hebarmas** discusses technical consciousness, he adds that this consciousness has developed a new concept, which **Hebarmas** calls instrumental reason. **Weber** calls it Means-Ends Rationality and **Hebarmas** calls it concept of Instrumental Reason. Generally, by means-ends **Weber** means that the means we use to gain the end should be logical and rational. **Hebarmas** also analyzes the concept of Instrument of reason likewise. He says that the means should be like this that they have meticulousness and expertise in realizing the end. In this technical age meticulousness is an important means to gain the end. This meticulousness neglects values and standards. **Hebarmas** step by step arranges how state uses capitalist science and technique. First of all the state makes use of science to achieve some fixed objectives. After this it tries to fulfil competitive objectives of the groups by making meticulousness as base. And later on, in the third stage the state itself does analysis of values in context of meticulousness and rationality. In the end we imagine 'Brave New World' to which we entrust computer with total responsibility of taking decisions. Computer is the most rational and meticulous object.

Task Write your views on Critique of Science.

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Hebarmas insists that in today's world, our full reliance is on the ideology of technical consciousness. This ideology has given new horizons to political legality. Now capitalism has been divided in three sub-systems—(1) Economic, (2) Political-administrative and (3) Cultural, which is later on called 'Life World' by Hebarmas. In all the three sub-systems there emerges crisis of legality –

1. **Economic crisis :** This crisis appears when economic sub-system is not able to produce enough as per needs of people.
2. **Rationalized Crisis :** When political administrative sub- system is not able to take sufficient decisions relating to instruments, such crisis comes up.
3. **Crisis of motivation :** This crisis comes up when to undertake new tasks, certain cultural symbols are not generated with whose medium, motivation emerges in the people.
4. **Crisis of legalization :** This crisis comes up when there is absence of enough motivation.

When **Hebarmas** analyses these crisis of legality, he refers to **Marx**. Out of these crises, the economic crisis and Rationalized crisis are less important. The most important crisis is of Motivation or crisis of legalization.

Hebarmas has presented the certain form of Critical Theory of which he has pointed out many characteristics. He has emphasized mainly that in any meaning of Critical Theory, the place of communication is very important. Along with communication he gives lot of stress on language. After this he looks at science and knowledge in context of state. The reality is this, Hebarmas has presented his ideas in retail form and it is very difficult to arrange them in regular logical outlines. On the whole, it is desire of **Hebarmas** to create a united society which should have been bound by communication system. His Critical Theoretization is based on mainly on ideology. Under this situation, to bind the society with only process of communication seems difficult. Turner though criticizes Critical Theory which is presented by **Hebarmas** but he surely accepts it that in tradition of struggle theory, **Marx** and **Hebarmas** have presented some concepts, if from the superfluity of concepts are removed, there can definitely be formation of a scientific theory.

2.8 Summary

- Frankfurt School developed the Critical Theory which belongs to the tradition of **Hegal** and **Marx's** theory. The theoreticians of this school opted for the dialectical method of **Marx** and **Hegal**. They accepted the role of economic system of the society, negated the positivism and separate strongly facts from values. **Ruth Wallace** and **Allison Wolf** told while writing conclusion of the analysis of Critical Theory that the criticism of Critical Theory that Frankfurt School has done, two facts clearly come before us. First fact is this, whatever are the ideas of the people, they are product of the society and they are the members of this society. Second important fact of this school is (it is linked with the first fact) that scholars should not be objective. They cannot be objective because their ideas are created by the society. Under such situation, they must opt for critical accretion of the society of their study. The scholars must have critical outlook also for their own activities. The adaptation of knowledge is done by society and so the analysis of the position of the society should be undertaken through the medium of knowledge.
- Whatever has been written about Critical Theory is not enough. The mentor of this theory is **Lukacs**. In fact **Lukacs** is such a link which joins **Marx** on one end and **Horkhemeir** and **Adorno** on the other end. In the literature of Critical Theory, after **Lukacs** the name of **Hebarmas** is significant. It is clear from the compositions of **Hebarmas** that in recent times, the future of Critical Theory does not appear to be golden. Even after all this, the objective of Critical Theoreticians to liberate common man from suppression, dominance and hostilities and proposal of equally praised Critical Theory are strong that this theory should be activated because only then it will be fruitful.

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2.9 Keywords

- **Empiricism:** Based on experience and utilization
- **Subjective:** Based on personal thoughts

2.10 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by critical theorizing? Clarify.
2. Describe critical theories.
3. What do you understand by the central problem of critical theory?
4. What is the 'Hebarmas Analysis of The Public Sphere'? Explain.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Horkheimer	2. Philosophical	3. Theoretician	4. Theory
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (a)	8. (a)

2.11 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science— *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science— *Sterling Publishers.*

3. Principles of Political Science— *B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

4. Principles of Political Science— *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

Unit 3: Socialism

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Objectives
Introduction
3.1 Socialism
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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know socialism.
- Explain communism.
- Discuss distinction between Capitalism and Communism.

Introduction

Today many forms of socialism can be seen. Every country has interpreted it in their own way by making changes to it according to their convenience. That's why **C.M. Joad** says that, socialism is like a hat, which has lost its shape, because everybody wears it.

Many Marxists call Communism as Socialism. Socialism and Communism both concepts are based on human equality, especially economic equality and so often many people mistakenly consider them to be the same.

3.1 Socialism

Another main type of modern economic process is socialism. Socialism's birth was in opposition to capitalism and evils of personal property. It stresses upon the association of labourers. Socialists are opposers of personal property and they want national ownership of means of production and transportation means. In the creations of the philosophers of ancient and medieval periods like **Plato**, **Saint Simon, Thomas Moore** etc. also the facts of socialism are found, but in present times **Karl Marx** is the main amongst people presenting scientific thoughts on socialism. Different learned people have defined socialism in this way.

According to **Bradley**, "Socialist refuses personal property and believes that in the form of state the society should be the owner of complete wealth and it should direct complete labour and equal distribution of all production."

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According to **Sellers**, "Socialism is such a democratic concept whose motive is to bring such an economic arrangement in the society which can provide maximum possible justice and freedom to any person."

According to **Ramsay Macdonald,** "In normal way a good definition of socialism is that it is the organization of society's materialistic and economic powers and arrangement of control of human powers over them."

According to **Jaiprakash Narayan**, "Socialist society is a classless and labourers' society. In this complete property is the state's property and is for everybody's profit. In this there is not much inequality in humans' income. In such a society human life and its progress will be schematic form and everybody will live for everybody's interests."

From above mentioned definitions we know about total intrinsic facts of socialism which all socialists agree—(i) end of personal property, (ii) society's control over means of production and distribution, (iii) end of exploitation, (iv) end of class distinction. On the basis of these some main characteristics of socialism can be mentioned:

Characteristics of Socialism

1. In socialism instead of a person's personal selfishness the collective interest is given more importance.
2. Socialists want state's control over the means of production and communication.
3. Socialism stresses more on cooperation in place of competition and struggle. It stresses upon national and international cooperation and mutual cooperation between labourers and capitalists.
4. In socialism stress is laid upon the end to exploitation.
5. Socialism stresses upon collective profits instead of personal profits.
6. Socialism wants to bring economic equality by spaning the valley between poor and rich and wants to reduce disparity.
7. Socialism wants to justifiably distribute wealth.

Types of Socialism

Today many different types of socialism can be seen. Every country has interpreted socialism in its own way by changing it according to their own convenience. That's why **C.M. Joad** says that, socialism is like a hat, which has lost its shape, because everybody wears it. Some people say that socialism changes colours like a chameleon, some say that it has many mouths like the serpent Sheshnaag. It is clear that today many different types of socialism can be found, but out of these co-operative socialism, State socialism, Marxist socialism, Utopian socialism, Democratic socialism, Communist socialism, Syndicalism, Fabianism, Guild socialism etc. are main. We will describe some of these here :

1. **Co-operative Socialism :** In this type of socialism labourers do the governance of industries by creating their co-operative societies. They are themselves masters of the industry and labourers also. This type of socialism can be found in Scandinavia.
2. **State Socialism :** In this the state is not considered as an evil and is considered to be an agency doing arrangement for best distribution. In this the means for production are nationalized, state is considered to be a welfare agency, person is accepted in the form of a part of the state. This believes in democracy, believes in freedom and equality and believes the foundation of society to be class co-operation not class struggle.

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Notes In socialism more importance is given to society and collective interests in comparison to person and personal selfishness.

3. **Fabianism :** Fabianists believe in bringing socialism slowly and in a democratic way. They do not believe in revolution and bloodshed. The motive of fabianism is to provide profits coming from land and industry to the complete society. For this fabianists suggest to adopt many solutions, like—(i) creating laws related to work hours, unemployment, sickness, minimum wages, cleanliness and safety; (ii) establish government's control over public things; (iii) put taxes on inherited property.
4. **Democratic Socialism :** This is also known as developmental socialism. In India this technique has been adopted. It believes the use of force and violence to establish socialism in place of capitalism to be incorrect. It stresses upon adopting peaceful and constitutional ways in its place.
5. **Syndicalism : Hewer** writes while defining Syndicalism, "In present era the relation of syndicalism is with those principles and programmes of revolutionaries who want to utilize economic power of industrial organizations to destroy capitalism and to establish socialist society." Syndicalists are against state because they believe state to be friends of capitalists and against labourers. These people believe in struggle and revolution and are against democracy. These nations are not in favour of socialism.
6. **Guild Socialism :** Guild socialists are against capitalism. They give importance to the freedom of group and person and want autonomy in industries. They do not want administration and control of production by state. They want to establish communism in local level in which there is representation of producers and consumers.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. ..... are against personal property.
2. Birth of socialism was in ..... of evils of capitalism and personal property.
3. Socialism stresses upon the unity of ..... .
4. In socialism ..... is stressed upon.
5. Socialism is the first step of ..... .

3.2 Communism

Many Marxists call communism as socialism. Socialism and communism both these theories are based on human equality, especially thought of economic equality and that's why many persons often make the mistake of believing them to be the same. In reality there is a lot of difference in their motives, means, domain and process. **Marx** says, "Socialism is the first step of communism. This is halfway through its target and communism is much more violent and ahead of socialism in its motives." In reality in different forms of socialism communism is a main form. Although the founder of communism was **Karl Marx**, but its different forms can be found in different countries. **Lenin, Stalin** and **Khrushchev** in Russia and **Mao Tse Tung** in China described communism in their own ways. In spite of local differences there are some such similarities which all communists accept, like all communists stress upon social, economic and political

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equality. Communism is that description of the society, where there is absence of state and classes and society has control of all means of production. Communism can also be called as such an economic arrangement in which every person will get things of minimum requirements and person will get emolument as per his work and ability. It has been said in 'The Communist Manifesto' that, "Communism is the principle of revolutionary system in its literal meaning. It propagates those principles on whose basis capitalism can be turned into communism." There are two necessary principles of it—class struggle and proletariat revolution which means getting power by violent means.

Did You Know? Communism wants justified distribution of wealth in the country.

Communism demands equal ownership of means related to production, distribution and consumption. Communism wants that people should do production together in a co-operative manner and consume it in collective manner. Communism wants to end immediate capitalist arrangement by violent means. Communism believes state to be such an instrument of exploitation by the help of which capitalist class exploits labour class. Hence it is in favour of ending state. They believe that upon establishment of communism state will itself vanish. Communism is also anti-religious concept. It believes wealth to be intoxication for the public. It is also against democracy and is a supporter of dictatorship of labour class. Communist believes that war between capitalists and labourers is unavoidable whose natural result is the establishment of communism. Communist society will be a completely free society and in this there would be no requirement of any outside ties or control over a person. In this situation there would be no requirement of the symbol of power—state and it will end itself. But in turning point state will be required. In this way communism stresses upon the compulsion of labour, ownership of state on the means of production, equal opportunities of development, importance and placement of person over state etc.

Task Present your thoughts on communism.

3.3 Distinction between Capitalism and Communism

Capitalism and communism are opposite to each other. Following differences are found in them:

1. Capitalism believes in personal property whereas communism in social or state property.
2. In capitalism a person has right over production and distribution means whereas in communism the state has.
3. In capitalism the transfer of wealth is from father to son whereas it does not happen in communism.
4. In capitalism in production more stress is laid upon wealth and riches whereas labour in communism.
5. Capitalism gives encouragement to 'open competition' whereas in communism more importance is given to co-operation in place of competition.
6. Capitalism gives birth to class struggle whereas communism to class co-operation.
7. In capitalism motive of producers is to earn maximum profits whereas in communism motive of production is social welfare.

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8. Capitalism stresses upon production in large quantities whereas communism on required production.
9. Capitalism is in favour of economic and political freedom of a person whereas communism wants state's control over all kinds of freedom of a person.
10. In capitalism there is no arrangement done to equally distribute income. Hence economic disparity flourishes whereas in communism due to equal distribution of income economic disparity cannot flourish.
11. In capitalism there is economic exploitation of a person, whereas it is not there in communism.
12. In capitalism a thing's value is decided on the basis of supply and demand whereas in communism it is by the state.
13. Capitalist arrangement is individualistic in all manners whereas communism is communist.

3.4 Summary

- Communist society will be a fully free society and in it there will be no requirement of any external ties of control on the person. In such a situation there will be no requirement of the symbol of power – state and it will itself end. But in turning point state will be required. In this way communism stresses upon the compulsion of labour, ownership of state on the means of production, equal opportunities of development, importance and placement of person over state etc.

3.5 Keywords

- **Capitalism:** Economy in which the control of business etc is in the hands of capitalists
- **Fabianism:** Fabianists believe in bringing socialism slowly and in a democratic way

3.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by capitalism? Clarify.
2. Describe the characteristics of capitalism
3. Comment on 'Communism'.
4. Distinguish between Capitalism and Communism.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Socialists 2. Opposition 3. Labourers 4. End of exploitation
5. Communism

3.7 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science— *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science— *Sterling Publishers.*

3. Principles of Political Science— *B. K.Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

4. Principles of Political Science— *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

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Unit 4: Conservatism

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know concept of the State.
- Explain current crisis of the Nation-State.
- Discuss role of Civil Society.

Introduction

In a country like India the expansion of religion is seen in all the spheres of life. This is strange that the constitution sets its national objective as to make this nation Secular and there are problems in the sphere of religion almost everyday. Babri mosque was demolished and cases are being filed in the court to construct Ram-temple at the same place, and challenges are being floated at political pedestals. Tension increased between Hindus and Sikhs and man-slaughter took place in many cities of Northern India; likewise lot of blood-shed occurred in communal riots of Mumbai. Caste-conflict is going on in many states on the basis of religion. There is no area of national life where there is no reference of religion or no contention grown by religion. In spite of being a secular state, our nation needs the study of religion more than any other nation.

Everybody knows that in erstwhile socialistic states, there was no respectable place of religion. **Marx** used to say that religion is like opium which put public-consciousness to deep sleep. In spite of this, the interesting thing is this, the proper study of religion commenced first time during Marxism and new Hegalism. If we examine from this point of view, the importance of religion of sociology is great for India. According to **K.S. Singh** in the project, People of India, there are six main religions

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here—Hindu, Islam, Christian, Sikh, Bodh and Jain. The followers of these religions are in minorities. In minority religions there are Islam, Sikh, Jain, Buddh, Christian, Jews, Parsee and Tribal.

Romila Thaper is a well-known historian of our country. She in her comments on religion, culture and nation added that efforts were made to create national culture in the country after gaining freedom. In fact, the emergence of this culture was a sort movement against colonialism. At time the analysis of Indian culture was mainly done by middle class. Among the intellectuals who did this analysis was our orientalist. In that age our higher and middle class consisted of double caste, land-lords and Brahmins. **Romila Thaper** said that when English people handed over this country to us, colonial handing over was in fact handing over to higher class only. These higher caste encouraged Brahminism or ritualism. This was strange irony that those who had political power they were absorbed in Brahmin religion or ritualism and the constitution fixed the objective of secularism. By writing all this we wish to emphasize the fact that in this country study of religion cannot be neglected by just saying that our country is a secular country.

4.1 Sociology of Religion

As a genre, one branch of Sociology is religion's sociology. The origin of this Sociology is the last decades of 19th century when **Durkheim, George Simmel, William Robertson** and **Max Weber** presented their reliable conclusions. Sigmund Freud presented analytical theory of religion. There are three traditions of Sociology of religion here. The mentor of first tradition is Durkheim. In his book, Elementary Forms of the Religious life (1912) has presented a special reference of religion. According to him, religion is such a system of faith and conduct whose affiliation is with sacred objects.

In the sphere of religion, we impart significant position to **Durkheim** because the religion which he cultivated for tribal has not been accepted. **Durkheim** declares that religion is not based on faith. Religion only fulfills social needs of the people. In total analysis of religion, he has asserted that religion performs social functions. So according to him religion is nor personal faith but collective faith. Religion is not for the salvation of a special person; but it is for fulfillment of social needs.

Notes The name of Vidyanath Saraswati is also significant. He did study of Kashi or Varanasi.

In the sphere of religion second tradition was of **Max Weber**. He wanted to do comparative study of five big religions. During his life he could not accomplish this comparison but he drew one important conclusion that the moral aspect of religion is very impressive. Illness, death and sorrow are such occurrences which should be seen with moral point of view. In this context we must refer to **Weber's** book 'Sociology of Religion' (1922). Generally, common people look at religion from sentimental and emotional point of view. **Weber** did not agree to this. He had referred to religion as rational. He says that in Calvinism of Christianity, there are such ethics which generate capitalism. After analyzing all the religions of the world, **Weber** established for the first time that religion is not only an emotion but also strategical.

The third tradition of religion of Sociology is of Secularism. This tradition has been developed recently by some sociologists. This ideology asserts that in today's changing references when there is modernism and westernization, the cultures of each state are heading towards Pluralism. Religion is also being devalued. Under such situations, it is not possible that there is existence of only one religion or only one culture in a nation. In America and Europe, of course, majority of people are Christians but there

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are Jews, Hindus, Muslims and followers of other religions also. This is a new concept and nations are being viewed from secularism of religion in this.

Our country stands in third tradition of religion. Secularism has become extensive in developed countries also. In this unit before analyzing religion and society, first of all we will put up this thesis on theoretical basis that the analysis of religion should be done in context of the culture, democracy and development of the country.

Sociology of Religion in India

In trend reports of survey of sociology and social humanism, valuation of research in sociology of religion is being regularly done. This valuation is done by **Surjeet Sinha, L.P. Vidyarthi** and **Baidynath Saraswati. L.P.Vidyarthi** established a new tradition in analysis of India's religion. It should be put like this that he had devised a model for the study of religion. He says that there are some religious places or a sacred geography that connects the reminisces of north to south. Secondly, here along with religion, religious rituals are also important. God wakes up; goes to sleep and other religious rituals are there. **Vidyarthi** tells us about the third that there are particular people to perform religious rituals who are considered to be sacred. **L.P. Vidyarthi** and in his traditions, many students have worked and recently **D.K.Samant** has presented, 'Study of Sacred Complex of Ujjain' (1977).

The name of **Baidynath Saraswati** is also significant among workers of religion. He studied Kashi or Varanasi. According to him, there are three elements of religion in India—(1) Faith in preternatural, (2) Prophet of inspiring faith, and (3) The individual or group believing in preternatural. It should be upheld that **Saraswati** has analysed Hindu religion very elaborately. In sociology of religion in India, the name of **M.N. Sriniwas** is front-runner. In his book 'Religion and Society' among Kurgs of South India, he has done analysis of religion in reference of caste system. It is the accomplishment of this book that he has kept concept of culturalization in sociology. **Milton Singer** in his book,' when a Great Tradition Modernises, 1972 specified a social process. He mentioned that the great tradition of India is that which is found in Sanskrit ideologies. Along with this tradition, there is inner- activity of common men. After defining this tradition, **Singer** made the city of Chennai as the place of study and here he noticed the influence of religion in social life. Except these studies, some more studies have taken place in the sphere of religion. But sociologists did not analyze religion and caste in reference to Secular State. Today there is great need to preview that if we do not approve caste, the state has no religion or it is separate from religion, then what is the impact of religion over our social life?

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Among the people who worked for religion, the name of ..... is significant.
2. In Sociology of religion the third tradition is ..... .
3. Christians and Parsees are religious ..... .
4. In ..... there is no definition of minority groups.

4.2 Different Religious Groups—Their Size, Growth and Regional Distribution

Indian census does not provide any figure of number and increase of caste but it provides figures of religion and its followers. We are able to know size of different religion-followers on those figures. According to census of 1991 about 82.41% of people which includes schedule class and schedule tribes are the followers of

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Hindu religion in India. Though Hindu religion followers are spread in all the states, but in five states they are in minority. These states are—Jammu and Kashmir, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and **Lakshadweep**. Hindu religion is gigantic on its own. And difficulty is that there is no clarity in its definition. Hindu religion can be divided into three communities. They are—(1) Vaishnav (2) Shev and (3) Shakt. The followers of Vaishnav community are devotees of Vishnu. The followers of Shev community worship Shiva mainly. The Shakt followers worship power of Kali and its various shapes.

The division of communities is not clear-cut those who belong to Vaishnav communities, worship deities of Shev and Shakt communities. But when there was opposition of ritualism in Vedic time they were against each other. There is couplet of Sanskrit that if an intoxicated elephant comes before a Vaishnav religion follower, he must not enter the Shiva temple which may be near, to save himself. It will be better for him to die on being trampled under the feet of the elephant rather than to enter a Shiva temple to save his life. In regional districts each king had his own community and he used to construct the temple of his deity. That community was the centre of all governmental and religious activities.

According to census of 1991 in India, 12.12% portion of total population was of Muslims. Generally, this percentage is found all over India. Even in a state like Kerala there are Muslims in great quantity. Majority of Muslims are found in Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, and West Bengal. If we see more extensively the percentage of Muslim population is about 8 to 29 in different states. For example, in Assam the percentage of Muslims is 28.4, in West Bengal it is 23.6, in Uttar Pradesh it is 17.3, in Bihar it is 14.8, in Karnataka it is 11.6, in Maharashtra it is 9.7 and in Andhra Pradesh it is 8.91. Generally, on the topic of language there is controversy concerning Muslims. It is said that the language of Muslims is Urdu and so it is their mother tongue. These type of concepts do not match the figures. It is because only 5% of Muslims speak Urdu and the rest speak local language.

Except Hindu and Islam religion, Jain and Sikh religion are also in minority. Generally, the followers of Sikh religion are found in Punjab and likewise people of Jain religion are found in plenty in Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, etc. Though these two religious followers are found in north and central areas but it is well-known that Sikhs are found in every corner of the world. This is an industrious community. In the same way Jain religion followers are also hard- working and they also maintain their impact in South India. In Marwaris Jain religion followers are also included. Christians and Parsees disciples are in minority. The centralization of Christians is there where British rulers centered their business and regime. So Christians are found in large number in West Bengal and Kerala. In this context there should be reference to the followers of tribal religion. Tribal religion is indicated separately in census. **Ghanshyam Shah** said that the Hindu scorers working for census keep Hindu religion disciples in higher category. The states where there is impact of Christian missions, tribal people have opted Christian religion the states where there are Christian tribal, they are—Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Bihar, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

The number of followers of Parsee religion is in thousands. They are about 70,000 only and they mostly live in South Gujarat and Maharashtra. Parsees worship 'fire' and they are mostly businessmen.

Followers of Buddh religion are 0.60%. There is no caste system in them and their main centre is Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.

Finding of People of India Project

K.S. Singh has given introduction of different communities in first part of People of India Project. He gave his comments regarding religious groups. In this project he studied total 4635 communities. He had given some interesting figures about religion. He had divided different followers of religion in following groups on the basis of shape of the community:

1. The followers of Hindu religion are mostly those who adhere to only one religious community. So from this point of view the percentage of Hindus who follow only Hindu religion is 74.4%. The Muslims also belong to same class and their percentage is 12.6, of the Christians

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is 7.3%, of tribal religion followers are 8.3%, Jains are 2.2%, Buddhs 2.0%, Sikhs 2.8%, Jews 0.2% and Parsees 0.19%.

2. The people who follow two religions are Hindus and Sikhs. It means they adhere to both Hindu and Sikh religion. In this class there are Hindu-Christians, Hindu–Islam, Hindu-Jains, Sikh-Buddh, and Christian-tribal followers of religion.
3. Such people who follow three religions at a time are those who follow Hindu, Muslim and Sikh religion. In the same way there are some people who follow Hindu, Muslim and Christian religion at the same time.

Did You Know? Except Hindu and Islam, Jain and Sikh religions are also in minority.

Levels and Forms of Hinduism

In People of India edition one, **K.S. Singh** has pointed out levels and forms of Hinduism. It means, at which level the devotion of religion is observed in family, caste or village? It is also to be seen what is the form of the deity which is worshipped—is it a local deity, of that area or of great tradition? It was known from this investigation that 61.2% of Hindu community worships the deities of the family and 31.6% worships deity of their clan. On the other side, 67.7% of the community worships deities of their village or areas. Out of 4635 communities whose survey was done by the project, 68.4% worships traditional deities such as—Brahma, Vishnu, Shiv and Kali. Out of 493 communities 428 communities of Muslims worship Peers with whom they have personal and family relation. From the investigations by the project, it had also been known that 69.58% of communities call priest or Maulvi at the time of birth, wedding and death and 20% tribals go to Bhope or Shaman to save themselves from ghost and spirits and to recuperate from illness.

If we do concrete analysis of the worship of the deities, it can be concluded that more than half of Indian community worship their local deities and plenary Hindu deities. This idolatry is found from personal level to village and city areas.

4.3 Social and Educational Levels of Different Religious Groups

The entire life circle of Indian Society moves around rituals of religion and worship. No day is a general day. Either there is celebration of any birthday, or any wedding or sometimes death. Festivals and fast, etc. keep on coming. Who observes all this? What is its relation with any class or caste? What is their educational level? All these questions are interesting. In its root, important thing is that; do different followers of religion illiterate and is the relation of religion with illiteracy? One more important matter is this also whether different followers of religion belong to lower caste or lower class. Or is it not like this that people of higher caste and higher class devote more time and money in worship? All these questions are concerned with sociological reference.

In last two decades the factual information that we got about Indian society, tells us that recently some new God and Goddesses have emerged. Traditionally, the legislators have specified four sacred places—Rameshwaram, Dwarka, Varanasi and Uttarakhand—in which Yamunotri, Kedarnath, Gangotri and Badrinath are included. Except these big and traditional pilgrimages, today many new great places have come up. In these pilgrimages Tirupati (Balaji), Nathdwara and Vaishno Devi are also there. Apart from these many local and area-wise God and Goddesses have also arisen. Due to it, tourism has greatly developed. These facts reveal that in different followers of religion the expansion of

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education increased. Now they know about new **God** and **Goddesses**. It is certain that with increasing God and Goddesses expansion of literacy is linked.

Capitalistic feeling is associated with the social and educational level of different followers of religion. When **Max Weber** gave his analysis regarding the subject of Hinduism he added that in Hinduism there are not such customs which can develop capitalism. Recently, the meetings and criticism took place and it was stated that it is the various groups of Hinduism who have initiated capitalism in this country. Jainism and Vallabh community which are spread in Gujarat and Maharashtra, have taken up many customs from their religion and they are prosperous. A Jain disciple living in southern corner of India goes out to Bihar to visit religious places of Bihar. Same thing applies to Vallabh Community also. A Gujarati religist can be seen in any place of pilgrimage of India. A Gujarati resident, if coming from America directly goes to Nathdwara before reaching his own home. All these facts inform us that different disciples of Hinduism are well-placed form education and finance point of view. Here we must say that there is a group of the disciples that is not educated but they reach the pilgrim centre by manipulating money by whatsoever means. This is perhaps his conservatism.

Muslim disciples from education point of view stand lowest. From economic and educational perspective they are weak. That's why they are only able to visit local or zonal Dargaah. But in this group, handful of people are those who can be called of noble descent as they stand educationally and economically at higher status so the number of people going for Hajj is regularly increasing. This increase indicates that Muslim natives are affluent in sphere of education and wealth.

It is very difficult to link divergent disciples' with education and economic status. It has been noticed that an educated disciple does not go to temple or mosque; it is apparent that an economically well-to–do but uneducated disciple whenever gets a chance must go to visit his God. Fact is that the sphere of religion is sphere of faith and it is not linked with education, wealth or laggardness.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/ False:

5. D.E. Smith says that communal riots are a great problem for India.
6. The history of religion-transformation commenced in 1805.
7. In Sri Lanka, Christians are in minority and for them conflicts keep on emerging.
8. In our country there are 5635 castes and all of them are unified.

4.4 Problems of Religious Minorities

Minorities in India have been going through the period of crisis recently. There were riots against Sikhs in big cities in last days. A ghastly massacre was seen. Riots between Hindus and Muslims are very common in some states. Recently, there were attacks on Christians in Orissa and Gujarat. There are many minorities groups in our country. Out of them Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are in great predicament. When we are trying to build a nation which is democratic as well as secular, the difficulties of minorities become very important. Such problems are not of long duration for a new nation. In Europe same type of problem occurred in the sphere of country and religion. Before the movement of reformation, there were conflicts between church and country, in fact, they were conflicts of Power. The Protestants presented a new doctrine. According to that many minority religious groups came up. Gradually, Europe solved the conflicts of religion and state and it was decided that the existence of the church will be separated and all religious disciples were awarded equal citizenship.

Except India, the religious minorities of south Asia are going through the situation of crisis. In China, generally, confucius disciples have been given higher status and Buddhists have been put on one side.

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Almost same type of situation is in Singapore and Thailand. Here Hindus are in majority but Muslims, Sikhs and only some Parsees are there. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, Hindu disciples are in minority. Christians are in minority in whole South and South-East Asia. There is only one exception of them in Philippines; where Roman Catholics are in majority. In Sri Lanka, Christians are in minority and for them there is emergency on every second day. When we discuss minorities, there is problem of religion. The religious group which is small in number is encircled in critical moment. After noticing these problems we can say that at least in South-Asia there are many problems of religious minorities.

Meaning of Religious Minority Groups

In Indian constitution there is no definition of minority groups. In political science minorities can be defined on the basis of their number. This is a relative concept. For example, one group is in minority in one state, but in other states it can be in majority. In Jammu and Kashmir the Muslims are in majority but in Gujarat and Rajasthan they are in minority. Hindus are in majority in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra but in Jammu and Kashmir and likewise in Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland, they are in minority. Some time ago the High Court of a state gave a judgment, according to that minority groups are small in size in comparison to majority groups. There are many dimensions of minority group. One of them is religion. Except religion, language is also considered to be an important feature.

In our country from the last few years, a new trend has started. On the basis of religion some groups have been declared small-group. Jain disciples are the latest example of this. In almost all the states Jain disciples are in minority. When this declaration becomes extensive, there will be such movements in all the states in which religious minorities will try to procure the status of minority group.

Minority Group—Historical Background

We shall have to look into history to understand the current crisis of minority groups in India. From the beginning of 1920 to till 1935 the British Government started the process of constituting 'Prantiya Dhara Sabha' here. When this process got some speed, Hindu-Muslim communalism sprung up before us. This communalism ensued some impediment in the struggle for independence. The colonial government concluded that there is no mutual faith between Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims put a demand that there should be declaration of Separate Electorate for Muslim minorities. In 1906, in the leadership of Aga Khan, a Muslim representation met the Governor General Lord Minto. He accepted the demand of that representative-group.

But the acceptance of Lord Minto was not approved by Lord Morley who was minister of state of India. Pressure was applied on him and in 1909 separate electorate had been declared for the Muslims. According to that, the seats were reserved for the Muslims in Indian Legislative Council and in Provincial Council. For these reserved seats only Muslims could cast votes. Except this place of voting Muslims were given right to vote in general electorate area.

The controversy of separate electorate for Muslims continued later on also. In 1916, Lucknow–Poona Pact materialized and Muslim Electorate was acknowledged. In 1919 this demand also came that like Muslims, Sikhs also should be awarded separate electorate. When in 1947 partition of India took place, there was a very big agenda behind it that separate nation should be created for Hindus and for Muslims. The theory of **Jinnah** is called 'Two Nation Theory'. Pakistan was created and the Muslims, who wanted to shift there, went away; the Hindus who wanted to come to India, arrived. On this occasion **Chester Bowles** gave a very apt comment on the plight of Muslim minority:

"This is a great accomplishment of **Jawahar Lal Nehru** that he has declared India as Secular state. This declaration will be helpful for those Muslims who did not go to Pakistan and decided to lead a peaceful life in India and worship as per their choice."

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Chester Bowles further added that for any secular state this is a great challenge how is religious minority treated there. **D.E. Smith** observed that communal riots are a great problem for India. If the problems of minorities are not solved properly, the secularism of the state would be in danger. This secularism is going through the risky way recently. A party of ruling political parties declared that Indian culture is basically Hindu culture. If this theory is approved of what will happen to the existence of the culture of religious minority groups? The constitution explains that here there will be several cultures and each culture will have its autonomous identity. Second theory is of secularism. It wants that the state and religion should be absolutely separate and if this happens we shall create a composite culture.

Major Religious Minority Groups

If we examine from historical view, there are three main religious minority groups in India—Muslim, Sikh and Christian. According to census of 1991, in India 12.12% of total population are Muslims, 1.80% are the Sikhs and 2.30% are the Christians. Prior to independence, there was no risk to Christians though they were in minority. In British India and in Indian states, Christian missions worked without any restrictions. In some states they were given special concessions. Their problems increased recently when political parties of Hinduism ideologies took hold of the power. Since last one decade the governments of some states have been discouraging Christian activities. Such states are—Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and Gujarat. Generally, the activities of missionaries and church are seen in offensive mood. It has become difficult for these minorities to maintain its ethnic identity. If the state does not interfere in the activities of these missionaries, at least it should check energetically the attack by the people of having conventional ideology.

The minority of Muslims is a powerful group. This group has seen many ups and downs since it has arrived in India. When they came here in medieval age they were the rulers. Later on during British rule they assumed the status of secondary citizen. Today, in independent India everybody has similar citizenship. Under such conditions this group expects the same constitutional rights which are available to minority groups.

Third religious minority group is the Sikhs. Generally, Sikhs are linked with Hinduism in partial form. When Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 was implemented, it was stated that this Act will be implemented similarly on all religious minority groups such as Hindus, Buddhas, Jains and Sikhs. Tolerance can be seen in these groups also. Sikhs have demanded separate state—Khalistan.

The elaborate discussion on religious minority groups of Muslims, Christians and Sikhs will be taken up in next few pages.

4.5 Communal Tensions

India is a pluralistic society and the constitution gives freedom to maintain the identity of each ethnic group. There are 4635 castes in India but they are not unified. There is hierarchical system in castes. Each caste is a world in itself. It has discrete identity. In the same way religious groups also are not unified or of the same caste. In Hindus there are Shev, Vaishnav and Shakta. In Muslims one side there are Shiya and Sunni and on the other side there are Ashraf, Ajalaf and Arajal. There is one more religious Takka in Muslim society which is called Daudi Bohra. Khojas have their separate identity. In Sikhs and Christians, there are many communities. In this secular state all these groups have been living for a long time. In spite of having historical closeness there is continuous tension among them. In some groups this tension is historical. For example, Hindus and Muslims have usually been living under tension. These days there grew tension among small religious groups. Hindus and Sikhs, Hindu and Christians quarrel among themselves. In fact, a sort of ethnic controversy has been going on among these groups. The main reason of this fight is political interference. When the political parties for the

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fulfilment of their interests interfere in the activities of religious minority groups, tension emerges. Sociologists have done lot of research on social tension and riots. The analysis of these riots has been done by different ideologies. For example, Vipinchandra in Communalism in Modern India, 1984 looks at Indian communalism from the point of view of Marxism. On the other side, S.C. Dubey in Tradition and Development 1990 does analysis of communalism in functional reference. Asgar Ali Engineer is primarily a secular writer; is a Bohra. He in Communal Rights in Post Independent India has done analysis of Indian communalism on the basis of historical and empirical level. All these studies clarify the thing that in spite of India being declared as secular state the presence of social tension indicates that absence of democratic values here. So we shall point out tensions of some groups here.

Hindu-Muslim Tension

Hindu-Muslim tensions are very old out of social tensions; they are historical. Muslims invaded India in 10th century. Those invaders wanted to ransack wealth of this country. They did not want to become rulers. Later on Qutb-ud-din Aibak established Delhi regime for the first time. After its downfall Mughals came. In mughals there were some rulers who were conservative, and some were liberals. Akbar tried to unite Hindu-Muslim but other mughal rulers broke temples. After the downfall of mughals, British rulers came. In the beginning, they gave preference to Hindus in comparison to Muslims. In the mutiny of 1857, Hindus fought against English in close alliance with Muslims. But later on, when the war for independence became intense politics came between the relations of Hindu and Muslims. Now English took advantage of this friction and riots took place between these two groups.

The experts and sociologists of political science studied deeply the communal tensions of Hindu-Muslim. Some facts clearly appear before us out of their research. First thing is that the riots between Hindus and Muslims did not take place in entire country. Social scientists picked up about 16 cities which were sensitive to the riots. Moradabad, Meerut, Aligarh, Agra and Varanasi are the cities of Uttar Pradesh. Aurangabad of Maharashtra is supposed to be sensitive for the riots. Ahmedabad of Gujarat also comes in this category. Hyderabad of Andhra Pradesh, Jamshedpur and Patna of Bihar, Silchar and Guwahati of Assam, Kolkata of West Bengal, Bhopal of Madhya Pradesh Srinagar of Jammu and Kashmir and Cuttack of Odisha are the sensitive states. It is generally taken for granted that tension between Hindu and Muslim is comparatively less in South India. Here there is good rapport between both of the communities.

Causes of Hindu-Muslim Tension

There is not only one reason of tension between two communities or religious groups. Social scientists have made a long list of causes. Here we shall point out some of the main causes:

1. Hindus has this prejudice that Muslims are the aggressors and they had robbed the wealth of Hindus, constructed mosques and demolished the temples. They are historically offenders.
2. English people in order to fulfill their interest instigated Hindus and Muslims to fight against each other.
3. After the division of the country one group of Muslims regularly favoured Pakistan. Today also they live here but sing praises of Pakistan. They do not imbibe Indian nationalism.
4. Even today Muslims procure foreign wealth with deceitful means and try to establish their supremacy in India. They reside in India but work as foreign agent.
5. Political parties have used Muslims only for vote bank. No constructive work has been done for their development so far. Even today, comparatively they are poor, their women are quite laggard and in administrative and technical field, their impact is not there.

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The tension between Hindus and Muslims is not only because of Muslims. Hindus have adopted such feelings which assume that Muslims are traitors. Some political parties also look at Muslims with negligence. Hindus have some historical prejudices against Muslims which let not foster feeling of love between them. From whichever ideology do we view this tension, the Muslims of our secular country definitely do not consider themselves safe and this is the greatest challenge of our secularism of religion.

Hindu-Sikh Tension

Sikhs are less than 2% of total population. Although this caste not only lives in entire country but also in foreign countries too, their 'home' is Punjab. They have the largest population there. Sikhs initiated their movement in the decade of 1980. Sikhs started an organized movement to create Khalistan. In 1984 under Operation of Blue Star, the Indian Government confiscated large haul of weapons from Golden Temple in Amritsar. In 1984, when Indira Gandhi was assassinated by a Sikh, the riots ensued in Delhi and other states against the Sikhs. Many Sikhs were killed. Their houses were put on fire and their property was looted. On the other side, some Sikhs also got aggressive and killed various Hindus in trains and buses. Many of the Sikhs tormented by these riots came back to Punjab from various parts of India. In May, 1988 the government started Black Thunder Operation. This time again the efforts were made to eject extremists out of Golden Temple. Many Hindus were also killed in this. These killings were executed by the Sikhs. After 1993 notable improvement was seen in the relations of Sikhs and Hindus. There grew sympathy between the two.

Hindu-Christian Tensions

Christians are 2.30% out of total population of India. Although this group resides throughout the country, but generally this group is found in South India, West Bengal and Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland. Being in minority, Christians have not shown any ill feeling towards Hindus for last many years. Recently due to impact of ideology of Hinduism, many attacks were carried out on the spheres of activities of Christian Missionaries. Such incidents occurred in the villages of Orissa and Dang district of Gujarat. Generally, Christian Missionaries work in villages. So the tension between Hindus and Christians is seen only in villages. This group feels itself insecure as it resides with the Hindus.

Ethnic Tension

The tension is not only between Hindu-Muslim and Hindi-Sikh; it has taken a new shape of ethnic tension in West India. Here in Maharashtra, it was affirmed that there is no place of outside residents except Maharashtrians there. In a place like Mumbai, Marwaris, bhayyas of Uttar Pradesh and Christians of Kerala were in great crisis. Many residents fled Mumbai in fear of probable riots. All this happened because they said that Mumbai or Maharashtra is only for Sons of the Soils.

In Assam ethnic tension is of different kinds. If we see, whatever modern development that has taken place in Assam is due to the people of outside Assam. It is right that outside people who live in Assam are more prosperous in comparison to original inhabitants of Assam. All India Assam Student Union and All Assam Gana Parishad movements have demanded that all non-Assamese should be turned out of Assam. This movement of Assam continued from 1979 to 1985 and after that on 15th August, 1985, an agreement was signed. During this movement thousands of Bengalis, Marwaris and non-Assamese became victim of death. According to figures, more than 1000 women and children had been the victims of this movement. Bodo Movement is also a kind of ethnic movement. Even now this movement is active for independent Bodo State.

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4.6 Conversion

From past few days arguments have been going on in our country in the area of religion. This has been said that Christian missionaries are converting tribes to Christianity in big numbers. And Christians say that they are being forcibly converted to Hinduism through purification. It seems that both these processes have got into the heads of tribes. One religious community is making them Christian, the other Hindu. Whatever it may be these tribes will loss their identity. Further here this also has happened that thousands of untouchables have acquired Buddhism. This is also heard that inferior Muslims are being converted to Hindus. In totality in this country the process of religious conversion sometimes goes on evidently, sometimes insidiously.

When we talk about religious conversion then two concepts come forward. First concept is of religious conversion and second is of religious Proselytization. Religious conversion is to give up one religion and acquire another religion from one's own will. In such conversion change of heart is essential. A person is influenced by another religion, self flame ignites in him and he trusts that this new religion will give him enlightenment; this is known as religious conversion. Second concept is of religious Proselytization. In this the person is influenced by the propaganda of another religion, he acquires its outer qualities. And in this way he accepts the other religion. This is religious conversion but in this spiritual enlightenment does not come. This is the reason why it is called as religious Proselytization.

Historicity of Conversion

The history of religious conversion begins from 1705. During British rule Catholic came to India to do missionary work here. At that time East India Company was a professional company. It had the policy that it will not interfere in the country's religious life. It was secular. Slowly, Christian religists started religious conversion and then in 1662 British Government announced that there will be no forced conversions of local people and no interference will be done in tribal life. This was also said that in Hindi areas there will be no cow killings. But in 1705, relations between government and Christian missionaries reached a decisional situation. If you see then the government's viewpoint towards the programs of missionaries was different in one province from the other. Somewhere this was understood that the work of Christian missionaries is a good work and in a visible or invisible way it promotes the English interests. Such viewpoint was positive. Another viewpoint was this that Christian missionaries are disrupting the religious arrangement here and hence they should not do so. This viewpoint was negative.

In 1813, it was decided that it is the legal right of missionaries that they enter British India and for doing this they will have to obtain license from British Government. With the right to give license the government will establish control over these missionaries. This policy went on and later on by local pressure this policy had to be changed. Now religious conversion started by missionaries. When the happenings of religious conversion started increasing then this whole issue became a controversy. It was said that missionaries propagate religion and if by getting influenced from it some people convert their religion then it is their right. If we see in today's context then the constitution gives every religious community the right to propagate their own religion. It gives the right for religious preaching and if someone converts his religion by getting influenced by this propaganda or preaching then there is no fault of the community in this.

Commonly, the issue of religious conversion is linked with Hindu religists and Christians. From British times Christians have been doing religious conversions of tribes and inferior castes. Recently, Hindu religists want to stop this religious conversion through the means of different organizations. They want to re-convert the converted people. And controversy starts from here only. Hindu religists complain that Christian religion is, in fact, a foreign religion and religious conversion done by it is leaving Indian culture. Christian religists refute this blame. They say that the Cerian Christian church in Kerala is the

oldest. There this religion is older than even European Christian religion and therefore Christianity is India's original religion, its native religion. Second rebuttal is that Christian religion does not impose western culture on local people. It does localization of western culture. Biggest fact is that Christian religion never arranges communal riots in India. There argument is very general: Every person has the right to propagate his religion and when they become convinced by this propaganda, and then they have the right to change their religious beliefs. C.P. Matthew has given an example for religious conversion in this way. He says that in any electoral propaganda one political party propagates their own party in front of another political party; and it has the right to do this propaganda. If some people cast votes by becoming influenced by that political party's propaganda then there is no fault of that political party. If you want to truly see then the issue of religious conversion is linked to a person's religion, his religious beliefs. In reality it is a philosophical issue and state does not play any role in it.

Task Present your thoughts on religious conversion.

4.7 Religious Fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism is prevalent today in our country and western Asia. In Afghanistan Talibans cut the throat of social justice by preaching religion. Whole religious tolerance was put on the shelf. Literal meaning of Taliban is—student of Kuran or Islam, i.e., learning person. This Taliban group learns from the religious scriptures and applies it on real life. Islam is a bookish religion. Whatever is written in the books is a hard line and it cannot be crossed. Here in Pakistan Mullah and Maulvi are fundamentalists. Here in this country fundamentalism is fanaticism of Hindus and Muslims. On one side Hindus are fanaticisms who want to again bring ancient India and on the other side Muslims are fundamentalists who want to establish their original Arabic culture here and on the third side another process is going on in the country. This process is of modernization. In the words of Yogendra Singh, Indian traditions are rapidly being modernized. On one side, there are three processes—Hindu fanaticism, Muslim fanaticism and modernization. And amidst these three are Indian society and its economic, social and political culture.

Meaning of Religious Fundamentalism

The theoretical interpretation of fundamentalism has been done by Montgomery Watt in his book Islamic Fundamentalism and Modernity, 1983. He says that in reality this concept is delusory. In its place fanaticism or dogmatism should be used. When any dogmas of a specific religion look at the whole world in relation to their own religion then this is fundamentalism. In reality fundamentalism is nothing else but maximum form of fanaticism. Fundamentalists look at not only religion but the whole society from the viewpoint of fundamentalism. In this those problems are also included which are non-religious. Montgomery Watt says that fundamentalism is religion revivalism in itself through which beliefs in religious past, religious processes and work systems are given a new life. In this way in India and western Asia the meaning of fundamentalism that is accepted is fanaticism dogmatism and resurrection. At our place the meaning of fundamentalism is Hindu-Muslim fundamentalism.

When example of Indian fundamentalism is given then a mention of 6th December, 1992 in Ayodhya is always done when Hindu fundamentalists demolished Babri Mosque. Those people who demolished this mosque they were believers of Hindu ideology. Example of Muslim fundamentalism is the Jihad happening in Kashmir. Here not only Pakistan's but western Asia's fundamentalist Muslims also are working for terrorists in the name of Islam. Fundamentalism does not work on logic. It makes religious intolerance its tool with closed eyes.

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When Hindu fundamentalists bring their ideology into application then they say that they want to keep their traditions alive. Hindu or Muslim fundamentalism, both are lethal for nation building. Anywhere there is fundamentalism; it pushes behind the process of nation building. And in countries like India where there is pluralism of cultures, fundamentalism makes the whole constitution a failure. This concept is lethal for both Hindus and Muslims.

4.8 Summary

- Learned scholars of political science and sociologists have done deep study of Hindu-Muslim communist tensions. From these studies some facts clearly come forward. First fact is that it is not true that Hindu-Muslim riots happen in the whole country. Social scientists have recognized 16 such cities which are sensitive towards riots. In these cities of Uttar Pradesh are Muradabad, Meerut, Aligarh, Agra and Varanasi. In Maharashtra, Aurangabad is considered sensitive towards riots, in Gujarat, Ahmedabad comes in this category. In Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad and Jamshedpur and Patna in Bihar, Silchar and Guwahati in Assam, Kolkata in West Bengal, Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh, Srinagar in Jammu and Kashmir and Cuttack in Orissa are sensitive cities. It is believed that in south India generally Hindu-Muslim tensions are quite less than expected. Here there is good rapport between both communities.

4.9 Keywords

- **Religious:** Related to religion
- **Fundamentalism:** Religious fanaticism

4.10 Review Questions

1. Describe problems of Religious Minorities.
2. What do you understand by Communal Tensions?
3. Comment on 'Religious Conversion'.
4. What is Religious Fundamentalism? Clarify.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Baidynath Saraswati	2. Secularism	3. Minority	4. Indian Constitution
5. True	6. False	7. True	8. False

4.11 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science— *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Political Science— *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

3. History of Political Science— *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics— *Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

Unit 5: Fundamentalism

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know communal Violence.
- Explain social Barriers Theory.
- Discuss theory of Polarisation and Cluster Effect.

Introduction

There can be two devices to counter the challenge of communalism and communal violence—of long duration or short duration. The device for long duration is—first, to initiate the process of making people devoid of communalism at different levels. These levels can be: to explain to them that communal recognitions are false, to explain about the subject of political roots of communalism and socio-economic roots. The communal elements call facts as problems. They are not really problems. The devices that they suggest are not correct.

5.1 Communal Violence

In communal violence two divergent religion related people are involved who become active against each other. They have enmity, sentimental anger, exploitation, social discrimination and social negligence for each other. The unity of highest category of one community for the other is sustained between tensions and polarization. The aim of attack is the members of 'enemy' community. Generally, during communal rights there is no leader who can stall the situation of riots or control them. So it can be said that communal violence is primarily based on the feelings of hatred, enmity and revenge.

Communal violence grew in both magnitude and values with political communalism. Gandhiji was the first victim of this and afterwards in decades of 1970 and 1980 several people were killed. In December 1992 after the demolition of Babri mosque, in the beginning of 1993 bomb blast in Mumbai and there was considerable rise in communal riots in Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh

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and Kerala. Some political parties tolerate non-caste religious communalism whereas some encourage them. The recent examples of such type of tolerance are revealed by some political leaders and some organizational activities of some political parties which were clear in attack on Christian Missionaries in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Allahabad. From the emergency period of mid decade of 1970, it was beginning of entry of criminal elements in main stream of politics. This incident has mixed so much in Indian politics that religious fanaticism and amalgamation of religion and politics have increased in different dimensions Political parties and political leaders in order to save our society from the impact of negative inspiration, adopt the outlook of, ' Holier than thou' instead of collective fight.

Hindu organizations blame Muslims and Christians that they convert Hindus forcefully in their religion. This transformation of religion has been forcing or optional, without indulging in any controversy, it can be said that to raise this agenda is just Fanaticism. Hinduism has always been tolerant and it discusses human family. So it has been accepted that the principle of 'Hinduism' which is plagiarizing the Indian politics, has nothing to do with Hindu ideology. Now it is the time when the secular leaders and parties should not neglect political and election thoughts and not criticize religious organizations. We should take steps against those who spoil peace and stability with their statements and generate danger for unity of India and Pluralistic Identity.

Features of Communal Riots

It is clear from the investigation of main communal riots of last five decades:

(1) Communal riots are much more inspired by politics than religious obsession. Madan commission which investigated riots of Maharashtra in May, 1970, forcefully asserted that the architects of communal tensions are communal people and some sections of politicians. They are all India's or local level leaders who take advantage of every opportunity to strengthen their political situation, enhance their prestige and try to improve their image in the society by giving communal colour to every incident. Thus, they show themselves as protector of the rights of the society and contractor of religion in the view of the public. (2) Except political interests economic interests also play a great role in instigating communal struggles. (3) In comparison to South and East India, the communal riots are more common in North India. (4) The recurrence of communal riots is more possible in the cities where the riots have already taken place once or twice than the cities where these riots have never taken place. (5) Most of the riots take place around religious festivals. (6) The use of hazardous weapons is on increase in riots

Notes It is essential to describe some causes for communist outlook of communal violence.

Incidence of Communal Riots

During the period of 1946–48, the communal frenzy was at its peak in India, whereas the period between 1950 to 1963 can be called the time of communal good faith and peace. Political stability and economic development contributed a lot for improvement of communal state. After 1963, there was increase in riots. Grim riots took place in different parts of East India, such as Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Rourkela and Ranchi in 1964. Between 1968 to 1971, one more wave of riots began when the political leadership was weak in the states and the centre.

In December 1992, after the demolition of controversial religious place in Ayodhya, within five days 1000 people were killed because of communal frenzy. There were 236 people in Uttar Pradesh, 64 in

Karnataka, 74 in Assam, 30 in Rajasthan and 20 in West Bengal who were killed. After this violence, the government enforced ban on Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajarang Dal, Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS) and Jamayate Islamic Sangh up to December 1992. In January 1993, in Mumbai bomb blast and later on in April 1993, in Calcutta, in communal riots of Maharashtra and in other states more than 200 Hindus and Muslims lost their lives. Immediately, after Mumbal bomb blast the well-known Imam of Delhi said, "Now primarily it is the question of existence. There cannot be a refusal to pick up weapons in order to be alive." The leaders of Sangh family claimed that India is a Hindu Nation, and Hindu culture is its rightful culture. Muslims are actually Mohammed Hindu and in Hindustani definition all are Hindus. This is an aggressive outlook of Hindu-Muslim frenzy which is a cause of communal riots. In 1961, out of 350 districts of India 61 districts were found sensitive, in 1979 it was 216, in 1986 it was 186, and in 1987 it was 254, in 1989 it was 286. Except loss of life, there is damage to property and economic activities during communal riots. For example, between 1983 to 1986 worth 14 crores of property was damaged (Times of India, July 25, 1986), in three years of 1986 to 1988 in incidences of riots, 1024 lives were lost and 12,352 people were injured.

In 1993, in Maharashtra, Bengal and other states, after the communal riots, no serious communal riots took place, but in May 1996, in Calcutta again riots took place due to disobedience of police when there was a demand to take a particular way for Moharrum procession. It was found out that riots did not take place all of a sudden but they were pre-planned and were held in political enmity background. The land mafia and smugglers played a prime role in spreading communal violence. Thus, the recurrence of communal riots in different states from time to time indicates that as long as, political leaders and fanatics keep on using communalism as a powerful means to fulfil their aims, or the politicization will go on, till then our country will continue to bear tension.

Causes of Communal Violence

Different learned men have been discussing the problem of communal violence in different backgrounds, citing different causes and suggesting different measures to counter it. Marxism associates it with economic disorderliness and calls it class struggle between 'haves' and 'have-nots' to have control and sole-right on the powers of market. Political scientist addresses it as 'power struggle'. The sociologists agree that it is an incident of social tension or time-related happenings. Religious experts agree that it is an accomplishment of violent dogmas and conformists.

Attention is needed for classification of communalism. The analysis is that economic, social and political conditions sometimes create such crises and problems for the people that though they try to take them in their control but they are unsuccessful. Without trying to find right causes of this failure, they think the other community (commercially more powerful than they are) to be the cause of their problem which is produced and shown erratically.

After independence though our government claimed to have adopted the 'Socialist' economic system, still practically the economic development was based on capitalist pattern. In this form, development did not take place on the required rate so that it may have solved the problem of unemployment, poverty and insecurity. It would have saved the society from frustration, competition for petty jobs and rescue from financial problems. On the other side, development of capitalism has provided prosperity for some sections only which has given birth to extreme inequality, new social tensions and social worries. The aspirations of those who were benefited were on high flight. They have fear of their newly procured prosperity. Their comparative prosperity causes social envy in those who failed to progress or inferior in power and honour. The official effort for the solution of the problems of religious minorities instigates the feelings of those prosperous people who are majority in number and they have got economic, social and political power by hook or crook. They feel that any progress of minority community on social scale may pose a danger for their social dominance. Thus, both the communities are obsessed with enmity and apprehension and communalism is being nourished.

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Especially, this communalism impresses urban poor and rural unemployed whose number rapidly increased with lop-sided economic and social development and migration to cities in large number. The anger of these baseless and frustrated people change all of a sudden in violence whenever there is any chance. The communal riots give appropriate scope for this. But many learned men have not considered it unbiased.

Is religion responsible for communalism? There are such scholars who do not believe that there is no role of religion in it. For example, Vipin Chandra (1984) acknowledges that neither communalism is instigated by religion nor religion is an object of political communalism; even then communalist individual grounds his politics on religious factors, uses religious recognition as organizational theory and uses religion to activate people in collective period of communalism. Religious factors are used to cover up non-religious social needs, aspirations and struggles. Religiousness or 'too much of impact of religion in the life of an individual', or too much of interference of religion in other sphere beyond one's faith gives rise to religious theory and receptivity of politics. With this, religious obscurantism, narrow-mindedness and obstinacy does the work of dividing those people whom life and history have brought together. In this meaning, the creation of different religions, culture techniques and theoretical conventions, there are many elements which by different means related to communalism. Their analysis and lop have to be discussed in various religions.

Did You Know? Public communication also sometimes contributes to produce communalism in its own way?

Some experts have given multi-factorial outlook in which they give importance to various factors. In the ideology of communalism ten factors have been recognized (Saroliya, 1987–92). They are: social, religious, Political, economical, legal, psychological, administrative, historical, local and international. Social factors include social traditions, the conventional image of religious communities, ego or inequality of class or caste and social status based on religion; religious factors include religious epitome of tolerance and downfall in values of secularism, narrow and dogmatic religious faith, use of religion for political purpose and communal ideology of the politicians; political factors include religion based politics, political organization of dominance of religion, election campaign with religious propaganda, political interference in religious matters, the instigation and support for movements by the politicians for their selfish interests, political approval of communal violence and failure of political leadership in stopping religious feelings; Economic factors include economic exploitation and discrimination of minority community, their unbalanced development, insufficient opportunities in the competitive market, non-expansive economic system, the arrangement of displacement of workers of religious minority and of their employment and financial aid by gulf countries to instigate religious conflicts; legal factors include the lack of equal citizen-code, some concessions and special measures for some communities, special status to some states, reservation policy and special laws for different communities; psychological factors include social prejudice, conventional outlook, skepticism, enmity and indifference for other communities, rumors, feeling of fear and wrong information/ wrong meaning, wrong representation announced by public communication; administrative factors include the lack of rapport between police and other administrative units, defective instruments and untrained policemen, police excesses and inertness; Historical factors include foreign invasions, harm to religious institutions, the efforts of transformation of religion, the policy of 'divide and rule' of colonial rulers, agony of division, past communal riots, old controversies of land, temples and mosques; Local factors include religious processions, slogan-shouting, rumors, land-conflicts, local anti-social elements and group-resentment; International factors include training and economic aid from other countries, schemes of other countries to weaken and shatter India and support of communal organization.

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Except these outlooks, we need to have holistic point of view to understand the problem of communalism and communal violence. This outlook emphasizes on various factors and separate major factors from minor factors. We can divide these factors in four sub-groups—conspicuous, mainly cooperative, and minor aggravating and clearly non-cooperative. The special factors are—communal politics and support of politicians to fanatics, prejudices (the discriminations which incite, indifference, physical attack, and rejection), the development of communal organizations, and conversion and proselytisation. Main attention can be given to fanatics, unsocial elements and economic interests who play a great role in spreading violence in rival communities.

My research concept is that communal violence is instigated by fanatics, initiated by anti-social elements, supported by political activists; financial aid is given by those who have some selfish interests and inertness of police and administrators. These factors are direct causes of communal violence, but the cause which is helpful in spreading violence is—the ecological layout of a particular city which is helpful to rioters to escape without being punished. In the centre of India, the riots of Baroda and Ahmedabad, in Gujarat, the riots of Meerut, Aligarh and Moradabad in Uttar Pradesh, the riots in Jamshedpur in Bihar and in Jammu and Kashmir in North India, riots in Hyderabad and Kerala in South India and riots of Assam of East India affirm my research.

It is essential to analyze some factors for the holistic outlook of communal violence. One of them is logic less feeling of discrimination in Muslims. Till 1998, the percentage of Muslims has been in IAS 2.9, in IPS 2.5, in banks 2.2, and in judicial services 6.2, So Muslims think that discrimination is done with them in this sphere and appropriate opportunities are not given to them. But the fact is, the number of Muslims who compete for these services is very less. The feeling of discrimination imbibed in Muslims is ridiculous and logic less.

The second factor is the flow of money from gulf and other countries. Lot of Muslims go to Gulf countries to procure handsome salary and prosperity. These Muslims and local Sheikh send money for construction of mosques, open Madarasa, and to run donation aided Muslim institutions. Thus, it has been assumed that this money is helpful for Muslim fanatics. Pakistan is such a country whose rulers always had feeling of enmity for India. After Nawab Sharif in the period of Musharaff's government it increased all the more. The powerful aristocrat section of this country is continuously engaged in generating instability in India. After the Kargil War it has been proved that Pakistan has been supporting Muslim extremists by providing them with training and military weapons. Efforts to produce such type of instability by Pakistan and other governments have created a feeling of distrust and doubt in the minds of Hindus and Muslims. The same thing can be said about Hindu extremists and Hindu organizations that instigate feeling of enmity against Muslims and Muslims organizations. Such examples, as the controversy of birth place of Rama- Babri mosque, conflict for Krishna birth place in Mathura and row over shifting of mosque situated nearby, the conflict between Kashi-vishwanath temple and nearby situated mosque in Varanasi, controversy over a mosque in Sambhal as it has been claimed that it was a Shiva temple which existed there in the period of Prithvi Raj Chouhan. Ill-feelings between Hindus and Muslims increased when one Muslim leader appealed to Muslims not to take part in Republic Day and he asked the Muslims to boycott 26th January and observe it as 'Black Day'. All these incidences increased malice between two communities.

Mass media also sometimes in its own way contribute to instigate tension between two communities. sometimes news published in newspaper is based on rumors and misinterpretations. Such news acts as adding fuel to fire and increases communal tension. In 1969 such things happened in Ahmedabad, as a newspaper 'Sevak' reported that some Indian ladies were stripped and raped by the Muslims. Though the news was repealed the next day, but sabotage had already taken place. It instigated the feelings of the Hindus and communal riots ensued.

One more example which recently has made Hindu as well as Muslims nervous is 'Muslim Personal Law'. By the judgment of the Supreme Court in favour of Shahbano and by advice of the court to implement equal citizen code of law, the Muslims were afraid that there is interference in their personal law. The politicians also take advantage of such situations to keep them in power. Bhartiya Janta Party, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Shiv Sena and Rashtriya Sevak Sangh are such organizations who

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claim to be the leader of Hinduism. In the same way, Muslim League, Jamayat Islami, Jamayate–ule-ma-hind, majlis-a ittehadul musleem, majlis-a-mushavi raat etc instigate the feelings of the Muslims and use them as their vote-bank. The communal politics of Jammu and Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Bihar are examples of such conduct. The politicians fill the social atmosphere with communal feelings by their instigating lectures, articles and advertisements. They sow the seeds of skepticism in the minds of Muslims. Hindus feel that they are forced to grant phenomenal concessions to Muslims in economic, social and culture field. They take advantage of deep religious traditions of both the communities and publish the rituals and culture of traditions. The leaders give economic logics to fill fear and doubt in the minds of people and prepare their followers to initiate riots after being little instigated. In Bhiwandi, Moradabad, Meerut, Ahmedabad, Aligarh and Hyderabad this thing took place. Social factors, such as—denial of Muslims to adopt methods of family-planning generate doubt and ill-feelings in Hindus. Some years ago, the leaflets were distributed in Sholapur and Pune of Maharashtra by a Hindu organization, criticizing Muslims that they do not adopt family planning and opt polygamy so that they may increase their population and Muslim government can be formed in India. This shows that the harmony of political, economical, social, religious and administrative factors spoil the situation in such a way which causes communal riots.

Theories of Communal Violence

Communal violence is collective violence. When people of one community fail to fulfill their collective aims, they think that they are being deprived of equal opportunities and discrimination is being met out to them, then they become frustrated and illusory and this collective frustration (Ferabendous and Neswold call it 'systematic frustration') produces collective violence. But the entire community does not indulge in violent resistance. In fact, in defiance of ruling party, the steps which are taken to counter it or powerful aristocratic class (they oppose the ways of them) are mostly non-violent. Only a small fraction of the rivals, for its success in the effort, think non-violence as useless and violence as mandatory. This group tried to take advantage of every opportunity to prove power of its theory as correct. It indulges in sub-group violent conduct and neither represents the whole community nor presents the thoughts of group of discontented people. The conduct of this sub-group is not mostly approved by rest of the community. Thus, my recognition matches the old Riff-raff theory according to which mostly the people call violent conduct by the sub-group as 'irresponsible' and oppose it.

The question is which is the cause that makes 'group of people' violent? There are two theoretical factors of collective violence—(i) After being instigated, there is a general reaction. (ii) This reaction is associated with those prototypes that support its use. There seems to be a need to analyze some important present principles.

Except psycho-pathological principles, they think that the main deciding factor of violence is the psychological characteristics of the aggressor and degenerative systems (and deem it is important for the analysis of individualistic violence). Other theories can be divided into two parts: (a) on the level of social-psychological analysis and (b) on the level of social-cultural or sociological analysis. The first group includes frustration aggression theory, prevention theory, motive-attribution theory and self-attitude theory, where as in second group theory of social tension, anomie theory, theory of sub- culture of violence and social learning theory can be included. We think that all these theories fail to analyze the incident of collective violence during communal violence. Our theoretical outlook (which is called the theory of social impediments) is centralized on sociological analysis of social creative conditions

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Communal riots are more ..... in comparison to religious fanaticism.

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2. Lonely individual is weak and ..... .
3. Communal violence is ..... violence.
4. Ordinary Muslim is gradually becoming familiar with the exploiters intentions of ..... .
5. Communal ..... includes two different religion related people.

5.2 Social Barriers Theory

The conditions of generating communal violence are—stress, status frustration and various kinds of crises my Idea is that the aggressors use violence because they are suffering with insecurity and worry. In some individuals these (insecurity related) feelings' occurrences and sentiment of worry can be seen in those social impediments which are generated by three reasons, by oppressor's social systems, by ruling aristocrat and the background and nourishment of individual. It helps in instigating the social epitomes and untrue and unreasonable feeling of social institutions. Theory also points out three factors of aggressor's attitude – accommodation (in exit), attachment (for community) commitment (for group) and with this for social environment (in which individual/aggressor lives) and individuals' (aggressor's) socialized character. Thus theoretical model is concerned with social system, character of the aggressor and sub-culture patterns of that society in which individual uses violence. Include strains and frustrations in social system, which is result of process of social structure. Include accommodation, attachment and faith of aggressor in individual structure. Include those values which work as social control.

Concept is disagreement, detachment and breach of the individuals produce the feeling of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation is perceived discrepancy of expectations and capabilities of the members of the group (or the conditions of life which individuals/ group consider as suitable, if legal means and opportunities are offered to them). Here the word 'perceived' [by members of the group] is important; so difference in conduct and relative discrepancy do not always give birth to violent conduct.

In the group, relative discrepancy generates when (i) expectations increase but capabilities remain same or decrease, or (ii) expectations remain the same but capabilities decrease. Expectations and capabilities both depend on perception. The impact of values of the group concerns following elements—(a) how will the group take deprivation, (b) the target on which relative deprivation will be centered, and (c) the form in which deprivation will be expressed. As each group or individual is affected by different forces, each group or individual will differently react to the matter of violence or take part differently in collective communal violence.

The theory of social barrier is not necessarily elitist theory of violence according to which one small group (theoretical the best) initiates violence and decides to use violence for the interest of entire frustrated group, for which it reveals its disapproval. The small group does not depend on elaborate collective action of frustrated people. In this reference my analysis is different from traditional Marxism theory because Marx does not recognize such movements and public-revolution.

5.3 Theory of Polarisation and Cluster Effect

Recently, in India a conceptual model was produced for analyzing inter community and intra-community violence (**V.V. Singh**, 1990). This model is based on three concepts—polarity, cleavage and cluster. This model is prepared on the basis of facts and conditions of pre-riot, during riot and after the riot and it also analyses the conduct of different social groups who keep feeling of polarity for each other. In communal riots two groups having polarity are involved, so careful analysis of polarization (condition of heart and mind), creative equality and prejudice is needed.

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A lonely individual is weak and insecure. But groups and communities have power. An individual associates himself with the group for advantage and security. There is always polarization in the society. For each individual these polarities are of two kinds—permanent and temporary. In first category ideologies, religion, language, caste, area and sex are there. In these polar differences there is original identity of a human being which stays with him up to the end. In second category business, occupation and works based on selfish interest are there. Although polar differences are not generally mutually exclusive, but they become exclusive when the society goes through the process of cleavage which happens because of division of population due to perceived difference and polarity. When masses generally show proximity with polarity, this polarity becomes influential polarity for particular place, time and population. This dominating polarity establishes form of generating barriers of population. Polarity based cluster determines life form of population. In old cities and towns this type of clusters is based on religion, caste and sect. But in modern cities they are mostly class-based. When this type of cluster begins due to two polars (religion or religious sect) there is struggle. The social mobility of living in cluster is that they are proved to be helpful in creating situation of riots because inter-individualistic relations become extinct and such outraging facts are generated which are taken as insult, cheating or onslaught. These incidents due to physical proximity affect mostly the people who live in the same group. From this the people get the inspiration of enhancing alliance with the people living in their own population areas and this is suitable for mass insurrection.

The communal call of the leaders also increases process of polarity. For example, in 1982, the instigating lecture of Shahi Imam for the Muslims, in Meerut, inflamed the Hindus against Muslims as a big reaction to protect their interests. The communal riots started after this in the city. He also gave such instigating lecture in Anantnag of Kashmir, in April, 1988. He instigated Kashmir Muslims by telling that after the division they have been treated as slaves. He also added that the central government has not devised suitable economic strategies for them and they have been deprived of their rights and no attention was being paid for their problems. Such type of lectures instigates people in the name of religion and then initiate communal violence.

The nature of polarity dominance depends on five factors—(1) Time and place (or duration, area, situation and geographical boundaries); (2) Social structure (means caste, community and social group); (3) Education (means awareness for interests); (4) Economic avarice; and (5) Leadership (means sentimental lectures, promises, and policies of leaders). Based on above analysis, **V.V Singh** has explained riot-prone structure like this—(1) Bi-polarity in population marked cluster; (2) Proximity; (3) equal interests and resulting enmity; (4) Potency of polarity. This power is based on numerical strength, economic prosperity, position of having arms and ammunition, kinds of coordinated leadership and power of activity; and (5) incapability and administrative skill of district police and public administration.

Measures to Contain Communal Violence

There can be two measures to face the challenge of communalism and communal violence of long duration and short duration. The measures of long duration are—first, to start the process of making people communal – less at different levels. These levels are: to explain to them that communal theories are false. The people must know about political and socio-economic roots of communalism. They should know that the elements of communalism misguide that some facts are the problems but they are not the problems. The methods that they suggest are also not appropriate. (For example, they explain that the problem of Kashmir is not problem of Hindu-Muslim relationship but it is the problem of 'identity' of the Kashmiris. Common Kashmiris do not want to link with Pakistan; they just want freedom so that they can establish their uniformity. So main agenda of the nature of 'freedom'.) Secondly, to stall communalization of the state and ruling political aristocratic class, because due to this communalism gets vivid or secret support against communal violence. In it mass media is also included. Thirdly, to stop communalism of civil society, it greatly helps communal riots. The people with communal thoughts and ideology pressurize

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the government to perform this type of functions which are always against the theory of secularism. The secular states, the secular party in power and secular powerful aristocratic class bow before the pressure of communal people sometimes. Fourthly, to give stress on value-oriented education, in schools, colleges and universities which is important for restricting communal sentiments. The education based on new ideology will save the youth from ideology of hatred. The role of education of history in Indian reference has specially been harmful. The communal analysis of history particularly of medieval age has become base of ideology of communalism. The teaching of history with scientific method in educational institutions should be main element of any ideological struggle against communalism. Fifthly, media can also be proved important and advantageous to restrict the feelings of communalism. The communal press can be closed and legal action should be taken against communal writers. Sixthly, the ideology that with the economic development, progress of industrialization, capitalism, and workers class, the communalism will itself weaken or disappear is illogical. This type of economic reductionism of leftists and naxalites increases only the poison of communalism. This suggestion is not being given that our society does not need economic development. The indication is on that thing that only economic development cannot restrict communalism. Class conflict does not increase communalism but communalism surely restricts unity of different classes. Communal violence is more common in states like Maharashtra, Punjab, and Gujarat.

Task Elucidate your views on communal violence.

Immediate measures are required to stop communalism and communal riots. First, peace committee should be established in which people of different religions can work together to spread feeling of welfare and fraternity. They can also remove the feeling of fear and hatred from the minds of riot- hit people. This measure not only is influential in ending communal tension, but also it may stop the recurrence of riots. Second, the state should frame a planning and new strategy to tackle communal violence. The experience of India in recent years, proves the utility of this. Whenever the strong or secular administration gave warning of stern action or has taken stern action, either the riots did not take place at all or lasted for less duration. For example, due to interference of police and army in November, 1984 in Calcutta and January, 1994 in Mumbai, the ban was enforced on the recurrence of riots. When the anti-social elements, fanatics and selfish people start feeling that the government is unbiased and police are serious with all its resources, to finish the riots, they at once start minimizing their communal fervor. With this there is encouragement for those agencies which execute anti-communal law. The experience of violence in riots of Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Bhiwandi and Meerut and violence in Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ludhiana show that officials engrossed in communal frenzy make the communal situation worse than ever. Third, the role of media becomes very important during communal violence. The newspapers can do the function of either exciting or pacifying the crowd. The atmosphere of fear and hatred can improve, if press, radio and television give information about the incidents not for tormenting the people's sentiments but for consoling and providing atmosphere of peace. Media can report about the incidents in serious and systematic manner and denounce the rumors. The report of correct number of people of different religions who have died or injured, should be given very patiently and carefully by the media. Lastly, the government in power should cut down the efforts of fanatic communalists to disturb peace and immediately take steps to contain them. The state should tackle Separatists in Kashmir, extremists in Punjab, ISS (now banned) in Kerala and Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and other communalists related fanatics organizations by law and other resources with coercion. Small insecure groups always look at the government or communal parties for security. The pundits of Kashmir, innocent riot-hit people of Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and other states and violence of fanatics affected people of Bihar and Assam keep their eyes fixed at secular India for the safety of their life and property. The communalism in the decades of

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1980 and 1990 has clearly put responsibility on the secular state that the state should face elements of communalism which has been grown as harbinger of death for them. These days communalism is advancing whereas secularism is retreating and state is heading towards defense. After the 'Operation Blue Star', the state was towards defense, after Shahbano incident, in 1992 temple-mosque indicent, in November 1993 Hazaratbal and in May, 1995 in Kashmir charar-e-sharif incident, the state came into girth. In all these situations Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus communalists were engaged in their defense. The Indian government has to face Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communalism on political and theoretical both the levels with long and short duration methods. In election and public matters, the government is facing the emergence of politics, based on religion as main reason. Although the results of election in last five to six years have proved that people have refuted such politics.

If rising furor of communalism is not pushed back, it will sweep away the whole country. Before independence, it was easy to say that communalism was outcome of the policy of English people, 'Divide and Rule', but now the truth is complicated. There is politicization of religion and criminalization of politics. Until all the religious groups do not consider themselves to be the member of one nation, it will be difficult to restrict communal ill-feeling. This country that is proud of its secular policies has to be alert of those politicians who only talk of their religious community. The state must expose and disintegrate those bureaucrats who think that secularism is just a theoretical possibility. The police also cannot allow this type of communal occurrence that has been there for a long time. The measure of restricting the politicians with communal tendency to take part in election, punishing the fanatics for instigating anti-religion feelings, keeping police department out of control of the politicians, strengthening police intelligence machinery, making police administration more sensitive, re–considering training program of police officers, enabling them to adopt secular outlook and holding them responsible for their failure can be effective in solving the problem of communal riots. The meticulous police organization, well-alert policemen and well-groomed and specially trained police will definitely give positive results.

The government should take steps to finish discriminations and ruffians. In Prime Ministership of **Morarji Desai** in 1978, minority commission was set up. It was recognized as legal institution in May, 1992 so that its validity can be extended. Before this the institution worked as toothless tiger because without proper recognition, it could not do anything else than only suggesting measures or advising government or administration. The commission was created for the protection of interests of minorities although it was based on religion or language.

Its six formulae are as follows:

- To do valuation of work process of composition of the interests of the minorities as mentioned in the constitution or done by the central or state government.
- To suggest the most effective measures to implement the laws related to minorities.
- To investigate special complaints.
- To do research and study for avoiding discriminations against the minorities.
- To do re-valuation of central and state government's policies for minorities.
- To suggest legal and welfare measures to central and state government.
- To work as national information center for the information regarding the conditions of minorities.

The condition of the commission was such that nobody took it seriously because central as well as state government was not forced to agree to its suggestions. For years the report related to conditions of minorities was kept on lying unattended. But there will be change in its condition if it is recognized by law. Then its role will not be just the role of investigation but it will be legal. This is expected that with more power this commission will assume effective role of tackling deteriorating condition of communalism. It will also determine the welfare of religious minorities which constitute 17% of total population.

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To show only symbolic sentiments is not enough. It is essential to investigate the factual problems of religious minorities in the sphere of employment, literacy and the matters relating to provide suitable representation in every sphere. There is need to do effort for the development of minority community and to eradicate illiteracy and unemployment. The secular groups should be provided encouragement and security. The religious institutions that encourage communalism should be attacked heavily. Doubt should be cleared from the communities. Today the country needs code of citizenship. Special laws should not be there for special community and there should not be any special status state. There is need for re-consideration of reservation policy. Political manipulation has to be tackled. Strict action should be taken against those politicians who interfere in police activities and stop the arrest of offenders. There is need to foster public opinion and public awareness so that secular values may flourish.

Except these measures, some other measures should be taken by the government to exercise the control over communal violence, they are—(1) To install secular minded police officials in riot-hit areas. (2) To constitute special courts for dealing communal cases, (3) To provide immediate help and economic aid for rehabilitation of communal riots affected people, (4) to take stringent steps against those who instigate communal tension or take part in that.

5.4 Summary

- There is need for multi-dimension measures to reduce communal tension and to maintain communal harmony. We have to not only fight against religious communalism but also restrict political communalism. It is more serious and dangerous. Large numbers of Muslims and Sikhs of India have no affinity with communalism. This thing is also right for the feelings of most of Hindus. The members of Muslim and Sikh community are confident that growing communalism can be restricted if politicians can be stopped from playing with the sentiments of people for their selfishness. Common Muslim has been becoming familiar with the exploiting intentions of the politicians. Religious slogan shouting does not affect them much. Now he has no intention of getting economic relief from outside the boundary. He feels himself more secure here.
- If Muslims or minorities had been encouraged to be a thing of valuable bargain at the time of election in place of being the citizen of India, they would never have agreed to participate in great efforts of the nation. The social scientists and intellectuals would have to show serious interest in restricting national evil of communalism, religious violence, separatism, segregation and terrorism.

5.5 Keywords

- **Manipulation:** Tactful, Cunning
- **Communal Violence:** Tensions and murders between two communities

5.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by communal violence? Clarify.
2. Give reasons for communal violence.
3. Describe theories of social barriers.
4. Give solutions to stop communal violence.

Notes

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Politically inspired 2. Unprotected 3. Collective 4. Politicians
5. Violence

5.7 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science—*B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

2. Principles of Political Science—*Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

3. History of Political Science—*Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

Unit 6: Nationalism

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know nation and Nationalism.
- Explain joint Reliance.

Introduction

What is the common understanding of the word 'nationalism'? If we ask for opinion of the public, we shall hear about patriotism, national flag and matters relating to sacrifice for the nation. The parade of Republic Day in Delhi is the unparallel symbol of Indian Nationalism. This symbol displays multifaceted feeling of sovereignty and power. Many link this multifaceted quality with the Indian nation. But if we choose to delve in details, we will find that it is not easy to find unanimous and vivid definition of nationalism. It does not mean that we should give up our effort. The study of Nationalism is so essential because it plays a very important role in worldly matters.

During last two centuries. Nationalism has emerged as an attractive political theory that has contributed in fabricating of history. It has inspired excellent allegiance as well as deep resentment. It has joined the public and likewise divided them. It has helped in getting rid of tyrannical rule and it has also been cause of rivalry, bitterness and wars. It has also been cause of demolitions of regimes and nations. National struggles have contributed in determining and re-determining the boundaries of states and regimes. Even today large part of the world is divided in various nations and states. Though the process of re-affirming the boundaries of nations has not been over as yet and separatism struggle is also a common matter inside the nations.

Notes The people who consider themselves to be a nation, often have a feeling of permanent historical recognition inside them.

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Nationalism has gone through many phases. For example, in Europe of 19th century, it has paved the way for establishing a larger nation-state after unifying small districts. In Latin America a large number of new states were established. Along with strengthening of boundaries of the state, local allegiance and dialect developed as progressively national allegiance and unanimous public language. The people of new nations procured a new political recognition, which was based on membership of nation-state. In previous century we also saw our nation going through same process of consolidation.

Nationalism has been partner in downfall of many big regimes. In the beginning of 20th century in Europe, Austrian-Hungarian and Russian regime and along with it, British in Asia and Africa, French, Dutch and Portuguese regimes disintegrated due mainly due to nationalism. The struggle of India and other eastern colonies for independence were also national struggle. These struggles were inspired by the intention of establishing independent nation-state free of foreign control.

The process of re-determination of boundaries of the nation is still on. From the decade of 1960, some stable nation-states have been facing nationalist demands. The demand of separate state is included in these demands. Today we can notice these nationalist struggles in many parts of the world which are fostering new dangers for the existence of existing states. Such separatists' movements are being held in other places including Quebec of Canada, Baskians of Spain, Kurds of Turkey and Iraq and Tamils of Sri Lanka. Some groups in India also harp the tune of nationalism. Today Arab nationalism can hope of unifying all Arab countries in one All Arab Organization. But only Basks and Kurd are active for demolition of existing states by Segregation movements.

There can be agreement among us that Nationalism is still an effective measure in the world. But on the definition of 'nation' or 'nationalism', it is very difficult to arrive at an agreement. After all what is a nation? Why do people create nation? What does the nation encourage us to do? Why are people ready to sacrifice even their lives for the sake of their nation? How and why do the claims of patriotism and sovereignty link together? Do the nations have right to separate or of national self-determination? Can the claim of nationalism be endorsed without it being a separate nation? In this chapter we shall investigate some agendas.

6.1 Nation and Nationalism

Nation is not an accidental group of public. But it is different from other available groups in human society. It is different from the family also. The family is based on direct relationship whose each member has personal information about personality and character of the other member. It is different even from tribal, castes and other agnate groups. In these groups marriage and dynasty traditions link all the members together. So if we do not know all the members personally, we can find out the initiations at the time of need, which link us together. But as member of the nation, we are not able to know most of the people directly and there is no need to establish hereditary relation with them. Even then there is existence of nations and people live here and pay due respect.

Generally, it has been agreed that the creation of nations has been done by such a group which has some mutual connection based on family, or language or religion or caste. But such definite distinguished values are not present in all the nations similarly. Some nations do not have common language. The instance of Canada is there. In Canada, English and French speaking people live together. In India also there are many languages which are spoken by different groups in different places. In many nations there is no common religion to link them together. The same thing can be said about other specialties of race and clan.

Then what is that which frames a nation? Nation up to a great limit is an imaginary community which is bound together with collective faith, aspirations and imaginations of its members. It is based on some particular recognition which people create for whole of the group and due to that they maintain an identity. So, let us try to understand and know some of the credence of the people about a nation.

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Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Nation is not ..... of the public.
2. Nation is formed due to ..... .
3. Nation up to a great extent ..... community.
4. Nationalism has been responsible for downfall of large ..... .

6.2 Joint Reliance

First, a nation is created through faith. The nation is not like a mountain, river or building, which we can see, or feel their touch. They are not such items which have independent existence away from peoples' faith. To name a society as a nation is not giving comments on the physical characteristics or character of the people. It is evidence and collective identity of the future of the group, which is hopeful of independent existence. In this matter a nation's comparison can be done with a team. When we talk about a team our indication is for that team which plays together and it is all the more important that they think themselves belonging to a unified group. If they do not think like this, their identity as a team will fizzle out and they will be just a player or a worker, and will be a singe individual. The existence of a state is sustained as long as its members believe that they are together.

History

Second, those who consider themselves to be the nation, mostly have the feeling of permanent historical identity inside them. Or they look at the state and themselves in the form as if they have absorbed the past as well as the coming future in them. So in order to present outline of permanent identity, they create historical comprehension for themselves by means of shared memories, quotes and historical inscriptions. In the same way, nationalists of India have given evidence of ancient civilization of the country and cultural heritage and other accomplishments to claim that in reference to civilization India has long and indestructible history. This civilized sustainability and unity is the foundation of Indian nation. For example, Jawaharlal Nehru in his book 'Discovery of India', wrote, 'Although there were varieties and numberless diversities outwardly in people, but everywhere there was utmost imprint of oneness that kept us together for ages, many be we had to bear whatever future or misfortune'.

Territory

Third, the identity of many nations is linked with geographical area. To live together in any particular territory and memories of past provide knowledge of their collective identity. It also gives them the feeling of oneness. So it is not surprising that people see them as one nation and talk of motherland. These people enforce their right on territory, the place where they live, they put their claim on it and they give lot of importance to it. The nations describe their motherland in different manners. As someone calls it motherland or fatherland and someone as sacred land. For example, the Jews always claimed that their original home is Philistine, their heaven, though they have been living most of the time scattered in different parts of the world as per their history. The identity of Indian Nation is with its rivers, mountains and valleys of Indian sub-continent. As there can be claim of one or more group on the same land, so the intention of having homeland has been the point of discord in the world.

Joint Political Ideals

Fourth, although ones territory and joint historical identity play an important role in realization of oneness among the people but joint outlook regarding future and collective intention of having one's own political

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existence, is the main thing that separates a nation from other groups. The members of the nation have the joint view of what type of state they want to frame. Except other things they accept the values and principles of democracy, secularism and liberalism. In fact, these are the conditions on whose base they want to come and live together. In other words, these thoughts familiarize them with their identity as a nation.

In democracy, for some political values and ideals, joint allegiance is the required base of any political community or nation. Under this the members of political community are bound by some responsibilities. These responsibilities generate when all are aware of their rights as a citizen. If the citizens of the nation know and acknowledge their responsibilities for other citizens, the nation becomes strong. We can say even this, to agree for mutual responsibility is the most difficult test of loyalty for the nation.

Did You Know? Republic Day of Delhi is a symbol of Indian Nationalism.

Joint Political Recognition

Many people would agree that the type of state or society we want to create, and for that joint political view is not enough to bind it as a nation. In its place, they want a similar language and caste-parentage traditional joint culture. There is no doubt that speaking same language makes mutual talking easy. If they have same religion, many faith and social customs and conventions become joint. Celebrating same festivals tacking leave on the same occasion and keeping same type of symbols can bring the people close to each other but can also produce danger for the values we deem important for democracy.

There are two reasons for this. First, all the major religions of the world are full of diversities. They have been created and developed due to mutual dialogues in their community. As a result, many sects are formed inside the religion and the analysis of religious books and rules is quite diverse. If we neglect these diversities and establish an agreement on the basis of one equal religion, there is apprehension we may create a dominant and dominative society.

The second reason is that most of the societies are full of diversities from cultural point of view. On the same territory people belonging to different religions and speaking different languages live together. As a condition of membership of any state if any particular religious or lingual identity is set, some groups may definitely be not able to join. Due to this, the religious freedom of that group will be restricted or those who do not speak national language will be at a loss. In both the conditions, the ideal of 'same behaviour and freedom for all' will be affected and we hail this as valuable for democracy. Due to all these reasons, it will be better that the imagination of a nation should be done in political words, not in cultural context. It means in democracy, there is need of allegiance for a valuable group in place of relatedness of particular religion, race or language. This value-group can be entered into the constitution of the country.

Some conditions have been identified above through them the nation expresses its collective identity. We have also seen why democratic states frame this identity on joint political ideals. But one question is left unanswered why after all the people formulate themselves in the form of a nation. What are the aspirations of different nations? We shall try to discuss these questions in next two sections.

National Self-determination

The nations want the right to rule and decide their future by keeping them aloof from other social groups. In other words, they demand right of self-determination. In the claim of self-determination, the nation demands from international community that recognition and acceptance should be granted

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to its status of separate political unit or state. Often this demand is put by those who have been living on fixed territory for a long time and they have joint recognition. In some cases, such claims of self-determination are linked with the intention of making an independent state. The relations of these claims are with the security of culture of any group.

Several claims of other types came before Europe in 19th century. At that time, 'one culture - one state' formula was very popular. As a result, after 1st World War for the re-organization of the states the idea of, 'one culture-one state' was adopted. According to Versailles treaty several small and newly independent states were formed but at that time it was really impossible to satisfy all the demands of self-determination. Except this, there were changes in the boundaries of the states in satisfying the demands of 'one culture - one state'. There was rehabilitation of large population from one boundary to the other. As a result, several people were desolated from their houses and many were ousted from their homes where they have been living from generations. Many people became victim of communal violence.

Different cultural communities got different nation-states considering all these boundaries were altered. Due to this trial, the human community had to pay heavy price. In spite of this effort, it was not possible to decide that people of only one race should live in newly formed state. In fact, in boundaries of most of the states people of more than one race and culture were living. These small communities were in minority and often they lived in harmful conditions. The positive aspect of this development was that political recognition was granted to several nationalist groups who thought themselves to be separate nation and wanted to decide their future and manage their reign on their own. But the problem of minority community remained as it was.

Task Express your views on nation and nationalism.

When Asia and Africa were indulged in conflict against colonial dominance, national liberation movement announced the right of national self-determination. National movements thought that political freedom will accord respect and recognition to national groups. It will also protect the collective interests of the people. Most of the national liberation movements were inspired by the realization of the aim of providing justice, rights and prosperity. Here also every cultural group out of them some put a claim for separate nation, it was almost impossible to decide political independence and sovereignty for them. Various states of this area came into grip of war and violence on the boundaries because of travelling across countries of population. Thus, we find those nation-states in paradoxical situation who got the freedom because of struggle but now they are opposing the right of self-determination of minority groups in their territory.

In fact, the whole world's governments are perplexed how to tackle the movement of self-determination and several questions are raised on the topic of the right of self-determination. Many people have stared feeling that the solution is not in the formation of the groups but in making them democratic and equality based. Solution is to decide that the people of having different cultural and racial diversities can live with other citizens and associates on co-existence basis. This is not only essential for the solution of the problems emerging due to new decisions and new claims. The nation–state which does not appreciate the rights and cultural identity of minority groups, it is difficult for it to gain allegiance of its members.

Nationalism and Pluralism

On giving up the idea of 'One culture-one state', it becomes essential to think of such measures by which divergent cultures and communities can prosper in that state. To realize this aim, many democratic

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states have started taking measures to accept and conserve the identity of minority groups in cultural form. In the Indian Constitution there is elaborate provision of conservation religious, linguist and cultural minorities.

In different countries the rights have been provided to groups, they are—the right of constitutional conservation of language, culture and religion for minority groups and their members. In some matters they have right for representation in legal and political institutions. These rights can be justifiable on the basis that they provide equal protection to their cultural identity by law. Except this, there is need of giving recognition to all the groups that they are part of national community. This means that the national identity has to be defined by absorption way which can accept the importance of common members of the nation-state and can give credit to their contribution. It is expected that after giving credit to the groups and grant conservation, their desire will be satisfied, even then, it may be, that still, some groups would be firm in their demand of separate state. It can appear controversial that on side there is wave of globalization in the world, and national aspirations are still exciting many groups and communities. To tackle such a situation in democratic way, it is necessary that the concerned states should be very liberal and human.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

5. Nationalism is even today an effective power.
6. The nation is an accidental group of public.
7. The Republic Day Parade is unparallel symbol of Indian Nationalism.
8. The existence of a state is sustained only till its members are confident that they are all together.

6.3 Summary

- The right of national self-determination is commonly understood that it includes the right to have independent state. But it is impossible to give independent state to every national group. Moreover, it will possibly be not proper also. It can lead to formation of such states which can be very small from the point of view of economic and political capability and as such the problems of minority will increase. Now this right is re-defined as—it means the acceptance of democratic rights for any nationality, inside the state.
- We are living in such a country, which is aware of importance of recognizing the identity of the groups. Today we are witness of many such conflicts which have been going on, to get recognition of the identity of their group and adopting the strategy of nationalism. There is need of this thing that we must accept the claims of truth of national identity but it does not mean that we must have sympathy for intolerable nationalism and uniformity.

6.4 Keywords

- **Nation:** Country, State
- **Nationalism:** Rules related to nationality, nation, etc.

6.5 Review Questions

1. What do you mean by 'Nation'? Clarify.
2. What is 'Nationalism'? Describe.

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3. What do you understand by joint reliance? Describe.
4. Comment on national self-determination.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Abrupt group	2. Trust	3. Imagination	4. Empire
5. True	6. False	7. True	8. True

6.6 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science—*Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science—*Sterling Publishers.*

3. History of Political Science—*Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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Unit 7: Multi-Culturalism

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know impact of the West and Modernization in India.
- Discuss basic concepts of neo Hinduism.

Introduction

Today discussions are happening on the concepts of pluralism in place of homogeneousness, politics of egoism in place of politics of thoughts, nationalism in place of nation-state, diversity and differences in place of simplicity, culture in place of communal culture, multiculturalism and acceptance in place of national unity. These days the most consideration is happening for culture, diversity, pluralism, politics of egoism, etc.

In the decade of 1970, beginning of cultural pluralism happened in Canada and Australia for the first time. Later it happened in America, Britain and Germany. These days this is the main agenda of the French political panorama. Famous theorist Bhikhu Parekh has written that establishing supremacy in a nation-state like France is of significance. It has not even entered the forms of racial, cultural and religious recognitions in the census records.

Because the campaign of multiculturalism started in an unorganized manner in many political references of the world it attracted many social groups. Even till now this campaign has not been able to express coherent philosophical viewpoint about maxims. It has not been able to throw light on its identity and main points. Hence it is important to know that what is its meaning and what is its interest. The most correct scale to look at multiculturalism is neither politics nor history but in what perspective it looks at human life, is the main point.

In this context, first thing that should be noted is that a person is built culturally, he lives in cultural world. He confers expressiveness and relevance to his life and social relations in this cultural world. This does not mean that he has decisive relation with culture. In fact, it means that culture plays an important role in creating him. It can reduce some of its effects but cannot be completely free of culture.

Second thing is that in different forms of cultures, different forms of arrangements are articulated. Culture expresses vision of life's improvement. Along with it this should be noted that every culture expresses very small part of the person's capabilities and feelings hence to better know a person in totality help has to be taken from other cultures. By which better development can be done. By this on one side we will be saved from the purist viewpoint of the culture there on the other side we would also be able to expand the utopian world of the culture. This does not mean that a person cannot lead a better life under his culture. In fact, it means that if he takes help from other cultures then he can lead a better life.

7.1 Multi-Culturalism

In modern era it is impossible to live only in one culture because it is a fast and independent world. This also does not mean that all cultures are prosperous, all get similar respect, all are eager for the happiness of its members, all are equal and cannot be criticized. This means that any culture is not fully useful. No culture is complete. No culture has the right to blame any other. Every culture is pluralist in internal form and continuous change keeps happening in its traditions and thoughts. Change does not mean that it losses its 'coherence' and identity. In fact, identity includes pluralism, fluidity and openness. Culture progresses due to conscious and unconscious contact. In these things from creative contact and mutual relations the context of multiculturalism is formed.

It should be kept in mind that every culture contains pluralism and variety. When cultures are considered the produce of one source or attempt is made to blame any special culture then the foundation of pluralism is destroyed. The rise of culture is from its own womb. It does not take birth from any other's womb. But it receives influence from another, does assimilation of else's matters, its image is formed from vast economic, political, etc. reasons. This is the reason that it does not accept any type of centralization. Because centralization unaccepts the role of its history and other matters.

Notes In the decade of 1970 the beginning of cultural pluralism was in Canada and Australia for the first time.

According to the context of multiculturalism, any political principle or ideology does not express the full truth of human life. Every liberalism, conservatism, nationalism, socialism expresses special culture and special vision for better life. Hence, it is necessarily narrow and self-contained. Bhikhu Parekh believes that according to the context of multiculturalism for the betterment of the society variety and creative dialog between different groups is very important about their ethical vision. For example, members of the society have the feeling of respect towards the right of respecting each other's culture and along with that they can expand their choice, develop capacity of self criticism, ardently, imagination, spiritual and ethical sympathy by which their development and welfare can happen. It is possible that some groups may not want to be in touch with other cultures and want to live in the limited boundaries of their own group. We should respect such feelings and life system of such groups.

To make multicultural society stable it is important that its citizens have affection towards each other, but the basis of this affection is not caste, religion, ethnic but the policies of multicultural society should be made the base. Because multicultural society is broad-based hence politics should be made its base, and on the basis of cooperative political commitment, identity should be created in the form of political group. Because they are linked to each other historically.

It is important to be careful towards the generous usage of some terms. For example, 'plural', 'diverse' and 'multicultural' terms are generally used with generosity for 'multi'. But in these

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three 'Multi' has different meanings. Because of this their meaning, concept, base and context change. They are not synonyms of each other. Buddhism and Jainism religions had influence over Hindu Vedic philosophy. Although both religions were developed as different religions but their roots were also very deep in Hindu traditions. Jain people had the protection from merchant community whereas Buddhists had protection from princes. Both laid stress upon values of continuity, predestine, rebirth and transmigration and criticized the beliefs in hierarchy and organization of race and caste. Both stressed upon the prohibition of sacrificing custom in temples and non-violence. Membership of Buddhism was open for all castes and sex. Buddhism was focused on the liberation of soul through the means of awakening, whereas Jainism talked about the liberation of soul by self control though the development of feelings of ethical qualities. In short, it can be said that Buddhism and Jainism have atheistical viewpoint in relation to God whereas Hinduism is based on theism. In a way Buddhism and Jainism opposed some specialties of Hinduism, like rigid formalism, tyrannical ritualism, value arrangement based on hierarchy, control of Brahmins and religious rigidity.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Culture expresses the ..... of life's improvement.
2. In ..... it is impossible to live in only one culture.
3. Every culture is ..... in internal form.
4. No culture is ..... .
5. Islam does not believe in ..... .

7.2 Hindu Values and Believes

On Hindu values and believes the influence of preaching of Shankaracharya (9th century), Ramanujacharya (1017–1137 meaning 11th and 12th century) and Madhavacharya (14th century) was also there who established temples to broadcast monotheism in different corners of the country. Ramanujacharya established Vaishnava community and made Jain, Shaiva and people of lower castes also as his followers. The lingayat community of South India converted many non-Brahmins exclusively for Shiva worship.

Between 15th and 16th century rise of worship communities tried to preach some new values in Hindu religion. **Kabir** (1440–1518), **Guru Nanak** (1469–1538), **Ramanand** (14th and 15th centuries), **Tukaram** and **Ramdas,** etc. saints stressed upon equalitarian and non-hierarchical value arrangement in the Hindu religion. They also tried for the generosity of Hindu traditions and coordination with Islam religion also.

In medieval era, Islam influenced Hindu values. Although the attacks of Muslims on India started in 10th century only but from 15th century the influence of Islamic culture started getting shown on great Hindu traditions. Islam does not believe in idol worship. This religion is monotheist and non-hierarchical, hence it believes in equality. Although Islam and Hinduism both accept the principle of religious holism but in Hindu religion this holism is related to hierarchy whereas in Islam this holism is different from hierarchy. **Yogendra Singh** (1973–67) has described the Islamic influence on Hindu traditions in three phases—during Islamic rule (1206–1818), during British rule (in 18th, 19th centuries) and during independence struggle (from 1930 till the country's partition). During Islamic rule some Muslims started the policy of destroying Hindu temples, preaching Islam and converting Hindus to Muslims. During this era although there were struggles between Hindus and Muslims but along with it adaptation, cultural synthesis of traditions and cultural co-existence of Hindus and Muslims

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also got encouragement. Sufism also influenced Hindus. In this ascetic personal ethics, short life of spirituality and self-sacrifice are stressed upon. Hindu public, minds also liked non-ritualism and abstract monotheism also which were told by Sufi saints and philosophers. **Yogendra Singh** indicated that some Muslim rulers and scholars tried to bring together some parts of Hindu traditions with Islam religion. For example, **Akbar** started a new synthetic cult called Din-e-ilahi which was a mixture of Hindu, Islam, Jain and Parsi religions. **Dara Singh** supported synthesis of Upanishadic monotheism along with Islam. Famous learned scholar **Amir Khusro** gave description and comments to Muslims on the Hindu traditions. In 16th and 17th centuries many Muslim writers and poets wrote in Hindi. Still Islamic religious and political aristocracy were not only designated on important administrative, justice and political posts but also believed in continuity and expansion of Islam. In British rule the situation changed and Muslim aristocracy's power and situation started getting weak. Hence, the great Muslim tradition could not maintain its beginner zeal and trust. In 18th century Islam's prior liberal nature started coming to an end and in its place dogmatism and revitalization became its main basis. Hindu tradition became more reactionist instead of adaptive in its ethos and was left behind in the race of cultural change. On the other side, Islamic traditions became more political, but in the 19th century polarization started of the generous and dogmatic Islamic traditions. The political cultural event produced by the tug of war between these two cultural powers strengthened the creation of a separate Islamic nation (Pakistan).

Did You Know? In the modern era, it is impossible to live in only one culture.

In India, during the British rule, according to **Yogendra Singh** in Hinduism there was rise of two types of reformist revolutions. First, those reforms which according to the initial ideals of Vedas wanted change in the values and cultural traditions in Hindu religion and second which imagined bringing cooperation of new and traditional values and cultural paradigms. In second category's reformists **Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna** (1836–86), **Vivekananda** (1863–1902), and **Mahatma Gandhi** were main whereas in second category's reformists were **Raja Ram Mohan Roy**, and **Nehru**. **Dayanand, Vivekananda** and **Gandhiji** did not renunciate fundamental cultural incidents. All of them accepted class arrangement, hierarchical policy, karma yoga or detached social work. All considered that ritualistic disabilities were based on misunderstanding in Hindu tradition and tried for their prohibition. Although **Swami Dayanand** advocated non-acceptance of non-Hindu cultural values and religious beliefs but **Vivekananda** and **Gandhi** did not stress upon such prohibition.

All these display what are the ways in which Hindu religion, Hindu beliefs and values have been changing from time to time and religious cultural changes have been happening in Indian culture.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

6. No culture is:

   (a) Complete (b) Incomplete

   (c) New (d) Ancient

7. Every culture is internally:

   (a) Strong (b) Weak

   (c) Pluralist (d) None of the above

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8. Culture rises from:
   (a) East (b) West
   (c) North (d) From its own womb
9. Hinduism and Islam both accept:
   (a) Principle of religious absoluteness (b) Peace
   (c) Dogmatism (d) Unity
10. New-hinduism is in expansion and description:
   (a) Completely foreign (b) Complete
   (c) Domestic and foreign (d) None of the above

7.3 Impact of the West and Modernization in India

According to **Altas** (1972–121) the impact of the West in India can be discussed in five phases. First phase is related to attack of **Alexander** which changed into peaceful trade due to merchant and business relations of future centuries. Second phase began from the end of 15th century (A.D. 1498) when **Vasco da Gama** came to Calicut with his ships. In few years, Portugals established control over Goa. But over these the impact of western people was limited. Third phase began in the beginning of 18th century with the establishment of rule of East India Company and later till the mid of 18th century British rule was established in India. This was the first phase of the expansion of western culture. Fourth phase began in the beginning of 19th century due to industrial revolution. Along with the economic exploitation of India by Britishers in the form of the source of raw material, expansion of western hegemony began in cultural and social areas also. Fifth phase began in 1947 after the country's political freedom.

What impact has the western culture had in relation with culture and social arrangements on our society? This impact can be described in short in this way:

1. Western organizations like banking system, public administration, military organization, modern medicines, law, etc. began in our country.
2. Western education expanded the viewpoint of the country's people who started to talk about their own rights and freedom. Beginning of new values and argumentative and communal feelings and importance of ideologies of individualism, equality and justice started increasing.
3. Acceptance of scientific innovation promoted raising the standards of living and to provide materialistic welfare to people.
4. Many corrective revolutions also started. Many traditional beliefs and changeable customs for the society were left and many new prototypes for behaviour were started.
5. Modernisation was done of our industrial, agricultural, entrepreneurial and industries by which the economic welfare of our country started.
6. Categorisation of political values has been reorganized. By accepting formation of democratic government all native states, who were under monarchic government, have been mixed into the Indian states and power and hegemony of landlords and knights have been ended.
7. Organizational change has come in establishments like marriage, family and caste by which rise of new forms of relations in social life, religion, etc. has happened.
8. By the beginning of modern means of communication, like railway or bus travel, postal service, oceanic and air travel, press, radio and television, etc. many parts of human life have been impacted.
9. Rise of the feeling of nationality has happened.
10. By the rise of middle class change has come in the dominant values of the society.

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Alatas has described the impact of western culture in relation to four types of changes in our cultural and social arrangement—eliminative changes, additive changes, supportive changes and synthetic changes. Eliminative changes are those which are because of end of cultural specialties, behavioural forms, values, beliefs, organizations, etc. For example, we can take the example of total changes in weapons in war. Additive changes refer to acquiring new cultural specialties, organizations, behavioural forms and beliefs/customs in different parts of life. These additions were not there in people's culture earlier. Beginning of divorce in Hindu society, giving daughter portion in father's property, applying election process in Panchayats etc. are some examples of these types of changes. Supportive changes are those which strengthen the forms of values, beliefs and behaviour prevalent in society before coming in contact with western impact. One example of this type of change is the use of Hundi custom in the give and take of loans. Synthetic changes do the creation of new forms by mixing prevalent matters and acquired matters. Most easy example of these single in residential form but joint family in functional form which are still maintaining social responsibilities towards parents and spouses. There are two more examples of synthetic changes—continuity of dowry custom but with control over the amount of dowry given and taken, and the relation of parents and children in the choice of life partner.

Categorization of changes due to western impact is only for analyzing motives. It is not possible to separate them behaviourally. In one type of change, matters of different types of changes can be seen. For example, supportive matters in the starting of cloth industry are also implicit in this meaning that it is helpful in the production of cloth, but along with that, because it pushed behind handloom industry so it can also be called as the assimilation of matters of eliminative changes. In prison arrangement open jail or wall-less prison is another example of change in which there are three different types of matters. In the changes in education system also there is assimilation of matters of changes in this way. In banking system, family system, marriage system also assimilation of different matters of such changes can be seen.

Now the main question is—Where has India reached after contact with western impact? Has India progressed? Has it contributed to any welfare of people? Is it possible to give an answer to this question in impartial way? Can indifference and philosophical partiality be kept separate during such type of analysis? Some learned scholars experience that after the Second World War there were many problems in front of India, like the problem of economic backwardness, problem of large number of people living under the poverty line, unemployment, domination of religion in every aspect of life, rural indebtedness, class struggle, communal disharmony, lack of wealth, lack of workers having industrial capability, incompleteness of means speeding up welfare resources, etc. Western impact has provided alternative solutions for these problems. But some other learned scholars believe that western impact has not given any assistance to India in the solutions for these problems. India is not facing them on the basis of western model. India is doing it by its domestic model. After the country's freedom there was rise of industrial development, expansion of education, opportunities of rural employment started being obtained, trials for population control started, etc. In this way, by getting free from western rule not by contact with the west, modernization became possible.

Truth is that in some areas of life positive impact of west will have to be accepted. Modern medical science, modern industrialization, modern ways to tackle natural calamities, modern techniques to provide security to the country against outside dangers, etc. will be considered uncontested contributors of west in India's history. But India is also using its traditional organizations, beliefs and customs in the upliftment of public. In this way, India even after western impact and modernization of different arrangements, will remain India. Indian cultural life will go on for many forthcoming centuries.

Today's Hindu philosophy is different from beginning Hindu philosophy. Neo-Hinduism, which is also known as 'Syndicated Hinduism', is completely domestic in expansion and scale. This is not the product of any new way but this is a new religious form which is trying to bring together all clans of the east. The creation of this 'Syndicated Hinduism' more for political motives in comparison to religious motives, hence it is also known as 'Political Hinduism'. Christians and Muslims considered Hindus to be 'the other' in the way Hindus considered them 'barbarian'. Essentially neo Hinduism

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was unavoidable in the 19th and 20th centuries. The neo Hinduism revolutions of 20th century were given political colours especially after independence which is still accepted as Hinduism in this form. According to **Romila Thapar** (1985–21) the syndicated Hinduism found presently is responsible for this change and today this Syndicated Hinduism is being carried forward in the form of the only claimant of the inheritor of domestic Indian religion.

To fulfil new requirements of the religious expressions of this 'Syndicated Hinduism' bringing monotheist Hinduism of rural wealthy people and urban middle class people into politics has been greatly utilized. In the disguise of new rectified Hinduism, efforts are being done to make large number of people the followers and to raise their voices. In appeals of syndicated Hinduism political motive is always implicit.

Task Present your thoughts on multiculturalism.

Romila Thapar, 1985 : 21–22 and some other learned scholars have told the following postulates of this neo Hinduism:

1. The right basis of Syndicated Hinduism is Brahmin times' scripture—Geeta and Vedas. This accepts few parts of religious scriptures and tries to present a modern corrected religion. It can be said that the ideal of 'Hinduism' is based on mixture of acquired tradition and active recreation of this tradition, or this can also be said that 'Hinduism' is a structured belief system in which guiding thoughts for description and comment of past, analysis of present and behaviour of future are implicit.
2. Its belief is that people of non-caste religious party have to accept religion of powerful people but have to live as their dependent. Society's lower category people can try for high mobility through the means of new religious revolutions.
3. It believes in proselytization because it claims that for thousands of years tortures were done on Hindus by Greeks, Turkish, Mughals and Britishers. In this context they include religious conversion, destroying temples, breaking idols, confiscating temple's property, etc. in this. So they treat the creation of priories, ashrams, temples, rath yatra as justified and believe conversion of Muslims and Christians to Hindus as legitimate. The establishment of religious conversion camps in Meenakshipuram (1982), Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat (1988), south India (1998) was supported and protected by fundamentalists of Hindu religion. In the last twenty years, world Hindu Parishad has claimed that they converted approximately 47,000 Muslims who were related to about 8,000 families (mainly of Mehrat, and Rawat communities who believed in traditional customs, like burying the dead, doing nikah, eating halal food, condemnation of idol worship, celebrating festivals like Id, Shab-e-barat) and in Rajasthan's four districts (Ajmer, Pali, Udaipur and Bhilwara) and did religious conversions of Christians also.
4. It does not support equality. It provides recognition to social and economic inequality and accepts hierarchical structure. In opposition religions like Islam are principally equalitarian. Other religions like Buddhism do prohibition of equality in life's moral area. Birth of Hinduism and development was in such an era when inequalities were believed to be a part of life, and social work of religion was not to do a change in this inequality but to correct this truth for those people who believed this inequality to be harsh and abrasive.
5. This does not believe multiplicity of religious manifestation important. It believes some selective rituals, beliefs and customs important and hence gives them more importance. It is this situation of getting free from traditional situation. Who does the work of selection,

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by which sources this task should be done and for which motive it should be done, all these points are of thoughtful importance.

6. The spreading of Hindus in other countries is a reason for the increasing importance for Syndicated Hinduism. Hindus living outside India remain victims from the feeling of cultural danger because they are in the form of minorities in the Islamic or Christian societies like Britain, United States of America, Gulf countries, Europe or North America. This minority community (Hindu) probably likes such a form of Hinduism which they can teach their kids through the means of Hindu schools and who can support their new enterprise. These minorities settled in other countries and their economic support will provide the base for the preachers and organizations of Syndicated Hinduism. The importance of this expansion is not only the clear display of the link of neo-Hinduism between supporters living in India and settled outside, but also that increasing imminence by which unions, councils and societies do meetings in foreign countries and get their support and are gaining success in 'vote conversion' of rich people.
7. Syndicated Hinduism has presented a new theory of Indian nationalism which has been termed as 'Hindu Nationalism'. According to this theory, Hindus for being in majority, and being inheritors of whatever great works of greatness and bravery happened in the past, consider them rightful of keeping hegemony over other people, showing control and believing them to be their subordinates. It is said that anyone, along with non-Hindus, can be Indian given the condition that he accepts Hindu Gods and considers non-Hindus to be foreign. Hindus are more patriotic in comparison to other non-Hindus. To prove their national credibility non-Hindus should show loyalty towards majority community and by accepting their patriotic duty in demolishing those places of worship they should come together with Hindus, which were established over Hindu temples by non-Hindus. Hindu nationalism is the warning to face Hindus' anger against those non-Hindu people who refuse to follow the above stated track. These radical religious leaders who talk about Hinduism and Hindu nationalism do not believe in judiciary and do not express respect towards established organizations. They believe that 'public power' is greater than 'national power'.
8. Proponents of Neo Hinduism talk about 'Positive Secularism'. They believe giving guardianship to Muslims towards pampering them and giving special rights to minorities by state to be 'Pseudo-Secularism'. According to them 'Positive Secularism' is the imagination to bring together all religious communities tied together by equal code of conduct, rights and duties. In this way, they want that a civil code should be invoked by the government which should be imposed on all citizens of India in the same form without any prejudices of religion and caste. They do not want to impose different rules related to marriage and property on Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Parsis. They believe that for communal struggles this will be an ideal democratic solution. They do not believe that by this the religious and cultural identity of minority communities will be submerged into majority communities. In opposition, they believe that this type of policy (equal code of conduct) will end the superstitions, bad customs and illogical and backward traditions prevalent in all communities and will develop a scientific thought which should be the cornerstone for secular states.

7.4 Summary

- The feelings that are rising are those that Syndicated Hinduism, which is claiming reestablishment of domestic Hinduism, is establishing itself in reality. Only time will tell that how much this reinterpretation of neo Hinduism meaning ideal of 'Hindu Nationalism' will affect the secular nature of Indian politics. In this way, only time will determine that those secular ideologies which will establish their dominance over general public, will prove to

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be true for Indian people's interests and aspirations or will give birth to conditions of social diseases which will produce hatred and maliciousness in the society.

7.5 Keywords

- **Detached:** Incoherent, Different
- **Adaptation:** Process of being favourable

7.6 Review Questions

1. What do you mean by multiculturalism? Clarify.
2. Comment on 'Hindu Values and Beliefs'.
3. Express your thoughts on the 'Impact of West' and 'Modernization on India'.
4. Describe the basic facts of Neo Hinduism.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Vision	2. Modern era	3. Pluralist	4. Complete
5. Idol worship	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (d)
9. (a)	10. (b)		

7.7 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science— *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science— *Sterling Publishers.*

3. Principles of Political Science— *B K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

4. Principles of Political Science— *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

Unit 8: Fascism

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know totalitarianism.
- Explain fascism.

Introduction

In Italy, between 1922 and 1945, **Mussolini** found a collectivities political system, which was later on called Fascism. The use of this word was often done in somewhat similar political movements such as German Nazism and Spanish Falange. Fascism was an authoritarian, nationalist and liberal-less political movement whose roots of origin were planted in social and economic crisis after the First World War. It is agreed that to come out of this crisis then liberal democratic process was insufficient. There is no compact and developed philosophy of this theory. Its base is concept of nationalism. The chief characteristics of this theory are—staunch opposition of communism, non- confidence of democratic politics, allegiance for one-party system and faith in magical leader. This theory supports civility and totalitarianism.

- Fascism is contradictory to liberalism and socialism, it is the other form of totalitarianism.

Notes Fascism is not an organized theory, but it is said to be a distorted theory.

- In 19th century, Idealism demanded total sacrifice by an individual which was expressed in a new way in 20th century; Fascism is the most dangerous of all the theories.
- Fascism not only pushed an individual into the ditch of downfall by making him puppet in the hands of cruel and unsystematic authority at national level, but also planned extensive autocracies at international level.
- Fascism is not a systematic theory, but it is called crude theory. It is a totalitarianism of government and society under one-party dictatorship, which is an example of coarse nationalism, racialism, militarianism and empearialism.

Notes

- On 28th October, 1922, **Mussolini** in Italy started 'Rome Campaign' and laid the foundation stone of Fascist regime.
- In the duration before the Second World War, though originally it was founded in Italy in the leadership of **Mussolini**, but its recurrence took place in the leadership of **Hitler** in Germany and in the authority of General Franco in Spain and in authority of Prince **Fumimaro Konoe** in Japan. It emerged as Salazarism in Purtgual, Peronism in Argentina, Gaullism in France and in various countries of the third world in form of military rule.
- **Hitler** has presented various logics in favour of his Imperialism, Racialism and anti-democratic programme, which are named as Nazism.

8.1 Totalitarianism

Under this all the activities of the citizens are under surveillance and control of the state. It tries to mould them in one form and forces them to lead a bonded life. This is the main interpretation of Dictatorship.

- The origin of the word Fascism is from Italian word 'Fascio' or 'Fasci'. Its word by word meaning is—'Tightly bound cluster of sticks'.
- Nazi party set up Fascism in Germany on 1st April, 1920, on the basis of 25 formulated programmes.

Did You Know? The emergence of Fascism was initiated to get rid of conflicts of Capitalism?

- The Fascists of Germany named their party as National Socialist party and they used the symbol of 'Swastik'. The Fascist leaders selected a special uniform (Black shirt in Italy and brown shirt in Germany).
- **W.M. McBurn** concluded that Fascism is the movement of lower-middle class.
- According to **Rajni Pamdutt**, Fascism was the outcome of effort to re-establish capitalist tendencies and policies when modern capitalism was in its lowest downfall stage. Its aim was to conk out the revolution of workers and completely shatter the organization of the working class.
- **Lawski** has done right analysis of the emergence of Fascism. According to him, the main reason of emergence was that the agreement of democracy and capitalism would last for long.
- The emergence of Fascism took place to rescue capitalism from controversy, because on some pretext or the other democracy was suspended and unlimited political power was given in the hands of those people who had authority and control over the measures of production.

Task Express your views on Fascism.

- In Fascism, all workers disappeared so the right to do strike also finished. The rate of labour was either reduced by the master or was reduced due to suggestion of the state.
- Under Fascism all the newspapers, wireless, publishing process, cinema and theatre all came under direct control of the authority. In capitalist democracy the administrative services were considered to be compulsorily neutral.

Notes

- Even judiciary was not allowed to follow principles of law; instead it became mouth piece of Fascist ideals.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Fascism is not any systematic ..... principle.
2. In ..... Mussolini in Italy placed the foundation of Fascist regime by starting 'Rome campaign'.
3. Nazi party established Fascism in ..... on 1st April, on the basis of 25 formulated programs.
4. The emergence of Fascism was initiated to get ..... from controversy.

8.2 Summary

- The main characteristics of Fascism are—stiff opposition of communism, incredulity for democratic politics, faith in single party theory and confidence in magical leaders. This theory gets support of civility and Totalitarianism.

8.3 Keywords

- **Fascism:** Political arrangement or viewpoint opposing socialism
- **Totalitarian:** Such a state where only one party has complete possession

8.4 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by Fascism? Clarify.
2. Why did Fascism rise? Explain.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Political 2. 28th October, 1922 3. Germany
4. Freedom from conflict

8.5 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science—*Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science—*Sterling Publishers.*

3. Principles of Political Science—*B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

4. Classic Politics—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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Unit 9: Feminism

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9.2 Explanation of Feminism
9.3 Feminist Social Theory
9.4 Summary
9.5 Keywords
9.6 Review Questions
9.7 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know feminist Movement.
- Explain explanation of Feminism.

Introduction

The approval to rights of women equal to men, in every sphere of life is called Feminism. It originated as a reaction of mainly paternalistic or male-dominance ideology. Its analysis can be done in two forms. In narrow interpretation of political ideology, it is a social movement done for the equality of women. It gives emphasis to eradicate sexism theory or male—dominance or social exploitation of women. In extensive meaning, Feminism is combination of different inter-related concepts which are used for study, analysis and criticism of social precision of sex, and inequality in ratio of sex, its impact and results.

9.1 Feminist Movement

There is no certainty, when and how Feminism originated as a movement. Not only this, lot of divergence is to be noticed in the aim and management of this movement. This is assumed that it originated in final period of 18th century in Europe (France and Britain). Today, this Feminist movement has spread minimally in almost all developed or developing countries. This movement is in favour of sexual equality and it demands the increase in rights of women in order to get equality at all levels.

Notes The approval to rights of women equal to men in the entire sphere of life is named as Feminism.

Notes

The beginning of history of known feminist movement is mainly hidden in ideals of French Revolution. This revolution originated the first wave of Feminism and inspired the women to participate in the revolution. The book, 'A Vindication of the Rights of Women' by **Mary Woolstonecraft** published in 1792 in Britain, activated the first wave of Feminism. There was vehement support of equal education and rights of women in this book. In 19th century many women supporters fought for this and set up many schools and colleges for women and women were given admissions in boy's colleges and trades. Later on, acceptance of right to property and divorce brought a great change in the conditions of women. Feminists paid attention to sex-related problems of women and suitable laws were passed regarding prostitution and hideous crimes such as rape to provide security to women.

In 19th century, in India, some social reformists made suitable efforts to improve the plight of women. Except, **Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshav Chandra Sen, Devendra Nath Thakur, Swami Dayanand, Mrs. Annie Basent.** Theosophical Society and **Ram Krishan** Mission many institutions contributed a lot in solving the problems of women education and other problems.

The second wave of Feminist movement began with the book 'Feminine Mystique' (1963) written by **Betty Friedan** in which an un-named, of happy high-middle class, full-time housewife and mother relates the story of her sorrows and disappointment. In Britain and America, the feminism got support by the women who participated in new-leftist party who started revolting strongly against those men whose behaviour irked them. In Britain, even strike was done for equal income by working women. The second wave of feminist movement really laid foundation of modern 'Women liberation movement'. This movement was neither standardized nor fully organized. This has been an unsteady type of movement in which there is integrated form of program of various groups and political theories. Feminist movement has faith in the active struggle for women social, political, economical and similar status as that of men in the field of rights, respect and equal opportunities of progress.

9.2 Explanation of Feminism

The explanation of Feminism has been done in three ways, Liberal, Marxist and radical. According to reference of Liberalism, sex inequality is outcome of mainly socialization which generates uncouth and injurious feelings in individuals, in relation of men and women. Except this there are some cultural traditions also which are responsible for sexual inequalities. Marxism directly links Feminism with capitalism and paternal system. According to radical ideas, sex inequality is not there due to capitalism or due to ignorance and lack of freedom. Feminism is the aftereffect of their collective endeavour against dominance, control and exploitation of man over woman.

Did You Know? The first wave of Feminism was mainly related to the problem of formal inequality between men and women?

Feminism (especially second wave) has also affected Sociology in many important ways. Honour is being given to various women for their educational works. Not only this, now in men-oriented sociological principles also, place is provided to feminine criticism. For example, regarding principles of crimes, which were mainly man-oriented the study and analysis is being done from the point of view of the women. There is considerable increase in research of relating to life of a woman. Many theories have been developed concerning sex-inequality in which concepts of gender-difference, sex-difference, paternalism, and sexual roles have been used. Feminist movements by inspiring the **Rashtra Sangh** to dedicate the decade of 1975–1985 to the women, have been able to attract attention to the problems of the women.

Notes

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. The beginning of ..... is hidden primarily in the ideals of French Revolution.
2. The analysis of Feminism is done with ..... .
3. ..... reference links Feminism directly with capitalism and paternal system.

9.3 Feminist Social Theory

Feminist social theory of 20th century cannot be separately understood or separated from feminism as social movement. The beginning of Feminist movement took place in 1920 on the debate of equal right of vote which changed to a movement of total reformation in the sphere of salaried job, domestic errands, legal relations and gender inequality in cultural traditions. So the emergence of Feminist social Theory took place in divergent forms of Liberalism, Marxism and post-modernism. Generally, the objective of Feminist Social Theory is to clarify and understand the conditions of women in society in reference to gender differences and particularly theory of paternalism.

The first wave of Feminism was mainly related to the problem of formal equality of men and women. The second wave whose beginning was initiated in decade of 1960, the Feminist movement showed its effectiveness. From theoretical view, this wave adopted different radical traditions, such as Marxism, psycho-analysis and Anarchy. In America, the second wave was linked with the struggle of civil rights of the blacks. By that political struggle, this theory was fostered that there is need of solving the problem of dependent stage of women, and to some extent conditions of blacks under imperial regime and women liberation, not only on economic or political basis but also on psychological and cultural basis. This Feminist movement against paternalism was linked with the opposition of militarism and with the problem of environmental disturbance on the earth. Social expansion, castes-system, war, violence and environmental—destruction were taken as effects of psychological need to establish dominance of man and paternal social organization. On the level of social theory, many experiments were carried on to link Feminism with many branches. Following main publications related to this wave came in light: 'The Second Sex' (1949) of **S. de Beauvoir**, 'The Dialectics of Sex' (1970) of **S.Firestone**, 'The Female Eunuch' (1970) of **G.Greer**, 'Sexual Politics' (1969) of **K.Millett** and 'Women: the longest Revolution' (1974) of **J.Mitchell** etc.

Task Express your views on Feminist Movement.

In decades of 1980 and 1990 on Feminist social theory was affected by the analysis of structuralism and post-modernism. Some modern feminists think that the tradition form of women exploitation is still present in modern society. While imitating post-modernists feminist ideologists said that traditional feminist analysis is full of white middle class women of North America and Western Europe. In these somewhere reference for namesake can be seen of lower class and black women. Third wave of feminism while doing disdain of materialistic perspective manifested the problems of local women. In this relation some publishings are mentionable – 'Feminism and Psychoanalytic Theory' of **N. Chodorow** (1989), 'Feminist Theory' of **B.Hooks** (1984), 'Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory' of **C.Weedon** (1987). Some post-modernist feminists believe that traditional form of feminine oppression is prevalent even today in modern society.

Self Assessment

Notes

State whether the following statements are True / False:

4. In every sphere of life support of equal rights for man and women is termed as Feminism.
5. The book of Betty Friedan is – 'Feminine Mystique'.
6. The foundation of modern Women Liberation Movement' was laid by first wave of Feminist movement.

9.4 Summary

- The Feminist Social Theory has put a general impression on Sociology in the form of sex-discrimination, and gender-discrimination and analysis of paternal power and concepts of social section due to which there was development of feminist methods in social research (**S. Rainharj**, 1992). In feminist methods particular importance is given to qualitative, reflexive and interactive method. This is correct that Feminist Theory has impressed Sociology; even then this theory has not been so far able to create a special place in mainstream of Sociology.

9.5 Keywords

- **Feminism:** Such principle that women should have equal rights like men
- **Social Theory:** Principles made for the society

9.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by Feminist Movement? Clarify.
2. Describe Feminism.
3. Describe Feminist social theory.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Feminist Revolution	2. Three ways	3. Marxist	4. True
5. True	6. False		

9.7 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science— *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science— *Sterling Publishers.*

3. History of Political Science— *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics— *Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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Unit 10: Gandhism and Pacifism

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10.2 Chief Tenets of Gandhism
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10.6 Review Questions
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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know Mahatma Gandhi – the Man and his Works.
- Explain chief Tenets of Gandhism.
- Discuss concept of Swaraj.

Introduction

Gandhiji did not compose any critical treatise on the pretext of developing his ideology or theory as a form of special process. In his practical life whichever problems confronted him, he went on solving them. 'Truth' as appeared in different forms, he never retreated in accepting it. Moreover, he developed some certain principles. The ideals of 'Truth' and 'Non-violence' have been prime-principles of his life. He developed his own methods of political activity. Famous American Black leader **Martin Luther King** (1929–68), during his Civil Rights Movement accepted himself as **Gandhiji's** follower.

10.1 Mahatma Gandhi—the Man and his Works

The father of nation of India, **Mahatma Gandhi** (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi) (1869–1948) was a great public leader, social-reformer and moral philosopher of modern India. He was born on 2nd October, 1869 in Porbandar (Gujarat). He started his professional life in 1891 as a barrister. After two years he had to go to South Africa in connection with hearing of some cases. There he saw that under English rule Indians had to lead a very hard and humiliating life. For its counter, Indians had no special powers. **Gandhiji** started the power of Satyagraha to test the power of non-cooperation there only. He stayed there for a long time, and kept on coming to India occasionally. He had close contact with great leaders like **Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak** (1856–1920) and **Gopalakrishna Gokhle** (1866–1915). In 1915, when he returned to India, his name was quite popular here. In order to be familiarized with the wretched condition of the Indians, he toured the entire country.

Notes

After the First World War, (1914–18) when the English rulers continued to oppress Indians, **Gandhiji** gave stress on non-violence and saved the fierce movement from being violent. For sometime he assumed the leadership of Indian National Congress also which was the main institution of national awareness. In 1930, **Gandhiji** and his 78 followers walked on foot a distance of 200 miles from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi. There he broke Salt-law of British Government by making salt from the sea water and thus started Civil Disobedience Movement.

In 1939, when the Second World War broke out, English rulers pushed Indians also in the war and did not even think of asking the opinion of Indian public. In its opposition, **Gandhiji** initiated famous 'Quit India Movement' in 1942. On 15th August, 1947 got freedom but simultaneously India was divided into two parts, owing to that, **Gandhiji**, the devotee of nation unity, felt greatly grieved. He continued to canvass religious tolerance and unity. On 30th January, 1948 he gave up his life on being shot by an assassin.

Gandhiji showed a new way to the mankind of new-creation of society on the principles of Truth and Non-Violence. Primarily, **Gandhiji** was not a pure political thinker, but he was a true work saint. He was nation-builder of India, and Indians remember him in the name of 'Father of Nation' and 'Bapu'. The renowned poet **Ravindranath Tagore** addressed him as 'Mahatma' and even today also he is well-known as 'Mahatma Gandhi'. He adopted politics as great religion and realization of moral objective. In his book 'My Experiments with Truth' (1929) he has explained the experiences of his life with full veracity. His ideas are scattered in various books, articles and preaching. He did not initiate any new 'system' and he himself declared that there is no existence of ideology of 'Gandhism'. Nevertheless, in the sphere of political- contemplation the gist of the principles of **Gandhiji** is known as 'Gandhism'.

Gandhiji did not compose any critical treatise on the pretext of developing his ideology or theory as a form of special process. In his practical life whichever problems confronted him, he went on solving them. 'Truth' as appeared in different forms, he never retreated in accepting it. Moreover, he developed some certain principles. The ideals of 'truth' and 'non-violence' have been prime-principles of his life. He developed his own methods of political activity. Famous American Black leader **Martin Luther King** (1929–68), during his Civil Rights Movement accepted himself as **Gandhiji's** follower.

10.2 Chief Tenets of Gandhism

Relationship between Politics and Ethics

Famous Italian thinker **Niccolo Machiavelli** (1469–1527) drew a wall between politics and ethics, gave a logic that if ends are upright, the means will automatically upheld as upright. On the contrary, **Gandhiji** gave the logic by framing a bridge between politics and ethics, that in the sphere of politics both means and ends should be similarly sacred.

Gandhiji gave spiritual base to politics and supported to keep it clean. Its inspiration he got from famous scholar **Gopal Krishna Gokhle** (1866–1915). Spiritual, Religious and Moral or Ethical—all these three expressions provided indication of one meaning only to **Gandhiji**. He never interpreted religion in narrow prospect. In his view the subject-matter and objective of all the religions of the world are similar. He was a supporter of religious tolerance and benevolence. His implication of religious base of politics is that every religious act and institution needs to be tested on the criteria of ethics. In contrast to physicist philosophy of **Marx** (1818–83), **Mahatma Gandhi** had faith in superiority of spiritual–element. According to **Gandhiji,** this physical world and its luster is ephemeral; so for progress of worldly life, it is not sensible to reject spiritual life. The politics which is devoid of religion, is equal to death-trap, and pushes the soul into ditch of debacle. In other words, he conferred higher place to Ethics in comparison to Politics and Economics. In his opinion politics is to be adopted only as long as it is appropriate in the criteria of Ethics otherwise it should be avoided.

Notes

Notes Gandhji showed a new way to the mankind on the basis of principles of truth and non-violence.

Actually, **Gandhiji** never saw social, political, economic and religious life in fragments, but he thought the whole life as integral and religion as its extract. Religion does not ask people to be a bum, but only diligent individual can be religious-oriented. In **Gandhiji's** words, "My truth-allegiance brought me in the field of politics, and I, can declare today without a bit of hesitation and with all the humility,–those who say that religion and politics have nothing to do with each other, do not know the meaning of religion." They thought that dependence of India is a great impediment in the moral uplifting of Indians. To eradicate this impediment they took part in liberation movement. He gave similar importance to political liberty as well as to economic liberty also. He initiated spinning wheel, khadi, small-scale industry and usage of domestic things movement to guide people in this direction. In his opinion, political and economical liberty both are the essential conditions of moral life.

Communism

The principle believes in maximum fulfilment of material needs of people. It guides the way to develop forces of production and how to annihilate private property so that classless society can be established.

Gandhiji did not accept the Marxist theory concerning economic liberty. He gave emphasis on limiting the needs in place of 'Fulfilment of physical needs' He gave particular importance to 'Bread Labour'. His idea was that every capable person should engage in bread labour to contribute in production as per his physical needs. There will be fulfilment of minimum needs of food, clothes and home, and along with all this respect of labour will also increase. The intellectual level of those who do academic work will not go down but it will increase. If everyone is work-oriented, the social discrimination will not be there and Classless Society can be possibly established. But if production is increased in this way, the needs of the people will be fulfiled—**Gandhji** did not approve this (as the communists think). For true economical liberty it is necessary to increase production and be self-dependent but there should also be control over the needs. The wants can only be fulfilled if they are kept in control. Wants assume the form of avarice if they are expanded. There is no treatment of accomplishment of wants. The deer wandering in search of mirage in the desert does not ever find peace. An individual can only find peace in his conscience–as musk is located in the naval of musk-deer; it does not procure anything by roaming in the forest. An individual should not indulge in worldly vices, as the leaf of lotus remains unaffected with water even when it is inside water.

Means and Ends

In order to clarify the close relation of politics and ethics, **Gandhiji** gave emphasis on both means and ends. Contrary to **Machiavelli** and his followers kept means before ends—the ends will be like the means. The nature of end is decided by the nature of means. Means can be compared to seeds; and that of ends with the tree. As we sow seeds, tree will grow as per that only. If we sow seeds of acacia, we cannot get fruits like mango. Ends and means are two faces of a coin, which cannot be separated from each other. If means are immoral, however, great is the end, it will be corrupt because the corrupt way cannot take you to correct destination. The government which is founded on fear and force cannot foster feeling of affection and respect in the minds of people. For the accomplishment of independence, **Gandhiji** showed the way of non-cooperation, this was the means which was as

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sacred as 'end' (Swaraj). If 'Swaraj' had been conferred by means of violence, cheating and false way, he would not have accepted it. That was the reason that in 1922, when enraged crowd (in Gorakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh) set the police-post on fire, **Gandhiji** withdrew back from the movement although the signs of success were looking apparent. He experienced that the public has not so far learnt to adopt non-violent ways.

Gandhiji set up an idea that it is appropriate to adopt the way of truth and non-violence. It will take you to a desirable goal. We should leave the worry of the target and conclusion if we are treading on the way of truth, and pay attention to means and action. **Gandhji** had faith in the principle of Gita –

"Karmanye Vadhikaraste, Ma phaleshou kada chana"

It means, To act is in your control; but the end-product is not in your hands. So an individual should indulge in only action, and leave worry of result. On considering this relation between 'Action' and 'Outcome' **Gandhiji** repeatedly declared, "For me, Ahimsa comes before Swaraj".

Truth and Non-Violence

In his autobiography 'My Experiments with Truth' **Gandhiji** has written, "My perpetual experience has given a faith to me that there is no God away from Truth. … And measure of realization of truth is only non-violence. With stringent devotion of non-violence, the full appraisal of truth can be attained".

This idea takes us towards omnipresent God who is blessed form of truth; and who is all pervasive. **Mahatma Buddha** gave him name of 'Vishwatma', and explains that if we inflict pain on any creature, Vishwatma is also pained. **Mahatma Gandhi** goes one step ahead and adds, 'Love all the creatures of the earth. Even the creature of lowest category is the image of God, so it is entitled to your love'. "By repeating the teaching of prophet of knowledge, to **Abu Bin Adam, Gandhiji** says that an individual, who loves his fellow beings, loves God. Like **Rabindranath Tagore**, he also experiences that if you want to have glimpse of God, you can see this in tickling drops of sweat on the forehead of labourer who is working in hot sun in your farms. **Gandhiji** not only preach sermons but also lived in the locality of Harijans, led a life of ascetic by wearing only loincloth so that he had this idea that this poor farmer who did not have enough clothes to wear, how did he lead his life?

So the positive aspect of non-violence is—love for mankind. Non-violence is that principle or policy in which the opponent is won by love, not by hatred or fight. In eyes of a follower of non-violence, no one can be object of hatred; not even a sinner. **Gandhiji** is follower of this dictum, "Hate the sin, and not the sinner." If any sinner comes in your contact, with strength of your character, inspire him to adopt the path of goodness after relinquishing the sin. So the follower of non-violence cannot detach himself from the society. **Gandhiji** did not believe in such spiritual devotion in which are individual leaves the world and lead a lonely life in hills and valleys or forests. Throughout his life, he was busy in public affairs and never encouraged such meditations or devotions through which there is no welfare of the society. The devotee of non-violence will be moved by sorrow of his fellow-beings and will continue to try for deterrence of them. He would forget difference of own and others and sacrifice his life for the sake of public-service.

The principle of non-violence imparts teaching of being away from violence. As we go in its depth, its meaning becomes extensive. The proposed principle demands that there should not be any harassment to any one due to our action. In **Gandhiji's** view, even the idea of giving any discomfort or think bad of someone is also a sort of violence. To nestle the feeling of hatred or animosity is also violence. To hoard more things than one needs and collect more money is also violence because by doing so we deprive others of their allotted rights and their portion of things. Even pollution of the environment is also violence because this action may bring upon harm to public health. So if we circumspect, the ideals of citizenship and good conduct come in think—tank of violence.

Notes

In modern India **Mahatma Gandhi** adopted non-violence as political principle in liberation movement of India and proved its potential. **Gandhiji** taught that "Non-violence is not refuge of weak but weapon of mighty". The situation of being afraid of the opponent or failure of use of force is not non-violence. Contrary to this, it is the strength of morally powerful individual or of group which is attained by having firm faith in truth. Non-violence is itself a force, which enables an individual to win over the heart of the opponent. The devotee of non-violence has got the capability of defeating the power of untruth by keeping unique allegiance for truth.

In current circumstances the importance of non-violence has increased all the more The follower of **Gandhiji** and American Black leader, **Martin Luther King** (1929–68), said, "In today's age of extremely destructive weapons, we have just two options—either we should adopt non-violence or let our existence vanish."

Satyagraha

The staunch relation of truth and non-violence generates the idea of Satyagraha. In fact, Satyagraha is the Gandhian method of social revolution. The word meaning of Satyagraha is—satya + insistence meaning Insistence of Truth. What is Truth—How to decide it? When an individual indulges in self-purification, his conscience becomes a mirror of truth. When an individual starts believing that he has taken path of truth, he would not hesitate in spite of facing so many impediments and autocracies - even a little, this is also Satyagraha. The realization of truth is difficult, but finally truth wins. Satya always gets victory but not untruth or falsehood. So Satyagrahi never accepts defeat. In any situation, he does not give up path of truth. Only by standing firm on truth he manages to change the heart of his opponent, he would not have done it by giving him pain (because non-violence is essential condition of Satyagraha). Satyagrahi inflicts pain on himself, as he observes fast, or bears agony of jail, these acts move the heart of the opponent, and he avoids the path of injustice and is forced morally to take up justifiable path. **Gandhiji** adopted the same strategy of gaining Swaraj.

While analyzing the theory of Satyagraha, it must be kept in mind that truth is eternal and faultless, but man himself is imperfect. So no individual can have a claim that he has got full knowledge of truth. There can be difference of opinions on the question of analysis of truth in political sphere. Under such situations, according to **Gandhiji** it is not good to take up the path of obstinacy. The Satyagrahi should have dialogue with the opponent and inspire them to understand mutual outlook of each other so that both the parties may do the investigation of truth. If the opponent party rejects the proposal of the Satyagrahi, means they may not at all agree for dialogue, then only, he may opt for measures of moral pressure.

Civil Disobedience

According to **Gandhiji**, an individual is a moral creature. From this point of view, he is forced to obey the orders and laws of the state as long as they are true to the criteria of ethics. The laws which are against legal ethics, **Gandhiji** showed the path of 'Civil Disobedience' to counter them. The original meaning of civil disobedience is–disobedience of such a law which itself is unlawful. When a law is disobeyed to express protest against any policy of the government, or to draw the attention of the government for any demand for any political reform, it is called civil disobedience. The credit of this invention of word goes to American writer **Henry David Thoreau** (1817–62) who in 1848 in one of his essays, he clarified, why he spent one night in prison? He gave an argument that when our own government indulges in unlawful activities, the public must revolt against it. **Mahatma Gandhi** during Independence struggle, gave the form of an extensive principle by combining the idea of non- violent struggle and the concept of insistence of truth. **Gandhiji** showed successful experiment of this in his own life, whose chief example has been 'Salt-satyagraha' of 1930. In those days British

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Colonial Regime put a restriction on Indians that they were not allowed to make salt from seawater. **Gandhiji** termed it as unjustifiable and went near the sea with his 78 followers and himself made salt in order to violate the restriction.

According to **Gandhiji**, the meaning of civil disobedience is that heartiest regard should be given generally to a law; only unjustifiable law may be violated; the violation should always be done without indulging in violence; this activity should be done publicly, not stealthily; and the punishment which is met out, should be accepted happily. The assistance of civil disobedience should only be taken when all efforts of persuasion and petition have been done and they all failed.

In current politics, many examples are being noted of misuse of civil disobedience. It must be remembered that the aim of civil-disobedience is change of heart of those who are in power, not to force them. The use of civil-disobedience movement will be logical as a revolt against Dictatorship, Foreign Rule and autocratic regime, but in case of the regime which respects the rights of citizens, allows pressure on the administration in democratic way, or government can be changed, this measure should be used very carefully. If a group initiates 'Jail bharo' movement by neglecting the interests of other sections of the society, it cannot be appreciated as 'Civil obedience'.

Did You Know? To gain 'Swarajya', Gandhiji showed the path of Satyagraha?

Theory of Trusteeship

Gandhiji imagined of such an ideal society in which every individual's conduct will be non-violence oriented. So in such a society there will be no need of state. The discrimination between poor and rich will be annihilated. The needs of people will be so limited that they will fulfil them with their physical labour by living near nature. But it is very difficult to attain this situation. For the establishment of such an ideal society, the character of all the people must be extremely high. It is a long, long journey. So for improvised set-up, **Gandhiji** presented a practical solution which is there in his Theory of **Trusteeship**. According to this theory, till the people become habitual in living without mechanical means, the big industries, heavy machines and large trade and business cannot be finished. There is need of taking suitable measures in which the use of industry will be only for public welfare and the means of fulfiling the selfish interests or instruments of violence are not there at all. For this **Gandhiji** demanded 'Change of Heart' of the capitalists so that they may not consider their private property as their own but consider it as trust of entire society.

In other words, until we are ready to establish fully non-violence based classless and stateless society, we should try to change heart of capitalists in order to make the present system based on non-violence. With this the capitalists will be asked to consider that the property on which they have control should not be considered as their own property but the trust of the public. They may assume the role of the trustee and are ready to use it for the progress and welfare of the whole society. The biggest advantage will be that the society will avail of the capability of hard-working and talented people in the sphere of industry and commerce and will be free from exploitation generated from property and also from injustice. This concept is though very ennoble, but seems too optimistic as only through moral inspiration, it is too much to imagine that there will be change of heart of the capitalists.

Task Express your views on concept of Swaraj.

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Sarvodaya

The theory of 'Sarvodaya' expresses the feeling of welfare of whole mankind. The meaning of this originally Indian word is 'Uplift of all'. **Mahatma Gandhi** used this word to indicate such lifestyle which is based on truth and non-violence. It means when non-violence is taken as rule of life, there will be no malice and avarice for anybody in the society and all will work together for the welfare of all. After **Gandhiji, Acharya Vinoba Bhave** (1895–1982) and **Loknayak Jaiprakash Narayaan** (1902–79) gave Sarvodaya a form of extensive social program.

Sometimes the interpretation of Sarvodaya is done in the form of Gandhian Socialism. But this interpretation is not right. Socialism has innumerable formats. But it gives preference to the fulfilment of physical needs. Gandhism teaches to keep patience and decrease physical needs. Socialism mainly gives emphasis on social ownership on the means of productions; Gandhism on having faith in change of heart of the capitalists gives emphasis on the theory of Trusteeship. The conclusion is this, Sarvodaya gives too much importance to the welfare of low class, but for this it imagines and hopes for such system in which the wealthy section by its own choice and conscience will consecrate its wealth for the welfare of the poor section. Socialism mostly focuses its attention on class conflict; Sarvodaya emphasizes on Class Cooperation.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. **Mahatma Gandhi** was born on 2nd October ..... in Porbandar in Gujarat.
2. In connection with the hearing of one case **Mahatma Gandhi** had to go to ..... .
3. In ..... Second World War broke out.
4. 'Experiments with Truth' is the ..... of **Gandhiji**.

10.3 Concept of Swaraj

Meaning of Swaraj

In **Gandhiji's** ideology, there is special significance of Swaraj. This word became popular during independence-movement of India which expressed demand of Self rule, Self-determination and Independence. In the beginning **Vipin Chandra Paul** (1858–1932), **Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak** (1856–1920) and **Shree Arvind** (1872–1950), the nationalist leaders declared their objective of 'Complete Swaraj' by giving stress on total freedom from Foreign Rule. Later on **Mahatma Gandhi** and **Jawaharlal Nehru** (1889–1964) also resolved firmly to clinch this objective. **Gandhiji** explained the meaning of Swaraj in detail and gave the argument that on political level, it is not just getting independence from foreign rule; it also involves cultural and ethical idea. If a society is independent from political point of view, but dependent from cultural point of view, or it has to look at others for their strategies, it will be swaraj even though it is independent.

According to **Gandhiji**, the plant of Swaraj grows in that country whose roots are linked with its traditions, but it should be aware of the shortcomings of those traditions, and is ready to learn good things from others. The nation, whose foundation is not laid on its traditions, it will tumble with every surge of air. Swaraj demands that from cultural point we should have a house which provides security to us, but the windows and doors of that house should be kept open so that the fresh air containing best ideas should enter it. Otherwise foul smell will pervade and results in suffocation.

In **Gandhiji's** viewpoint, Swaraj was synonym of True Democracy. He presented an argument that under the system in which people have to surrender their decision in the hands of the majority, it

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will be useless to call this system as democracy. He had firm faith that true Swaraj will not be there if these handful of people are able to get power. The true Swaraj will only be established when all people learn to protest against misuse of power, and gain suitable capability for this. The opposite version of Swaraj is Alien Rule; it may be of English or Indians.

Gandhiji inspired Indians for that Swaraj (Self-Rule) during the days of independence movement; he visualized it as 'Wiping every tear from every eye' aspect. He gave message to every individual to carry out those duties which make him sensitive for common welfare. If by chance, any doubt is raised in any one's mind about his duty, **Gandhiji** presented a guideline—"Imagine the poorest and the weakest person out of you and ask your conscience that the steps that you plan to take up, will benefit that person? Will he be able to get a right to control his life and destiny with this? Or will this step take millions of people to Swaraj whose stomachs are empty and soul is insatiable?" It is proved that **Gandhiji** was supporter of such concept of Swaraj which inspires an individual for emancipation of poor and desolate people of society.

On the level of an individual, the meaning of Swaraj was that an individual must have full control over himself. Thus, it was synonym of self-control which makes an individual incorruptible and great and grants capability for extending important contribution in social progress and welfare.

According to **Gandhiji**, for the character building of the people, it is essential to follow the rules of good conduct. **Gandhiji** specified several rules for good conduct. These rules indicate his deep concern for common good. In his speculation, the society is being given priority in comparison to an individual and spiritualism is given superiority in comparison to Materialism. He gave stress on conscientiousness of every individual—there is no credit given to the rights of people against the state and the society.

Bread-Labour theory of **Gandhiji** determines the responsibility of an individual that he himself will do labour for producing things of his utility—he will not depend on other's labour. When all do hard work, enough production can be there to fulfil minimum needs of all. When all get full end-product of their labour, there will be no poverty. There will be welfare of all; and it will accomplish common good. Apart from this, the theory of 'Bread Labour' gives emphasis on 'Dignity of Labour'. It is to be noted that in ancient and traditional society—such as in Greek, Rome, China and India, Bread-Labour was considered to be work of lower category and those who are engaged in this , are kept in the lowest class of the society. The theory of Bread-Labour demands revolutionary change in this point of view.

The theory of Non-possession / Renunciation of **Gandhiji** imparts a teaching that an individual should take up only that much which is compulsorily required for his immediate need. It seeks Self-Control from an individual. There is no scope for greed, luxury or extravagance in this. When every one exercises control in consumption of social resources, it will be easy to provide happy and contended life to all the members of the society. It will result in increase in common good.

The rule of abstention from theft is supplement principle of non-possession. Its literal meaning is - not to indulge in theft. Its symbolic meaning is that a person should not keep any private property. This idea reminds of the quote of the philosopher **P.J Proudhon** (1809–65) that 'Property is theft'. In **Gandhiji's** thinking, the entire property of the society should be considered as heritage of the entire society. The person, who hoards more than his immediate need, should be termed as thief because he deprives others of its consumption. By launching this idea, **Gandhiji** provided elaborate substratum to common good.

The theory of Trusteeship demands for change of heart of the capitalists so that they use the means of production assuming that they are heritage of the whole society and use them only for welfare of the public and not for their private use. This outlook also enhances the idea of common good.

The theory of Sarvodaya (uplift of all) of **Gandhiji** is closest expression of idea of common good. This principle endorses such policy under which extensive efforts are done for the welfare of all the levels

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of society after eliminating all the discriminations of caste-creed, religion- community, woman-man, high-low etc. Its aim is to boost the goodwill and mutual cooperation of all the sections of society.

Above all, the non-violence theory of **Gandhiji** instills the spirit of affection in the heart of people for fellow creatures. Thus, in reflection of **Gandhiji** the idea of common good has reached its full elevation.

There is one problem with this philosophizing methodology that it demands total change in an individual's present conduct and character, so that he rises above selfishness and dedicates fully for the common good. It is very difficult to epitomize this imagination. But we can take guidelines in determining the direction of social change. The main concern of **Gandhiji** was with Moral life of an individual. He looked at politics in the form of instrument of morality and adhered to it. The main aim of the movement that he initiated for political independence was to take India towards Moral Regeneration.

Critique of Western Civilization

For the progress of India, **Gandhiji** did not want to mould it into the Western Civilization. He had a firm belief western civilization will take an individual to moral downfall after showing the path of consumerism; the path of moral uplift demands self-control and spirit of renunciation. **Gandhiji** has done elaborate review of western civilization and Modern Civilization holding them to be concurrent. In 1927 in 'Young India' he wrote:

"I do not agree that the world will be able to take even one step ahead towards its goal by increasing its aspirations or hoarding the means of fulfilment. I do not at all like the rat-race to search every nook and corner of the earth to reduce the distance and space of time, to increase physical aspirations and their fulfilment in the world of today. If these are the symptoms of modern civilization—and I apprehend these symptoms only – I may call it 'Devilish- civilization".

Gandhiji has written in 'Hind Swaraj' (1938) that modern civilization pretends to give respect to the idea of equality, but on the level of truth it gives emphasis to Racism. The Non-Whites are deprived of Human Dignity and abounding exploitation is done of them. They are kept as slaves and bonded-labour somewhere or others.

According to **Gandhiji**, under modern civilization, preference is given to rigidity in place of consciousness, to mechanical life in place of natural life and to politics and economics in place of ethics. **Gandhiji** wanted to restrict this tendency. Nevertheless, in **Gandhiji's** outlook there are some elements which are worth appreciation in modern civilization. **B.C Parekh** in 'Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Evaluation' 1989 has given an account of these elements like this:

a. In this, the tradition is not accepted blindly, but scientific view is given encouragement for the quest of truth;

b. Lot of credit is given on its organizational aspect;

c. Natural system is kept under human control;

d. Political awareness is generated in common public.

Gandhiji has included all these elements in the concept of his ideal state.

Direction of Development

Gandhiji was against any of such concept whose objective was just to enhance physical desires and seek measures for their fulfilment. He wanted individual's character to be so high that he could suppress his physical desires and keep hold on his heart. He gave an argument that in West, when people discuss improvement in conditions of common people, their aim is to elevate their physical life status. But the true status of human being is determined by his conscience; it cannot be elevated

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by changing outer circumstances. For this, human beings should be inspired to know about his duties and carry them out so that they can reach close to God. By exciting physical desires and arranging resources for their fulfilment, we can only push him into ditch of moral downfall.

Gandhiji taught that human beings should consume physical things only that much that, they are needed to keep him healthy, to crave for more traps him in infatuation and illusion. The physical desires are never pacified. The efforts to satiate aggravate them all the more. The Will Power of a person gets lost by running after various inducements. On the other side, by keeping desires under control, there is accomplishment of two objectives:

1. It provides significance to social justice. There are enough resources on this earth that all are able to fulfil their needs, but there are not enough resources to contain greed. If a man does not curb his desires, he will create scarcity of resources on this earth. Due to this, others are not able to fulfil even their minimum needs. The greedy for wealth will devour the outcome of others labour and brings harm to nature and society. On the contrary, the man who keeps strain on his desires, he assists others in fulfiling their compulsory needs and, thus, contributes in accomplishment of social justice. **Gandhji** taught that a man must not take anything which might not be available to millions of people of society.
2. The moral character of the human being develops because of this. When a person is able to have control over his wishes, his conscience becomes purified. The difference in own-other goes away. He is fully aware of his responsibilities for himself and the society. After self-realization, man is not cut-off from the society, but associated with it in better way. The feeling of obligation springs up in his mind for its fellow beings which is helpful in moral exaltation. So the commitment to self-development also contributes to social development.

In conclusion, the path of development which **Gandhiji** showed gives stress on giving new mould to conduct and character of human being. After the exaltation of character of the members of the society, the whole society will mould in a new pattern.

Concept of Classless and Stateless Society

Gandhiji was basically a moral philosopher. He did not give any analysis of nature of modern state. While providing the teaching of truth and non-violence to Indians, he floated an idea that in a non-violence society, there should be no place of 'state' in it because the power of the state and laws of the state are based on violence and coercion. The state suppresses the individuality of the individuals and forces them to be bound by one mould. It mars the feeling of self-dependence and frustrates the personality of an individual. But even then state is a necessary evil. Human being is a social animal; to regularize his social life, the existence of state is essential. The eminent state will be which makes use of minimum violence and force to regularize the voluntary efforts of the activities of individuals.

In **Gandhiji's** opinion an ideal social-system will be that which is fully based on non-violence. If the idea of violence disappears, there will be no scope of 'Punishment' and 'Use of Force'. So there will be no need of institution of state. In other words, in the ideal society of **Gandhiji**, there will be no need of Political Power. From this point of view, **Gandhiji** is Philosophical Anarchist or Pacific Anarchist like **Count Leo Tolstoy** (1828–1910)'. **Gandhiji** himself read the articles written by **Tolstoy** and was also impressed by them. The great **Tolstoy** showed the path to make life meaningful by emphasizing the importance of good conduct and moral values to atrocity-ridden Russia under the cruel regime of **Tzar** - and generally to whole of Europe. He upheld that physical happiness is unsubstantial and inspired the world towards spiritual bliss. **Tolstoy** followed the sermons of **Jesus Christ** and imparted teaching of love for mankind and repeated the principle of counter wickedness with goodness. On this basis only he attacked the institution of private property because it provided means of leading a life of luxury to a few people on the pretext of labour of others. Along with this he endorsed the termination of state because it claims to have control over evil with the power of police and army.

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Gandhiji adopted this idea and argued that the termination of the state should also be carried out non-violently otherwise the allegiance towards non-violence will be meaningless.

Philosophical Anarchism

This principle endorses the termination of state on the basis of moral logic. The chief propagator of this principle, **Count Leo Tolstoy** (1828–1910) gave this argument that the source of moral power is imbibed in the soul of an individual. To make this power meaningful, all the outer institutions are proved meaningless. The state wants to fight against evil with the help of police and military force. Private property grants means to lead the life of luxury to only a few people on the pretext of labour of others. Both of the institutions are against moral life. The welfare of mankind will be in terminating both of them.

According to **Gandhiji**, the foundation of the state stands on 'violence'. There is no place of it in non-violent society. **Tolstoy** developed his moral ideas on the basis of true Christian religion. **Gandhiji** heard the echo of these ideas in Hindu religion. But none of them took the religion in narrow perspective but adopted substance of religion. From this point of view they did not agree with other anarchists like—**P.J. Proudhon** (1809–65), **Mikhail Bakunin** (1814–76) and **Peter Kropotkin** (1842–1921), who concluded religion to be an impediment in the development of an individual. **Karl Marx** (1818–83) and other communists also in the last resort, dreamt of establishment of stateless society. But they presumed religion to be impediment in the consciousness of new-creation, and avoided it from the beginning, and wanted to establish a stateless society by violence. Secondly, the communists believed that before the emergence of stateless society, there will be a situation of the largest production, then all the needs and dreams of all the people will be fulfiled. On the contrary, **Gandhiji** shows a path of limiting the physical needs and controlling the desires. Thus, the stateless society of **Gandhiji** was entirely different from the stateless society of the communists.

The idea that an individual should not inflict any sort of pain to his fellow beings is incorporated in the principle of non-violence. So, if each individual's behaviour is inspired by the feeling of non-violence, there will be no need of control of any outside agency. Each individual will be master of himself (or he will be full of self-control) and the social life will be governed automatically in such a way that the activities of each individual will advance towards the welfare of the whole society. This stage will be of Enlightened Anarchy. This is also apparent that in **Gandhiji's** view for the new-creation of society, individual's reorientation of character is essential. The shape of society will only be purified when the nature of individuals who are engaged in its creation is purified. Thus, **Gandhiji** is supposed to be the supporter of Moral Individualism.

Moral Individualism

The principle according to which man is a rational being; is affluent with the capability of Moral Judgement. It is an end –in-itself. So respecting the dignity of state and an individual, we should not try to adjust his life in a readymade mould.

In ideal society of **Gandhiji**, religion and social obligation of each individual will take the form of a service. Because in this every kind of service is inspected with similar respect, so there will be established dignity of Labour. It will be a 'classless' society in this context. This concept of **Gandhiji** is closely associated with the idea of Sarvodaya. His interpretation was this—when non-violence is adopted as the norm of life, there will be no enmity and malice in the mind of anybody, and all will work together for everyone's welfare. So whereas the principle of Sarvodaya gives special importance to progress of the deprived section, it also expects that wealthy section will show feeling of self-control and benevolence by investing money in the welfare of poor section on their own and with self-inspiration and as such will exalt its spiritual status.

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Blueprint of Future Society

Gandhiji imparted this teaching under the theory of bread Labour every individual must contribute in the production of objects of utility by doing suitable physical labour. By this not only there will be help for the fulfilment of needs of millions of people but also there will be enhancement of dignity of labour. By giving equal importance to all sorts of labour, he tried to eliminate discrimination based on castism. **Gandhiji** considered labour as key to all social Programme and supported such an economic system by which the huge population of India can be engaged in appropriate labour. Every one should get at least that much of outcome of his labour that he can lead a simple life and elevate his moral life. So **Gandhiji** gave preference to Labour–Intensive Industries over Technology-intensive Industries. He thought the process of Production by the Masses is more appropriate than 'Mass Production'. He specially supported the expansion of Cottage Industries.

The principle of Swadeshi insisted that the people should use things only made in their own country to strengthen the economy. Its symbolic meaning was that the people should feel attachment with their culture and liberty so that they might not blindly imitate the European ideas and institutions.

On the status of administration, **Gandhiji** supported elaborate decentralization. He suggested that an ideal state will be a federation of village communities. The administration of each village community will be run by 'Panchayat' of five people who will be elected. The village panchayat will have legislative, executive and judicial powers, but to maintain cooperation and system in the society, mainly the assistance will be taken from moral authority and public opinion. **Gandhiji** had firm conviction that village communities will gradually establish hearty relations among the people; will enhance the feeling of social responsibility and exercise the role of suitable school to teach Civic Virtues.

The group of villages in the form of Talukas, group of Talukas in Districts and groups of districts in the form of Provinces will be organized. Each unit out of them will send their representatives to higher unit after electing them. There will be sufficient autonomy, and it will be full of sense of community. Every province will be free to enact its own constitution keeping in view local needs and welfare of the whole country. On the level of the centre, the whole country will appear to be 'Community of Communities'. The Central Government will surely have enough power that it can keep all states in unity, not that much that it can establish Domination on them. **Gandhiji** was against the direct election of central assembly because there will be decrease of feeling of responsibility and will encourage corruption.

Self Assessment

State whether the following sentences are True/ False:

5. Gandhiji was not just a political thinker, but he was a true work saint.
6. In the field of economic liberty, Gandhiji accepted the theory of Communism.
7. Gandhiji said, 'For me, the place of non-violence is before Swaraj.'
8. Non-violence is not refuge of the weak, but it is the weapon of the mighty.

10.4 Summary

- According to **Gandhiji**, the image of the administration will not be like Pyramidal Structure which is segmented in high and low sections. It will be an Oceanic Circle consisting of innumerable villages whose all the parts will be linked with each other on the same surface. One circle will be made outside the other circle; third outside the second and in this way the structure will go on expanding. Individual will be central point of this Oceanic Circle. This individual will be extremely courteous and benevolent. He would be ready to sacrifice any thing for the sake of his village; the village would do so for Taluka; Taluka would cater for

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district—means each unit would be ready to sacrifice for the sake of bigger unit. Even then, all the people would equally share the dignity of this oceanic circle as an inseparable entity.

- **Gandhiji** had faith that this sort of system of the state would not need any elaborate bureaucracy because in it most of the decision-making process would be decentralized. The society in which nobody is hungry and all live together, there would be very less number of crimes, and so there would not be much necessity of police. If by chance any one commits a crime, the moral impact of public opinion would be enough for his change of heart. If necessary, the citizens themselves can take up the role of police one after the other. In this state-system there would be no possibility of Civil-War, hence, no military would be required. The place where people are ready for sacrifice for the sake of liberty of the country, there would be no danger of foreign invasion.
- There is no doubt that the path of development which **Gandhiji** showed, was in accordance to Indian culture and value-tradition. But this country had to choose a different path to gain suitable place in technology – intensive and tension-infested world. Nevertheless, **Gandhiji** gave such a message of regulations of consumption and control of desires, which has become an important principle of environmentalism for protection of future of mankind in the present age.

10.5 Keywords

- **Work:** Creation, Written creation, etc.
- **Experiment:** Examination

10.6 Review Questions

1. Express your thoughts on the personality and work of Mahatma Gandhi.
2. What do you mean by Means and Ends? Clarify.
3. Comment upon Gandhiji's Satyagraha.
4. What do you understand by 'Swaraj'? Clarify.
5. Why do we study political theories?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. 1869	2. South Africa	3. 1939	4. Autobiography
5. True	6. False	7. True	8. True

10.7 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science—*B. K.Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

2. Principles of Political Science—*Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

3. History of Political Science—*Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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Unit 11: Communitarianism and Civic Republicanism

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know liberal view of politics.
- Explain marxist view of politics.

Introduction

Under the modern point of view of politics, it is seen as a social process. In ancient and medieval age, politics was generally understood as activity of kings and wealth, generals and members of royal court—the general public had to just carry out their orders. But in modern age, except distinguished class, common people and their groups are also considered to be component of politics and this is upheld that the various groups of society exercise their role in the process of reaching up to the public decision. In other words, the today's eminent class or rulers-class use power not only to fulfill their aspirations but also it has to establish legitimacy of its reign to prove that the objective of its policies, decisions and programmes is to encourage Public Interest. In order to know about public interest, it becomes essential to keep in mind the mutual controversial aspirations of different sections of common people.

The concern of politics is with conflict and its solution. But what are the topics of conflict; what are the prospects of its solutions; and if such politics is possible in which conflicts would not occur at all? Various views are popular about the form of politics in contemporary political-science concerning these questions. Three views out of all are especially important:

1. **Liberal View :** Under this politics is considered as resource of Reconciliation of Conflicting Interests.
2. **Marxist View :** Under this politics is considered to be the zone of Class Struggle.
3. **Communitarian View :** Under this upholding individual to be inseparable consequent of society, politics is considered to be source of fulfilment of 'Common Good'.

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Due to scientific inventions, Industrial Mode of Production was being introduced; the authority of Pope was being challenged in the sphere of religion; trade and commerce was expanding due to discovery of new countries; and feudal systems were crumbling. The objective of liberalism was to encourage those ideas in social, economic and political sphere which might prove to be helpful in setting up capitalism. In early liberalism, individualism was encouraged keeping 'individual' as the centre of total social life. There was particular contribution of **John Lock** (1632–1704), **Adam Smith** (1723–90), **Jeremy Bentham** (1748–1832), **John Stuart Mill** (1806–73) etc. In contemporary Liberalism, different groups are considered to be the centre of social life, so Pluralism has been given more importance than 'Individualism'.

Feudalism

This system of medieval Europe from economic view was primarily based on agriculture. From political point of view there was supremacy of three sections—clergy, nobility and commoners. The authority of territory was in the hands of nobles; the commoners were their slaves.

Capitalism

It is that system of modern age which from economic point of view depended upon Industrial Production. In this capitalists are engaged in production for private profit, and workers are free to work anywhere as per their qualification and demand of them in the market.

Liberalism mainly considers 'Market Society System' as an ideal of social, economic and political relation of an individual. Under ancient liberalism the stress was given to 'Free Competition' of market. But contemporary liberalism mainly accepts the ideal of 'Regulated Market System', and it has become supporter of 'Welfare State'.

The beginning of Marxism took place in the middle of 19th century when the society was based on free market system and capitalism was at its climax. New capitalistic section has attained huge wealth and property and social prestige but the condition of new worker-class was extremely miserable. At that time **Karl Marx** (1818–83) and **Friedrich Engels** (1820–95) presented an idea after analyzing the whole history, that the society has always been divided between Haves and Have-nots on the basis of authority of private property. The wealthy section has always been a dominant class and poor section has been dependent class. The interests of both the sections have always been interactively antagonistic. In modern industrial age, the claim of liberty is being, of course, placed from political point of view, but from economic point of view, after the downfall of Feudalism, the liberty of the capitalist class and working class has become meaningless in society. He gave logic that as long as the society is divided in Mutually Antagonistic Classes, no political system can liberate commoners and workers class from the shackles of dependence. So Marxism gave importance to class struggle and suggested that the worker-class would have to organize themselves and eliminate capitalistic system, they should establish social ownership on major means of production and usher in socialism so that finally a classless society can be fostered.

11.1 Liberal View of Politics

The main points of liberal viewpoints of politics are following:

Politics is a Group Activity

Liberal outlook of politics supports the pluralistic view of society on the surface of conduct. According to this outlook, different people in the form of members of the different groups look after their interests.

So various groups are formed in the society, which organize themselves in their own way. These groups try to boost the interests of the members against the interest of competing group. These are called interest groups. For example, the group of shopkeepers and consumers tries to augment the mutual antagonist interests of the members of their group. Likewise, owner and worker, landlord and farmer and house owner and tenant promote the interests of their respective groups through the medium of their interest groups. Due to the clashes of these mutual antagonist groups, politics is born. Political Parties try to set up rapport among the demands of various interest groups.

Politics Involves Use of Authority

In politics, in order to find solutions of demands of various mutually antagonist groups, such policies, decisions and laws are enacted which are accepted by these groups; or at least they are ready to obey them. It is true that all the demands of all the groups are not fulfilled, but the commoners should have this much of confidence that these laws are enacted by genuine officers or by genuine institutions with genuine methods, and interest of all the people is taken care of. With such confidence, people will obey the laws heartily. Even then, the government must have power to implement these laws. For example, the rules are framed for the transport, signals are put, arrangement of red and green lights are done and police constables are deputed for the convenience of transport on the roads. Generally, the people abide by the arrangement on their own, but the arrangement of transport police is also done to arrest or punish those who violate the rules and signals.

Thus, the political objective is only fulfilled by utilizing authoritative power.

Politics is an Instrument of Conciliating the Conflicting Interests

According to Liberal point of view, the use of authoritative power is not opted to force will of one section on another, but it expresses such intention with which sometimes agreement is reached between two mutual antagonist groups. In other words, under liberal society, the mutually antagonist classes for the sake of the fulfilment of their interest, do not plan against each other but devise some solution on the basis of agreement in which the interest of all the sections is attended. So politics is mainly 'Instrument of Conflict Resolution'. Through the medium of politics such policies, decisions and rules are implemented which are instruments of conciliating the conflicting interests of mutually antagonists. For example, such rules establish reconciliation in mutual antagonists between owner and worker, manufacturer and consumer, landlord and farmer, house owner and tenant or vehicles coming from different direction on an intersection.

In brief, only through the medium of politics, by using organized power of the society legitimate and just solution of the social problems and conflicts is found. The outlook of liberalism of politics accepted that in the society by Conciliation and Legitimate Coercion any type of difference of opinion and struggle or conflict can be resolved. Politics is an instrument of peace, system and establishment of justice in the society.

Notes Liberalism asserts that 'Market Society System' establishes mainly an ideal of social, economic and political relations in human beings.

Communitarianism is a contemporary philosophy. It is born due to criticism of liberalism. In today's age, the means of well-being and convenience have increased, and general happiness has

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also augmented. But with Economic Security also human being does not have Emotional Security; he is alone in crowd. Although he lives in the society but he feels no attachment or affinity with the society. Communitarianism is an effort to join the broken relation of an individual and the society. The supporters of communitarianism agree that the existence and personality of an individual is the contribution of social life. Different people are not curtailed units but they are connected points in the shape of the society. All the people are linked with each other as members of the community. They lead a meaningful life till they are linked in this form. When different people engage themselves in fulfillment of their selfish end, their life gets scattered, and there is no realization of their true interest. For this, they should know common good and give their contribution in its realization. Though communitarianism is a modern idea, but its early indications are to be found in the theories Greek Philosopher **Aristotle** and various thinkers of 18th and 19th century. The names of **J.J. Rousseau** (1712–78), **G.W.F.Hegal** (1770–1831), **T.H.Greene** (1836–82) are especially worth-mentioning. **Alasdair MacIntyre, Michael Sandel** and **Charles Tailor**, the contemporary propagators, are especially renowned.

In brief, liberalism approves that on getting only political and legal freedom all the people become free and they can regularize their associations in the interest of all like 'Open Market'. In order to encourage their respective interests, different groups can form interest groups to accommodate their mutual relations. But Marxism asserts that till the institution of private property exists, the society will be segmented economically and politically in 'dominant' and 'dependent' groups, and any agreement that is done will only encourage Oppression and Exploitation of the dependent group. So to make the freedom of commoners meaningful, the termination of system of capitalism is essential. Thus, Marxism agrees that the Economic Structure of society is base, and legal, political, religious, moral and cultural elements are names of that super-structure. This super-structure develops in any age, in accordance with the economic structure of the society.

Liberalism emphasizes on the rights of the individuals; but communitarianism centralizes its attention on his duties and obligations. Liberalism gives full concession to an individual for pursuit of self-interest. It upholds when different individuals are busy in pursuit of their self-interests; there is realization of 'common good' automatically on account of their mutual bargain. In other words, it observes people as curtailed units whose mutual relation is only there due to inspiration of feeling of fulfilment of selfish interests. On the contrary, communitarianism agrees that by connecting different people with different interest, there cannot be creation of 'Common Good'. In fact, 'The source of common good is whole society; the interest of the individual is its gift.' The 'Common good' is not such a lake, in which the streams of different people's interest are mingled; it is a vast source from which millions of streams ooze out. 'Common good' is like the sun; the interests of the individuals are its rays. The group of rays does not frame the sun but they themselves are product of the sun.

Politics is an Instrument of Promoting the Common Good

The liberal view of politics accepts that the defiance, difference of opinion and conflict of interest of different sections of society are not very deep. When different sections think by sidelining their narrow interest, they are able to spot 'common good', which is recognized without delay. In view of Liberalism, 'Common Good' is not a homogeneous object but it is a condition of harmony among mutually antagonist interests. The objective of politics is to assist people to reach up to 'Common Good' and collect means for its realization. In 'Common Good' there is scope for accommodating and linking of the interests of whole group. The mutually antagonist sections find out such rules and methods which are symbolic of 'Common Good' by persuasion and discussion, by confiding or by creating place in each other's hearts. Here, it is essential to remember that 'The concept of liberalism and Socialism are entirely different from each other about 'Common Good'." It is expected under liberalism that in the election for offices, there is open canvassing of viewpoints of each candidate, counting of votes, advice or suggestion on the points of important topics with the opposition and election after a fixed interval—all these things give full opportunity to the

different groups to reach the 'Common Good'. But according to communitarianism, there is no basic difference in the interests of different groups.

In liberal society, there is freedom of thought and expression and freedom of association and assembly available for an individual. By this the people not only come in contact with people of same interest but also are able to know their ideas and experiences. Thus, as a result due to interaction of different groups, people are aware of 'Common Good', and start supporting it. After gaining the consciousness of 'Common Good' the people not only feel a sort of unity with other members of the society but also the society advances towards progress with the friendship of mutually antagonist interests. For example, when the owner and the worker know about their 'Common Good', they try to do such efforts by which there may be improvement in the condition of the workers and the owner also gets more profit. The reasonable price of commodities and quality prove satisfactory for both trader and the consumer. The people who either board the bus or buy tickets walk by forming a queue and as per their turn, so the traffic moves orderly and safely on the road. Thus, the supporters of liberalism do not face deep struggle, and they visualize bright possibilities of solution of mutual points of differences amicably. Contrary to this, the supporters of marxism conceive grave difference of opinion and struggle which normally cannot be solved in agreeable method.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Only logical production process can encourage real cooperation in ..... .
2. Politics and state-society are the outcome of ..... .
3. When society is divided in mutually antagonist groups, ... is born.
4. After the elimination of capitalist class, there exists only ..... class.

11.2 Marxist View of Politics

The main points of Marxist view are following:

Primacy of Economic Interests

According to Marxist view, political institutions and activities are erected on the foundation of economic mode or popular mode of production. In other words, popular mode of production binds the people in the definite economic relations; the social and political alliance moulds itself in accordance of these economic relations. The mutually antagonist interests of different sections are the inspirational power of entire politics. The liberalistic theory goes on this assumption that in Political Situation, there exists struggle of several interests, as that can be struggle of economical, linguistic, cultural, religious or caste-based interests. But it is the assertion of the theory of Marxism, the clash of economic interests is the main subject of total social struggle; all other subjects are only outward or surfacing; the termination of the struggle cannot be done with their solution. For example, if we observe two groups fighting for language, religion of nationalism, we should try to find out the root cause of their fight in economic situation, and solution should only be done there. The economic helplessness of the people is their main problem. But the ruling class makes him involved in many controversies in order to divert its attention from these helplessness lest they should challenge their authority. If we do not bring about any basic change in their economic situation, but we solve their linguistic, religious or nationalist controversies, the problem will not be solved with this but it will prop up in some new forms.

On the other side, if the original problem is solved, all other problems will vanish on their own. If the economic problem is neglected, all efforts to solve all other problems will prove to be meaningless.

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Did You Know? The concern of politics is with struggle and its solution?

Politics is an Instrument of Class Domination

According to Marxism, politics' and struggles in the society are generated because their production process is not organized on' Rational Basis'. The interpretation of logical production process is—such a process in which (a) labour is compulsory for every healthy individual; (b) Technical development should have reached its highest peak so that maximum production is done with available resources; (c) There should be control of the whole society on the resources of production and distribution so that total production is used to fulfil the needs of common people, not only for comfort and utilization for the selected few people. Its aim should be social benefit, and not private profit. Only logical production process can encourage true cooperation in the society.

But in capitalism and in its earlier aspects the system of production was not organized on logical basis. A small section would get hold of main means of production, and this section forces the rest of population to work hard. As such there is manifestation of private property, and society is divided into two mutually antagonist sections—'Haves and Have—nots'. The compromise cannot be brought about between the interests of these groups of- Haves and Have - nots, master and slave and exploiter and exploited. Politics and state are outcome of class division of the society. Haves and Have-nots class assume the role of Dominant and Dependent classes respectively. Politics is medium of basic interests of dominant class. The state is also symbol of the power of dominant class. Explaining this idea, **Friedrich Engels** in his famous book, 'The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State' (1884) has written:

"As the state arose from the need to keep class antagonisms in check, but also arose in the thick of the fight between the classes, it is normally the state of the most powerful, economically ruling class, which by its means becomes also the politically ruling class, and so acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. The ancient state was, above all, the state of the slave-owners for holding down the slaves, just as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument for exploiting wage-labour by capital."

Class Interests are Irreconcilable

When society is divided into mutually antagonist classes, class-struggle is born. This class struggle is the prime source of politics. **Marx** and **Engels**, in their famous creation 'Communist Manifest' (1848) have expressed this class-struggle in very impressive way:

> "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. Every chapter of social history is witness that the political power has always been in the hands of dominant section who enslaved the other class and continuously oppressed them. Thus, state has been merely a source of oppression."

This class-struggle is so profound that its solution is not possible. It cannot be pacified through the medium of politics. Contrary to this, in this struggle the dominant class by subjugating dependent class forces it to keep quiet. Outwardly, it appears as if there is reconciliation between two groups,

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but in reality, a spark remains buried in thick layers of embers. Through the medium of education, social institutions and prevalent traditions such ideas, faith and norms are inculcated in the minds of poor section that they cannot think of challenging domination of wealthy class. So the ruling class is insouciant or care-free.

As long as, the society is segmented in mutually antagonist sections, state and politics would be like a puppet in the hands of dominant section, and state and politics would be used for oppressing the dependent class. After the downfall of capitalism, this recurrence will go on even in situation of 'Socialism', but then its target will be inverse. In other words, in the situation of capitalism, the capitalists oppress the workers, but in the situation of socialism workers will get together and oppress old capitalists lest they should do counter-revolution. But whereas the capitalists sustain class-system, state and politics for their vested interests, in socialism the workers-class would not have such vested interest. In other words, capitalists need workers for the fulfilment of their selfish interests; but the workers would not need capitalists to carry on with their work. So in socialism, it is considered to be mandatory to eliminate capitalists and capitalistic institutions. With the elimination of capitalist class only one class is there in the society—working class, in which nobody exploits anyone. So at that moment emerges classless society. In classless society, there will be no need of the state or politics, hence, the state will wither away.

Socialism

According to Marxism, in the situation after the debacle of Capitalism, the leadership of working – class, social ownership is established on the resources of production and distribution, labour is made compulsory for all healthy individuals and efforts are done to fully develop the Forces of Production.

In brief, according to Marxism, the mutually antagonistic class-interests cannot be associated with the process of politics. On the contrary, politics itself is outcome of class-struggle and after the culmination of class-struggle; the politics itself will wither away.

Following are the main points of communitarianism views:

Politics is an Arena of Mutual Cooperation, Not of Conflict

According to viewpoint of communitarianism, the main characteristic of human nature is the feeling of mutual cooperation, not of struggle. This feeling is the foundation of political organization. The early indications of this idea are to be found in the thinking of ancient Greek philosopher **Aristotle**. He said that in a state the condition of an individual is same as that of an organ in the body. It means that each organ contributes in the nutrition of the body, and each organ is dependent on the body for its own nutrition. The interest of any organ cannot be different from the interest of the body. According to this allegory, if an individual is separated from the state, its condition will be same as the condition of an imputed hand-foot, means they are absolutely handicapped in doing their natural functions. An individual who is not fit to live in the state or he is so self-dependent that he does not need the state at all, he may be either just an animal or a God. So **Aristotle** called state a Natural Institution and gave the name of Political Animal to an individual.

In the beginning of 17th century, the German legal expert **Johannes Althusius** (1557–1638) in his book 'Systematic Analysis of Politics' (1603) gave this argument that the people believe in cooperation and goodwill with nature; these feelings are the foundation of family, community and state. The basis of politics is attitude of mutual hobnob or consociation which is profoundly rich with the feeling of friendship and kinship. With this inspiration people reciprocate or exchange things, utilize them by sharing or exchange and are eager to obey laws. At the end of 19th century, a Russian revolutionary thinker **Peter Kropotkin** (1842–1921) in his famous book 'Mutual Aid' criticized the 'Theory of

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Evolution' of **Charles Darwin** and wrote that the rule of progress of individual and society is not 'Struggle for Existence' and 'Survival of the Fittest', but the rule of their progress is the principle of 'Mutual Aid'. **Kropotkin** gave the logic that in pursuit of life competition is not that much beneficial as 'Cooperation' is. By having faith in infinite possibility of social-ability and solidarity of human beings, **Kropotkin** expressed the hope there will be no need of state and law to human beings one day. Thus, he endorsed the theory of anarchism.

Politics is Instrumental to the Pursuit of the Common Good

The idea of 'Common Good' is the centre point of Communitarianism. Liberalism believes that an individual is not obliged to the society for his existence and capabilities, so he is free to fulfil Self-Appointed Goals with the power of his capabilities. At the time of determining his objectives and Roles, he is not responsible to other people or society, and in this matter he is not bound by any social traditions or obligations. On the contrary, communitarians contends that the existence and all capabilities of an individual are the contribution of the society; he has no right to use his capabilities and rights by neglecting the society. The commitment towards the society is the essential aspect of an individual's personality. In other words, he is bound by his commitment to carry out his duty for the society. According to communitarians, it is not logical to think that different people are free to fulfill their selfish-means, or Common Good is formed by computing individualistic interests. Liberalism looks at different people in fragmented units whereas communitarians recognize them as tissues connected with each other. According to **A. Mcintyre** (After Virtue: 1981), the personality and self-expression of an individual is meaningful in plexus of social and community bonds. Communitarians impart distinctive importance to common identity of us all and those values and recognitions for which we have allegiance.

According to Liberalism, different people gain knowledge of outside world with the help of their sense organs (eyes, ears, nose, tongue and skin); in this there is no role of social conditions. Thus, each individual gains knowledge of his own interest independently. The knowledge of 'Common Good' is the computation of knowledge of different individuals. But the supporters of communitarianism do not accept this. The harbinger of communitarinism, **T.H.Greene** (1836–82) in his famous book, 'Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation' (1882) gave this logic that in fact people along with other members of the community, in the form of Self-Conscious Beings, inculcate the knowledge of 'Common Good' in their heart. The idea of **Greene** was that the people do not know about their Self-interest or Individual Good that well as they know about Common Good. In 'Common Good' there included not only the interest of all the members of the community but also their conception about them which is almost the same. The state and politics come into existence for the realization of common good. The idea of common good is only the base of Political Obligation. According to **Greene**, the consciousness of common good only inspires people to accept their duties. For this they are ready to sacrifice their individual choice and selfishness. They experience that they can have self-realization only as the members of the society, means can mould their life in pre-eminent position, and make it relevant.

Mcintyre gave a logic that an individual can prosper only in such an atmosphere which has been established with the inspiration of the society. If the society gave this concession to people that they may neglect their duties and execute their rights, such a society would be disbanded. It is the idea of **Michael Sandel** that the personality of an individual stands on the foundation of his time, place and culture. This foundation connects all the members together. So no individual can create his identity by being segregated from the community. After that **Charles Tailor** presented this idea that if the people want their real development, they should accept this fact that their roots are set deep inside

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the society. So they can do their welfare with mutual cooperation. Mcintyre gave a logic that the supporters of liberalism believe in moral relativism. So in order to introduce tolerance for optional values, they do not confine themselves to any special concept of individual virtue. Thus, the mentally disbanded people are not able to create such community whose members are assimilated with each other truly. These people are not able to establish true moral obligation for each other. Mcintyre has given a suggestion for the people of Western world that to be apprised of the essence of virtues, we should link ourselves with the moral traditions of Western culture. There is no Universal Rationality outside particular tradition.

In short, the feeling of mutual cooperation is the key of healthy society.

Moral Relativism

According to this view, the values and beliefs which are popular in society are valid only in particular social and historical reference. So any values and beliefs cannot be valid at universal and eternal level.

Different Views of Politics

The Issue	Liberal View	Marxist View	Communitarian View
• Form of Politics	Means of Reconciliation of Conflicting Interests	Means of Suppression of Class Conflict	Means of Pursuit of the Common Good
• Status of an Individual	Independent entities separated from each other	Members of Conflicting Classes	Entities linked to each other
• Structure of the Society	Set of Independent Persons	Set of persons divided into Conflicting Classes	Set of persons linked together on spiritual and emotional level
• Concept of Common Good	Situation of balance in Conflicting Interests	Only class interest can be recognized in a class-divided society, not common interest	Uniform Good in which interest of all its members is implicit
• Nature of Conflict	It is not too deep	Struggle of Conflicting Classes is too deep	In reality no struggle is found inside the community
• Means of Progress	Conflict Resolution	Revolution	Social Solidarity
• Basic Principle	Liberty	Equality	Fraternity
• Exponents	John Lock, Bentham, J.S.Mill, Lawski, Robert Dahl	Marx, Engels, Lenin, Gramsci, Mao	Rousseau, Greene, Mcintyre, Sandel, Charles Taylor

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Revolution

The process in which generally on the basis of extensive public support the administrative government of any country is dethroned forcefully and in its place new government, new ruling –form, new social, economical and cultural institutions are established.

Social Solidarity

That situation in which the different parts of any community are connected together firmly, their objectives are unified with the objectives of the state; and for its realization they unite their powers and capabilities together.

Conclusion

There can be two important grounds in comparison to Liberal, Marxist and Communitarians views:

1. The notion of the Common Good; and
2. The role of struggle.

Notion of the Common Good

According to Liberalism, an individual is an intellectual creature. This intellect helps the different individuals of the society in recognizing different interests. After recognizing these interests, the individuals are divided in different groups. The interests of the members of the same group are similar to each other. But the interests of different groups can be mutually antagonist. The members of these groups try to fulfill their selfish ends by mutual give and take by which every one is benefited. Thus, the whole society behaves like open market in which everyone gains - injustice is not met out to any one. Liberalism accepts the interests of different members of the society can be mutually antagonist but deep difference of opinion is not detected among them. So there is no difficulty in picking up such solution in which there can be proper compromise among all the interests. This compromise does the representation of Common Good. So Common Good is collaboration of individualistic interests of different individuals. In other words, Common Good is that situation in which equilibrium is established among various kinds of interests. On the other side, according to Marxism, till the society is divided in mutually antagonist groups on the basis of ownership of private property, there cannot be any Common Good for it. Under such situation an individual can only recognize his Class-interest. For example, in capitalism, the interest of the capitalist class is to sustain the system of capitalism; the interest of working class is in uprooting capitalism and to establish socialism in place of that. Only in classless society, the idea of Common Good can be truly plausible. In such a society, all members will be workers, and they all will contribute their best in the realization of Common Good with their free will and self-inspiration.

But in communitarians do not see any basic clash in the interests of the members of the society. So according to communitarians, Common Good of the society is homogeneous object. As it is natural characteristic of the society, so it is not necessary to establish it artificially; it needs to be found and detected. When the people detect it, they naturally strive to offer mutual cooperation for its accomplishment.

Role of the Struggle

The Communitarians view of politics confirms that mutual cooperation of individuals is the base of social system. It does not allow existence of any sort of struggle may be light or grave. According to

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it, there is no role of struggle in politics. So on the role of struggle; it will be appropriate to compare the different theories of Liberalism and Marxism. Both Liberalism and Marxism connect politics with the struggle generated in different groups or sections. But there are severe differences of opinion in reference to subject, nature and results of struggle. The differences of opinions of both the ideologies about these problems can be explained like this:

Issue of the Conflict : According to both Liberalism and Marxism, entire politics is born out of difference of opinion or conflicts. But on the issue of conflict their views are different. According to Liberalism, the issues of conflict can be social, cultural, economic, ideological, etc. and all are equally important. But according to Marxism, the main issue of conflict is economical, rest of dissents are just the images of it. So the establishment of socialism is absolutely essential for culmination of basic dissentions, conflicts or disputes.

Nature of the Conflict: According to Liberalism, the concern of politics is with that conflict or dissention, which is not very deep, means with a little effort 'Common Interest' can be discerned and Reconciliation can be established among conflicting parties. In the words of **Ralph Miliband**, "According to view of Liberalism, conflict exists in the form of such problems whose solution is to be done. Hidden behind this, there is a thought that the struggle is though not very deep but it should not be there at all. We should make use of reason and amicable feeling and should be ready for compromise only after this we can resolve the conflict." (Marxism and Politics) (1977)

But about the nature of conflict, the Marxism view is absolutely different. It does not see struggle as the problem which should be solved but he thinks that struggle is the result of conditions of 'Dominance' and 'Dependence'. To end this there is necessity of bringing about absolute change in the conditions which gave rise to such situation. According to Marxism, the root cause of struggle is Private Property which divides people in 'Haves - Have-nots'. This division gives birth to Dominance and Dependence. So in order to finish struggle, the elimination of 'Private Property' is necessary.

Task Express your views on Marxism theory of politics.

Parties to the Conflict : According to Liberalism Theory of politics, struggle is born among various groups whose number is not fixed. Struggle can be generated in different conditions among different interests of different people, so struggle will take place among those groups in that condition, other groups will not be concerned with that. But according to Marxism, the struggle takes place between two mutually antagonist groups - 'of haves' and 'Have-nots', and then it envelops the whole society. Thus, the class-struggle is only the root struggle of the society, all others are secondary or outwardly. The concern of society is with class-conflict, not with petty conflicts of people.

Outcome of the Conflict : According to Liberalism, Politics solves each conflict, so the process of solution and compromise among various groups is real politics. Politics gives rise to such rules, decisions, policies and programs which establishes compromise in the interests of mutually antagonist groups.

But according to Marxism, politics cannot solve class-conflict finally. Under politics only dominant section enforces rules, decisions, policies and programmes to fulfil his vested selfish interests. Thus, it dominates the dependent section and suppresses the struggle. Till there is discrimination in the society, politics will only do the work of suppressing the struggle. After the establishment of Socialism, when the society becomes classless, then there will be no class-conflict and no need of politics.

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Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. In early Liberalism 'Individual' is considered to be the centre of entire social life and encouragement was given to:

   (a) Individualism (b) Socialism

   (c) Regionalism (d) Nationalism

6. The concern of politics is with:

   (a) Society (b) Struggle and its solution

   (c) Country (d) None of the above

7. Liberal view of politics, on the surface of conduct, supports:

   (a) Pluralism view of society (b) Wealthy section

   (c) Weaker section (d) None of the above

8. Communitarianism is:

   (a) A philosophy (b) A contemporary philosophy

   (c) An ancient philosophy (d) None of the above

11.3 Summary

- None of the views of Liberalism, Marxism and Communitarianism of politics can be accepted as unanimous theory. The Liberalism views are suited for such society in which there is no discrimination of wealth, honour and power and the members of society are capable of give and take on almost equal level. Marxism is suitable for such a society which is divided between dominant and dependent section; where the dependent section has no peaceful measure to come out of this miserable condition. Communitarianism is suitable for such a society in which the members are almost satisfied with the settled system and all are ready to refine their life by living together. The society which is entrapped by grave discriminations and difference of opinions, to look for communitarian politics will be just illusory, and there will be no solution of any problem by this.

11.4 Keywords

- **Legitimacy:** To make legal
- **Feudalism:** Feudal system

11.5 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by the Liberal View of Politics? Clarify.
2. What do you mean by the Marxist View of Politics? Explain.
3. What are the main points of Communitarianism viewpoint? Describe.
4. Comment upon 'Role of the Struggle'.

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Answers: Self Assessment

1. Society	2. Class-Division	3. Class-Struggle	4. Labourer class
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (a)	8. (b)

11.6 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science— *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Modern Political Science— *Sterling Publishers.*

3. Principles of Political Science— *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. History of Political Science— *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

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Unit 12: Political Theory in a Globalizing World

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know historical Context of Globalization.
- Explain meaning of Globalization.
- Discuss characteristics of Globalization.

Introduction

In the second half of 20th century, in international politics and economic system, there started a spell of transformation. The end of cold war, disintegration of Soviet Union, downfall of Communism in Eastern Europe, Unification of Germany and emerging single global system pushed the world towards 'New World Order' Credit was being granted by seen and unseen economic changes to 'New World Order'. There arose a demand of 'New International Economic System'. The slogans of globalization, economic liberalization, privatization, market-oriented economy, incorporation, competitive and free economy were expatiated. The importance of international economic and commercial institutions began to get momentum. The enterprises like International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization started to discharge impressive role in the determination of international relations.

12.1 Globalization—Historical Context

The spell of Globalization also came a century ago from now. This phase started around 1870 and suddenly stopped as 1914 approached. The economic system of the world of that time was in many ways resembles international economical system of today. At the end of 19th century, the world economic system was also organized through the medium of International Trade. Today, the gross domestic production of 16 chief industrial countries that are included in O.I.C.D. became 21.2% in 1913 as compared to 18.2 in 1900. The commercial tax was very high in those days. The same condition was of international investment. In 1913, 9% of the share was put in investment. At stable price in 1914 this investment was 4/5th share of

investment of 1980. The conditions of international market had been the same. In those days there were almost no restrictions on transportation of goods, currency and labour. There were heavy changes in transport and communication due to steam ships, trains and telegraph. In industry, new techniques of management and production were being adopted. Like domination of America in these days, there was political and economic superiority of Britain on the world in those days and Pound and Sterling played the role of international currency. There was no prevalence of passport. In those days there was international flux of labours at great scale. From 1830 to next 50 years about five million Indians and Chinese reached America, Caribbean, South Africa, South-east Asia and other far off countries to work in mines, farms and construction works under agreement. After this, during 1870 to 1914 from Europe international labours at large scale migrated to America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil.

After the Second World War, the activities of international trade were managed from Britainwood system. In July, 1944, the representatives of 40 countries collected at a place naming Britainwood of Hampshire for creation of new international currency system. Most of the countries were of the opinion that old currency system which was mostly based on power of markets had then become irrelevant and in future all the governments would have to take up responsibility of managing international currency system. The United States of America, who in that phase sprang up as chief economic and military power, took up the prime responsibility of establishing new currency system during post-war period. The objective of new currency system was to restrict economical nationalism and to encourage free trade in the context of international hobnob. This concept was envisaged that a liberal economic system, which would be based on international cooperation, can only guarantee a permanent and solid world peace. The new scheme of international currency management processed by The United States of America and Great Britain became first collective international currency system. With this the path of political harmony was prepared for the development of internal trade, economic progress and among developed market economic systems of the world.

Notes Globalization is that process of uniformity and homogeneity in which whole world shrinks and becomes one.

In post – Britainwood era, two important incidents occurred in the sphere of world economic system - the development of regional economical subsystems and expansion of multinational corporations. The beginning of regional action-activities took place in the centre of capitalist industrial world or in the countries of Western Europe. In decade of 1990, European economic system started from share-market and changed in European Union. In Pacific region and in South-East Asia some similar economic systems appeared. The emergence of financial and security markets in New York, Tokyo and London are the symptoms of Globalization through regional and inter-regional alliances. Multinational Companies are the reason and influence of Globalization. The coming of world market and international economic network prepared a suitable atmosphere for international companies.

After 27 years on 15th August 1971, American President **Nixon** announced the end of Britainwood system. He also said that The United States of America would not follow the rules and activities of international currency system. Oil crisis, imbalance of market system and decline of rate of development of industrial countries—these are the reasons due to which Globalization commenced in the decade of 1990.

12.2 Globalization—Meaning

The word Globalization is echoing in international market these days. This word is indicative of spiritedness and expansion of business opportunities. Globalization is, in fact, internationalization

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of business activities especially marketing related activities in which whole world is seen as single zone. In their words, Globalization is that process in which mutual dependence is fostered in world market and business is not confined to the boundaries of the country. It advances in the direction of exploitation of comparative study of money invested in world market.

According to **Dr. Vimal Jalan**, "The word Globalization has been used in different forms. One meaning is literal that the geographical distance between two nations has become meaningless now. The world has become so small that no country can keep itself aloof from rest of the world without incurring his own loss. The other meaning of Globalization is picked up entirely inversely. According to that, it is the name of change of policy when in place of national interest, the interests of other countries or multi-national companies are kept in priority."

Did You Know? The beginning of regional economic activities occurred in the centre of capitalist industrial world or in Western-European countries.

Globalization is that process of uniformity and homogeneity under which the whole world contracts and becomes one. The exchange of goods and services with other countries outside the boundaries is done by international companies and multi-national corporations. The industrial association of a country with the international companies and multinational corporations, who indulge in exchange of goods and services outside the boundaries of the country, is called Globalization. According some notable scholars, the concept of accepting the whole world as a Global Village is Globalization. Generally, following elements are included in this:

1. To decrease business obstructions for possibility of exchange of different things without any obstruction to different countries of the world.
2. To create suitable atmosphere for possible unobstructed flow of modern technology.
3. To produce suitable condition for possible free flow of capital in different nations.
4. To make unobstructed flow of labour feasible among different countries of the world.

In short, Globalization is the flow of process and management of economic bargain through the political boundaries of nations. The openness in world economy, mutual association and expansion of mutual inter-dependence is called Globalization.

The meaning of Globalization is—open market and competition; adjustment of national economy with that of the world economy; it is the conversion of a national market into international one which facilitates the international mobility of factors of production or commodities thereby taking the best benefits of the factors of productions. In other words, it can be termed as the process of unification of national economy with global economy.

At the back of this system of trade, this is the thinking that America should produce goods like computer which is feasible for it and India should produce rice like commodity which is convenient for it. India will export rice and import computer by which both the countries will be benefited.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. The word Globalization is ..... in international market nowadays.
2. Labour market has become ..... .

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3. Education has ..... .
4. Consumerism has become ..... of the whole world in a way.
5. The distant approach of ..... has made establishment of global culture possible.

12.3 Globalization—Characteristics

'Globalization' which we are discussing, was originated 25 years ago in the revolutions of multi-national companies and conservatism, which clamped Western world in its trap. Its propagators were **Thatcher** of Britain, **Kohl** of Germany and **Ronald Regan** of America. Multi-national companies and banks broke the restrictions on money and currency and started expanding in whole of the world and initiated campaigning for investment and free entry for trade. They gave the logic that with free-market policy, there will be increase in development rate, poverty will decrease and decrease in poverty will be helpful in development and strengthening of democracy. They framed World Trade Organization and to augment 'Market-oriented Free Economy' introduced such changes in the role of 'International Monetary Fund' and World Bank so that they could encourage 'Washington consent'.

Task Express your views on the characteristics of Globalization.

There are some such characteristics of Globalization which show as if we are heading towards the establishment of novel type of international political, economical and social system. These characteristics are as follows:

- Geographical distances have been shrunk due to revolutionary progress of means of transport and communications. Now not only in trade, sphere of technology and service but also the Commutability of people across the boundary has become cheap and convenient. Computer and Internet is connecting the world rapidly.
- The approach of Electronic Media to far-off places has established a global culture. The culture of jeans, t-shirt, fast-food, Pop-music, Hollywood films and satellite television is culture of every youth, whichever corner of the world he may live. Consumerism has also become culture of entire world. Not only this, the methods of doing corruption and crime have become similar.
- Labour market has become world-wide. In the year 1965, about 7.500 million people migrated from one country to another for jobs. The number rose to 12 million up to 1999.
- In order to fulfil the demands of Labour market many systematic mediums have been prepared. In labour export countries, there are many brokers and agents who are active. They manage to arrange jobs in foreign countries in both legal and illegal ways. In labour import countries there are such network of old residents who guide and help new residents in all possible ways.
- There is Globalization of education. In industrial countries like America, foreign students go for higher education, and most of them settle down there only. On the other side, the syllabus of institutions of developing countries has become as per world–standard, so students studying here can get employment anywhere in the world.
- The exchange of professionals which began from brain-drain, has gained a momentum now. Along with scientists, doctors, engineers and educationists many lawyers, architects, accountants, managers, bankers and computer experts' foreign travel has become liberal like monetary flow.

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- The multi-national companies through which earlier there used to be exchange of produced things, services, technique, money, now they are doing the role of job-providers. The appointment of experts, managers, skilled and semi skilled labour are done through these companies. These selected employees are appointed in different branches of these companies throughout the world. Thus this process also encourages flow of labour.

12.4 Summary

- In 'Human Development Report' of U.N.D.P. there is mention of three helping hands—First, the members of 'World Trade Organization' who keep its superiority and domination on national governments of all member countries. Second, the multi-national companies whose economic capability is more than the total income of various nation states. Third, the international non-official organizations, whose network is spread throughout the world. All these three together provide desired direction to Globalization.

12.5 Keywords

- **Globalization:** International Integration
- **Historical:** Related to History

12.6 Review Questions

1. Describe the historical context of Globalization.
2. What do you understand by Globalization?
3. Describe the characteristics of Globalization.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Resonant 2. Global 3. Globalization 4. Culture
5. Electronic Media

12.7 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Political Science—*Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

2. Principles of Political Science—*B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

3. History of Political Science—*Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

Unit 13: Advantages and Harms of Globalization

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know advantages of Globalization.
- Explain harms of Globalization.

Introduction

The intense spread of the process of globalization has brought important changes in the world economics. Today a big part of world production is happening between cooperative firms in international area. Till the mid of the decades of 1970–90 the part of world business in world gross domestic production increased from 12% to 18%. There was increase in the percentage of international investment also. Between 1980–96 evident foreign investment increased from 4.8% to 10.6%. Apart from this there was development of international financial area also. Financial area has become dominant on business and investment areas. The expansion of foreign currency market is also astonishing. The figures of 1996 tell that there is transaction of 1200 billion dollars everyday in this market whereas in 1983 this figure was 60 billion dollars.

13.1 Advantages of Globalization

In September 2000 world leaders from the platform of United Nations in their millennium declaration stressed upon that asserting globalization is a strong step in the direction of making everyone powerful.

Secretary **General Kofi Annan** said in his millennium report titled We the People—The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century' that, "If globalization has to be made successful then the public should realize that they are also involved in this."

The Secretary General said that the benefits of globalization are clear—development at higher rate, higher standard of living, new opportunities for countries and people. … From its own part United Nations will have to, "ensure that from globalization not only few, but everyone should gain benefits, opportunities should not be given to only few special people but to every human at every place."

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Annan said that multi-national companies should be controlled with the concept of global 'corporate citizenship' and wherever they are working their practices should be good. Justified labour standards should be sponsored; respect should be paid towards human rights and environment should be protected.

The intense spread of the process of globalization has brought important changes in the world economics. Today a big part of world production is happening between cooperative firms in international area. Till the mid of the decades of 1970–90 the part of world business in world gross domestic production increased from 12% to 18%. There was increase in the percentage of international investment also. Between 1980–96 evident foreign investment increased from 4.8% to 10.6%. Apart from this there was development of international financial area also. Financial area has become dominant on business and investment areas. The expansion of foreign currency market is also astonishing. The figures of 1996 tell that there is transaction of 1200 billion dollars everyday in this market whereas in 1983 this figure was 60 billion dollars.

This process of globalization started by the removal of restrictions on international economic transactions. By the removal of many kinds of hindrances to world economy the path for the process of globalization has become clear, openness has come in the area of business and tolerance towards foreign investment has increased. Along with this generous policies are being adopted in the financial area also.

Notes If the expansion of globalization works to fulfill the gap of income between developed and developing nations then the pressure of migration will certainly become less.

Because of jet airplanes, computer, satellite, Internet information technology the boundaries of nations have been eroded. Development of new management administrations by industrial organizations has also provided speed to the process of globalization. Apart from this the political dominance of the United States of America has also provided strength to globalization because for the process of globalization the dominance of a great power is essential by whose currency international market operates. This role is being played by the American dollar.

"National governances are becoming boundaryless in a way. The importance of the boundaries of different nations is now only geographical. When the world has shrinked into one village then how you can expect that if one house of the village catches fire then by that the other houses will not be worried. The way in which the world has shrinked in the same way the definitions of governance, autonomy and independence have also shrinked. Communication revolution and globalization have provided a new kind of mobility and vigilance to different castes and races."

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. National governances are becoming ..... in a way.
2. The organized framework of globalization is full of ..... .
3. Development of new management administrations by industrial organizations has also provided speed to the process of ..... .

13.2 Harms of Globalization

United Nations Secretary General **Kofi Annan** clearly said in the United Nations millennium report (September, 2000) that adverse reactions of globalization have begun because these benefits are

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distributed in very unequal manner because global market has not yet been made subservient to rules based on participant social targets.

This is well-known that where in the last 25 years the process of globalization has sped up there international labour migration has clearly reduced. The organized framework of globalization is full of prejudices. One side there is this provision that the boundaries of nations should not become hindrance in business or wealth flow, on the other side difficulties are being put in the path of technique or labour flow. This is being expected that developing nations should open their markets for rich nations and allow wealth investment, but in return do not demand from developed nations for technique and uninterrupted labour flow.

Even today in developed nations negative behaviour towards migrants is deep in their political and social thinking. It is believed that migrants will break into the political dominance of the natives there or will attack social and cultural unity. Some such notions are also there that do not have a solid basis but they give a weapon to the people doing politics of Naxalism, like the migrants will snatch the employment opportunities from the natives or they will have to be given share in welfare schemes etc. Apart from this migration related laws are also full of restrictions. Embassies also put many types of restraints over migration.

If the expansion of globalization works to fulfil the gap of income between developed and developing nations then the pressure of migration will certainly become less. On the other hand, if this process increases the inequality of income then the pressure of migration will also increase. This globalization helps in reducing poverty in developing nations, increasing employment and lifting standard of living then the pressure of migration will remain less. In opposition if result is poverty, unemployment, inequality and low living standards then this pressure will remain more.

There are enough proofs for the fact that in last 25 years during globalization the valley between levels of incomes of countries and people has deepened. Inequalities of income distribution have also increased. Poverty has increased in Latin America, Africa and eastern socialist countries. Employment opportunities have reduced in corporate areas so maximum labourers are compelled to work in unstructured areas where production and labour levels are low. Type of labour and production is also bad.

Did You Know? In the arrangement of globalization independent business industries are dying?

Globalization has opened such opportunities of profits for only few people, provinces and nations which could not even be imagined before three decades. In this race rich and developed nations have won. The section which has gained profit is wealthy, highly educated professionals, management technique learned and capable to reach at different places for profit. On the other side, people doing small tasks, not taking risks and renters have been in loss. The countries whose names are included in those who have won in this era of globalization are the United States of America, Western Europe, Japan, East Asia and South-East Asia and the countries left behind are Latin America, Africa, Western Asia, Eastern Asia and areas of South Asia.

In the era of globalization in the scope of corporations like World Trade Organization such issues also came which influence economic happenings and social relations also and completely come in the rightful area of sovereign nations. It was given the name of process of globalization whose motive is to abuse the sovereignty of those nations, and to limit their rights.

In the arrangement of globalization independent business industries are dying. Leave apart developing nations even in developed nations tremendous crisis has come up in front of local commercial interests

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and they are not left with any other alternative except working in the form of unimportant lackeys of multinational corporations.

In East Asian countries after economic whirlpool all developing nations have understood the dangerous results of globalization very well. The reason for this whirlpool is the trade full of speculations of international organizations. Furthermore, South Korea also which could be promoted as an ideal example of development and permanence in front of the third world and which was recently included in the circle of developed nations, has been badly impacted. Countries of East Asia are feeling the danger of again being pushed into the situation of neo-colonization slavery. Along with the help being given to East Asian countries to come out of the prevalent danger World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization mutually imposed such strong conditions by which public discontentment enraged.

On this matter Governor of Reserve Bank **Bimal Jalan** has stressed upon in his recently published book 'India's Economy in the New Millennium'. He says that "By the integration of the world's capital market skill has come into the market but along with it more danger and uncertainty has also been produced because of it in front of developing nations." He tells that the banking arrangement of East Asia was nearly of global level but then they also became endangered because they were deeply tied to world economy. They did not exercise enough caution in defense of the danger of this tie. By slight whirl in the world capital market their economies were shattered. In comparison to East Asian India was very less impacted by Asian danger because our link with international economy was lesser. In this order he says that complete privatization of the country's banks should not happen. By this the control of government over banks will be less. It will be hard to keep control over them in times of crisis. In the viewpoint of Jalan there is lesser benefit and more danger by the privatization of banks.

Task Present your thoughts on the advantages and disadvantages of globalization.

13.3 Globalization and International Relation—Influence

In the context of international relations, international trade and international finance organization following influences of globalization are discussed:

1. Increase has happened in the role and importance of United Nations and related international economic and trade organizations.
2. An international organization like 'World Trade Organization' was established which has sustained the role of policeman in the area of world trade. As such the establishment of World Trade Organization has been done to encourage international trade based on the principle of multilateralism, but reality is this that this organization is the basis to establish control over economy, society and politics of developing nations in different ways.
3. By globalization multinational corporations have gained open concession and multi-national corporations are carriers of new colonial control of rich nations over poor nations.
4. The meaning of opening gates of the country for international trade and international wealth investment is to make arrangements for a single source of drinking water for poor countries and rich countries like goat and lion. And in such friendship rich countries will surely take profits from poor countries. In political meaning the meaning of increasing participation in world trade is to increase dependency on rich nations which in the end goes till political dependency and paying socio-political price.

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5. Globalization of economy has happened but our political arrangement is still dependent on the sovereignty of states.

13.4 Summary

- In the arrangement of globalization independent business industries are dying. Leave apart developing nations even in developed nations tremendous crisis has come up in front of local commercial interests and they are not left with any other alternative except working in the form of unimportant lackeys of multinational corporations.

13.5 Keywords

- **Advantage:** Accrual, Profit
- **Harm:** Loss, Limitation

13.6 Review Questions

1. Describe the advantages of Globalization.
2. Describe the harms of Globalization.
3. What do you understand by Globalization and International Relations? Clarify.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Boundaryless 2. Prejudices 3. Globalization

13.7 Further Readings

Books

1. Principles of Modern Political Science—*Sterling Publishers.*

2. Principles of Political Science—*B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

3. History of Political Science—*Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

4. Classic Politics—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*