CHAPTER I

A) Socialist Movement – A philosophical study

B) Socialist Movement – A Political Remedy
A – SOCIALIST MOVEMENT – A PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY

➢ TERMINOLOGICAL VARIATION

“As being a product of modern world, Socialism is both abstract and concrete, theoretical and practical, idealistic and materialist, very old and entirely modern, from a mere sentiment to a precise programme of action, a philosophy, a historical category a judicial principle, an ethical code, an economic system. Socialism is about equality. A passion for equality is the one thing that links all Socialists”.(1)

Perhaps being the most significant and emotionally charged, politically vexed concept in international politics today. Socialism commonly connotes the doctrine that the ownership and control of the means of production – capital, land or property should be held by the community as a whole and administered in the interest of all. Ideologically, held the promise of a healthy and perfect community.

According to J. P. Narayan voluntary sub-ordination of one’s interest to the larger interest of society is the key note of socialism. ‘I would like to define a socialist society,’ he writes in 1956, “as one in which the individual is prepared voluntarily to subordinate his interest to a larger interest of shared society.”(2)

According to M. K. Gandhi, ‘Socialism is a beautiful word, writes Gandhi in 1947, and so far as I am aware, in Socialism “all the members of society are equal, none low and none high.” In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet are low as they touch the earth. Even as the members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of the society, this is Socialism.(3)

Being widely accepted as the legitimate child of two great Revolutions, the Industrial Revolution in the field of economics and the French Revolution along
with the Enlightenment in the field of ideas, it began with the rejection of Religious Preponderance rallied round for reason, rationality, equality freedom, Justice, firmly rooted in its antagonistic attitude for capitalist tendencies in the market and society. It is equally known for diversified views on its definition. Amazingly no two thinkers agree on what precisely Socialism is. Infact Contemporary Socialism has spanned not so much the chronological number of years, what it has spanned through its peculiar national, topical and local varieties presented in every nation or state even in a single decade of history. It’s neither a single theory complete in itself to suit each and every society, country nor a theory eternally valid for all stages of societies rather it is a radical movement, inhere much in its method. As Ashok Mehta mentioned in 1959;

“Socialism needs to be viewed as a house of many mansions. It may bethat men will choose different mansions according to their taste and temperament.(4)

The term Socialism is derived from the Latin word ‘Socious’ which signifies a comrade, an ally, or an partner. It consists equality in rank and status. Berki identified four basic tendencies in a socialist ideology, egalitarianism, moralism rationalism and liberatarianism. What seems to be permanent in socialism is a consistent relationship with emotive impulses in men which lead them to achieve or seek equality in society.

Beyond this general agreement, socialists differed. Not all of them favoured common ownership of property and the means of production. Some wanted to achieve socialism through violent Revolutions. While others stressed on peaceful and gradual change. Some claimed that they have discovered the law of historical development and projected socialism as the inevitable destiny. For some it was an inverse human ideal, while other saw it as the goal and aspiration of the working class. Some wanted to abolish the state altogether while other
perceived it as an instrument of freedom and cultural elevation. However, common to all strands of socialism is a commitment to equality human solidarity, non exploitative relationship and socialized humanity.

Supporting the diversification over terminology, J. P. Narayan says,

“I should like to start saying that Socialism is 90% practice and 10% theory; so as a name of a doctrinal system, socialism is yet uncertain in terms of exact definition.” (6)

Apparently, what appears to characterize contemporary socialism even more than the values, are the forms or methodology of achieving the task that socialists set before themselves under relevant circumstances.

➢ SOCIALIST THOUGHT IN EVOLUTION

“Socialism has an older ancestral origin than democracy in the sense that the debate about equality and inequality is as old as civilization” it. More specifically, theories about socialism has been put forward as a reaction to the evil consequences of *Industrial Capitalism*, The Renaissance and Reformation symbolize the undaunted spirit of man and giant strides of human intelligence and science. In the process the “*Ideals of liberty and equality*” gained momentum, thus shaped the events like Glorious Revolution of 1688 or the French Revolution, Parliamentary and Presidential democracy established, fulfilled the ‘Liberty’ aspect supported the theory of ‘Natural Rights And Laissez Faire’, which ultimately prepared the fertile ground for the growth of Industrialization as well as capitalism and consumerism in 19th century divided the society into two hostile camps. of course the origin of inequality is as old a subject as Aristotle but in modern political thought Rousseau’s “*Discourses on Inequality*” is probably the beginning. But the pinch of inequality that men felt in course of lines, especially at
the dawn of capitalist civilization under the impact of technology and industrial advancement was unparalleled at any stage of human history. Hence the ideological as well as the pragmatic movements were diverted towards seeking greater and greater equality, especially Economic Equality. Socialism is the product of this diversion.

The first Article on Socialism as an idea in opposition to individualism was written by Pierse Lerous in 1835 which appeared in Encyclopedia Nouvelle edited by Leroux. By 1840 the term became familiar to connote the doctrine that the ownership and control of the means of production — capital, land or money, property should be held by a community as a whole and administered in the interest of all. In this framework socialism was best expounded and scientifically explained by Karl Marx, known as a father of Scientific Socialism. However, he did not comprehend the total ideology of modern socialism. It appears both prior to Marx as well as posterior to Marx. So whatever was professed before him about socialism has been called Utopian Socialism and whatever was considered and improved after Marx has been dubbed as Revisionary Socialism. Socialist thought and action in Europe, in the Initial phase manifested in two trends.

1. **Primitive Egalitarian Communism**

Accomplished by Revolutionary action manifested in France with persons like Babeof, Buonarroti (1761 – 1837) Blanqui (1805 – 1881); identified private property as a source of inequality, demanded its abolition wanted socialization of industry, equal natural rights, so having a largely proletarian character.

2. **Labourist Welfarist Utopianism**
Including those who called for the technology to be subordinated to the general interest of society believed in gradual and progressive reforms; faithed in evolutionary process of welfare. This includes:


Saint Simon is often known as the father of French Socialism (1160-1825) in his book Reorganization of European Society, criticized the prevailing capitalist system and proposed the proper utilization of scientific knowledge to raise the standard of living of the poor strata, however his political state was confined to the maintenance and protection of the industrial organization never recommended the confiscation of private property, nor propose the corrective ownership of the community over the means of production.

Robert Owen(1771 – 1858) Socialist ideas were born out of his humanitarian spirit and his own experience of having an industrial unit; wanted to give every possible amenities to his workers.

Charles Fouries wanted to bring about efficiency, order and economy in the productive system, never believed in the equality of income but wanted that profits should be distributed among the labor – talent – capital. Infact community appeared as the central theme of all three. They sketched socialist Utopias that were enormously attractive to individuals whose sensibilities were repelled by the evils of industrialism.

There were other Pre Marxians socialists contributed for socialist thought like

Charles Hall who pointed that the power of the state invariably lends to gravitate into the hands of those who are the possessors of wealth.
Hodgskin, again a forerunner of Marx were explained the nature of Exploitation committed in a capitalist system. John Gray maintained that in a free industrial society the workers who produce wealth were robbed off of 4/5 of the wealth that they produce. On the other hand the English Christian Socialists like FurdenendLasselle organized the general association of general workers which brought forth ‘German Social Democratic Party’ a forum to discuss the principles of socialism. Set forth the Iron Law of Wages.

**Marxism – A Revolutionary ‘ISM’**

Marxism as a concept is an improvement upon the Utopian socialism in the way firstly it provided the law of the Development of human history and secondly, it exposed the law of motion governing the capitalist mode of production, with his Das Capital and Manifesto of the CommunistMarx revolutionized the socialist thinking Marx distinguished between Socialism and Communism in the sense that the first is a Transitional Period and the second the Undefined realm of man’s freedom. Derived from Hegal provided the human evolutionary theory of ‘Dialectical Materialism’, also said that all ideas are the direct action of material conditions of life. Based on this Marx propounded the Economic Interpretation of history, for him the mode of production is the material basis of the life of society and development in these led to the rise of new system. Related to this concept is the notion of Class Struggle, where he maintained,

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of Class Struggle.” *(12)*

For him at every state of human history mankind is divided into two classes Haves and Have-nots which ensured class war. It is due to the Surplus value of labor which further intensify the class war led to the ‘Dictatorship of the proletariat aiming at a classless and stateless society.
This notion of Marxism is full of revolutionary zeal eliminating and sympathy for capitalist class. His philosophy acted as a base on which a number of theories have been constructed. They have invariably taken regional colourings with typical characteristics.

**Fabian Socialism**

The intellectual group or society formed in 1814 in England included *George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Annie Besant, G. D. H. Cole, H. G. Wells, G. Wallas*, wanted to realize socialism without a violent revolution by a policy of *Gradualism* usually start with the line of J. S. MILL with an attack on rent as the unearned increment of land, stolen by landlords. They regarded state as an instrument of positive good, believe in peaceful methods, labor legislation, regulation of price and land reforms, rejecting Marxian position of class war dialectical materialism and stateless society. To put an end to the evils of capitalism, collectivist or Fabians proposed the nationalization and control of production material by a Central Democratic Government however as they believe in compromise their appeal to the masses has far and by low.

**Syndicalism**

Derived from the French word *Syndicate* which means labour union. For C. E. M. Jode, this is a social theory which regard the trade union organization as the foundation of new society. This is mainly a fusion of anarchism and Revolutionary Socialism. Deriving much from Marxism the labor class of France advocated violence and believed in the crash of capitalist society out of its own contradiction. They claim that the future society will emerge out of the grand climateric of ‘General Strike’, called state a ‘middle class institution’. *Sorel* ‘s’ Reflections in violence” published in 1908 is regarded as a Bible of Syndicalist movement.
**Guild Socialism**

A Guild is defined as a ‘self governing association of mutually dependent people organized for the discharge of a particular function of society’. Some describe it as an intellectual child of British Fabianism and French Syndicalism.

Its main exponents were G. D. H. Cole, Hobson, Penty, Orage and Tawney. They hold that various schools of socialism were chiefly concerned with only Production and Distribution, only thought of ‘Economic aspect’ never of beauty and craftsmanship. A.J. Penty in his book *Restoration of the Guild System* criticize capitalist system on moral and psychological grounds. They wanted to find out a way to restore the spirit of craft, a system to evoke pride. In their work, wanted a *partnership between producer and the state in the Control of Industry*. Proposed devolution of power which can only be achieved by strong trade unions, but never believed in ‘violent overthrow of state’ rather believe in gradual democratization of industries.

**Democratic Socialism and Revisionism**

Democratic socialism is based on the principles of economic equality and political freedom of the individual. Like communism Democratic Socialism also began as a protest against the injustice of industrialization. It is used as an umbrella term to describe principles, policies and institutions related to *European Parliamentary Socialism* shattered with the ruthlessness of Bolshevism of Russia. The feeling of alienation forces the Socialist parties like that of German Socialist Democratic Party to start an independent line based on political expression of Freedom and Equality. In 1899 Eduard Bernstein in the book ‘Evolutionary Socialism’ – a *criticism and affirmation* criticized the Marxian premise of Economic interpretation of History and labor theory of value denied the collapse
of capitalist system, stood for ordered progress toward socialism other than for a *Catastrophic Crash.*\(^{(14)}\)

For him, “Democracy is at the same time means and end. It is the means of the struggle for socialism and it is the form socialism will take over it has been established.”

In fact he was the first to criticize Marx within his camp aimed at realizing equality through nationalization, social insurance, housing and food distribution, had an unflinching devotion to ‘Liberal Parliamentarianism.’

Here one may identity *Two aspects,* one, about the concept of socialism and the other about the route to socialism. Undoubtedly socialism implies a *social economic* condition opposed to industrial capitalist society but the changes within the present day society like trade unionism, political parties, extension of franchise etc., led to the socialists to think of *democratic road to socialism.* German Democratic Party is an example and pioneer in this respect. This new attitude put forward the opinion that Socialism would develop peacefully through parliamentary Road of legal electoral roads. Labor parties began to organize in several countries such as Australian labor party, British labor party, Italian socialist party, French socialist party, etc.

**TWENTIETH CENTURY MARXISTS**

In the evolution of socialist thought there appear eminent theoreticians, intellectuals, contributed in one way or the other in the socialist ideas.
K. J. Kautsky - After Engles, who was popularly known as the Pope of Marxism, it was Kautsky, who appeared on the scene as the leading authoritative interpreter of Marxism. He retained the belief in the labor of value, capital concentration, class polarization and increasing class antagonism. He was the most virulent critic of the efforts of Bolsheviks in run, as he saw Parliamentary democracy a necessity for the political maturity of proletariat and as an instrument to control state power. In his *Terrorism and Communism* he contended that an attempt to implement socialism without accompanying democratic norms and institutions would be premature.

Lenin - Lenin applied Marxism to the age of imperialism, placing the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the centre of all things to establish the first communist state in Russia rejected the social democratic theory, first to lay down the rules for mass mobilization and manipulation.

Rosa Luxemburg - Known for her total commitment to an idealized version of Marxist theory of Revolution and a critique of Lenin. Socialism to her was ultimately a moral version, a spiritual transformation but for her the way for socialism cannot be reform but Revolution. Her controlling doctrine was not Democracy but participation and Friction leading to revolutionary energy and then class consciousness.

Antonio Gramsci, Herbert Marcuse, William Morris, Georges Sorel, Leon Trotsky all contributed in one way or the other in developing the socialist thought in Europe.

**Genesis Of Indian Socialism**

The Indian Renaissance of the second half of the 19th century gave rise to certain national ideals including Democracy a broad form of socialism, non-
violence, anti-imperialism, Asianism, cooperative internationalism. These ideas were influenced to a certain extent by western political and economic thought but bear a distinct imprint of Indian thinking, tradition and culture, V. R. Mehta rightly observed.

“By the mid 20th Indian thinkers began to move specifically towards Socialism while deriving the inspiration from west, incorporate the specificity and identity of Indian society.” (16)

Infact the socialism which came to India is not uniform in content nor does it correspond exactly with any particular variety of socialism in the western world. “Its growth was not on a straight line, rather suffered from false starts and setbacks, affected by the hostility of British authorities, recurrent economic crisis the changing international scenes and the rather violent shifts in the attitudes of the Communist International toward the national struggle in India.” (17)

There appeared certain causes proved detrimental in the growth of socialist numbers in India.

1. Advent and Exploitative Nature of British Rule

There was a psychological reaction in the mind of whole nation which Prof. Graham Wallas termed as a reaction of being unfree and of having been wronged.” Moreover the failure of Civil disobedience or non-cooperation in achieving the Swaraj helped in supporting the birth of a new sort of ideology where socialist appeared more as a method of achieving independencethan a philosophy of Reorganizing the Indian Society.

2. Socialism Thrived on Discontent
Not simply due to the failure of national movement but against ill – provision and unemployment of those who were highly qualified or semi qualified. Moreover, surprisingly the industrialization in India didn’t resulted in an Indian Capitalist, rather replaced them with British Capitalist So double discontent supported the rise of socialism.

3. Russian Revolution

The success of Bolshevik Revolution surely helped in the growth of socialist tendencies where socialism had won its laurels and therefore emboldened the younger generation.

4. Personal Influence of Nehru

Already there was agitation among the people, followed by religion disputation among Hindu-Muslims, Communal representation in legislatures all conmemned the people; where there appeared Nehru on the scene especially after his visit from Europe fully emboldened by the masses serving a role ideal to the youth for showing a democratic socialistic path for the independence and Reconstruction of Indian Society and polity.

Indian Socialist thought in Evolution

The ancient Indian culture particularly the revivalist ideology suggests that the socialist principle and ideology was nothing new rather the ancient socio-economic and philosophical tradition imbibed withinitself the notion of Socialism,If not in the rigid ideological form like that in Rigveda or the ideas of fraternity human solidarity and spiritual equality in ‘Dampada’of Budhism. The pioneer of the 19th century renaissance particularly Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar,organizations such as BrahmaSamaj, AryaSamaj, Theosophical
society went far in softening the crudities of the traditional social life and dogmatism. Socialism never came to them as a now outlook.

However it is remarkable that no two of our thinkers on socialism agree on what precisely socialism is.

The first contact of resurgent India with socialist thought was through *Raja Ram Mohan Roy* in his famous conversation with ‘Robert Owen’, but Roy was more interested in social reformsthat socialism 19 *Bankim Chandra Chatterjee* in 1879 published his essay on *samaya* in which he ‘made frontal attack on various forms of inequality in society,’ *Rabindranath Tagore* supported this concern and wrote in his article in 1892 that “Socialism wants the production and distribution should be vested in society in general and not in the hands of some powerful individuals.”

Dayanand Saraswati - The founder of AryaSamaj being greatly influenced by the *Manu Smriti and Vaidic Samyavad* championed social equality called for the mitigation of the evils of untouchability and caste system which no doubt are the most concern of the socialist even today.

Sir Aurbindo - The most prominent Exponent of *Ancient Scientific Socialism* which later inspired J. Prakash Narayan also. He stressed upon the human nature and psychological factors of socialism, he observed

“To each according to their needs to each according to their capacities. Each for all and all for each.”

For him the Indian slogan should not only ‘materialistic’ conception of history but the *Spiritual – Materialistic interpretation of history* where universe is a compound of mind and matter.
Vivekanand - He called himself a socialistic, wrote in one of his letter,

    The doctrine which demands the sacrifice of individual freedom to social supremacy is called socialism.\(^{(23)}\)

    Being deeply devoted to the cause of the liberation of the poor and downtrodden, he called for the diffusion of the power: harpedon the moral foundation of national cohesion opposed the growing fame of “Material Prosperity” showed “distrust for machines”.

Dadabhai Navroji - In his famous treatise ‘\textit{Poverty and UnBritish Rule in India}’ explained his famous \textit{Drain theory} called it the chief cause of Indian misery and poverty. In August 1904 he attended the “International Socialist Conference,’ appealed the working class of world to support the eradication of poverty of India. The matter of possessing the material production is of prime importance.\(^{(24)}\).

\textit{Sir Aurobindo} was emphatic in rejecting capitalism and communism and in suggesting a new type of socio political order closely resembling democratic socialism. Although he discussed all in the context of \textit{humanity} as a whole than from Indian point of view.

However the beginning of socialism as a coherent theory of socio economic reconstruction is known after the Bolshevik Revolution and gained popularity with the Indian radicals engaged in the struggle against British Imperialism. All the above said notions were scattered and centered with some other notions like social, religious etc.

Ideologically, Socialist thought in India did not adopt the Marxism line. It sheds away it orthodox Marxist position and assumed a Liberal posture. This \textit{revisionism} finds expression in M. N. Roy who was the first to introduce a group of
young intellectuals to the theory and practice of socialism. He was basically a humanist, accepted the principle of sovereignty of the individual and tried to integrate it with Democratic theory.

The New Humanism of Roy rejected the Economic Determinism of Marx and considered the human will as the motive force of social evolution. He was not in the favor of a Communist Revolution. As a socialist he believed that eventually India will have to introduce socialism but rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat as a compulsory mean to achieve it. He equates socialism with equalitarianism, made significant contribution to the Indian polity which was at that time was dominated by the Politics and economics of compromise.

According to him,

‘The overthrow of the British rule would be possible by an action of the bourgeoisie and masses in which the proletariat were desired to play an effective role so that they had their say at the time of transfer of power.’ (26)

In fact Indian socialism had threads of different hues woven into its fabric from light pink to dark red, each claiming to profess and preach the socialist ideology that best suited India. A group of university educated youth – Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev, Ashok Mehta, Yosuf Mehrally, S. M. Joshi, M. R. Masani, often met to discuss socialism, having a Fabian impact upon them. Indian socialism is popularly known as an amalgation of Marxism and Gandhism with Nehruvian impact; required a detailed analysis of both on Indian Socialist thought.

Jawaharlal Nehru is known as a high priest of socialism in India, though not a member of Congress Socialist party; opines Sanker Ghosh, of all the leaders of high stature, he was the first to be attracted to socialism. In his presidential
address at the Congress Session of 1929 he remarked ‘*I must frankly Confers that I am a socialist and a republican*’ what I want is that all individuals in India should have equal opportunities of growth from birth upwards and equal opportunities for work according to their capacity.”(28)

Nehru sought to evolve a social philosophy for the construction of Indian society on the basis of equality, social justice and individual freedom ‘When I use this word I do ,not in a vague humanitarian way but in a Scientific economic way.

The idea is that individuals should not be allowed to exploit any of theMethod or institution or the labor of the others to his own advantage. Having agreed this, the next thing is to decide how to achieve it.”(29)

Nehru was of course fascinated by Marxian ideas of socialism, scientific premises, its economic basis of social relations, goal of classless society yet never accepted the aggressiveness, intolerance and regimentation of communists. He was not impressed by any ‘ism’, found no contradiction in democracy and socialism. For him;

‘Democracy is the vehicle for ushering in socialism’, laid the pattern for socialistic India.

*Mahatma Gandhigave a new interpretation to socialism, tried to fit it into Indian circumstances. His conception of socialism was ethical based on the possibility of reform in human nature. According to Gandhi equality is the essence of socialism,

“So far I am aware in socialism the members of society are equal, nor high nor low.”(30)
Gandhi agreed with Karl Marx in so far as the ends are concerned but differed completely in the methods to achieve them. Never compromised by the violent philosophy of Bolshevism. For him, since socialism is crystal clear, it required - crystal like means to achieve it. Having a metaphysical basis, Gandhi suggested his theory of ‘Trusteeship and Renunciation” or voluntary poverty for establishing equality in society. He visualized the use of Satyagraha against the rich property owners, insisted on Harmonious Cooperation of labor and capital. For him class struggle was not inevitable if trusteeship is followed. Socialism will automatically be established. He equated his socialism with Sarvodayathe rise and complete development of all.

For Gandhi socialism was a mode of Personal conduct and a form of social service and was neither a gospel for the exploitation of the rich, nor a programme for the socialization of the means of production.

AcharyaNarendraDev - Best known as an ethical socialist, Deva is known for his fascination for the radicals under the impression of Marxism which he justified for being a remedy to resolve class antagonism. He believed in the Marxian notion of the materialistic conception of history, refused to adhere to the Gandhian philosophy of Ahinsa in its totality. Deva was strongly opposed to Imperialism and regarded it as the culmination of the logic of a capitalist order. Realizing well that Indian was kept in bondage because of the logic of imperial necessities, he foresaw clearly that Socialism retained the clue to achieving India’s freedom as well, So he tried to bring about an alliance between the socialist movement which and the national movement can be proved by his support to the ‘August Revolution’.

For bringing about socialism in Indian Society Deva realized that some sort of social Revolution would be necessary. Along with this he also exhorted the
people for launching an “economic struggle for accelerating the Political movement, etc.”\(^{(33)}\)

Deva made no reservation in depicting the state as out and out an coercive institution based on class interest. He had no sympathy with mere reformism and constitutionalism. The only way to mobilize mass action and to make India ripe for democracy was to adopt socialism.

He further laid down that in a decentralized socialist state the village panchayats elected on the basis of *Universal franchise* will be the chief authority of the state in the village.

*Jai Prakash Narayan* - J. P. has been a great foremost leader propagandist and spokesman of Indian Socialism so as the founding member of Congress Socialist party in 1934. The evolution of J. P’s socialist ideology can easily be divided into 3 broad phases, the Marxist phase of 1929-1946. The phase of democratic socialism between 1946-1954 and the Gandhian phases since then. \(^{(36)}\)

In the initial phase J. P. once remarked, ‘*the foundation of socialism is that there is only one type one theory of socialism, Marxism.*’ \(^{(37)}\) For him socialism is a system of social reconstruction and not a code of personal conduct. J. P. refutes the contention that socialism cannot be established in India because her traditions are different from those of European countries. To build socialism in India he elaborated the steps in the draft of C. S. P.

- a. Socialization of key and principal industries, bank, insurance and public utilities.
- b. Socialization of distribution and exchange.
- c. Economic life to be controlled and planned by state.
- d. State monopoly of foreign trends.
e. Redistribution of land to peasants.

f. Encouragement and promotion of collective farming by state.

**Democratic Aspect**

J. P. realized that democracy or democratic method was the ‘Sine Qua Non of socialism.’(40) He observed there can be no socialism without democracy. It’s a common mistake to think there must be the dictatorship of the proletariat in a socialist state.

In his article, ‘The transition to socialism’, he called his ideal as democratic socialism with regard to the methodology of socialist transformation of society. He had no doubt that resort to coercion could not be ruled out. His concept of socialism had the bearings of economic and political democracy. However, he did not believe in the political democracy existed then. The state was to him a necessary tool and an instrument of power in society. For him, ‘No party in the world of today can build up socialism, unless it has the machinery of the state in its hands.’(41)

After Independence one can witness the disenchantment of JP with Marxism and more influence of Gandhism. Thus in, ‘Socialism And Sarvodya’ in 1951 he pleaded for adopting Gandhian economic programme. He emphatically warned that Socialism in India would neglect Gandhism only at its own peril. The aspects which he emphasized to be imbibed were,

- The ethical and moral base of action
- A revolutionary technology in the shape of civil disobedience and Satyagrah
- Insistence on political and economic decentralization
Under the impression of VinobaVhabhe ‘Bhoodan and Gramdan movement’ J. P. visualize his village reorganization. He argued that villages should be made self governing and self sufficient units. This entails a drastic reform of land laws. He strongly advocated cooperative forming; visualizing the village as a huge unit of agricultural production. He viewed the Bhoodan movement as a beginning of a great ‘Social-Human Revolutionin 1954. He himself became the ‘Jevandani’ He also pleaded for a balance ‘Agro-Industrial’approach for country’s benefit. Socialization of the means of production was the key for that. He also pleaded for a Small Machine Labor Intensive economy for India. For him the political structure of the community must correspond to its Social Structure and rise storey by storey from the foundation. He pleaded for Rural Industrialization, free from bureaucratization where he wanted Panchayati Raj to play an important role.

His notion of Total Revolution aimed at bringing about a total change in the structure of Indian society and polity. For him his total Revolution combines

- Social - Economical, Political, Cultural, Ideological Educational and Spiritual revolution.

He also believed that no revolution for reconstruction of socio-eco-political framework of society could be brought about successfully without making the people aware of the propriety and utility of it. As he was committed to Sarvodaya, wanted an education system which provides a self reliant, morally strong, self regulated state and free socialist society. (42)

Ram Manohar Lohia- He belonged to that core of socialists who neither owed allegiance to any external ideological deity nor were the followers of dogmas. If at all he had a faith it was in “Pragmatic National Socialism”. Lohiadid accept the theory of dialectical materialism but his abiding faith in democracy, individual liberty and freedom made him rebelled against Communism or Marxism, and its
dictatorship notion as he realized that the face of Socialism was blurred, wanted to provide it a new freshness. For him, too long socialism has lived on borrowed breath and lagged behind the cohorts of Communism and Capitalism resulting in its ability to secure a doctrinal foundation. He had no faith in the automatic development of socialism. His socialism rejects the new production technique of the Capitalist and the Communist systems for India. For him any scheme of rapid industrialization or agricultural reconstruction must take account of decisive factors of Asian economy, teeming millions and poor equipment. His socialism stands for socialization of the means of production as its pillars are *Equality and prosperity*. In order to achieve the socialism one should rely on

- Vote (Election)
- Spade (Constructive work)
- Prison (Civil disobedience)

This new socialism should aim at:

1. Maximum attainable equality – to be brought about by nationalization of the economy.
2. A decent standard living throughout the world freedom of the individual against unjust encroachment of public authority.
3. Evolution of a technology which would be consistent with these aims and processes.

As regard to his attitude toward Gandhism, he has been described as *representing the ideals of democratic socialism tempered by Gandhian concepts of decentralization and the use of civil disobedience techniques for nationalism ad class struggle*. Of course he was a Non-confirmist Gandhian as never put faith in God and soul concept of Gandhism. On the other, maintained emphatically that methods and means are the essential determinants of Indian socialism. He
strongly advocated the need for adopting the Gandhian method of *Non Violent Satyagraha* as the only effective weapon for Indian socialism.

**Theory of Immediacy**

Ram Manohar Lohia emphatically stated that the methods means were the essential determinants of Indian socialism. He explained that *means are ends in the short run and the ends are means in the long run.* This realization is based on the theory of “Immediacy” that the immediate results of a conduct must be in confirm even though only partially, to what is being tried to be achieved in the distant future.

He employed it practically by stating that the immediacy in science and planning must be matched with immediacy in production and political control. Socialism must be decentralized and must evolve on a *Regional* base through the application of technology and the exercise of political power in response to local conditions. This notion followed by his idea of *Four Pillar State.* In this system the village, the province and the central government all retain important and are integrated in a *Functional Federalism.* This kind of socialism cater for the provision of Bread (the economic aim) and the achievement of freedom (the general aim).

As being an exponent of Decentralized socialism he believed in small machine, cooperative labour and village government. He prescribed the technology of the small unit machine as a remedy against capitalist concentration and mounting unemployment.

**A Blended Approach**

Countering the charge that Gandhi Ji had overemphasized the importance of the individual, Lohia observed that due to this factor the socialists might have too
much emphasized on environment. Lohia emphasized greatly the need for a blended emphasis on the Individual and the social base for Indian Socialism.

**Basics of Socialist Society**

He devoted himself to the realization of a socialist society through the technique of Civil disobedience. The movement of the independence according to him could not be completed until the Gandhian dream of the rise to prosperity of the humble kisan became a reality. Lohia tirelessly worked for the redemption of the suppressed section of the Indian society which reflects in his denunciation of *Caste Oppressions*. As a technique for building socialism, Lohia wanted fraternization with the backward classes and the poor elements in the upper castes. Indian political future was doomed without the upliftment of Shudras, Harijans and the tribal population. He felt that the building up of socialism was the need of the hour. He was against the luxury and magnificence indulged in by some people to maintain the political power.

The abolition of land revenue on uneconomic holding was his revolutionary slogan on the Indian political scene.

**Matter of State**

Lohia appeared not to have concerned himself much with the issue of the state; however, critical of a dictatorial and totalitarian party with a state, particularly of kind that had developed in the Russia under the impact of communist ideology. Lohia appeared to have clung to his faith in the continuance of the machinery of state. He not only *adopted the parliamentary procedures for the achievement of the socialist state but also actively participated in the functioning of the Indian parliament.* He frankly confessed that the state constituted as it was today, necessitated some sort of inflexibility and drastic measures and not just soft and constitutional way.
SOCIALIST MOVEMENT – A POLITICAL REMEDY

Applied Socialism – A Western Perspective

It is insisted that the basis of socialism is economic involving a fundamental change in the rotation of labor to land and capital, but while its basis is economic; socialism implies and carries with it a change in the political, technical, ethical and artistic arrangements and institutions of society which would constitute a revolution in a real sense.

With the coming of Industrial Revolution the rise of bourgeois contributed essentially in the creation of numerous proletariat which quickly challenged the lassie- faire ideas of bourgeoisie with Socialistic ideas. Growing awareness about the ills of capitalism popularize socialism. Its strength also rose due to economic propensity of capitalism – Imperialismof the modern variety, designed to acquire raw materials and markets. These actions led to periodic Economic Boom AndBust cycles like that of 30’s attracted people toward socialist ideas and proponent so as proved helpful in generating World War I and II. As a result of first world conflict Russian which was the weak link in European capitalism in 1917 became the first Socialist Nation. World War II completely vitiated western and Japanese imperialism. Communism and socialism emerged as a dominant political ideology everywhere. Socialism offers the hope that the benefits of the industrial age can be controlled to their best interests by the representatives of the masses.

Into this fervour, stepped Arab socialism in Algeria, Egypt, Iraq and Syria. Black socialism Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya and the orient Vietnamese communism. In Europe, eastern side fell under the sway of soviet
communist. While in Western Europe, extension programmes of nationalization in industries and finance occurred in Britain, France and Italy.

As socialism developed in the 20th Century it moved into 3 different streams.

1. Anarchism and its derivative (Revolutionary syndicalism).
2. Democratic Socialism mainly in western Europe (France, Germany, Britain, Italy)
3. Communism in Soviet Union, China and Vietnam

But all three having their distinctions stands for some common features like:

A. All believe in class struggle the basic socio-political and cultural struggle is essential between those who own the means of production and those who work for the owners.
B. They all agreed upon the socialist vision, holds that class societies founded on ownership of means of production should be terminated.

With these areas of agreement, now we will focuses upon the kind of policies, programmes which were evolved around the socialist pattern with reference to France, Britain, Germany and Russia.

Socialism in Germany

In Germany it was under the Impact of Rodbertus and Laselle. The workers founded the Universal German working men association in May, 1863; in 1875 we witness the declaration of Gotha programme demanding

- By all legal means to establish a socialist society
- Establishment of socialistic productive association
- Demanding Employer’s liability Act
In 1891 there witnessed the Erfurt(51) programme under the social Democratic party of Germany which, for the working class constantly demanded the fixing of working day, prohibition of night work, supervision of all working units, and abolition of workers regulation. During war, the German socialist party witness a break up and after the war, the Weimer constitution was set up, not on soviet plan, but on a democratic line followed and swallowed by Fascists by 1930s.

Socialism in France

In France even after the establishment of Republic which stood for liberty, equality and fraternity the lot of workers didn’t improve. It was only in 1879 the Federation of socialist working men of France was organized in 1884. Trade Unions were legalized and hence syndicalism which has been the characteristic of French movement came into being. By 1914 we had Republican Socialists. Radical Socialists and Independent socialists. However they remained shattered even during First World War.

In France Leon Blum appeared as the outstanding Democratic Socialist he served as the First Socialist premier in France of the first popular ministry of 1936-1937, stands for a peaceful Reformist socialist that would decrease the shock between a militant socialist and the bourgeoisie in order that the collectivization of property might be done without recourse to violence, called democracy a necessary and vital condition for socialism. In France we can witness social welfare legislation like insurance, wage supplement for children, old age pensions, unemployment wage, etc., Upto 1947 about 1/5 of the industries were nationalized.

Socialism in England

One thing to be noticed is that unlike France, Italy or Germany, Britain has never experienced any major social – political upheaval or revolution, Hierarchy and
**Gradualism** were the hallmark of Britain. In this background one can understand the socialistic orientation settled and managed in its long history.

There were Reforms act of 1867, 1884. Fabian society was established in 1884. In 1900 the British trade unions came together with the support of Independent Labour party 1918 witnessed the birth of labor party in its modern form. Guild socialism appeared but soon terminated upto 1922. During war labor party formed twice the minority government also, to establish a ‘**New Social Order**. From 1922 – 1931 Prime Minister *Macdonald* led the labor government, believed in the gradual and mechanical evolution from capitalism to socialism.

However after II World War the approach was more elitist rather than participatory. Extensive state planning was rejected and upto 1950 the verbal goal of traditional socialism was explicitly abandoned.(53)

**Socialism in Russia**

Being basically an agrarian country, witnessed the Nihilist movements in 1870s under the impression of *Bakunin*, Anarchism as a movement gained some notice. Industrialization having already began in the right earnest. In 1890s Lenin founded *Union of struggle for the Liberation of the working class* 1896 witness the emergence of social Democratic party followed by social Revolutionary party in 1901. The demand of bread and peace after the Japanese victory in 1905 gave rise to strikes, movements and in 1917 Bolsheviks captured the government created the *Union Of Soviet Socialist Socialist* of which the constitution laid down mentioning;

A      abolition of private property inland.

B      nationalization of banks, factories, railways, etc
C establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat

In 1925 Stalin succeeded Lenin, launched a massive programme to achieve complete communism included the steps such as collective farms, equal emancipation of all workers from exploitation. Thus we find that upto II World War Soviet Russia progressively advanced toward its ideal of communism.

Socialism in West - End of Ideology to Eurocommunism

The Second World War put before the end of ideology concept where it asserted that the advanced countries of the west had achieved a ‘Pluralistic–Democratic Structure’. However it was nullified by Euro communists and new left of 60s and 70s. For them it was possible to conceive of socialism with a human face within a democratic policy. The argument had the background of collapse signs of communism in the former Soviet Union. In 1976 the communist party of France declared that the concept of dictatorship of proletariat was obsolete so as the communist party of Spain published Euro communism and the state in 1977 rejecting the one party dominance of the programme. European humanist, like Korac, Markovic and dissidents like D. Jilas rejected Leninism called for humanistic outlook of Marxism. In 1970 Makaly Vajda gave the term ‘The decade of the crisis of Marxism’. (54) The experience of the last four decades have shown that democracy is a necessity for economics as it is for politics. The isolationist economic policies outshunned the socialist paradigm from many countries and Laski once maintained that True Socialism is Liberaletarian and not Totalitarian. The challenge for contemporary socialist theory in the west is to evolve a mechanism of general welfare and safety nets
without compromising with merit competitiveness, adaptability and growth.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT – A POLITICAL REMEDY

INDIAN CONTEXT

In India the choice of socialism as both a strategy of mobilization and a set of goals to be achieved is inexorably dictated by many inherent features of the Indian society as well as by the compulsions of the developmental process.

A. Historically the Indian Society was characterized by Extreme hierarchisation and inequalities. The political powerlessness, economic deprivation and social disabilities of many groups have reinforced each other. So State Intervention and Control became necessary to break this convergence.

B. In determining the socialist course of action the pioneer had to reckon with two movements that had taken place roots in the country. The more powerful of them was the Nationalist Movement of Indian national congress under the leadership of Gandhi, second was the Marxist Leninist Movement under the leadership of communist party of India. It was anti-imperialist but also anti-congress which stagnated the national movement as a bourgeois movement not capable of overthrowing the British rule.

C. There was also a worker’s movement under the Tilak leadership but was stagnated as a trade union movement divorced from freedom struggle.

So a new political philosophy, policy and action was required. A variant of democratic socialism suited to the needs of the areas under colonial subjugation aspiring to bring about equality there appeared a realization of the importance of the working class as a driving force in the nationalist movement.
The accumulated effect of the socio-economic and political conditions of India reached at a critical stage during the first part of the 20th century where the Congress from within was facing several opposite theories like that of moderates and extremists indigenous ones of Gandhi on the other organizations such as Muslim League were creating problem. Gandhi succeeded in broadening the nationalist movement but failed to satisfy the Young Educated Class by his leadership and style of functioning. Among the intellectuals there was this realization that nationalism was a living force to be harnessed to the struggle against the foreign Rule but they were not prepared to subscribe to a doctrine that the one step of achieving freedom was enough for them rather they choose to define their goal in unmistakable terms of a Socialist Republic to avoid all ambivalence and confusion and to enthuse the toiling masses to accept even the freedom movement as apart of their class struggle.\(^{(55)}\)

Nationalism Marxism, socialism and Gandhism were the Inextricable strings in their thinking forming a Composite Whole for India. So socialism as a political remedy manifested itself in the following aspects of Indian policy.

1. Labour and Trade Union organizations
2. Youth movements and youth organizations
3. Organizations of socialist groups
4. Congress leadership and programmes (various resolutions)
5. Policies of national developments
6. Objectives of national planning
7. Constitutional placement
8. Legislative enactments
9. Others

The above said areas are ranging from pre-independent modulation to the post independent emphasis on socialism as a workable ideology and programme.
1. Labor and Trade Union Organizations

The success of the Russian Revolution and the Role of M. N. Roy created an atmosphere that supported a new outlook toward the economic aspect of India. After the war, labour movement was also emerging mainly influenced by the European and Russian labour movement followed this was the establishment of the All India Trade Union Congress in 1920 by N. M. Joshi, LalaLajpatRai, Joseph Baptisa and others with the Ultimate aim of abolition of capitalism and establishment of socialism followed by Trade Unions in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Kanpur. However in most cases of strikes it happened without any organized leadership or planning. So in 1922 at the 35th session of congress C. R. Das advocated the organization of trade unions under proper guidance and setting up of an committee. In 1925 they established for the LabourSwaraj Party with socio, economic equality as its main aim.

2. Youth Movements and Organization

The failure of first Non-Cooperation Movement Simon Commission and events such as Kanpur Conspiracy case, Meerut Conspiracy case immensely attracted the youth to be organized under a new ideological force. Not of reformist nature, rather drawn to a new socialist ideology To quote DevDutt,

“This was the seed time of socialism in India Youth of India showed considerable interest in socialist ideas as an alternative source of inspiration.” (56)

As a result youth and students leagues begun to sprang particularly in Punjab, Calcutta Central provinces and in Bihar. All India Youth Congress and
Indian Socialist Youth Congress were established with its first conference in 1928. Yusuf Meherally organized Bombay Provincial Youth League in 1928.

In 1920s S. A. Dang established a weekly journal in Bombay namely socialist Navyuga Bengali evening daily published news about peasants and workers. (57)

3. Organizations of Socialist Groups and Parties

With the twin objectives of achieving socialism and freedom various socialist groupings emerged. In fact the failure on the part of existing Leadership disillusioned the youth. According to Narendra Deva – “Before the formation of C. S. P. there were three or four provincial groups which were operating.” (58)

In 1929 Bihar Samajwadi Party was formed with the intention of working with Congress. Later renamed as Bihar Socialist Party in 1931 with Abdul Bari, Ganga Prasad Sinha. The aim was of organizing the agrarian and industrial workers. With the same idea the Bombay Socialist group was established in 1933 by Yusuf Meherally, Achyut Patwardhan, P. Tricomdas, later known as Nasik group of Socialists (59) In the same year the Benaras Socialist group was formed with Kamalapati Tripathi, Sampurnand. E. M. S. Namboodripad formed the Kerala Socialist group while Fridul Haq Ansari formed the Delhi Socialist group.

All these socialist groups declared their objectives more or less same including freedom and a new society based on equality both economic and political. There appear the necessity of a radical party due to the domination of right wing in the Congress, the successive failures of the leadership and of various movements. Gandhi’s declaration of devoting himself to constructive work also antagonized the left wing of the congress opportunity was availed
by Nasik Jail, led to the planning of forming an All India Socialist Party within Congress under the thumbs of Jayprakash Narayan, M. N. Masani, Ashok Mehta, AcyutPatwardhan, N. G. Gore, S. M. Joshi, M. L. Dantiwala, Yusuf Mehrelley drafted the Poona Draft” held its first conference at Patna on 17 May, 1934 at Anjuman-e-Ilama Hall under the presidentship of AcharyaNarendra Dev. To quote L. P. Sinha,

“It was a queer assortment of all sorts of people often poles apart in ideology and outlook. Fabian socialist Marxists, Kautskyists, stalinists, Leninists, Rosa Luxemburgites and even Gandhists and Vedantists.”

Agreed at some common aims such as

A. That the primary struggle in India is the national struggle for freedom.
B. They must work inside the congress
C. They must give the congress and the national movement a *Socialist Direction’*
D. That to achieve the objectives they must organizing the workers and peasants in their class organization and make them the social base for anti Imperialist struggle.

4. Congress Leadership Programmes and Resolutions

A great dissatisfaction towards the leadership of Congress which was under the strict control of Gandhi was balanced by Nehru and Bose who engaged themselves in a hectic campaign for the popularization of the Socialist ideas. It was Nehru who actively supported the cause of socialism within and outside congress worked in the direction of making congress an effective instrument of socio – economic changes. *At Lahore session of 1929he declared*
himself as a socialist with AICC passing the resolution foreconomic reorientations of the country. In the *Karachi Session of 1931* the famous resolution on “Fundamental Rights and Economic social programme was adopted by congress.” In 1936 at the *Faizpur Congress Session* the ‘Agrarian programme was adopted where Nehru remarked that he was going a little beyond the usual beat of congress President in preaching the cause of socialism. In 1948, after becoming the prime minister congress government declared the industrial policy which has been described as the *socialization of the vaccum* where state enterprises to be set up in the absence of private enterprises. The congress party at its historic *Awadhi Resolution* in 1954 declared that the planning should take place with a view to establish a *socialistic pattern of society* with the main features

A. Removal of poverty.
B. Reduction of inequalities of income and wealth.
C. Provision of equal opportunities to all.
D. Mixed economy.
E. Check on monopolistic tendencies.
F. Democratic values.

5. Policies of National Developments

- Establishment of Mixed Economy

The objective has been to bring about the rapid economic growth through the services of both public and private sector. A middle path between the communism and capitalism with a demarcated area of each. As heavy industrialization was required for infrastructure could not be left on the mercy of
private players policy of progressive taxation was adopted the policy of personal
and corporate taxation in India was adopted to reduce the income disparities and
to fund the public welfare.

- The State as a trustee of the Citizen

The state provides necessary check against anti-social activities for which
administrative machinery was utilized to curb hoarding, black marketing.

- Decentralization of economic and political power

In order to achieve an egalitarian society there appeared the notion of
decentralization of power for equitable distribution of wealth and elimination of all
sorts of discrimination.

6. National Planning and Socialism

After the Independence, the government of India issued a draft line which
described the nature of planning in India as follows:

“Planning in a democratic state is a social process in which, in small part
every citizen should have the opportunity to participate. To set the pattern of
future development is a task of such magnitude that it should embodied that
impact of public opinion and the needs of the community.”(63)

In fact the idea of planning as the only expedient for proper economic growth,
fair distribution of acquired benefits was mainly borrowed from the Soviet
System. In the first five year plan of 1951 – 56 emphasis was laid down on to
develop consumer goods industries rather than capitalist goods industries.
The second five year plan of 1956 aiming at rapid industrialization with particular
emphasis on the development of basic industries in order to create employment
opportunities. Fourth five year plan of 1969 wanted to ensure rapid economic
growth with equality and social justice. Greater diffusion of enterprises were planned aimed at ensuring the Land Reforms. Fifth five year plan envisaged progressive approach to self-reliance. Almost all plans aimed at achieving high and substantial growth rate, progressive improvement in the standard of the living of the general masses and building up an egalitarian – self-reliant economy, so that there should not be any type of accumulation of wealth in few hands and deprivation of the others.

7. Constitutional Placement Placement of Socialism

The preamble of the Constitution says ‘We the people of India solemnly resolved to constitute India in a sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens – Justice – social, economic and political liberty of thought expression belief faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.”

Thus the constitutional framers were aware that a democratic society with social–economic. Justice was meaningless especially for the poor masses. Their aim was to provide every Indian the equal opportunity in all walks of life. Though the word socialism was not mentioned until 44th Amendment Act of 1978 but the spirit was imbibed in the provision from the origin itself.

A. The Chapter on Fundamental Rights (Part III) offers immense facilities to the people to develop their personality and establish a free society. The Right to equality in Article 14 to 18 has no socialistic bearings yet it is intended to remove the social and civic disabilities from which the masses of India have been suffering from time immoral included.

1. Equality before law
2. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of Religion, race, caste, sex, birth, etc.
3. Equality of opportunity
4. Abolition of untouchability
5. Abolition of titles

So as other rights such as Right to liberty Right against Exploitation, Right to freedom of Religion, Right to culture and education have been provided.

In order to provide them the legal protection Right to Constitutional Remedy was incorporated which Dr. Ambedkar defines as the heart and soul of the constitution.

Besides, the Directive Principles of the state policy were also incorporated, however not enforceable from the judiciary, yet works as a pressure a moral one on the states to engage in welfare activities in order to secure equality and better livelihood it included.

a) The citizens, men and women equally have the right to adequate means of livelihood.

b) Adequate distribution of the means of production or the material resources

c) Avoidance of the concentration of wealth

d) Equal pay for equal work for both men / women

Along with these state shall undertake the organization of village panchayats ensure just and human treatment to the weaker section of the society to improve agriculture, public health, etc.

In this way framers of the Constitution became the sponsors of the growth of socialism in this country.
8. Legislative Measures

Due to its commitment to socialistic pattern of the government planned to bring about the economic changes in the society.

a) Government decided to abolish the long practiced system of Landlordism for which Bihar Land Reform Act was passed in 1950, followed by the 1st constitutional amendment bill of 1951, abolishing private property.

b) To followed by 4th Amendment bill of 1951 authorizing legislature to fix the amount of compensation of land.

c) The 24th and 25th amendment bill keeping aside the conflict tussle of judiciary and executive set the roads for further land Reforms act. Land ceiling act, Tenancy and agricultural lands act, and Zamindari abolition act. Two steps for the nationalization of the major commercial Banks and dropping of the payment of the Privy Purses were also taken to mobilize the financial resources of country for better results.

d) The 42nd Amendment bill under the Indira Gandhi Regime had historic significance in the sense that it altered the very objective of the constitution by adding the word Socialist and Secular in its preamble.

e) Added to all Indira Gandhi also launched her 20 point economic programme for mitigating the economic hardships of the down trodden.

Socialist Movement in India – A Political Remedy an Assessment

Constitutional framers as well as the political membership in India with special reference to leadership asserted India as being a ‘socialist’ nation (42nd Amendment) as witnessed by all the actions and policies given earlier but a careful analysis of the relevant facts in this connection reveals that Indian Socialist movement failed to cut the required ice as far as the problem of mass
poverty, inequalities and unjust distribution of the wealth is concerned. It has been argued that

“The objectives of this innovative model (Nehruvian) have not been achieved in India as it failed to counter the force of growing monopoly capitalism in India proved unable to prevent growth of poverty, inequality of income, religious fanaticism, urban rural gap and the gap between manual and mental labour.”(64)

a) **Distribution of National Income**

According to the various estimates like that of *National Council of Applied Economic Research (1956) Ojha and Bhatt (1965) Dandekar and Rath (1969)* Monopoly enquiry commission (1964) six five year plan report etc all have verified that the benefits of the economic development go more to the already well off sections of the society.

b) **Public Sector’s Role**

Facts reveals that the mixed economy allowed partial privatization which prepared the ground for a new economy functioning parallel to the national economy of the country. Despite the regulations the private sector gradually came to the prominence developing its held on the unnecessary luxury goods and earned huge profits. Most of the PSU’s failed to generate employment suffered losses (high cost of production) foreign debts, etc.

c) **Adoption of faculty apparatus for Socialism**

As ParthaChatterji claims that it is in implementation that planning has failed rather than in conceptualization and formulation of appropriate strategy. A
snobbish exclusive, slow moving, procedure bound value laden bureaucracy proved ill suited to fulfill the task of socialist transformation.

d) **Retaining of old Feudal Social Base**

The success of democratic socialism call for the harmony of the elements of Polity and society where the elitist feudal order in the service class led to failure of the implementation of the land ceiling land reforms act distorting. The rural aspect of socialist orientation. In fact what appeared is that

“Socialism was accepted in its broad term while the smaller details were left at there own to be adjusted which led to the half hearted attempts and a half baked cake name socialism to be grasped by masses.

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