

Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya's critical appraisal of Socialism

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ABSTRACT: Marx propagated Scientific Socialism was buzz word throughout the world in 19th and 20th century. With its success in 1917 Russian revolution, the philosophy attracted men throughout the world. However, with the collapse of Soviet Union, the world is looking for a new philosophy to guide it through the turbulent times. In India, the current government of Bhartiya Janta Party is following the path suggested by Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya through his philosophy of Integral Humanism during 1960s. It was the time when the philosophy of Socialism and Communism was the main influence throughout the world. Study aims to find Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya's view on the concept of Marx propagated Socialism.

KEYWORDS: Scientific socialism, Karl Marx, Dialectical materialism, Historical Materialism, Class struggle, Socialism, Dictatorship of proletariat, Socialism, Communism, Deendayal Upadhyaya, Integral Humanism, Nationalism, Imperialism.

Date of Submission: 19-06-2021

Date of acceptance: 21-06-2021

I. INTRODUCTION

Historically, the concept of public or collective ownership of property and natural resources has long been associated with Socialism, Marxism and communism.^[1] Karl Marx emerged as the most influential socialist thinker to emerge in the 19th century.^[2] Marx and his friend Frederick Engels founded doctrine of scientific socialism.^[3]

It is important to note that Socialism has been propagated before and after Marx. But after Marx no one has been able to make any distinctive mark with regards to objectives and main premises.”^[4]

Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, was a profound philosopher and has been the source of ideological guidance and moral inspiration for the ruling Bhartiya Janta Party in India. He was one of the rare thinkers of modern India who could carve out an alternative roadmap for the overall development with a truly Indian model of thinking. He was of the view that complete thought should be all the accumulated human knowledge. Whatever is ours should be molded in accordance with time and all the knowledge from abroad should be molded as per country's requirements.^[5]

It is important to analyse his views on Socialism as the programmes and policies of the government of India are being guided by the philosophy of Integral Humanism propounded by Upadhyaya.

II. DISCUSSION

Marx & Engels had propagated their theory on the basis of dialectical materialism and made historic interpretation of the future suggesting inevitability of socialism after passing through the stage of class struggle between proletariat and bourgeois in capitalist society. After passing through the stages of dictatorship and withering away of the State, ideal stage of Communism was envisaged. Private property was viewed as the main cause of inequality and therefore abolition of private property along with institutions of marriage & family and discarding of the concept of nation, which was claimed to be the supporter of bourgeoisie was propagated. Marx wanted to establish kingdom of communism and thus urged workers of the world to unite.

An analysis of the salient features of Scientific socialism and its analysis by Pt Deen Dayal Upadhyaya is as follows:-

1. Dialectical materialism

According to theory of dialectics, the moving principle of the world is 'contradiction'. Each stage of history has been termed 'thesis'. At each stage the thesis itself produces its opposite termed as 'antithesis' from within itself; the seeds of destruction are its own internal contradictions. But the antithesis which attempts to remove contradictions of the thesis is itself destroyed and replaced by the synthesis which combines the valid elements of both thesis and anti thesis. This synthesis in turn becomes the starting point for the whole process to repeat again and this continues until final synthesis, the perfect stage is reached.^[6] According to Marx and Engels material world determines our ideas and consequently the change.^[7]

Upadhyaya considered that man is a composite of body, mind, intellect and soul. All 4 need satisfaction in order to derive happiness. The fulfillment of four fold aspirations related to body, mind, intellect and soul is predicated on sensuous pleasure, mental satisfaction, peace & knowledge and realization of self.^[8]

It is in contrast to Marx who talked about bread, treating man as an economic being without any other requirement. If only one facet of human personality is considered, result is discontent and failure.

For fulfillment of needs of man, for satisfaction of his desires and holistic development, 4 purusharthas (objectives) in the form of action have been considered – dharma, artha (wealth), kaama(desires) and moksha (liberation). All 4 complement each other and cannot be achieved in isolation. Fulfillment of artha (wealth) and kaama (desires) on the basis of dharma is considered as development of humanity and the living of such a life is provides moksha (liberation).

Dharma means the basic principle of integration of the four powers– man, society, universe and God. It upholds, sustains, nourishes and leads to complete development. There is no synonym of the word Dharma in English. Dharma refers to ‘duty’ ‘law’, ‘ethics,’ ‘inherent nature’ and also ‘religion’ in accordance with the context with which it is used. In this way, we can say that dharma is related to complete existence. And this type of dharma is the fountain of feelings, thoughts and values. Therefore, Dharma has been regarded with utmost importance in Indian Social life. It is the criteria which helps intellect to decide which activities should be undertaken and also differentiate between right & wrong.^[9]

In Indian society everything revolves around dharma. Everything according to dharma is desirable and anything against dharma is sinful.

So, it is the view which is antagonistic to Marx’s concept which holds ‘matter’ i.e. wealth (artha) as the basis. Here matter has been considered but it is only one amongst the above mentioned four purusharthas–dharma, artha(wealth), kaama(desires) and moksha(liberation) which influences the other three.

2. Historical materialism

Marx and Engels presented a critique of present and past societies. The forces of material production form the base of the framework of society on which the superstructure of its political and cultural arrangements gets constructed. When the productive modes and relations have developed to their limits in the existing political and economic framework of society, then the conditions arise and make social revolution inevitable. It brings about a transmutation of these older forms into more progressive ones. Accordingly, societies advance progressively from primitive states to more sophisticated ones. This is the way feudalism evolved to capitalism.^[10]

Since they tried to explain history by looking at the material conditions of human existence, their theory is called: historical materialism.

Discussing the evolution of society, Marx believed that human history had progressed through a series of stages. Ancient slave society transformed to feudalism and now feudalism has transformed to capitalism. A dominant class used its control through the means of production to exploit the labour of a larger class of workers at each stage. In each stage internal tensions or “contradictions” eventually lead to the overthrow and replacement of the ruling class by its successor. Thus, the bourgeoisie overthrew the aristocracy and replaced feudalism with capitalism. Similarly, Marx predicted, the proletariat will overthrow the bourgeoisie and replace capitalism with communism.^[11]

Looking at the plight of industrial workers in Western Europe Marx had thought that Socialism is inevitable. But the events challenged the basic presumption of Marx. Upadhyaya tells-“Marx had predicted that wherever industrial progress increased, a revolution would first happen in those places as a result of the increase in inequality of wealth, and a worker’s State would be established.” He adds-“Industrial revolution happened to its maximum in England, where there is no trace of Communism.”^[12]

So the next question that comes to one’s mind is why the first communist revolution took place in Russia, which was amongst the industrially most backward countries?

Upadhyaya mocks-“According to him (Marx), this revolution would begin In Germany, France, Britain and other industrial countries, where there was a lot of inequality, but it happened in a country where nationalism had eroded under the rule of Czars.”^[13]

He explains-“It happened when Russian nationhood had reached a nadir and Russia had suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Germany. Its beaten army was demoralized and the country had lost its self-confidence. It was then that Lenin was successful in engineering a revolution and that too by being a puppet of Kaiser.”^[14]

It is pertinent to mention here that by the coming of 1917, Russia had lost during World War-I. Lenin too was living in exile in Switzerland at the time of February Revolution and could only enter Russia with the help of Germany, which was at war with Russia. Germany hoped that Lenin would serve Germany’s interests in Russia.

The next question that comes to one's mind is what exactly happened in West European countries which were considered to be fertile lands for the spread of Communism. Upadhyaya answers-“Because of their liberal policies and new economic thinking, they have dimmed the lusture of socialists.” To the question as to what exactly happened to proletariats, Upadhyaya adds-“Today the common individual of America or Britain, farmer or labourer, who, according to communist definition is called the proletariat, is not in the exploited state of affairs he was in a hundred years ago.” Now the question is what happened to their system of capitalism? Upadhyaya says-“The ideal of the welfare State is being propagated in place of the capitalist system.” He contrasts rigid communist system with democracy-“Because of democracy in capitalist countries, there is always the preparedness to admit mistakes and accept new ways of functioning. But there is lack of such flexibility in the outlook of socialists towards problems. The ideology does not inspire any kind of new thinking.” He compares a Socialist to a Fanatic religious follower and says –“Like the fanatic follower of messianic religions and inalterable dogmas and superstitions, a socialist prefers to stay away from new and free thought.” Finally he concludes- “Marx prediction of both type of countries, capitalist or socialists have been proven wrong.”^[15]

Thus we can see that the prophecy of historical inevitability of Socialism on the basis of materialistic interpretation has failed the reality test.

3. Classes and class struggle

Marx divided the human species into two classes of ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’ and envisaged a conflict between these classes.

Communist Manifesto declares –“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.” Marx explained that the existences of classes is only bound up with particular, historic phases in the development of production and the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of proletariat.^[16]

Upadhyaya analyzed problems of society with a pragmatic vision. He disagreed with the division of society into exploiters and sufferers. He says-“Ever since Marx propagated his credo of class welfare, the educated have grown accustomed to dividing society into the rulers who exploit and followers who are basically exploited. Such dogmatic attachment to ideology pulls us far away from reality.” He describes this confusion further-“We see complex situations where people in society are neither exploiters nor exploited, or sometimes are victims of exploitation and its perpetrators at other times.”

He argues that although Marxists usually dismiss such differentiation but such a class exists in a large number. Upadhyaya says-“This huge segment of people is referred to as the middle class.” He ponders about their role in Marxian philosophy and mocks-“A decade ago, they used to consider them as a mere instrument of exploitation and placed them in the category of exploiters. Now they have altered their behavior and call the middle class ‘exploited but exploiting in their behavior.’”

Upadhyaya^[17] considers this distinction of classes into exploited and exploiter by Marx as narrow view.

Upadhyaya sees cooperation as the key to human progress, which is missing in Socialism. He says-“In the background of class war, a voluntary stable co-operation cant’s come about as a feeling.”^[18]

Upadhyaya is not impressed by Darwins’s principles of Struggle for existence and Survival of the fittest. He thinks them to be the laws of the jungle not applicable to humans. He believes in cooperation rather than struggle and derives his inspiration from the balance maintained by nature between plants and animals wherein animals inhale oxygen and exhale carbon dioxide whereas plants utilize carbon dioxide and provide oxygen. He says-“The plants and human life are complementary to each other.”^[19]

He thinks that the competition of capitalist system, difference between ruler and subjects in democracy and class struggle of socialism are all based on defective western faith on Darwin’s principles. He says-“Communists don’t believe in competition; they believe in class-war. It entails competition of classes.”^[20]

Because all Western philosophies are based on this basic presumption he does not think these suitable for us. He says-“Indian culture works on the premise that the man and the society are bound together, and that too, not by a symbiotic association, but a union based on mutual appreciation of their roles as two units of a composite hole. This is why we hold the view that both Marxism and capitalism are unsuitable for us.”^[21]

The Indian thought process depicted by Integral-spiral views man, family, nation, universe and humanity related to each other and not different from each other. It is the growing level of consciousness. When a child is born, he is ‘I’, as he can think only about himself. As he grows, he starts thinking about his family also. He feels that his own interests and his family’s interests are synonymous. Similarly, as he grows further, he thinks about his nation and sees it as his own, same as himself and his family. In a similar way, he starts feeling that the whole of universe is his own. This way there is no conflict between the individual, his family, nation, universe and ultimately this is the way to realize God when he thinks everything as his own.

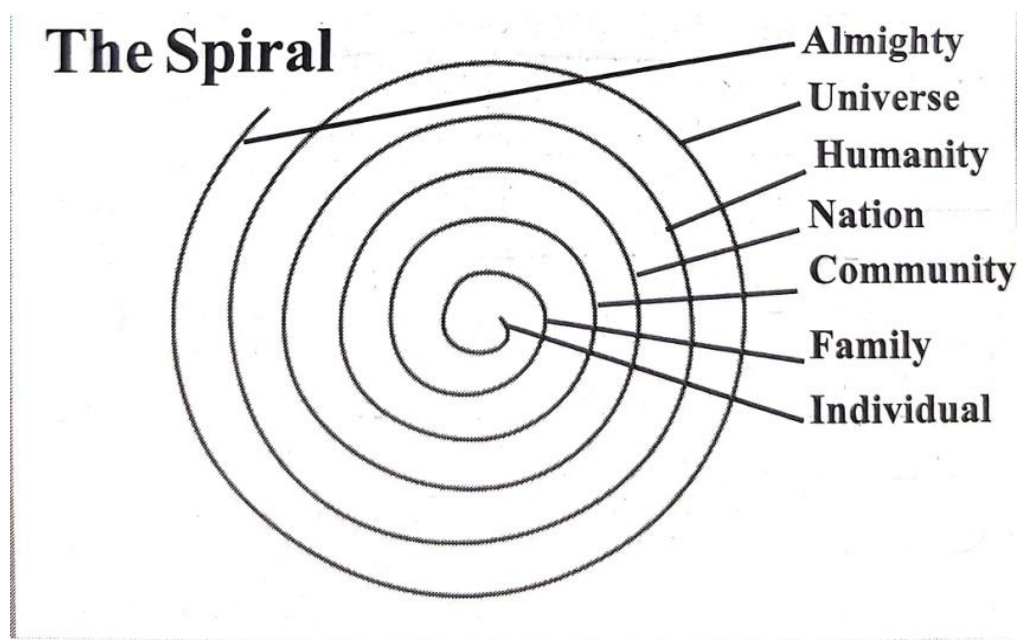


Fig-1
Integral-spiral

Due to faith in this model, mutual cooperation and care is inherent in the way of thinking and acting.

4. Socialism and Dictatorship of Proletariat

In Critique of the Gotha Programme written in 1875, Marx disagrees with the idea of introduction of socialism democratically and says that “between capitalist and communist society what was required was the revolutionary dictatorship of proletariat”. He further distinguishes between lower and higher phase of the communist society. In the first phase there would be inequalities, since the society has just emerged after a long period of capitalist society. He considers these defects inevitable. However, in the higher phase which is communist society, there would be no division of labour, no distinction between mental and physical work, there would be abundant of cooperative wealth and the communist principle would be established: ‘From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!’^[22]

The lower phase of communism which is also the phase of dictatorship of proletariat has been described as Socialism. Here the motto is –“To each according to his ability.”

After the establishment of dictatorship of proletariat following victory of proletariat in the class struggle, Communists thought that State would solve the problems. They forgot that those running the State are also human beings. There is no guarantee that the people around whom the power is centered, will not oppress others. The common ideals of human life like donation, benevolence and mercy which existed in capitalism, Karl Marx brought to an end, notwithstanding the fact that these were worldly ideals only, never put in practice. Thus the allegiance towards society came to an end and the feeling of thinking about others began to recede. The religious piousness of Christianity and Islam which included virtues like love, service, honesty and benevolence also began to disappear. All these characteristics as methods of oppression entailed by capitalism became a pretext to finish these virtues. According to these new beliefs it was told that if you eat six breads and donate two breads, you will get the remaining two breads in heaven. The result of materialistic thought was that people stopped giving two breads in alms and retained all the six breads with themselves.^[23]

Upadhyaya thinks that the institution of State is necessary to maintain order and to assure every individual all opportunity for following his Dharma. He does not consider State as supreme, instead thinks it just one of the several institutions.^[24] He says –“The State is one of several institutions, an important one, but it is not above all others.” The reason for many of the world’s problems is the wrong concept of thinking State synonymous to nation and unwanted importance being given to the State. He does not consider State to be the sole representative of the Nation. He says-“One of the major reasons for the problems of the present day world is that almost everyone thinks of State to be synonymous with society. At least in practice, they consider the State as the sole representative of society.” This has made all powerful State. He says-“Other institutions have declined in their effectiveness, while the State has become dominant to such an extent, that all the powers are being gradually centralized in the State.”^[25]

Perhaps this was the reason that USSR or China could never elevate to the next stage of 'withering away of State'.

5. Withering away of State and Communism

After the brief period of dictatorship of proletariat, when the conditions would be transformed to an ideal state of Communism, withering away of the State would take place. In this state of Communism, motto will be –“To each according to need.”

So for Marx, Socialism, was only a temporary stage on the path of ideal economic system—communism. Marx dreamt that a day would come when his socialism (with state ownership of property) would be replaced by communism (in which the state would no longer exist). Anyhow, Marx's wishes never came true. In fact, quite the opposite has occurred: In every instance, Marxist socialism has created bigger and more intrusive governments than ever before. [26]

In USSR dictatorship ceased only after its collapse. In China, dictatorship has become more powerful than any period in history. However, Upadhyaya looks at Indian text and tells the situation when the Stateless society can prove to be a reality.

Upadhyaya narrates that there is an instance in Mahabharata wherein it has been described that formerly there was no State or King, no punishment, no punisher, all the people protected each-other and the society was governed by law. [27]

Dharma (as described in S. No.1) is the fundamental law of human nature and also the standard for deciding the propriety of behavior in various situations. Upadhyaya says –“Since Dharma is supreme, our ideal of the State has been Dharma Rajya (State of Dharma).” [28] He further clarifies that it is not theocratic State but a State in which every individual can follow the religion of his choice and live in peace.” [29]

Upadhyaya provides a model for sustainable society, where individual serves the society and society takes care of fulfillment of individual's needs:

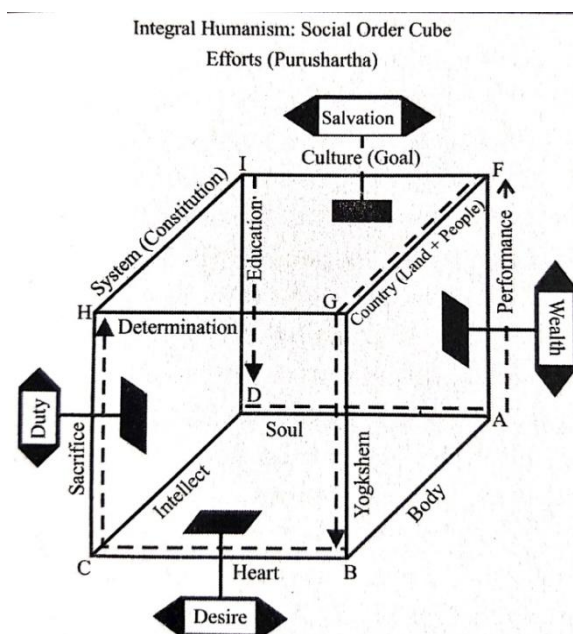


Fig-2
Integral Humanism: Social Order Cube

Face ABCD represents the individual and face FGHI represents society.

Education: It is duty of society to educate a person and make him capable of using his skills for not only earning his livelihood but performing to his potential.

Performance: Based upon the education gained, the individual performs certain actions and these actions are for the society. It is duty of man towards society.

Remuneration (Yogkshem): Society reciprocates the action performed by the individual and provides appropriate payment/ facilities for the work done. It is duty of society towards man.

Sacrifice: Saving something from whatever one earns from the society for betterment of society and future generations. This is an action performed by man towards society.

In this way there is a balance between needs and requirements of a man and society. Both fulfill each others' needs and function successfully. This thought is based upon cooperation and not on conflict.

Such a society is self dependent and provides social security. Proper education, work and remuneration are ensured. Both society and individual understand their duties and derive satisfaction while performing the duties.

6. Marriage and family

Marriage institutions and family were seen as bourgeois concepts by Marx.

Marx propagated that there should be no institution in the name of family. No one is someone's husband and no one is someone's wife. Whole of the society is one and all the people would live in a group. It would be similar to the way animals live in a group. Everyone can have sex with each other and it would lead to progeny. But the progeny will not have any mother or father. In other words, fatherhood or motherhood will not be there. As soon as the child would be born, he would be responsibility of the state. There would only be relation between State and the child. There would be no compulsion of accepting fatherhood and in this way community would be produced.^[30]

According to Upadhyaya various institutions are created to fulfill the needs of the nation. These include- family, castes, guilds (known as Trade Unions), property, marriage etc.^[31]

Upadhyaya discards the Marxist notion of 'No marriage, no family', and declares it as animal like life. He writes-"Nowhere is it considered proper to lead an animal like life. A new practice was tried out in Russia. Lasting relations between husband and wife make rise to a family, which leads to the claims like private property. So the crusaders against property regarded the values of chastity and the institution of marriage and the sentiment of family as undesirable." This being against the law of nature was bound to fail, even State force could not make it succeed - "But even Lenin could not force this thought on Soviet people."^[32]

He cites failure of the attempts made in Soviet Union to support his claim.

7. Private property

For Marx the root cause of exploitation was private property. So, he envisioned abolishing of private property by the state. The State was entrusted with the distribution of the requirements of the people.

Regarding property, Upadhyaya^[33] was of the view that the property rights are not permanent and are provided in order to enable a person to serve the society. He says-"Fundamental rights like property and others are not for eternity. All such rights are relative to society. Actually, these rights are bestowed upon the individual so that he might discharge his social responsibilities." He further continues-"An individual has been given property rights so that he may fulfill his duties. For this function, these rights need changes from time to time in their interpretation and limits. No right to property is independent of society."

8. Nationalism

Marx thinks that after the collapse of the feudal system, the nation was created as a socioeconomic construction to benefit the capitalist economic system. He interprets the issues concerning nationality on a social evolutionary basis. In order to create conditions conducive to a market economy, after the fall of feudalism and genesis of capitalism, capitalists tried to unify and centralize populations' culture and language within the states. Nation-state provided them a common language which helped in coordination of economy, gave them enough population for internal division of labour and a large territory to maintain a viable economy^[34]

Upadhyaya understood the opposition of Marx to the concept of Nationalism and wrote-"The influence of Marxian methodology has made socialism an anathema to many people, and has made it incompatible both with nationalism and democracy."^[35]

However, Upadhyaya claims that even Socialist countries follow Nationalism, but in a disguised manner. It is different from the one which was present in Germany and Italy during the 2nd World War. He explains "Nazism and fascism were forms of national socialism. The communist countries USSR, China and Yugoslavia, etc. could also be called national socialists. The only difference that is visible is that the latter do not defy nationalism." According to him Communist countries understand that the way Hitler used the concept of Nationalism derives wrath of the world so they are acting in a silent manner but aim is same. He writes-"Hitler, by placing an undue stress on nationalism, definitely roused his own people but antagonized the rest. The communist countries are acting in a subtler manner. By claiming to be a world movement, they easily undermine national loyalties of other people and thus serve their own national expansionist designs."^[36]

Upadhyaya analyses the events in Russia during 2nd World War. He says-"In this war, during the phase of Russian defeats at the hands of Germany, Russians drew inspiration not from the ideas of Lenin or Marxism, but from the very heroes and traditions of ancient Russia whom the communists abused day in and day out." It is true that Communists aroused the feeling of Nationalism during the war and the concept of Russia as their fatherland was also reminded during the War.^[37]

Upadhyaya further explains another event-“We saw close to Second World War, when Japan was defeated, Russians rejoiced as they felt their desire of having revenge on Japan had finally been fulfilled.” He further mentions-“Mind you, there was no communist ideology at the time of the 1905 defeat.” He explains-“This sentiment too only reflects nationalism.”^[38]

Upadhyaya does not agree with Marx that Nation is creation of a capitalistic system, but thinks it as a practical requirement, even if the State withers away. “Even if Marx did not accept the concept of ‘nation’ in nineteenth century, but it has been proven through the communist experience of the past 50 years that the inspiration of the ‘nation’ is not merely a creation of a capitalist system, but in fact is the most powerful inspiration even in the communist system.”^[39] It is true that Nationalism has been a binding force even in Communist countries.

Going further Upadhyaya explains-“Communism does not accept nationalism and wants to classify society on the basis of the exploiter and the exploited. But that has not worked. Lenin himself had to reinterpret the principles of Marx according to the circumstances of his own country. Today communism has become the weapon of Russian nationalism. It has clashed with the nationalism of other countries. The reason for the fallout between China and Russia is their respective nationalisms. Separating of Yugoslavia and the rebellions in Hungary and Poland are due to their distinct nationalism. If there looks an association among them today, it is because of their subservience.”^[40]

Upadhyaya states that although communists oppose the very concept of nation but actually this nationalism was helpful in sustaining Communism in USSR. In 1959, he remarked-“Today, it is the Russian nationalism that is the driving force behind the communism being propagated by it.”^[41]

After World War-II, amongst the major countries that converted to Communism, Yugoslavia was one of the biggest names. However, it soon parted its ways from USSR and disagreed to follow its policies. Deendayal Upadhyaya thinks reason behind this departure is Nationalism. He says- “When Nationalism rose, there came forth a Tito to challenge a creed of communism.”^[42]

9. Internationalism and imperialism

Marx was the propagator of internationalism. In “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, Marx famously quoted –“Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working Men of All Countries, Unite!”

In this way, he urges the workers throughout the world to unite for the universal kingdom of Communism.

According to Upadhyaya, Communism has become a tool for realizing imperialist dreams. He says-“Communism, instead of uniting humanity, is just a means to extend the Russian empire.”^[43]

After second World War, Soviet Union had merged 17-18 other nations around it. The influence of Communist ideology also spread to nations like East Germany, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary etc. Mao Zedong had established the government in China based on communist ideology by killing millions of people through his vast Red Army.

Leaders from Communist countries like Mao Zedong (China), Stalin (Russia), Marshal Tito (Yugoslavia), Fidel Castro (Cuba), Kim II Sung (North Korea) were getting worldwide publicity. These communist leaders proclaimed proudly that this wave of communism would pass from Moscow to Beijing to London via Calcutta.

China had totally captured Tibet, an autonomous region bordering India and ended its independence. The winds of communism were flowing in the countries to the east of India, like Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and (North) Korea etc. A strange attraction of Communism was blinding the world.^[44] Upadhyaya was concerned that while the Western imperialism was criticized, world was silent about communist expansion. He writes-“China’s occupation of Tibet is extremely damaging. Communist China, by declaring its intent to take over Formosa has injected terror in to the atmosphere of peace that was somehow made possible in Geneva. The occupations of the nations of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union is even more dangerous than any regional treaty.”^[45]

Upadhyaya understood that Soviet Union was operating in the garb of COMNIFORM and wanted it to be dissolved.^[46]

III. CONCLUSION

The basic premises of Marx’s Scientific Socialism are dialectic materialism, historical materialism, class struggle, socialism, dictatorship of proletariat, withering away of state, communism, abolition of institutions of marriage, family & private property, discarding nationalism and adopting internationalism.

However, Upadhyaya is of the opinion that philosophy based on materialism is incomplete and basis his philosophy of Integral humanism on holistic happiness of man derived by taking care of all four facets of human

personality i.e. body, mind, intellect and soul through four purusharthas (objectives) - Dharma, Artha (wealth), Kama (desires) and moksha (liberation). The word dharma has many meanings- duty 'law', 'ethics,' 'inherent nature' and 'religion.' It is used as per the context and has been considered as the fountain of feelings, thoughts, values and gives rationale for deciding right & wrong. Therefore, Dharma has been regarded with utmost importance in Indian Social life.

Marx based his theory on conflict envisaged in dialectical materialism, However, Upadhyaya sees cooperation as the base of universal progress. He sees an integral relationship between man, family, nation, world, universe and God with no contradictions.

Marx's prediction regarding inevitability of Socialism has not come true. Instead of socialism in industrially advanced societies like Britain, Germany, US, France etc., it arrived in industrially backward Russia and China. In Russia it came due to degeneration of the feeling of nationalism. In the countries of Western Europe, the capitalist system has changed to welfare state and the workers & peasants are no more in depleted state as were during the time of Marx.

The establishment of State in the Socialist countries did not solve the problems of common man. Instead of advancing to next step of withering away of State, the dictators tightened their grip on power. As a result the ideal state of Communism has never been achieved.

Upadhyaya believes that a stage similar to Communism where no state is required is possible on the basis of dharma and calls this ideal state as Dharma Rajya.

He does not approve the abolition of the institutions of marriage, family and property as he considers that these have been formed for fulfilling needs of the Nation.

Upadhyaya feels that the worth of the concept of Nationalism has been proven by the conduct of USSR during World War-II which helped it to motivate its people to fight against the enemies. Upadhyaya further feels that the communist countries are working for realizing their imperialistic tendencies in the garb of internationalism.

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