

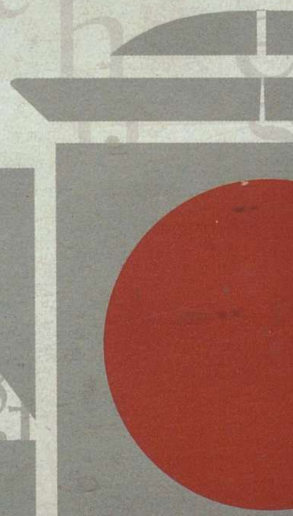
P Kesavan Nair

# Beyond Red

an apostate on communism



PAGAN  
BOOKS





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demerit. But, it is something which cannot be expected in a small volume like this. The book begins with Russell's foreboding of communism and then tries to explore the ideological bases of communism, such as dialectical materialism, historical materialism and Marxian economics and politics. A separate chapter is devoted to its truth claim. A study of Marxism done along atavistic lines always takes us to its judeo-Christian roots. A perceptive study cannot but notice the fact that, along with Fascism and Nazism, Marxism is a faith system. Hence, the chapter 'The Red Religion'. Finally, an attempt

is made to understand Russell, the well-known philosopher and writer, was the greatest critic of communism. He predicted the fall of Marxism even when its opponents were everywhere the epidemic it created. Unlike some intellectuals, who were afraid of being branded as anti-communists on charging Marxism, he had the sense to see through the theory, practice,

propaganda and sociology of communism for capitalism. Capitalist economy is making itself in this book is an attempt to understand the Indian context where Marxists have been able to suppress the honest analysts of their theory with fundamentalists, to look for the great, grandiose the future of communism and its attendant material

## Foreword

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**B**ertrand Russell, the well-known philosopher and writer, was the greatest critic of communism. He predicted the failure of Marxism even when its opponents were awestruck at the euphoria it created. Unlike some intellectuals, who were afraid of being branded as anti-humanists on criticising Marxism, he had the sense to see through the theory, practice, propaganda and swearology of communism.

This book is an attempt, a long-needed one in Indian context, where Marxists have been able to suppress all honest analysis of their theory with fundamentalist zeal, to look for theoretical grounds for the failure of communism and its attendant cruelties. Like many totalitarian traditions, both religious and political, the only freedom communism gives others is the freedom to praise it. This book, originally written in Malayalam, looks at this ideology from many different angles—historical, political, theoretical and economical. It is not an exact translation of the book. It is rather a remake of it. Lack of comprehensiveness may be its

## *Beyond Red*

demerit. But, it is something which cannot be expected in a small volume like this. The book begins with Russell's foreboding of communism and then tries to explore the ideological bases of communism such as dialectical materialism, historical materialism and Marxian economics and politics. A separate chapter is devoted to its truth claim. A study of Marxism done along atavistic lines always takes us to its Judeo-Christian roots. A perceptive study cannot but notice the fact that, along with Fascism and Nazism, Marxism is a faith system. Hence, the chapter 'The Red Religion'. Finally, an attempt is made to find the ultimate beneficiary of communism. The real beneficiaries of it, like many other totalitarian and millenarian systems, are a handful of intellectuals and clever men who, while enjoying every pleasure of power, indulge in double speak, partly, to protect their positions and, partly, to assuage their guilty conscience.

A criticism of communism need not be an apology for capitalism. Capitalist economy is finding itself strangely caught in the mire of its own motivation-profit, and, despite the paeon of free market economy by practising capitalists and the rightist intellectuals, is, ridiculously, looking for protectionist help from the state. In this context, the need for finding out alternative ways of economic life has become unavoidable. In India, we have got the economics of Mahatma Gandhi. In the West many like Schumacher have reminded us of the need for an alternative economic system. This book is also a hope in that direction. A holistic vision of life is the driving force behind this book. For a message for this book—if a book needs one—I would like to quote Paul Johnson, the British philosopher and historian. "We

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should place experience before theories and people before ideologies”.

Many, directly and indirectly, helped me to pen this book. Intellectual recourse has been duly acknowledged in the bibliography, but a few who provoked this book into being with their cerebral challenges would like to remain in the backdrop. Though I am not naming them, my gratitude is always due to them.

PKN

Bertrand Russell, the famous writer, philosopher and mathematician of twentieth century disagreed with communism until the very end of his life. He is a safe intellectual launching pad among the few for an enquiry into communism, as a theory and a political system. History proved his substantiated disagreements with communism right. His first critique of communism appeared in 1896. His opposition to communist governments was stronger than his dislike for the theory on which they were based. His book *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* born soon after his visit to Russia in 1920, most logically exposed the great discrepancy between theory and practice of Bolshevism. He prophesied that the Bolshevik experiment would contain the seminal essay 'Why I am Not a Communist'. The essay is set to discover answers to two questions: Is Marxism true? Will its practice lead us to greater happiness and peace? He concludes that Marxism is not true and that it has given us only miseries. The past history of communist governments

## Russell foretells



1

**B**ertrand Russell, the famous writer, philosopher and mathematician of twentieth century disagreed with communism until the very end of his life. He is a safe intellectual launching pad among the few for an enquiry into communism, as a theory and a political system. History proved his substantiated disagreements with communism right. His first critique of communism appeared in 1896. His opposition to communist governments was stronger than his dislike for the theory on which they were based. His book *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* born soon after his visit to Russia in 1920, most logically exposed the great discrepancy between theory and practice of Bolshevism. He prophesied that the Bolshevik experiment would fail. His *Portraits from Memory* contained the seminal essay 'Why I am Not a Communist'. The essay is set to discover answers to two questions. Is Marxism true? Will its practice lead us to greater happiness and peace? He concludes that Marxism is not true and that it has given us only miseries. The past history of communist governments

and movements has only supported this view.

Marxian concepts, which are based on dialectical materialism and historical materialism, are increasingly found to be incongruous with the philosophical thoughts deriving from modern scientific enquiry. Marx conceptualized dialectical materialism as something governing the whole universe. To him, it was a force controlling human history, independent of man's will. He gave it the same place as religions did to God. Communists wrongly thought that dialectics was the science of all sciences. Historical materialism, which forms the basis of Marxist interpretation of history, too is outdated. This history-jilted theory is the foundation for the communist strategies and manipulations. Their adherence to an unproven theory throughout history is indeed fundamentalist.

Events throughout the Socialist Block have, time and again, shown the wide gap between lexis and praxis in communism. The fall of communist regimes in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in Eastern Europe is a good example of this. These incidents are something fundamentally affecting Marxist theories. Incidentally, Marxists themselves have insisted that validity of a theory can be proven only through practice.

The collapse of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe shows its lack of practicality. Capitalists too accept the need for concord between theory and practice in economic matters. If we want to make theory and practice compatible, we need pre-planning based on a definite theory, and also schemes and plans ensuing from them. The relationship between theory

and practice in Marxism is the same as a product and its planning in capitalism. It is a process in which communism and capitalism share things innerly. The concept of utility upheld by communists in their implementation of political theories becomes profit motive in capitalism.

Whether in China, Russia or East Europe, the practice of communism resulted in the absolutism of party leaders and their personal gains. The communist leaders wallowed in riches, corruption, pleasures and squandering, Communism was, predictably, institutionalized. China is now practising market socialism. To put it simply, the economy is that of capitalism while the political system is that of socialism. In capitalism, monopolists control economy and political system. Theoretically speaking, in Marxism, it is the economic system that should determine the political system. But, the Chinese Communist Party talks about the determination of the economic system by the political system! It is contradictions all the way. No wonder, leaders of the Chinese Communist Party run big businesses in China.

Lenin called imperialism the acme of capitalism. As such, the main rivals of communists should be the imperialists and they ritually single out America as the arch imperialist. But, China has been a friend of America on more than one count. America gave China the status of Most Favoured Nation. American capital has been in constant flow into China. China has spread the red carpet for many an American President. Under the banner of

the Chinese Communist Party, capitalism is playing its Chinese version in the country. It is wearing the mask of communism there instead of its usual mask of liberal democracy.

The much-trumpeted October Revolution in Russia in 1917 was not a mass revolution. It was a political coup by the Bolshevich Party under the leadership of Lenin against the democratically elected government of Kerensky at the end of the First World War. Lenin and a group of standby intellectuals hailed it as a proletarian revolution. By shortcut, later, Lenin became the unquestionable leader of the international Communist movement. After the Lenin era, Stalin created the Commissar regime excelling the Tsarist rule in totalitarianism, sacrificing even the old revolutionaries. His behind-the-Iron-Curtain cruelties beggar description. It is Nikita Khrushchev who dented some peep-holes in the Iron Curtain by his confessional speech at the end of the 20th party congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU).

The real red terror became largely known to the world only in 1980s. The writers and artists who were daring enough to portray the ugliness of the communist dictatorship were denounced as the enemies of the proletariat. The 75-year old terror rule of the Communist Party in Russia was broken not by external enemies, but by the Russian people themselves. The Lenin government also, which took over Russia, after the Revolution, was a system for oppression. The reign of Stalin, who succeeded Lenin, saw the red terror reaching its acme.

In a democratic set up, the right to free individual development is measured by the maximum opportunities available for self-improvement. With the advent of Stalin, the individual ceased to be in Russia. Under communism, individuals' likes and dislikes, individuality and value of human life came to be considered taboos. The individual became a sacrificial lamb for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. The reasons for these should be searched for in Marx's concept of revolution. Communism offered greater possibilities for absolutism than any other political ideology. Marx and Engels have written a lot about the possibilities and technicalities of revolution. Marx regarded Paris Commune as a good example of what revolution could be. He perfected his lessons about revolution in his meditations on Paris Commune. He wanted to demolish the existing governments and build not-to-be opposed governments in their stead, which would pave the way for dictatorship of the proletariat. Naturally, all those who got power in the name of communism became matchless dictators. Neither workers nor farmers had any say in their governments. The ruling class in communist countries grew into an elite one. Communism, in effect, meant a monolithic state structure. Its monolithic nature was the outcome of its ideology.

The communists propagated the idea that dictatorship of the proletariat was democratic rule by the majority. There has not been a single example of a communist regime belonging to the majority people.

The apology tendered by CPSU at the collapse of the Soviet Union is interesting to note here.

The concept of 'all people' shrank into the proletariat. The Party became the Central Committee and the Central Committee was dwarfed into the Polite Bureau. The Polite Bureau virtually became the party secretary. The foundation stone of all these was the concept of proletarian dictatorship and the centralization of democratic process. The centralization of democracy resulted in the centralization of power in the hands of the party secretary and the preferred comrades. This move made the Party deeply hierarchical. Whatever came from high on were dictums inviolable. Those on the lower rungs of power were slaves of those on the higher rungs.

All communist promises turned out to be tricks and trickeries. Wherever communists came to power, there they established oppressive regimes. Communist states were essentially criminal institutions. Theirs was a rule of lawlessness. They unleashed terror and human lives became cheaper than ever. Common men became their enemies. In Russia, between 1825 and 1917, under the rule of Tsar, 6321 people were killed for political reasons. In 1918, within two months of the declaration of red terror by Lenin, 15000 people were condemned to death. For three quarters of the last centuries, this continued to be the trend. During 1932-33, in the famine that followed the Collective Farming Experiment, 6000000 people are assumed to have perished. In the purgation process initiated by the Party, 7, 20,000 people lost their lives. The period between

1934 and 1941 witnessed the imprisonment of 70,00,000 men in the slavery camps euphemistically called 'Gulags'. When Stalin died these 'Gulags' had an estimated 'catchment' of 2.75 million people. All the communist regimes were masochistically cruel towards their own people and those regimes excelled the capitalist state by far in cruelty.

The former Soviet Union covered one sixth of the earth. It was underpopulated and rich in natural resources. It was the granary of Europe during the reign of Tsar. Though the communist regime was far ahead in the production of military equipment, nuclear research and space science, it lagged behind in the fields of industrial production and agriculture. People were impoverished. Daily bread became dear. The whole nation had to, notoriously, be queuing up for everything. In Russia, more than 20 million people were into black marketing. Even those men who refused only to be on the breadline were brutally suppressed. Workers and farmers got only chains. The new world promised never came.

Those who rallied under the red flag in China, Cambodia, North Korea and East Europe also met with the same fate. The 'Cultural Revolution' in China resulted in the mass murder of people. About 10 million people were killed including Lia Shavoch who was the second man in the Party. Some people put the figure at 30 million. What is intriguing is that both the killers and the killed were mostly communists. Some figures talk about the death of 40 million people due to the failure of farming and scarcity of food during the Mao-

led 'Great Leap Forward'. The world has yet to count the number of people mowed down in Tiananmen Square massacre. In Cambodia communism wallowed in heaps of human skulls and skeletons collected in the infamous Killing Fields, constituted for the purpose of mass murder by the communist autocrat Pole Pot. Three million people were its victims. Red Terror ran amuck in East Europe and North Korea too. People in those countries were made miserable and pauperized.

Communists suppressed all ideas and opinions that were not theirs. Many talented writers and scientists fled Russia. In the name of ideological hegemony, they hunted down scientific theories and the scientists behind them. Two examples from genetics are enough. CPSU repudiated Gregory Mendel who was the exponent of genetics and declared that it was a pseudo-science. As a result, Russia is one of the most backward countries in genetics. Marx's worship of Charles Darwin and Stalin's perverted view of genetics, and political partialities prevalent among the Russian scientists were responsible for this. The Communist Party contrived a customized version of genetics. The Russian scientists, Biov and Vavilov, who made a lot of contribution towards genetics, had to undergo a lot of political persecution during the time of Stalin. Biov was the father of molecular biology in Russia. In 1930's, Biov went to another scientist VN Slepkov for learning purposes. With this, Biov began to face hard times. The brother of Slepkov was the friend of the Marxist thinker, Bhukharin, who was deadly against Stalin. For this single reason, the students of Slepkov were

hunted down. Biov was arrested and exiled. He was freed only when Krushchev came to power. Another genius in genetics who had to face the music was Vavilov. He was sent to a Siberian jail where he died. His crime was that he had formed some genetic principles of seeds on the basis of Mendel's theory. His experiments were not to the taste of the notorious agricultural scientist T.D. Licenkov, who was a crony of Stalin. Licenkov misled Stalin into thinking that the principles of Vavilov were anti-Marxist. Under the cover of communist ideology, genetic studies were removed from Soviet curricula and books on the subject were confined to flames. Genetics thus died out in Russia. Soviet Union had to rue for it later. When agriculture sector all over the world began to have abundance of food production following the Green Revolution, Russia was being shaken by the dry wind of scarcity. A country which was rich in natural resources, had to depend upon even India for food.

Marxism failed to take roots in West Europe despite preexistence of allied thoughts. Marxism was a continuity of Hegelian philosophy and Christian tradition. In spite of it all, communism didn't become a force there. Though the political system prevalent in the Western Europe was exploitative capitalism, Communism could not spread there since the people had enfranchisement and civic liberty. Neither could communism make a head way in many countries with highly developed capitalism. Russell says, "It was poverty caused by imperialist exploitation that helped communism to find a welcome in developing and

undeveloped countries". It is poverty and hunger that gave the 'spectre' of communism a chance to move around. The only way to prevent it spread is the eradication of poverty and deprivation. Russell's foreseeing was correct. Unfortunately, in India, communism exported here became the opium of the intellectuals. Here, they are hoodwinking the gullible with its intoxication. Even intellectuals and writers could not escape its stupefying power. Nehru's eulogy of communism subsequent to his visit to Russia stands in sharp contrast to the skeptical and uncompromising observations of an astute thinker like Russell.

Philosophy is the intellectual quintessence of its time. Philosophy, mainly scientific philosophy, is related to the development and evolution of science, especially physical science. Advances in physics and technology also change the concepts of matter, which can completely change our own view of the world. Modern physics redrafted the classical views about space, time, matter and cause effect. A new concept of matter was formed. Reflections of this new view were felt in philosophy too. Many time-tested philosophical assumptions were proved to be wrong.

The two main streams in philosophical thoughts are idealism and materialism. Idealists stand by the primacy of consciousness. Materialists stand by the primacy of matter. **The truth of matter**

According to materialism, the things seen around us and all the phenomena are material and the cosmos, the sun, the earth, and various geo-physical and social phenomena are material. They exist independent of



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The two main streams in philosophical thoughts are idealism and materialism. Materialists claim that what is primary is matter and that consciousness is only secondary. On the other hand, idealists stand by the primacy of consciousness.

According to materialism, the things seen around us and all the phenomena are material and the cosmos, the sun, the earth, and various geo-physical and social phenomena are material. They exist independent of

the consciousness of the observer. Materials are made up of matter. Such materials form things seen around us. and matter of which they are made is eternal. It is not something created. Neither is it something, which came into being out of some other force. What we used to call consciousness is a special quality of matter. So far as materialism is concerned, everything is material. This aspect of materialism is the continuation of ancient Greek materialist philosophy and that of European classical physics.

The word 'philosophy' is western. The word prevalent in India is *darshana*. This term is used in a very special way. It means 'to see', 'to perceive'. It is basically a perception transcending both the senses and the mind. Western philosophy is intellectual. So to apply this Western term to Indian *darshanas* is not historically and theoretically correct. So Indians 'seers' in this sense cannot be equated with Socrates, Kant, Hegel, Feuerbach and others. Indian *darshanas* do not emphasize on the dual concepts of idealism and materialism. So, subjectivity and objectivity, as enunciated in western philosophical thoughts, are unacceptable to the Indian way of thinking. It does not approve of the division of the world into the spiritual and the material. They are not divisible, either. Spirit is the subtlest form of matter and matter is the grossest form of spirit. Body and soul are not two different things. They are two poles of the same essence. Body is the perceptible end of spirit and spirit, the imperceptible end of body. As such, what is called God and Nature is not two different entities. There is no conflict between God and Nature. Nature is the gross side of God and

God, the subtle form of Nature. Nature itself in its subtle dissolution becomes god. God itself becomes Nature through gross manifestation. Nature is god manifest and God, Nature unmanifest. It is a state of not being dual. In the perception of Indian spirituality, man, God and Nature are one and, hence, microcosm and macrocosm are one.

The seed ideas of Western materialism can be found in ancient Greek philosophy, the founders of which were Thalys, Anaxmandir, and Anaximus. Subsequently, Democritus tried to develop materialism scientifically. The first Greek philosopher to introduce atomic theory was Democritus. He opined that atoms are the smallest indivisible particles of matter and that they are inert and lazy entities moving in emptiness.

Everything in the world is made of atoms. Atoms move because they are forced to, by some external force. He brought into philosophy and science the concepts of form and emptiness. According to Epicures, another Greek materialist philosopher, everything in the world including body, mind and soul are constituted of atoms. He said atoms have different shapes and mass. The Roman philosopher Lucritius, who lived during the first century AD, developed the Epicurean atomism further. Just until the beginning of European Industrialism, Greek materialism has not been able to exert considerable pressure on philosophy.

The wave of the Industrial Revolution materialist philosophy gave a boost. The compelling force in the process was the developing classical

physics. Classical physics was also essential for the advancement of the political and the social system of capitalism. The thoughts of philosophers like Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Rene Descartes, and Spinoza acted as a catalyst for the advancement of materialism. Newtonian physics and its concept of matter also strengthened materialism. It led to a way of materialistic thinking based on mechanical model of the cosmos. All sciences and philosophical thoughts, which, developed later in Europe, were based on this Newtonian concept of a mechanical world system. Everything in a Newtonian world happens on a three-dimensional plane. To him, time and space were absolute. He considered time and space as separate dimensions. Just like Greek atomists, Newton too regarded matter as inert. According to Newtonian first law of motion, "every body remains in its state of rest or in a uniform motion unless it is compelled by an external force to change that state". He denied the fact that movement is the inherent quality of matter. He also revived the Greek concept that the whole cosmos was filled with ether. Newton said that matter is hard, heavy and made of indestructible particles. The concept of matter upheld by both Greek atomists and Newton were the same. The only difference between Democritus and Newton was that Newton explained the force between atomic particles. He called it gravitational force. Force and matter are different. Both Newton and Greek atomists failed to understand that motion is the inherent state of matter and that both matter and force are not differential. This mentality prevented us from exploring

## The truth of matter

into the secrecy of matter.

Dialectical materialism is another branch of materialism. This is the principle of communism; communists call it modern and scientific. Marx borrowed materialism from Feuerbach who was a German philosopher. According to Feuerbach, consciousness cannot exist outside and independently of human body, because it is the quality of human brain. In modern times, the kind of materialism, which became most popular, is that of Marx and Engels. The conspicuous ideological sources of Marxism were the dialectics of Hegel, who was an idealist, and the materialism of Feuerbach. Classical physics has also influenced dialectical materialism. In his book, *Dialectics of Nature*, we can see Engels blindly following classical physics. Engels accepts the ether concept of the Greek and that of Newton as such. To accept the concept of ether means to say that the velocity of light is not constant and that both time and space are absolute. A cosmos where time and space are absolute is unchangeable and motionless. The strong influence of Newtonian physics is discernable in dialectical materialism. In Newtonian dynamics, force appears as opposite pairs; any force will have an equal and opposite force and so has any action. In Marxism too, opposites appear in such a way.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the world famous Austrian physicist and philosopher Ernest Mach questioned the materialist concept of matter. Mach made it clear that the relationship between matter and consciousness could not be explained in terms of

traditional materialism and dialectical materialism. Einstein was guided by Mach in his formation of the Theory of Relativity. The famous book *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* was written by Lenin to refute the arguments of Mach.

In this book, Lenin tries, in vain, to solve the difference between the classical concept of matter and that of modern physics. The Marxist intellectuals all over the world hail it as a great work upholding and effectively defending dialectical materialism. This work contains Lenin's philosophy of matter. "Matter is that which exists independently of consciousness and which is an objective reality reflected in consciousness". This definition develops matter into an objective reality. Lenin's concept of matter was a simplification of the three-dimensional world perceived by us. His definition of matter does not conform to the concept of matter formulated by modern physics.

The Theory of Relativity and quantum physics which emerged at the beginning of the 20th century brought about revolutionary changes in science and philosophy. It changed the inferences in science and philosophy. It also changed the inferences and conclusions of classical physics about time and space. When Einstein established that both time and space are relative in the place of the concept of separate time and space, the concept of space-time continuum emerged in science. World was proved to be four-dimensional. It was something beyond the common experience. The nucleus of the atom and the electrons revolving around it were discovered. Nucleus was

## *The truth of matter*

made of protons and neutrons, which were made of quarks. Today, the number of sub-atomic particles is above 200. The very expression of basic particles has become irrelevant. The classical concept of indivisibility of atom was proved wrong. The 'intra-atomic' experiences defied the traditional materialism and dialectical materialism. The base of the traditional interpretation of matter was shaken. Both scientists and philosophers are now convinced that the words 'to perceive, to know and to experience' have deeper meanings than we usually think.

The conclusion arrived at by Einstein following his formulation of the Special Theory of Relativity in 1905 was that time and space are relative. Mass of things increases when their velocity increases. When the velocity increases, contraction in the direction of motion and time slows down. The velocity of light is constant. It does not change according to the speed of the observer. The Theory of Relativity has proved that there is no absolute time and that each observer has got his own time. Einstein gave many examples for it like the Twin Paradox, which may appear strange to common logic. The famous equation  $E = mc^2$  is the most noticeable outcome of his Special Theory of Relativity. Just before the emergence of this equation, scientists firmly believed in the duality of matter and energy. This equation proved that matter and energy are interchangeable. Due to the commonality of matter and energy, mass of a thing will be increased by the energy produced by its motion. A thing needs infinite energy to reach the velocity of light. Einstein's energy-matter equation has relevance not in physics alone. It

led us to a truth, which is capable of turning the materialist philosophy upside down. It became clear that matter is nothing but energy.

Our routine world is three-dimensional. According to the Theory of Relativity, the real world is a four-dimensional world of height, width, length and time. That is, the world seen by us is the shadow of the four-dimensional world. The Theory of Relativity says that the observer has to travel as fast as light to know the four-dimensional world. When an observer travels as fast as light, his mass will become infinite and he becomes a singularity. Singularity is a point at which space-time curvature is infinite. Its density is also infinite. Then, his body has zero size. Human body cannot reach this condition. That means man cannot see the real world. In singularity, past, present and future become one. In that sense, singularity has no yesterday, today or tomorrow. But, we take for granted this three-dimensional world, which is really a shadow.

The age-long curiosity of man about atoms led him to the exploration of the inner structure of atom. Quantum physics shed new light on the inner world of the atom. It disproved many of our traditional notions about matter. The quantum revelations about matter were not something, which could be confined to the materialist ideas about matter. Quantum mechanics deals with the motion of subatomic particles and the core of quantum mechanics is the Uncertainty Principle. The famous German scientist Heisenberg is its exponent. According to his principle, the more precisely we measure the position of a particle, the

less precisely we can measure its speed. Time and energy too are such a pair. Uncertainty is an unavoidable characteristic of the cosmos. According to quantum mechanics, particles are in quantum state, that is, in a mixed state of time and space. Hence, the laws of quantum mechanics are not those of certainty. They are the laws of probability. In the micro-world, the objective description of particles is not possible. The materialistic concept of matter deriving from our horse sense is irrelevant in a quantum world.

If we want to observe a gross thing, a beam of light reflected by it has to fall on the eyes, the information of which reaches our brain. Observation of gross things does not pose much difficulty. But, observing subtle things like the electron is difficult. Because, if we try to observe an electron through microscope, we have to face the impediment called Crompton Effect. The photons from electro magnetic radiation, with the help of which we try to observe the electron, will collide with it. As a result, a portion of energy emitting from the photon will be transmitted to the electron. It has two consequences. First the photon will lose a little energy. Hence, its frequency is reduced. A red shift takes place. It is called Crompton refraction. Second, the velocity of the electron increases slightly. So, it will change its position from the first place. In short, when we try to observe electrons using rays, the attempt itself causes the electron to change its position. It changes its nature. The very observation changes the observed thing. Here, the very attempt to find out truth becomes an obstacle to the enquiry. The ultimate truth eludes our sense observation.

Thus, the objective description of the world based on classical physics and dialectical materialism becomes meaningless. In the quantum world, separation between the observer and the observed is meaningless. Things at atomic level can be understood only as relations between processes and measurements. In quantum physics, structure is the manifestation of processes. A particle in an atomic structure is the result of a process. The end of the chain reactions that take place at atomic level lies in the consciousness of the observer. The process of measuring affects our consciousness. Measurement is a mutual process. In the atomic world, observation is not possible without affecting things. Scientist is a person involved in the act of observation and also a person affecting the properties of the observed things. According to the world famous American physicist John Wheeler, the most important feature of quantum physics is the participatory nature of the observer. That is why he suggests that in the act of observation the word 'observer' should be replaced by 'participator'.

The most revolutionary aspect of quantum physics is the wave-particle nature of light. It is called the wave-particle duality of light. This was established by the famous Double-slit Experiment. This experiment underlines the relationship between the observer and the observed. We cannot say whether light is made of particles or waves before we subject it to any experiment. We get what we look for in the experiment. In other words, light can be said to be made of particles when it is observed as particles, and waves

when it is observed as waves. Then only it becomes real. All the observed things in the world from extremely minute atoms to huge galaxies are made of subatomic particle. Hence, nature and all things in it are consciousness-dependent.

The particle-wave duality theory was something capable of turning our concepts about gross material things topsy-turvy. Particle is something situated in a specific area. That is an existence limited by space. But wave nature spreads over both space and time. Hence, the particle means the minutest constituent of matter. Matter is quantified energy. The smallest unit of energy too is the particle. Time and space becomes meaningful when energy becomes matter. Particles are not in reality matter but a time-space phenomenon looking like matter. It is an energy pattern. Particles can be defined as the gross form of energy. What is then energy? In physics, energy is always identified with some process or work. Energy is defined as the capacity to do work. Particles move within the atomic structure with near-velocity of light. They change from energy to matter and vice versa. In this context, the definition that energy is the capacity to do work is relevant. The self-nature of work is motion. What is here is mere motion. The being of an atom is the fast motion of particles. According to quantum physics, energy particles mean the space-time continuum for motion. It is difficult to separate particles from process. Matter is, in essence, a projection of the space-time phenomenon. Space and time are relative. Whatever relative is not eternal. So, particles are temporary

phenomena, which come into being and then disappear.

Science, which today explores into the subtle world of atoms and subatomic particles with the help of modern scientific equipment like particle accelerator, is wonderstruck at the metaphysical qualities of matter. It is particle physics, which developed during the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as a branch of physics that revealed the secrets of matter to us. When subatomic particles collide in particle accelerators, their mass becomes energy. In particle collision experiments, the mass conservation rule of classical physics is violated. But, the law of conservation of energy has not been found violated in particle collision. The best way to understand the relationship between energy and matter is the particle collision experiment. Experiments conducted in particle physics have shown that mass is nothing but the measurement of energy. On the basis of such experiments, the mass of elementary particles is measured in energy units. Particle collision experiments have also made it clear that mass is not something related to 'matter-like things'. Scientists were convinced that particles are not made of some basic material and that they are energy packets. Particles cannot be thought to be three-dimensional things like a ball or a crystal of salt. They should be understood as the fourth dimension of space-time continuum. Particles are dynamic patterns of space-time. These dynamic patterns or energy pockets are the base for the constant atomic structures of matter. It is these structures, which give solid form to matter. Thus, we come to know that

gross things are made of solid matter. At the macro level, this feeling is essential and useful. But, at micro level, matter has no structure. Atoms are made of particles. But, particles are not matter. Inside the atomic world, we do not come across matter. What we see there is dynamic energy patterns constantly changing from one form to another. It is an endless dance of energy.

The world of subatomic particles is dynamic and in a flux. The experiments conducted in particle physics over the last decades have proven that all particles can change into other particles and the structure of particles is inconsistent. Particles are created from and disappear into energy. Modern physics compel us to think that matter is unreal and that what is perceived as matter is energy flow in the form of vibrations. All matter is nothing but the transformation of energy flow. This new philosophy rejects the concept of matter formulated by classical physics and all materialist concepts of matter deriving from it.

The Theory of Relativity and quantum physics declare that matter is not objective. Matter cannot stand independently of consciousness. Philosophically speaking, knowledge must include 'the knower' beyond 'the known'. In the language of modern science, in the act of observation, there is inviolable relationship between the observer and the observed. Observation and determination cannot be separated.



Dialectical materialism is the philosophy of Marxism. Marx used dialectics as a means to explain materialism. It is a collection of unscientific and nonsensical concepts. The old and etymological meaning of the word 'dialectics' is 'the art of rhetoric' or 'polemics'. The roots of Marxian dialectics can be traced to the ancient Greek dialectics. All the weak points of Greek dialectical thinking can be found in Marxian dialectics too. Dialectics began from the ancient Greek philosophic concept that, in order to comprehend something, its opposite too is needed. It evolved out of the thinking of such philosophers like Heraclitus, Parmenides, Zeno, and Anaximander. The modern practitioner of this dialectics was the German philosopher Hegel. He believed in the attainment of 'absolute idea' through the synthesis emerging out of the conflict of thesis and anti-thesis of ideas. He based dialectics on ideas. He subjected to cogitation the continuing changes in the world of ideas. He believed that progress lay in such changes in ideas. Marx applied Hegelian type of dialectics to materialism.

## Unscientific dialectics



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The three Laws of dialectics are; the Law of the Interpenetration of Opposites, the Law of the Transformation of Quantity into Quality and the Law of Negation of the Negation. The idea of the unity and struggle of the opposites and that of the negation of the negation were introduced by Heraclitus. It was Anaximander who introduced the prototype of the Theory of the Transformation of Quantity into Quality. Furthering the second principle of the theory, Anaximander introduced condensation theory. According to it, the sun, the moon and the stars are formed by various degrees of gasification of air. Many of the philosophical arguments raised by Hegel, the modern guru of dialectics and Marx who succeeded him, can be seen under the same labels in Greek philosophy.

There have been two concepts about motion from the ancient times. One concept was that motion is intrinsic to matter and the other one was that it was induced. The concept that gained coin in Western philosophy was the latter. The reason for it was the influence of Greek philosopher Aristotle. He was the first one to define motion in the world. According to Aristotelian physics, things would move so long as some external force is exerted on them. It means that motion is not an intrinsic property of matter. He conceptualized that the revolution of the planets and the sun was God – induced. The Aristotelian concept of motion is still influential in Western philosophy.

The next person, who tried to scientifically define motion, was Isaac Newton. He defined matter as inert. He said we need an external force to make a stationary

thing move and also to bring a moving thing to a standstill. He refused to accept motion as an intrinsic property of matter. He claimed that it was God who put the whole cosmos in motion. This attitude strongly influenced dualism in Western philosophy. The concept of motion upheld by both the Western idealists and the materialists was the same, that is, the non-intrinsic nature of motion in matter. But, in Asian philosophical systems like Vedanta, Taoism and Buddhism, motion is considered an in-built property of matter. According to Vedanta, the cosmos is dynamic and always in a flux. Since everything is in motion, the Indian seers called the whole cosmos including the Earth *jagath*. The word *jagath* means ever-changing and ever-moving. In the cosmos, atoms to huge galaxies are in self-motion. Interestingly, the modern physics supports the Asiatic view on motion. The Theory of Relativity and quantum physics support it. They made it clear that motion is an intrinsic quality of matter and that it is the shape of its existence.

According to dialectical materialism, motion is caused by conflicts originating from the interaction of things and also their opposites. This definition about motion is not logical. The dialectics, which claims there is nothing in the world which is not in motion, also says that motion is caused by conflicts of the opposites. This is self-contradictory. If there should be conflict between the opposites, there should already be motion. From where does it arise? How does it originate? Dialectical materialists do not explain it. Likewise, if we say motion is dialectical, that means everything and every process in the world is dialectical. If opposites

are universal, in every process there should be two opposites. This is not true. Even linear motion is not dialectical. There are no objective opposites in it. If we say motion is the existential quality of matter and it is caused by dialectics, then behind every pair of opposites, there should be another one or two pairs of causative opposites. Thus, the opposites will increase geometrically. It is violative of horse sense. If there are any opposites in dynamics, they are not in motion, but in equilibrium. It is something against dialectics. Even there, they are not Marxian opposites. For example, when the angle between two vectors is  $180^\circ$ , we call them opposites. But, dialecticians wrongly claim that motion is dialectical.

The Marxists text books portray electricity as the unity and struggle of negative and positive charges. The relationship between positive and negative charges is not conflictory. When we say that positive and negative charges are the opposites, we are describing their behaviour and motional directions in an electric field. These opposites do not imply anything like 'oppose', 'destroy', submit, 'avoid' etc.

Besides, dialecticians describe the atom as the opposites of positive and negative electricity. But, they have not been able to explain the opposite of the electron. Neither have they been able to explain the opposite forces inside the nucleus of an atom. The dialecticians oversimplify the atomic structure. Another example cited by those believing in dialectical materialism in Marxist text books is magnetism. They claim the north and south poles in a magnet are opposites and that the relationship

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between them is dialectical. Since magnetic poles are activated by the movement of electrons, we cannot say the reason for magnetism is the conflict and unity between poles and that they are in conflict and unity at the one and the same time. Even if the poles in a magnet are opposites, they should have a unitary and conflictory relationship at one and the same time. If polar attraction is the unity in magnetism, their repulsion should be taken as conflict. But opposite poles do not repel each other in magnetism. On the other hand, they attract each other, resulting in mutually complementary, not exclusory relationship.

Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* is considered to be the basic text of dialectical materialism by the Marxists. In it, he tries, in vain, to find an opposite force to gravitational attraction. But, gravity is universal. It is of attractive nature in the whole cosmos. If it should be of binary nature, there should be a gravitational repulsion. The very fact that gravity is attractive everywhere refutes the claim that dialectics is universal. The force between the earth and the sun is that of attraction. The sun and the earth attract each other. Engels regarded potential energy and kinetic energy, light and darkness etc. as oppositional binaries. There is no process of repulsion between potential and kinetic energy. They are the two different forms of the same energy. Light and darkness are not opposites, since darkness is created by the absence of light. Nobody can really see darkness; we can see only light. So the difference between them is only subjective.

Engels in his *Dialectics of Nature* makes yet

another vain attempt to explain chemical science in dialectical terms. It is a ridiculous attempt. For example, the explanation that, when there is a unitary relationship, oxygen and hydrogen combine to form water and that when there is conflictory relationship, water divides into oxygen and hydrogen, is not sensible. Engels claims that the combination and the division of chemical elements are opposites. This chemical process explained in the light of atomic theory, refutes any dialectical qualities in it. Such chemical combination and division are not dialectical. We do not need dialectics to explain the process in which two things combine to form a third one.

Einstein's Theory of Relativity is not dialectical. The Marxist claim that the Theory of Relativity supports dialectical materialism is non-sensical. The Theory of Relativity is not dialectical. For example, Marxists try to define the theory as the dualistic relationship between the constant velocity of light and the relative velocity of other things. For them to be dualistic and in oppositional relationship, they should be both absolute and relative. Then only, the Theory of Relativity can be called dialectical. But, dialectics negates all absolute truths. So, relativity cannot be considered the opposite of the absolute. The Theory of Relativity, which considers both time and space as relative, is not about relativity. Its basic concept is that the velocity of light will be constant in the whole universe. That both time and space are relative is only one of the conclusions of the theory. According to Herman Minkovsky, who was the teacher of Albert Einstein, the Theory of Relativity is about the absolute.

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There are no dialectical relationships in its concepts about 'dual paradox', slowing of time, space-time continuum etc. Neither is there anything dialectical in quantum physics. The particle-wave nature of matter and radiation has been used by Marxists to claim that quantum physics is dialectical. It is wrong to portray the particle and the wave as opposites. They have no characteristics of the opposites in dialectics. Particles and waves occur only logically since they avoid/replace each other. But, mathematically, they are equal. In quantum physics, particle-wave duality is explained in mathematical terms. We do not create mental images for mathematical equations. Wave is not the opposite of particle. Particles and waves are complementary properties of matter. Quantum physics uses both particle and wave concepts to describe matter at micro level. According to Neils Bohr's complementary principle, a thing would not have both wave and particle nature at one and the same time and that they show one of the property contextually. According to the theory, both the particle and the wave are complementary description of a reality. Hence opposites are one. They are not objective. Dialectical thinking, which discovered objective opposites in classical physics, saw only logical opposites/paradoxes, in quantum physics too. The dialecticians' insistence that the opposites should be objective stops here. It is nonsensical to apply dialectics in the case of particles. We cannot do that even in the simple properties of particles.

In nuclear physics, electron is the opposite particle of positron, and that of proton is anti-proton.

Dialectics, which regards proton as the opposite of electron is forced to view the positron too as the opposite of the electron. It is undecided and meaningless. There is no dialectical process in science as claimed by Marxism. The rules formed by scientists are not dialectical. So, they do not give any evidence to support dialectics. Sartre's opinion is that nature is only non-evidentially dialectical.

Marxism meaninglessly categorizes dialectics into main dialectics, unimportant dialectics, dialectics which are oppositional, external dialectics and internal dialectics. There is no point in thinking one is better than the other one. There is no such dialectics in nature. Dividing dialectics into external and internal ones is confusing. The idea that, in certain circumstances, one of the opposite sides of a phenomenon will form its own opposite is not applicable anywhere in nature. The idea that struggle is more important and decisive than cooperation is not found either in organic or in inorganic world. In organic world, metabolism and catabolism, hereditary and congenial environment are not opposites. If metabolism and catabolism are in struggle, life cannot exist. Creatures are in cooperation and co-evolution through congenial characteristics acquired genetically. There is no struggle in evolution.

The Law of the Transformation of Quantity into Quality in dialectics, which says that quantity becomes quality, is unscientific and unreasonable. Properties are the result of the internal structure of a thing. Measurements related to a thing are the mathematical information about it. The aspects of evolutionary nature

of structure are felt in the form of properties. Since inner structures are of evolutionary nature, the difference between quantity and quality is only subjective. This rule in dialectics states that the change in quantity, when it reaches a certain state, causes changes in quality. Since quality is seeing quantity in gross form, this law is mere periphrasis. Right from the time of Heraclitus, those who believe in The Law of Transformation of Quantity into Quality have quoted the example of water. Water is, in normal state, liquid. If it is frozen to 0° Celsius, it becomes ice. If boiled above 100° Celsius, water becomes steam. According to dialectics, there will be changes in the chemical properties of water in proportion to the changing heat. Marxists use this even as an example of revolution. In the liquid, solid and gaseous state, water does not change its chemical properties. Liquid, solid and gaseous states of water are mutually attainable. They are only differences in state. The similarity between the Periodic Law which states that the qualities of chemical elements are the result of the repetitions of their atomic weight and the Law of Transformation of Quality are merely superficial. Because, the change in atomic weight and the changes in chemical properties are simultaneous. The Law of Transformation of Quality is a distorted imitation of chemical laws. When energy changes from one form into another, properties change without affecting quantity. Properties are not dualistic. The Law of Transformation of Quality cannot be applied either in organic or in inorganic world.

The third law of dialectics is the Negation of

Negation. This theory has nothing to do with reality. It is an unscientific concept. In dialectical materialism reason for motion and growth is the struggle between opposites inbuilt in material things. The dialecticians think that, in a pair of opposites, one will get strengthened and the other one weakened during the course of struggle. The emergence of the new replacing the old is called negation by them. In this new thing/force too, there will be opposites/pairs, which will be responsible for its growth. This is their supposition. One of those opposites/pairs will try to sustain the existing thing, while the other one will be striving for the emergence of a newer and stronger thing. The dialecticians think that it will occur. So this will negate the earlier negation. This is the negation of negation. This law divides transformation into phases. A phase is negated by another phase coming after it. But it does not mean more than the thing that one phase turns into another. The Marxist textbooks use the example of seeds and plants to uphold this theory. But it is quite unsuitable. The change from tree to seed and then from seed to tree is mere repetitive and cyclic. There is no negation of negation in any changes taking place in nature.

In philosophy, common concepts are called categories. Marxist scholars claim that there are dialectical relationships between the categories in Marxism. But, there is no scientific evidence for it. Such categories in dialectical materialism derive from some wrong concepts. The main concepts in dialectical materialism are the concrete and the abstract,

content and form and cause and effect etc. What can be imagined as having shape is concrete. That which lacks such shape is abstract. In dialectics, concrete and abstract are in dialectical relationship. In dialectics, the concrete is the synthesis of many abstract things. Marxists believe that the concrete and the abstract are dualistic on the basis that the concrete is conceived in opposition to the abstract and vice versa. We can say that they are different and not opposites. In physical sense, the concrete will not become the abstract, and the abstract, the concrete. The relative differences in physical world are conceived as opposites.

In dialectics, the totality of a thing or process, and its components are called content. The way these contents are arranged is called form. For example, if we take an atom, protons, neutrons and their motion, transformations, energy transmission, are together called its content. The nucleus and electron with different orbits is its form. In ordinary language, the matter contained in things is called content. To say that content and form are dualistic violate common sense and is also confusing.

In Marxian concepts, the components of a thing, its aspects and relations are its properties. In that sense, form too is a property. Two propositions of a single thing cannot be dualistic. As such, contents and form cannot be in oppositional relations. Dialectics conceives the metabolic and catabolic processes of life as content and the organs responsible for it as form. Likewise, in Marxism, productive forces are conceived as the content of the social processes and production relations as their

form. Dialectics categorizes the same thing into content and form. The claim that out of these opposites, content matters more has no meaning whatsoever. There is no form without content and no content without form. If form and content are the two sides responsible for the unity of a thing, how can we say that they are opposites? We can say that both content and form change. But, form does not block the development of content. The opposition between content and form of a thing is like that between the left and right hands of a man. To give another example, it is like the relationship between the rubber content and the spherical shape of a rubber ball.

One of the most important enquiries in philosophy is about cause and effect. In philosophy, a thing which creates, or stirs another phenomenon is called the cause and what results from that is called the effect. Relationship is the emergence of two things for the creation of a thing. Just like in other Marxian categories, in cause and effect relationship too, Marxists place more emphasis on cause. Dialectics says that the relationship between cause and effect is dualistic. It is not right to say cause and effect are not dualistic by any means. The main feature of the relationship between cause and effect is in chronological order. The so-called cause will have to precede the effect. Effect cannot precede or synchronize with cause. It always follows cause. Cause and effect phenomenon cannot be separated from chronological order. There is no cause and effect relation in scientific equations. Simultaneous processes cannot be cause and effect of each other. For example quantum mechanics made it clear that intra-atomic phenomena cannot be explained through cause and effect relationship. The

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motion of subatomic particles can be explained only in terms of probabilities. The cause and effect relationship at micro level is not consistent with the cause and the effect in dialectics.

But Marx and Engels tried to project dialectical materialism as the science of sciences. They also tried to find dialectical relationships in mathematics, astrophysics, physics, chemistry and biology. They claimed that they found a dialectical solution for every theoretical problem in nature and science. The ideologues in the Soviet Communist Party claimed that Lenin found an eternal solution in his book *Dialectical Materialism and Emperio-criticism* to every issue raised by Einstein's Theory of Relativity. They went to the extent of befooling the public with their claim that, but for Marxism, there would not have been either the Theory of Relativity or quantum physics. So far as the Marxist ideologues were concerned, Lenin was a philosopher who understood the Theory of Relativity more than Einstein and quantum physics more than Max Planck. To think that dialectics is applicable in all branches of science is an idiotic thought because nature does not produce any dialectical laws. We do not need the glossary of dialectics to explain physical things and phenomena. To follow the champions of dialectical materialism, which has nothing to do with reality, is the very negation of scientific spirit which Marxists are supposed to be upholding.



11

Capitalism and communism are twin political and economic systems evolving out of the European Industrial Revolution. Both systems uphold the motto of industrial revolution 'Supremacy over nature'. The ideological sources of these twin systems are the western classical, scientific and philosophical thoughts, which have developed from 17th century onwards. Basically, the production and consumerist patterns in both philosophies are the same. Materialism became strong with the growth of capitalism and communism.

In western classical physics and philosophy, nature and man were presented as a single entity and nature. They also developed that only the knowledge, which is capitalistic, is valid. Science was only a means to gain supremacy over nature. The materialistic thinking grew in strength through Bacon, Rene Descartes, Galileo, and Marx within three centuries and began to have a

## Crisis and classical philosophy



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In western classical physics and philosophy, nature and man, mind and body are separate. They presented a picture of endless conflict between man and nature. They also declared that only the knowledge, which is capable of increasing material riches, is valid. Science was only a means to gain supremacy over nature. The materialistic thinking grew in strength through Bacon, Rene Descartes, Galileo, and Marx within three centuries and began to have a

global impact. But, by the beginning of 20th century, the ignorance of the classical thinkers, who stood for the exploitation of nature, began to be questioned by thoughtful scientists and philosophers. It was clear that nature and man couldn't be confined within the structured western classical thoughts.

Galileo can be considered the originator of classical science. It is he who linked scientific experiment to mathematical language. He believed that nature could be mathematically explained and that there was nothing in the world that did not come within the scope of mathematics. Galileo gave importance to measuring weight, volume, number and motion of things. Weight and measurement became the fundamental characteristics of science right from the time of Galileo. The shape, color and, taste and smell of things generally became extraneous to scientific experiments. Galileo's stand was that only the measurable qualities of matter should be included within the scope of scientific experiments. Though his stand helped the development of science, it, in another way, affected the search for truth adversely. The study about matter was confined to its measurable qualities only. All those qualities of matter, which were not measurable, were excluded from scientific enquiry. Consciousness, intelligence, mind, thoughts and feelings were outside the scientific enquiry. If we just look at the past history of the scientific revolution, it can be discerned that, science gave emphasis to measuring, weighing and numbering material things. Galileo's mathematical concept of nature influenced science considerably.

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When Galileo was conducting experiments in Italy, Francis Bacon was inventing new experimental methods in England. Bacon tried to establish that his inductive method based on observation was better than the Aristotelian deductive method. Baconian method changed the very direction of scientific enquiry and completely altered its character. He maintained, "Nature is to be raped and enslaved and persecuted to get the secrets out of her". Bacon got this perverse attitude from the witch trials of his time. He, as Attorney General to James I, had to witness witch-trials. His attitude towards women was the same as that towards nature. Accordingly, the western classical philosophy, which followed the footsteps of Bacon, became anti-nature and anti-woman. The pagan Greeks and Romans, who were the forefathers of Europeans, considered the Earth a goddess. This tradition sustained itself up to the 16th century. But, Bacon and succeeding western philosophers gave up this divine concept of nature.

Rene Descartes is one of the important philosophers who shaped western philosophical thoughts. He is called the father of classical western philosophy. He gave new shape and form to the western philosophy. Just like Galileo, he too thought that the language of nature is mathematical. The key to the secrets of nature was, to him, mathematics. He formulated analytical geometry by combining algebra and geometry. His mathematical genius was reflected in philosophy. His book *Discourse on Method* reflects his mathematical philosophy. Western scholars consider this an introduction to western classical

science and philosophy. He introduced both in classical science and philosophy mathematical logic or rationalistic inductive method. The first question he raised was; "am I distinct from my body?" The answer to this question was that body and mind are two different things. He declared, "I think, therefore I am", i.e. 'I' is the mind in human beings. He equated consciousness with mind and thought. To him, both body and mind are in endless conflict. This philosophical view of Descartes is known as the Cartesian dichotomy. It brought into science and philosophy opposites like body and mind, objectivity and subjectivity.

Reductionism came into existence in Western philosophy following this Cartesian view. It's a belief that anything or any phenomenon in the world can be explained by studying the characteristic of its constituents. For example, if we know the geometry of a single area of the earth, we can know its total geometry. To understand any complex system, what we have to do is to analyze its parts. Reductionism, to comprehend the stuff, of which the cosmos is made, divides it into matter, elements, molecules and atoms and finally into particles. If what we get last is particles, they conclude that the universe is made of particles. But, modern science does not agree with this. Neither carbon nor hydrogen, the constituents of sugar, possesses the sweetness of it. Sugar is sweet. Nature cannot be fully understood either through analysis or synthesis. Accordingly, in modern scientific philosophy, the characteristics of the part are determined by the whole.

Descartes compared the cosmos to a machine. He believed that the function of the cosmos is in accordance with the arrangement of its parts. In his lifetime, the best model of machinery was clock. He regarded animals as clocks having springs and teathed wheels. He compared human bodily functions to levers, mechanical movement and hydraulic pressure. He said " We see man-made clocks fountains and mills. They can move in various positions. I cannot see any difference between the machines made by a craftsman and various things created by nature". Instead of an idea of organic wholeness of the cosmos, Descartes put forward an idea of a machine -like universe. The Cartesian view of the universe did away with all the social and cultural taboos against exploitation of nature. It gave philosophical justification for the brutal exploitation of natural resources. It was essential for the advancement of capitalism. Scientific knowledge became a tool for man to make himself the master and owner of nature.

It was Isaac Newton who made Cartesian viewpoint an established one. Newton was not just a scientist. He was a philosopher, lawyer and historian. He fused together the ideas of Copernicus, Kepler, Bacon, Galileo, and Descartes. Compared to his coeval scientists, his knowledge of mathematics was uncommon. He discovered differential calculus to explain the motion of solid things. He formulated a general law of motion combining the laws of motion postulated by Galileo, and Kepler. He applied these laws of motion to all things in the galaxy. He came to know that the power, which makes the sun attract the

earth towards it, is the same as the one which causes an apple to fall on to the earth. Thus, he formulated the law of gravity with the help of mathematics. When it was possible to explain gravity in terms of mathematical language, the scientific community accepted the Newtonian view of the cosmos. The Newtonian cosmos was a big machine run in accordance with mathematical laws. The model of the universe postulated by Newton gave strength to the mechanistic view of the cosmos. He compared the world to a clock in his *Principia Mathematica*. The world has to be compared to a clock. The cosmos is a clock wound by the hands of God. There was a time when things from big stars to small particles stood motionless in great emptiness of the outer space. God gave the first push and life in the cosmos. With that, ended the responsibility of God. From then onwards, the cosmos and things in it began to move in accordance with clear laws. Nothing unexpected happens there. Everything is predetermined. Thus, nature began to work with clock-like precision.

In 18th and 19th centuries, Newtonian physics and its mechanistic view of the cosmos continued its triumphant march. John Dalton's atomic theory, which changed the history of chemistry, was based on Newtonian physics. William Harvey's theory of blood circulation too derived inspiration from the mechanistic view. He regarded each organ of human body as various parts of a machine. He compared the heart to a pump. The chemical scientist, Anthony Lavoisier opined that respiration was a certain type of oxidization. The belief that metabolic processes could be explained

in terms of physics and chemistry became strong. Western medicine studied human body in accordance with cellular biology and biochemistry. It believed that any damage to human body could be repaired by surgery and chemical treatment. The famous doctor, George Engel said that human body is a machine and that disease is a breakdown in the machine and that the duty of the doctor is to repair it. But, doctors did not realize that diseases could be linked to the mind of the patients and also to the social and environmental conditions in which they live. As a result, a system of medicine, which gave more importance to the disease than the patient developed in the West. The Freudian psychological theories too came under the influence of the Newton view.

Newtonian physics had its influence on Humanities too. European intellectuals were virtually intoxicated with it. The famous philosopher, John Locke introduced the Atomistic Theory of Human Society. He compared the individual, the basic component of human society, to an atom. Locke tried to explain the proportion of the society in the same way as the chemical scientists described the proportion of molecules and atoms. He reduced man to the status of atoms. He compared social phenomena to chemical reactions and the interpersonal relations to attractive and repulsive forces in the universe. Another philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, declared in his book *Leviathan* that each person is in struggle with the other in the society. Newtonian physics crept into economics and politics. Sir William Petty, who was the friend of Newton wrote the book *Political Arithmatick* on the

basis of the perspectives of Cartesian and Newtonian philosophy. It is Sir William Petty who introduced the concept of labour value for the first time. Adam Smith and Ricardo got this theory from Sir William Petty. Marxian concept of surplus value was the continuation of the Labour Value Theory. Historical determinism is the outcome of the scientific determinism of Newtonian physics. Marxist theory of historical materialism is indebted to the concept of historical determinism.

The mass production system brought about by the Industrial Revolution made the hitherto production concepts topsy-turvy. The industrial worker was reduced to the status of a machine. His personal and social relationships became meaningless. Workers were alienated from their own products and labour. Both man and society became machine-like. Families, societies, industry and commerce were all built upon the mechanical view of society. Newtonian metaphors can be found in the administrative terms like state machinery. Newtonian mechanical view won over all political, economic and social systems. All systems were centralized. In capitalism and communism, governments were like the main spring in a clock, which set in motion other parts. In both systems, power and money are extremely centralized. In capitalism and communist parties, those on the highest ladder of the hierarchy enjoy absolute power. Words like liberal democracy, democratic centralization are mere ruse to conceal this centralization of power. The liberal democratic system in capitalism is, though seemingly egalitarian, indirectly, a cruel system to perpetuate exploitation. The democratic centralization of power

in socialist countries, which stood for equality, ended up in totalitarianism and absolutism.

The mass production system followed in capitalism and communism has led to the depletion of both organic and inorganic natural resources. Capitalism can survive only if it indulges in mass production through creating and pandering to endless desires. Communism too wants to mass-produce things. Both capitalism and communism have the same model of development. Both capitalists and communists think that natural resources are endless and that they have to be exploited. Though seemingly opposed to capitalism, communism is another branch of the mode of production ensuing from the Industrial Revolution. What communists uphold against the profit-seeking consumerism of capitalism is another consumerist culture endorsing ever-increasing wanting. In reality both capitalism and communism share consumerist mentality equally.

The new philosophy emerging out of new physics questions the very veracity of the western classical thoughts. The new thought considers nature an organic whole. It considers both body and mind indivisible. It has compelled us to give up the classical thinking that the observed things are independent of the consciousness of the observer. A new awareness is growing among scientists and philosophers. Biology has gone beyond the frontiers of materialism. Genetics is refusing to be tied down to Chemistry. Modern psychology has started talking about the vast plane of consciousness beyond the Freudian unconscious.

Modern medicine has become ready to abandon the concept that body and mind are separate. New social, economic and political systems based on holistic thinking, have begun to rise. Actually, the alternative to capitalism and communism will have to spring from such ways of thinking.

History has proven historical materialism used by Marxists to interpret history wrong. Historical materialism was formed out of dialectical materialism. It came into existence through the evolutionary development of classical physics and philosophy. Classical physics and its philosophy believed in determinism and mechanical nature of the world. Historical materialism claims that there are deterministic rules, which control human history. The writings of Marx and Engels were written according to this claim. As such, evolution from capitalism to communism is inevitability. But, the present developments show that it is not possible to build up a socialist and communist society.

## Uncertainty in history

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Humanities to accept determinism. All physical phenomena were explained in accordance with Newton's mechanical laws. It helped scientists to explain things from chemical bonding of atoms to natural attraction of planets. These laws governing the universe were considered unchangeable. It is these laws, which became the foundations of the mechanistic view of the world and determinism. Newton compared the cosmos to a gigantic machine. Newton claimed that whatever happens in it has a deterministic reason and that out of them occur deterministic effects.

Accordingly, if we know the time and place of a thing in the universe, we can easily predict its future place and time. For example, if we know the time and position of the present movement of the Earth in the solar system, we can precisely predict where and when it will be in, say, six months. The discoveries in astronomy during that period also buttressed up Newtonian determinism. Edmond Halley, who was Newton's friend and a scientist, discovered, while going through astronomical data, in the light of Newtonian mechanics, that, there is a comet which appeared repeatedly in every 75 years and that it would appear again in 1758. As predicted by Halley, the comet, which was later named after him, appeared again. With this, determinism of Newtonian physics reached its apogee.

The French mathematician Laplace, excited by the success of Newtonian physics, put forward scientific determinism in the 19th Century. He argued that

there was nothing unclear or uncertain in the cosmos. He believed in the complete deducibility of the world. He claimed that everything in the cosmos could be predicted in accordance with Newtonian physics. Laplace, thus, tried to perfect Newtonian physics. His theory of the solar system was based upon the Newtonian laws. He also studied all the phenomena related to gravity. The tremendous success Newtonian physics had in explaining things in astronomy led to its being used to explain other phenomena. In the wake of the success of Newtonian physics, almost all scientists in 19th century believed that the whole cosmos worked in accordance with the Newtonian laws. They regarded the Newtonian laws as the basic laws underlying Nature. Laplace went a step further than others. He claimed that even human behaviour could be scientifically predicted using scientific determinism. The philosophy, which evolved out of Laplace's scientific determinism, influenced all fields of knowledge. People like Adam Smith and Ricardo, who wrote their economics in conformity with the free economy of capitalism and also Karl Marx, who considered history deterministic, came under its influence. One of the basic sources of Marxian historical materialism is determinism. At the very beginning of 19th century, doubt had arisen about the veracity of the determinism of Newtonian physics. Newtonian model of the universe was a simplified one. The conundrum of three planets in planetary movement in the solar system was a much-debated one. It was not possible to predict the

behaviour of three planets and the sun in the distant future in accordance with the Newtonian concept of universal gravity. In the case of one planet, it was possible. If we take the example of, say, the Earth, the Jupiter and the Sun, we cannot say correctly how the movement of the Jupiter will influence that of the Earth. Henry Poincare, a nineteenth century mathematician, observed that the deductibility of the Newtonian theory of gravity went wrong when all the planets and satellites in the solar system moved, attracting one another disturbingly. But, his observations did not catch the attention of astronomers for a long time. Neither could Newtonian physics explain the laws of thermodynamics formulated in connection with the then- invented steam engines. Besides, the findings by Maxwell about electrodynamics didn't follow the laws of determinism. Darwin's Theory of Evolution too was inconsistent with the deterministic principles.

The uncertainty of the universe disturbed great scientists like Einstein. His famous dictum that 'God does not play dice' reflects this completely. He believed uncertainty in the universe was of temporary nature. He tried to prove that particles are subject to determinism and that they have precise and determinable speed and velocity. But, the 'quantum' behaviour of the light proved the Uncertainty Principle true. The Hidden Variable Theory was one formulated by Einstein to overcome the principles of uncertainty. Though the scientific community, mesmerized by the intellectual achievements of Einstein, accepted the

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theory, later it was proved that the theory did not go well with physical reality. The EPR experiment was intellectually and theoretically proposed by Einstein to refute the Uncertainty Principle. Following the advancement of technology, the particle physicist John Bell in the middle of the 1960's conducted this experiment successfully. The result was not what Einstein had expected. The experiment proved that Nature followed the quantum principles, which were not amenable to common sense. The Uncertainty Principle made it clear that even God cannot determine the speed and velocity of particles. In the last century, another challenge against determinism arose from the Chaos Theory. It was one of the intellectual revolutions of the mid - 20th century. The theory became a reality with the introduction of digital computers in the 1960's. Chaos pervades the whole universe. In some systems, chaos is the unpredictable action, which, depending upon its initial state may appear or disappear. The boiling of water is an example. If we place a cork in the water, it will move here and there. We cannot predict in which direction it will move. But in an artificially created phase, the order behind the movement of the cork will unfold. The hallmark of the chaos is the concealing order. The Theory of Chaos has influenced physics, engineering, biology, medicine, economics, politics, sociology, linguistics, and philosophy. It demolishes the claim of the classical physics that there can be precise predictions. The theory implies that if there is a slight change in the initial condition of a thing or system, it may cause far-reaching

changes in its future behavior. It is found in non-linear systems. 'Linear' means here 'proportionate'. For example, take the distance a thing covers at a constant speed in direct proportion to the time it takes to cover the distance. The graph, which links both distance and time, is on a straight line. All the phenomena in the world are non-linear. The bouncing of playing balls, the movement of pendulum, which were considered linear in Newtonian physics, are, in reality, found to be showing non-linearity. A non-linear clock may work unpredictably and without any order.

According to the Theory of Chaos, a slight change caused to a particle's position and velocity may bring about big changes. In 1980, Lawrence, who is the one of the greatest climatologists in MIT proved that any slight movement in the atmosphere could create great repercussions. He called this phenomenon 'Butterfly Effect'. If a group of butterflies in Kerala flap their wings, it may cause changes in the climate in New Delhi. Even a small disturbance can be a factor decisive in controlling weather conditions. In this network of interconnectedness, any small change taking place, somewhere can have its chain reaction somewhere else. What is problematic about this is that the phenomenon cannot be repeated. The incidents caused by the flapping of wings by the butterflies next time, will be different. But, they will still have effect on the climate. That's why weather forecasts are so undependable. Chaos is an area where complete predictability is impossible.

Historical determinism is an outcome of scientific determinism. Marx's historical materialism is based on historical determinism. Marx tried to tabularize history with a mechanical and determined nature of a train timetable. Marxist concept of historical determinism has been proved to be idiotic dogmatism. What is Marxian concept of history? In human history, productive forces and, and production relations have been in constant conflict and productive forces are always growing. They need changes in production relations. When the existing production relations in the society create impediments to productive forces, the former will break down and, in the stead of old production relations, new ones helpful to productive forces will emerge. This will result in new social relations. That is how social system like primitive communism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism emerged one by one. Capitalism witnessed progress, which was unprecedented. Now its growth is impeded. So a new social set up called communism has to arise. That is inevitability. This is Marx's theory of historical inevitability. According to his theory, proletarian revolution was imminent in Britain and Germany where capitalism was highly advanced. But, revolution took place in Tsarist Russia, which was industrially the least advanced. The October Revolution of 1917 was not a mass revolution; it was a coup in which a group of disgruntled soldiers and

a small group of revolutionaries usurped power from Tsar.

It had no continuity or any historical evolutionary nature of Marxian concept of history. It brought in state ownership of property under the aegis of Communist Party in the place of the degenerate private ownership of property in the Tsarist Russia. Finally, the whole property in Russia went into the hands of the communists. Under the communists in Russia, nationalization of property did not take place. The property not only didn't get nationalized in effect but it became centralized as well. Property became alien to the society. The whole production means in the nation were nationalized and centralized. That became the basis for the centralization of power. The centralization of power in Russia led to fascism. A large of number of people had no say in the government. The old feudal system changed into a new one led by the party lords.

The communists could gain power in China and Eastern European countries not as a result of any historical evolution. At the end of World War, East European countries were militarily taken over by Russia. They established communism there. China was a feudal country with no possibility of any large-scale proletarian presence. By the end of 1980's, communism disappeared from many eastern European countries and Russia. The present China

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is politically communist and economically capitalistic. The socialization of property or power has not taken place in China. According to Marxian ideals, a theory has to prove itself through practice. Then, these developments show the failure of his own pet theory.

The experiences in Russia and European countries and the so-called remaining communist countries have shown that historical determinism stands completely rejected. Upholding historical materialism, when it signally failed to stand the test of time, is standing in the way of social progress. The fact that Marxist theory of inevitability of revolution has fallen flat rankles in the mind of Marxist intellectuals. Obsessive prophets of a redundant theory are mere impractical dogmatists.

The disoriented  
economics



Modern economic theories, by and large, are anti-nature and restricted to the existence of human race. Economics is a social science dealing with the production of wealth, its distribution and transaction. Western economics developed within the confines of western classical physics. As a result, modern economics failed to view environmental, economic, and social problems organically. Economics didn't take into account the relationship between man and other beings. Economists say man progressed through his relentless struggle against nature and that it is his duty to exploit nature itself. Marx went a step further and said that nature and philosophers have, indeed, transformed nature, but aim is to change it. The idea of Marx is that Marxism is the same as the idea of capitalism. We have to rob nature for our benefit even if it means destroying the rhythm of nature. Both capitalist and communist economists believe that increase in productive forces implies the need for excess

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## *Beyond Red*

production. In both economic systems, the criterion to measure the standard of life is annual consumption of goods. Their motto is to increase consumption through increase in production.

In both capitalist and communist countries consumerism increased. Marx didn't differentiate needs from greed. Craze for consumption of goods, was the same in capitalist and communist countries. They failed to discern the danger behind the concept of maximum consumption. A good example is the production of energy. They are simply interested in how to maximize the energy production. The source does not matter. They are not worried about whether they are renewable or not. Their only aim is maximum production. Modern economists' aim of increasing production and consumerism has resulted in social inequality, inflation, unemployment, concentration of wealth, energy crises, and environmental catastrophes.

Modern economics failed to imbibe the holistic vision brought about by the revolutionary changes in modern scientific philosophy. The economic principles of both capitalism and communism have not been able to rid themselves of the influence of classical economics. They are based on materialism, development and competition. They promoted avarice, selfishness, and conflicts in the society. They threw to winds all sense of morality.

Old economic system had regarded nature as divine. It stood against usury and also ensured reasonable pricing of products. Black-marketeering and hoarding were traditionally considered unrighteous.

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Those who were involved in black-market and hoarding were severely punished. The production system of the time gave importance to social needs. The total needs of the society were taken care of by the participation of the whole community. Food, clothes, house and other things had only utility value. The phenomenon of market began in the 17th century England. Then it spread globally. The global market is a modern version. Transition of goods was prevalent even the in the Stone Age.

Until the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, market was a place only for the local transaction of goods. Commerce had a divinity of its own. There was no monetary transaction. Metal coins were used only for taxation.

The advance in production as a result of the Industrial Revolution also increased the desire for greater profit. Property meant something solid in one way or other. A man's property was calculated on the basis of the land or gold he owned. Material property became the measuring rod in a man's life, and materialism became rampant in the society. In industry and commerce, dishonesty increased. New social, economic, and cultural institutions came into existence in conformity with the new industrial and commercial environments. New theories on production, distribution, transition, monetary transactions, were formulated. Profit and profiteering, which is the hallmark of capitalism, became rampant in society. The Catholic and the Protestant Churches in Europe gave silent permission to the advancement of capitalism.

The European culture became anti-environmental and male-centered

Modern economics was born against this backdrop and it is only three hundred years old. It began in Britain. It was Sir William Petty, a close friend of Newton, a musician and Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, who laid the foundations of modern economics. His famous book on economics *Political Arithmetic* was written on the basis of Cartesian and Newtonian views. It was Petty who introduced the Theory of Value of Labour. He established that the value of a product is worth the labour needed to produce it. John Locke strengthened the base of Sir William Petty's economics. Locke introduced Atomistic Theory of Human Society. Locke also tried to introduce Newton's Atomic Theory into the world of economics. In Locke's opinion, the price of a product depends upon demand and supply. The price will be varying according to the changes in demand and supply. There is no certainty that value and price will be the same at a particular moment.

If price is greater than value, the production of a particular product will increase and its price will decrease and vice versa. In the long run, it will become equal to the average value. Supply and demand theory was consistent with Newtonian physics. Petty and Locke tried to make economics, which is a social science, a pure science like physics and mathematics. It divorced economics from its social relevance.

The book *Wealth of Nation* published in 1776 and written by the Scottish economist Adam Smith

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accelerated the tempo of the capitalist economic system. It was this book, which gave market economy its philosophical base. It inspired the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Adam Smith describes in detail how the wealth of a nation increases and is distributed. Smith made it clear that the base of production is human labour and natural resources, and that the wealth of a nation depends upon the productivity of its people. He emphasized the need for introducing large-scale machines to enhance production. He also explained that market is an invisible thing and that it protects the interests of producers and consumers and it causes increase in the production. Instead of consumption meeting production, it will be the other way round, he says. He tries to substantiate that it is the free market that determines the price as result of the equilibrium of demand and supply. Smith's economic theories were based on the equilibrium, motion and objectivity of Newtonian physics. He justified the capitalists amassing capital, since it is needed to enhance production. His theories were congenial to the unlimited exploitation of natural resources and exploitation of the workers.

At the beginning of 19th century, economist David Ricardo compiled all the economic theories existing thereunto. He was a multimillionaire stockbroker. The work that influenced him most was *The Wealth of Nation* by Adam Smith. He predicted that economic growth would be stunted at a certain stage due to the limited nature of the land and also due to the increase in the cost of production of food.

He further developed the economic theories of Sir William Petty and Adam Smith. His theories are responsible for the growth of capitalist market. He also reasoned that it was natural that there should be the rich and the poor. His economics was one which justified the 19th century colonial expansion and exploitation by the western powers.

The two types of economics, which came into existence after Ricardian economics, were welfare economics and utopian economics. Their aim was to reduce the gap between the haves and have-nots through social welfare activities and legislation. Utopians set up factories and mills on cooperative basis, offering workers less hours of work, higher wages, insurance and scope for entertainment and accommodation. They gave importance to moral, spiritual, and artistic values of workers. But, their experiment was a failure. The failure was, according to Marx, due to the incongruity of their plan with the socio-economic conditions of the society. Marx was indebted to the Utopians for his ideas. Interestingly, many of the economic, social and environmental policies introduced by the welfare and utopian economists still have relevance.

Karl Marx predicted that the collapse of capitalism was inevitable and that socialist order would evolve out of such a collapse. It was a mere prophesy. Basically, the economics of capitalism and communism are the same. All Marxist thoughts are a continuation of western classical philosophy, economics and political science. Marxian economics was founded on

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the economic theories of Adam Smith, Ricardo and Robert Owen. Marx was reputedly thorough with Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nation*. It was from this book that Marx learnt many things about capitalism, which were responsible for the plight of the proletariat. The source for the Marxist concept of alienation of labour also is derived from this book. The Theory of Surplus Value—the process of value changing into price—is from the theories developed by Adam Smith. It was Ricardo who formulated the proto-type of Marx's Theory of Surplus Value. In Marxist economics, there is a great difference in the value of labour power and labour. The value of labour is the money a labourer needs for him and his family to live in accordance with the average standard of life. It is that price that capitalists give to workers by way of wages. Marx called the difference between value of labour power and the value of the actual labour surplus value. Capitalists collect the surplus value and turn a part of the surplus value into capital in order to create further surplus value. Marx came to believe that the contemporary trouble with capitalism is the taking away of surplus value. He also believed that finally capitalism itself would collapse. Marxists think that the theory of surplus value of Karl Marx is an eternal truth. When new scientific technology is applied to production and labour becomes mental, The Theory of Surplus value will not stand as such. The role of land, labour, capital and other things in production has changed. Nature plays an immense role in capital production. Surplus value cannot be created without

natural resources. When he calculated the value of a product, Marx did not take into consideration the value of natural resources. According to Marxism, production relationships will change when productive forces change. Every social system has got its own production relations. It was assumed that the present day capitalist production relation will change and a socialist production relation will come in its place, which will change into communist mode of production, that is, productive forces will be increasing resulting in the increase in production. Marx came to this conclusion due to his false belief that man and Nature are separate and that natural resources are limitless. Marxist thoughts are related to the thinking system of Simon Furier. The concept of Proletarian dictatorship has been borrowed from the French thinker Babeuf. The slogan 'workers of the whole world unite' comes from Karl Shaper. Even the word communism does not belong to Marx. This word was first used by the followers of Robert Owen, who was a utopian socialist.

During the world slump from 1929-1933, in order to bail out capitalist social system, John Maynard Keynes, a British economist, introduced some new economic theories. Keynes' economic theories justified overproduction. He stood for the continuous growth of production and overproduction and the consumption needed for it. In his opinion, the greater the production of wealth, the more will be the benefit of the poor. He claimed that the rich would be forced to spend the wealth amassed by them which would benefit the poor. When wealth increases materially,

a part of it will trickle down to the poor whether the rich like it or not. Thus, the gap between the rich and the poor will be narrowed down. So, he opined that the process should not be blocked until then.

Modern capitalist governments give scriptural sanctimony to such Keynesian concepts. Almost all capitalist economists are the followers of Keynes. But experiences show that his economic theories are wrong. In the last century the gap between the poor and the rich countries and that between the poor and the rich has increased. In 1960, the average per capita income of 20% of the richest people of the world was 30 times greater than that of 20% of poorest in the world population. By 1997, it increased 86 times. Inequality almost doubled. The wealth of world's 3 richest men is greater than that of the total income of 35% of world's poorest countries. The proportion of the poor men to the rich people is staggering. If the 2% of wealth of rich men is spent, that is enough to meet the expenses needed to provide primary education to all the students of the world. The real aim of capitalist economists including Keynes is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The economics of capitalism and communism have unusual similarities. They aim at technological and economic development. The lust for universal economic development and growth is stronger in communism and capitalism than in any other ideology. One of the greatest problems facing the world is the discrepancy between unlimited wants and limited resources. We cannot make a limited thing an unlimited

one. Modern economics of all hues try to make what is finite infinite. It has been proven that since natural resources are limited, uncontrolled and unlimited production is not possible. This attitude of unlimited production is one philosophically inspired by Newton's views. If we want to achieve the communist goal of 'to each according to his needs', productive forces have to increase indefinitely. Both the capitalist and communist economists believe in the infinite possibilities of science and technology. The developmental attitude of America and the former USSR was the same. Both show unnecessary interest in large-scale production. They were growth-intoxicated. Economic growth is important for progress. But, development at any cost is anti-nature. There should be a dynamic equilibrium between growth and depletion. Production and consumption must be consonant with Nature. The serious impact of continuous development and growth has begun to be felt on our planet. The sources of natural resources are fast getting depleted.

The world famous geologist King Hubert in 1950 presented data on the depletion of natural resources. Both capitalist and socialist economists derisively called him a mad man. He studied the relationship between the production of non-renewable resources and their depletion worldwide. In his opinion, the production of petroleum will peak by the end of 20th century and it will, gradually, decrease and peter out. The production of coal will stop by the end of 21st century. There will be a time when natural gases, ores, forest and fish and even

oxygen will be depleted. Even if we discover an alternative to fossil-based fuels, it will not stop the depletion of the latter. Our present-day reckless development will destroy the sources of metal, food, oxygen and ozone which are necessary for our survival. If the overexploitation of water continues at this rate by the middle of this century, sources of potable water will be dried out. Future wars will be fought for water.

The history of the latter half of the last century was something that justified the stand and the warnings of Hubert. Those who thought seriously about man and nature became convinced about the perils of the developmental model introduced by communism and capitalism. In 1972, the group called The 'Club of Rome' published a study entitled 'the Limits to Growth'. Rulers in capitalist and communist countries ignored it. The first World Congress to discuss the deteriorating environmental condition was held in 1972 in Stockholm. Though it took many decisions, capitalist and communist countries refused to heed to the imminent doom. The Environmental Summit held in Nairobi in 1982 pointed out the fast deteriorating condition of the world. It took better decisions and dispersed. Yet, the capitalist and the communist blocks continued their assault on nature. Nature's revenges too became more intense. Even the mainstream scientists had to acknowledge problems like global warming, changes in climate and holes in ozone layers as real phenomena. They were forced to acknowledge that development will be impeded if the lustful exploitation of natural

resources is going on. Thus, in 1992, a world Earth Summit was held in Rio de Janeiro. But, the resolutions of the Summit were countermanded by America. Developed capitalist countries have not done much for the protection of the world environment. The Summit for Sustainable Development was held in Johannesburg in 2002. This gave enough indications that if we did not solve world ecological crisis, the very existence of human race would be in trouble.

Another crisis crying for world attention is population explosion. The increase in population will result in the depletion of natural resources. The problems of population cannot be solved by continuous growth of economic development. The present annual rate of world population is 1.9%. So, world population will be doubled every forty years. World population will be 12 billions in 2045. In 2085, it will double. If population increases at the present rate, man will stand shoulder to shoulder in 2600. Though the countries have become aware of the dangers of overpopulation, they have not been able to reach a consensus on how to bring it to zero level. There are biological, social, economic and psychological reasons for it. The best way to reduce population growth is to increase the standard of living globally. The present global growth of population is uncontrolled and unbalanced.

Population is growing uncontrollably in undeveloped and developing countries. The social backwardness caused by the colonial exploitation is one of the reasons for it. Even now, these countries

are being subjected to cruel exploitation by developed countries. Their poverty, deprivation and ecological crises can be remedied only by global economic justice. For this, we need redistribution of global wealth. But the profits-seeking developed countries are against it. The Marxist economists have adopted a negative attitude towards population growth. Communists theoretically oppose Malthusian theory of population growth. Both Marx and Lenin rejected Malthus' theory.

The economic systems, which depend excessively on energy and natural resources, are capital-intensive. They are not labour-centric. Natural resources are extracted from Nature. The more mechanized it is, the more it reduces employment opportunities. Labour will be substituted by capital. The economic system which is centred around energy and natural resources is an inflated one. It will not create wealth in the long run. It is detrimental to the society and the environment. The best example is capital-centered farming. Naturally, it has to be mechanized. It will consume more energy. In order to increase agricultural production, a lot of chemical fertilizers, pesticides have to be used. It may give temporary increase in agricultural production. But, it will gradually destroy fertility of the land and biological diversity. It also reduces role of labour. The chemical fertilizers and pesticides used for agriculture come back to us through food and other ways putting our health in danger. Gradually, such farming will do away with farming itself.

Capitalism and communism are overconfident about the limitless possibilities of science and technology. They are mad about it and think that political, economic and ecological problems can be solved through scientific technology. Rulers think energy crises can be tided over through the dangerous nuclear technology and international differences, through nuclear bombs. But, such technological solutions are endangering local and global ecosystems. The technologists dream of nestling on other planets to stay the nights if our present ecosystem is endangered. Their craze for science and technology makes them think technology is the panacea for everything. It is because of the influence of the classical philosophical thought that science is an absolute truth.

In 20th century, capitalism developed into colonialism and imperialism. The history of capitalism is one of wars. The wars and brutal genocide indulged in by the imperialist forces are endless. In the Second World War alone, 50 million people were killed and an equal number maimed. The Persian Gulf is, now, aflame with wars for petrol. The main culprit for ecological disasters and poverty are the imperialist forces, whether economic, political or religious.

Imperialism is, globally, putting in jeopardy economic, food, health, and ecological and social safety of common man. It can also stand in the way of individual development. Imperialism of any type can be instrumental in the destruction of indigenous cultures. The culture of capitalism is basically

consumerist. It has won over all other cultures globally. Communism which was introduced as the alternative to capitalism was in effect state capitalism. What was implemented in the former Soviet Union is the utility theory of capitalism. Communist rule, which lasted for 75 years, brought about indescribable ecological disasters like Chernobyl nuclear disaster and drying up of the Aral Sea. The social condition in Russia was pitiable. The Soviet Union at the end of communist rule was one plagued with social evils like bureaucrat corruption, black market, and helplessness of people, increased mortality, infant deaths, alcoholism, prostitution and drug abuse. Poverty, famine and social inequalities were rampant in Russia.

In China, the state is being fast made capitalist in the guise of communism. One of the slogans put forward by the Chinese Communist party is 'to make money is a holy act'. China is simply trying to outsmart America in production, as once the Soviet Union tried to do. To them the political cat of any hue is welcome, as long as it catches rats. The red cat has long ceased to be a necessity. The gaps between the haves and have-nots is widening in China. In the world labour market, Chinese workmen are the least paid. The number of people flowing into towns in search of jobs is increasing in China. Things, like jobs, food health system and education do not come under fundamental rights. The ecological condition of the country too is mind-shattering. Almost all important rivers are polluted with chemical and organic waste. The culture growing and being encouraged in China is capitalist. Other

socialist countries like Cuba and Vietnam are highly undeveloped. The condition of North Korea is the worst. The common man is suffering under the yoke of totalitarianism combined with poverty there while the ruling men are running after the pomp of nuclear and missile technology.

The economic ideas developed and upheld by the Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi offer an alternative to the dehumanizing economics of capitalism and communism. Gandhian economic thoughts are based on Indian philosophy. It is quite different from the economics based on production and consumption. Gandhiji said, in this world, there is enough to satisfy everyone's needs but not enough to satisfy a single man's greed. His economic view is that development should be based on renewable natural resources. In Gandhian economics, both power and planning are decentralized. Development is carried out with the cooperation of people. It is an economics giving importance to humanitarianism. The world famous thinkers like Schumacher, Fukuoka, Rachel Carson, Fritjof Capra have put forward an alternate economic system to the modern economics. Most of their economic thoughts are based on Buddhist philosophy. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* reflects this philosophy. Natural resources are fast exhausted. If the present trend continues, they won't last longer. Instead of big industrial units, we should have efficient small-scale units. Science and technology should aim at providing machines and technology suitable for such units. Large-scale production responsible for

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unemployment should be avoided as far as possible. Production can be sustainable only if all are employed. This is how social inequality can be reduced. The new technology should be eco-friendly. Anti-nature technology should be eschewed. Natural resources should be used only in such a way that their depletion will be made up by natural process. Thus, a system which has got an organic relationship with nature and man needs to be established. Maximum quality life through least consumption and proper living are its characteristics. The perceptions of Fukuoka, Capra, Schumacher and thinkers like them are consistent with Gandhian economic thoughts. They all consider nature and man indivisible. Only a kind of postmodern economics with an organic view of nature and man, as perceived in Indian philosophy, and which will emerge as an alternative to the dualistic modern economics and which will consider Nature divine, can save humanity.



In Marxist textbooks, dialectical materialism and historical materialism are called scientific. Like the 19<sup>th</sup> century thinkers, Marx too wanted to call his theory scientific. He believed that the laws of dialectical materialism govern nature. He considered it a compendium of eternal laws. Marx, who declared that the only thing, which does not change, is change itself, tried to confine his thoughts within the radius of dialectical materialism. As a result, Marxism became a condensed belief system. Lenin claimed that Marxism is scientific, true and eternal.

The word 'science' is a much-misunderstood one. Many people think that science is something absolutely true. When we place the word 'science' before any kind of activity, that said before, we have a talk of scientific farming, investigation, socialism and cookery etc. As if by magic, they are considered to be without blemishes. But, modern science does not give such infallibility to science. By science, what is



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meant is the knowledge about matter and various physical phenomena. It is observing things, classifying them and also explaining things on the basis of those observations, and formulating principles and theories for them, and predicting about new things and phenomena on the basis of earlier theories. Scientists also modify them in the light of new discoveries. Scientists conduct new searches with the aid of scientific equipment like telescope, microscope, spectroscope, particle accelerator and computers. Scientific enquiry is external .It forges ahead studying external things and analyzing them. That is an endless process. It was Francis Bacon, the 17th century British writer and thinker, who, for the first time, told about how a scientist should examine and find out natural laws. According to his theory, scientists formulate a hypothesis or common principle on the basis of the data collected through observation. They explain them systematically. Thus, it becomes a scientific theory. Anybody can determine its scientificity through later experimentations and observations. This new accretion to the existing scientific knowledge is valid only if it conforms to the earlier time-tested scientific laws. If it is disproved by earlier laws, it is discarded and the new ones accepted. This method of formation of a specific rule through observation and applying them to all future possibilities is called inductive method by Francis Bacon. During the same period, the French mathematician, Rene Descartes presented the theory of mathematical logic. It is another method of scientist enquiry. He was of the opinion that all sciences are

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precise and certain, clear and evidential knowledge. They are fully knowable and doubtless. The experimental method introduced by Isaac Newton combining inductive method and mathematical logic became the basis for the later development of Eurocentric scientific enquiry and discoveries and inventions. According to this method, if a hypothesis yields the same result even after repeated experiments, that hypothesis is given the status of a theory. The classical physicist regarded such theories, which evolved out of repeated experiments as absolute truth. For examples, the laws of Newton were thought to be unchangeable. Until the very end of the 19th century, nobody dared to question the infallibility of the term scientific. But, the meaning of the word scientific in 20th century differs from that in 19th century. Both the Theory of Relativity and quantum physics proved the concept of absolute truth wrong.

The scientist who talked most vehemently against the infallibility of science in the last century was the Austrian thinker and scientist Karl Raimond Popper. His contribution to the philosophy of science is great. He said scientific laws are not unchangeable. He refuted the claim that what is scientific is infallible. In his opinion, to say that something is scientific is to mean that it can go wrong at any moment. Even established laws, which have not been proved wrong for a long time, are not absolute truths. He pointed out that the infallibility of science is an old story. He called this Falsification Theory.

Acceptance of a scientific theory is only

temporary. It can be proven wrong at any moment, even if it has survived experimentations previously. Again, even when a theory is proved to be true a thousand times, it cannot be held to be something absolute. What makes the scientific different from what is non-scientific is this tendency of science. Only those things that could be proved wrong have the right to be called scientific. Falsification is the hallmark of science. What is unscientific has not such a fate.

Practically, a new theory is formulated on the basis of the extension of an old theory. For example, when the motion of the Mercury was observed, it was found to be differing from the prediction made on the basis of the Newtonian laws. It was also observed that its motion was in consonance with Einstein's principles. This gave Einstein's principles a boost. The epochal experiment conducted by G. Michelson and Morley shattered the whole Newtonian principles. It proved the constancy of the velocity of light. It was against the Newtonian laws. For this single reason, scientists were forced to reformulate the whole physical laws.

The history of science tells that the superstructure of science is not built upon any absolute truth. A scientific theory, like anything else, has limitations. What is special about modern science is that it recognizes this fact. Science cannot take into consideration all interconnections while formulating a theory. It usually takes into account only important interconnections. In Newtonian physics, the resistance of air is not generally considered. In particle physics, the impact of gravity is not considered. This is how scientific experiments are

conducted. They move from one general model to another. Einstein's laws were more advanced than those of Newton. Two objects which are in relative motion can be described by the laws of both Newton and Einstein. But, Einstein's principles are more accurate. Many long-established scientific principles had to be modified in the course of science. The most famous among them is the concept of ether. Modern physics virtually began by rejecting the concept of ether. What resulted in the rejection of the concept of the ether was the disagreement prevalent among the scientists about the nature of light. We take sunlight for granted. But, how it travels to earth was mysterious; common men were not interested in such matters. But, scientists had to find out the answer. They raised many a doubt. In reality, the search for finding out the nature of light went a long way in the emergence of modern physics.

In the middle of the 19th century, Michael Faraday and Clack Maxwell developed the electro-magnetic theory. They made it clear that light is an electro-magnetic field moving through space in waves. Maxwell's approach predicted the nature of light precisely. It was better than the Newtonian concept. But, even Maxwell could not answer some questions properly. If light is electromagnetic waves, how can it travel through empty space? In our experience, and also according to the wave theory, waves need a medium to travel through. When waves move through water, they disturb it and make it move up and down producing waves. Sound waves also need air or something as medium. But, light travels

through empty space. What is the medium, which vibrates when light travels through? This question led to the formulation of the concept of ether by some scientists. They were of the opinion that the whole world was filled with the invisible medium called ether. Light travels through this medium. They attributed many imaginary qualities to ether. For example, ether is a thing weightless and elastic. Water waves disappeared due to friction. But, light does not cease to be while traveling. So, they thought that ether was a frictionless thing with complete elasticity. The belief that light cannot travel without the aid of a medium was a deep-rooted one until the end of 19th century.

It was Albert Einstein who categorically declared that there is no such a thing as ether. He further said that light was by itself a physical phenomenon and that it did not need a medium for transmission. It does not need a medium to move through, because it is not only a wave, but also a particle. It was made clear that light can travel through space since it was both waves and particles. When it was established that light is both particles and waves, the old concept of ether was given up. We cannot deny the possibility of Einstein's Theory of Relativity too being declared inaccurate in future. Every new scientific principle was a bettering of the old one. Every new law takes us further into the secrets of the universe. Modern physics makes it clear that not only scientific laws but also scientific experiments are mere approximations.

Many scientific explanations formulated to describe a phenomenon have been falsified and given

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up on examination. Those explanations, which survive experiments one by one, are more universally accepted. In a sense, science is a series of such speculated explanations and their rejections. The truth is that there is no theory, which will survive all experiments for all the time and which will never be rejected.

Marxism, as such, is not a science but a belief system. If it were a science, it would have undergone changes. If we examine its history of 150 years, it can be seen that neither its principles nor its categories have changed.

Nobody has changed its hypotheses. Epistemologically too, Marxian principles are mechanical and incomplete. To put it in other words, Marxism is a mere 'ism'. It can instill insane and blind belief in its adherents simply because it is an 'ism'. Science is an open thought, and a continuation of thought. If thought is dynamic, it will lead to new thoughts. If it is stationary, it becomes old. 'Ism' is not a flowing thing. It is motionless like stagnant water. No new thought is possible in an 'ism'. Scientific thoughts always change. Every new thought will be better than the old one. Communism, which is the political system of Marxism, had to face a crisis in Russia and East European countries, simply because it was an 'ism'. To say that communism which evolved out of the physical conditions of the world which prevailed 150 years ago, is completely true even today; is unscientific and unreasonable. To think that we can build up a political system on it is a mere illusion.



If Marxism is not a science, then what is it? An intelligent clue to the answer can be found in the subtle observation of the famous Indian writer and political commentator, O.V. Vijayan. He once wrote, "Marxism is a western thought. It is a continuation of western classical thought. Though atheistic, Marxism is a branch of Judeo-Christian culture. Marx is a Cārvāka (a traditional name for an atheist in India of Judeo-Christian culture". Russell called Marxism a Christian heresy. In his opinion, communists' belief in the dictatorship of the proletariat is a superstition. He regarded Marxism as a religion based on materialism. Marxism is the belief system of the communists.

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concerned, dialectical materialism is the ultimate principle—something which is absolutely true. They follow it just like a religious faith. They have been trying to impose it on others. Just like the Judaic religion, communism too is fanatically intolerant towards other

## The red religion



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Communists quote Marx and Engels to explain anything and everything. As far as communists are concerned, dialectical materialism is the ultimate principle—something which is absolutely true. They follow it just like a religious faith. They have been trying to impose it on others. Just like the Judaic religions, communism too is intrinsically intolerant towards other

belief or philosophic systems.

Both in childhood and adulthood, Marx had been influenced by Judeo-Christian beliefs and rituals. This influence is reflected throughout his writings. Many of his linguistic expressions have been taken from Jewish and Christian scriptures, in which he was well-versed. He cannot be, naturally, blamed for it. Nobody can live and think in an intellectual vacuum. Every thinker is indebted to old and contemporary ones. Ideas are the continuation of what is old. That is something unavoidable. Karl Marx was born in a wealthy Jewish family. His father was an advocate. Germany was notorious for its anti-Jewish stand. Jews had been barred from employment in Prussia. In order to escape the ban, Marx's father adopted Protestantism. In 1824, he baptized all of his six children. Marx's adolescent poetry and essays were fraught with Jewish and Christian imagery. His collection of poetry *Savage Poems* is an example.

Marx was making a secular version of Judeo-Christian concepts. He uses almost all concepts found in Christian theology. Such Christian concepts as the Advent of Christ, revelations, chosen people, last judgement, the Kingdom of God and martyrdom are reborn in his writings. Anybody having any touch with the communist movements cannot but feel those things. In communism, the proletariat are the chosen people and the leaders of the various communist movements are the messiahs. They believe that those party messiahs will build heaven for them. In that sense, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are messiahs and prophets. Some

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pronouncements by Karl Marx resemble those of the Talmud and the Bible. "History is the history of class wars". "Philosophers have only interpreted the world" "Let the rulers be shocked by the communist revolution". The language of the Semitic religions is revelatory in nature. It is supposed to be something straight from God, which is, to the believers, the ultimate truth. Just like that, dialectical materialism was the ultimate truth for Marx. It was equal to God's laws. This accounts for the revelatory ring in Marx's language.

Both Judaic religions and communism believe in determinism. So, the followers have no right to question their belief systems. Since Judaic religions depend upon predeterminism and communism on the determinism of dialectical materialism, in Christianity, the second coming of Christ and, in Communism, a classless society is inevitable. The structure of communist movements is similar to that of the Christian Church, especially the Roman Catholic Church. The structure of both is monolithic. The reality is that monolithic nature of the Church and communism result from their philosophic similarities. Power in both systems is centralized. If all power is centered around the Pope in the Catholic Church, it is centred around the party secretary in communist parties.

There is similarity between the activities of Christian missionaries and those of communists. The party has got full-time workers just as the Church has its priests and nuns with life-time commitment to conversational missionary work. The communists show the same zeal to spread their ideology, as the

missionaries do to propagate Christianity. To the followers, the Bible and the Manifesto are infallible. Conversion to communism is the same as religious conversion. In both cases, you have to disown your past and believe either in the Bible or dialectical materialism, as the case may be.

The Church believes that you need martyrs to build the Kingdom of God, whilst the Communist Party needs them to establish a classless society. For both, martyrs are essential and immortal. They exhort their followers to embrace martyrdom and to convert others to their causes. Such people as have been ready to sacrifice their lives are eulogized as martyrs. Just like the Judaic religions, the communist party too has its own scapegoats. No other party in the world has been as lavish as the communist party in sending their followers to martyrdom. The Church has approved violence for achieving the Kingdom of God, while communists have done the same to bring out revolutions. The communist preceptors exhort their followers not to brook those devils blocking the way to socialism. They think those not subscribing to Marxism have to be forcibly made to do it. The mass murders that took place in the countries where communists came to power are reminiscent of mass murders in crusades and jihads intended to cleanse the society of non-conforming and ideologically differing elements. Even their own leaders, who dared to deviate from the 'true' path, were branded as 'reactionaries' and butchered as in the schismatic and internecine wars fought among the Muslims and the Christians. They claim that they are the liberators of

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humanity. Prototype of this liberation concept lies in Judeo-Christian culture. Liberation concept of Judaic religions is different from that of Indian religions. The Jewish spirit behind Marxism can be found in the form of his revelatory statements about the inevitability of revolution. To Marx, revolution is the destruction of the government run by a minority of the capitalists, and establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The chosen people are raised from the lower social position to the highest.

If the Jews' is the Kingdom of God, Marx's is a communist state. In communism, dialectical materialism replaces Jehovah. To Karl Marx, the chosen people are the western proletariat. The traditional Jewish revelations are conspicuously discernable in the masquerade called Marxism. Russell aptly observes that, as St. Augustine induced Jewish structure into Christianity, so Marx structured communism along Jewish lines. He wants us to discern the similarity between communism and Judaism through the following comparisons; Jehovah-dialectical materialism, messiah-Marx, chosen people-proletarians, the Church-communist party, second coming-revolution, hell – punishment for criticism, kingdom of God – communist society. These similarities can be further extended; saints - top party leaders, martyrs – party men killed or sacrificed, holy days – martyr's day, celebrations – party celebrations, excommunication - expulsion from the party, holy scripts- writings of Marx and Engels, priests- party leaders, blasphemy- criticizing Marx and the party, Christian denominations-

various communist parties, devil- misinterpreters of Marxism.

If we carefully look at the political rituals of the communist party, we can see that they are mere repetitions of the Judeo-Christian rituals. Some mausoleums built for communist leaders in some countries remind us of primitive Judeo-Christian traditions.

Marxism, which was severely critical of Christianity, had the same basic structure as Christianity. They differ only in contents. Though Marxism is, thematically, opposed to religion, it can evoke and satisfy the same primitive religious inspirations in its adherents as are found in the Judaic religions through its structural and ideological similarity.

Revelatory religions have two sides – faith based on theology and emotion sustaining it. The above glossary used to pinpoint the characteristics of Judaic religions, show belief as content and emotion as the driving force. The respect evoked in the party towards Marx is the same awe believers have towards Jehovah. Communists hate those who criticize Marx and his 'ism' with the same hatred as the adherents of Judaic religions have toward the deniers of their God . Christianity has many denominational divisions. Similarly, Marxism has Russian, Chinese and East European versions and also communist groups mutually contending in the name of political puritanism.

According to revelatory religions, God's reality is revealed only to true believers. Those, who

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misinterpret Marxism, are like the followers of Satan who are out to lead the believers in Marxism astray from the true path. Religions have benefited priests most, just as the party has benefited the leaders. Both the priests and the communists leaders have control over material things to their advantage.

Christianity became the official religion of Europe when Emperor Constantine accepted Christianity out of political compulsions and appointed himself as the Pope. It is mainly he who made Christianity an organized force. Thus, the whole Europe was forcibly christianized. Constantine virtually became a Caesar-Pope, both the religious and the secular head of Europe. Christianity began to control the secular affairs of the people. It insisted that man should interact with God only through the Church. The Church also declared that no ruler who refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Church had the right to hold power. By about 18th Century, it was the Church that had controlled all that is political, economic and cultural in Europe. Christianity, under the guise of spirituality, pervaded the material life of man. As for Marxism, it played the reverse role. Communism, when it came to power through the October Revolution of 1917, instead of confining itself to the political and economic aspects of Russian people, unnecessarily interfered in the inner life of the people. In other countries too, communism preyed on the religious life of the people. History proved that communism couldn't continue to interfere in the religious life of the people for long. In the countries where communists brought about revolutions, concealing their material mentality, they could not impose it on the spiritual life of people in

the post-revolutionary days. Developments in Russia and elsewhere bear witness to this.

Though communism structurally resembles Judaism and Christianity, it has no ethics of its own. Even revelatory religions, in spite of their theologically-induced intolerance, are based on the principles of their own sense of righteousness, mostly borrowed from the ethics prevalent in the respective societies in which they originated. Religions have made their contribution for building human civilization by their emphasis on truth, love, renunciation etc, though much blood has been shed in their name following the rise of theology and propagation. But, Marx's way was one of negating not just God, but the whole ethical way of living. To him, the first principle was matter. His philosophy said only matter and body were true. He portrayed the concept of God and ethics as products of materiality of the world. Marx did not uphold the value of truth and love. To him, morality is the by-product of economic structures of a society. Neither does he believe that great qualities like love, cooperation, courage, honesty etc have any permanence in human character. So he rejected spirituality. Communists' repudiation of ethics and morality resulted in power hunger, cheating, deception, and violence being the hallmark of communist experiments. For the very reason, communism could not realize its dream anywhere. Besides, it stood in the way of knowledge, seeking and searching for truth. Communists believe that ends justify the means.

Marx was ignorant about the non-Judaic religions.

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Hence, his thoughts do not encompass Chinese or Indian religions. He had only contempt for the Vedas and Vedantic philosophy. He described Indian seers as fakirs fumbling the word *brahma*. Marxian metaphors and imagery are quite western and Judeo-Christian. The first image in the Communist Manifesto is from European sorcery- that of a spectre. Manifesto begins with the sentence "A spectre has been haunting Europe—the spectre of communism. The Pope, the Tsar, Meternick and French radicals are compared to exorcists. Spectre has been a standard metaphor of western literature right from the Middle Ages. 'Haunting' taken from sorcery is, again, a theme in western writings.

Just like the religious heads, Marx too was intolerant towards his opponents. He would say to those who dared to criticize him. "I will annihilate you" He insisted that the search for truth, knowledge and reason, should be in accordance with his method. His theories did not evolve out of his personal experiences. His works including *Das Capital* were written in the comfort of the British Museum. He had no direct interaction with workers, capitalists, and feudal lords. In the words of the famous, British thinker and historian, Paul Johnson, Marx had not set his foot even once in a factory, mine or some other production institutions. All his works were not based on observation, but were intellectual. There have been criticisms against the statistical data used in *Das Capital*. The data used were not up-to-date, but compiled 30 years earlier. Evidences to this effect had attracted the attention of scholars at Cambridge in 1880 itself. Marx wrote his works falsely thinking that dialectical materialism is an absolute truth.

As a result, Marx presented his belief not from the point of view of a scientist but from that of a theologian. Consequently, Marxism came to be evolved into a mere belief system.

If we examine the history of the countries where communists came to power, it can be seen that the working class has not benefited from power. Ultimately, the beneficiaries of the so-called communist system were a new group. This new group has risen to power all over the world in communist parties which have gained power or are likely to gain power.

This new group can be called the new class. The real class interests protected in communist systems are those of this class. Though Marxism is supposed to be a philosophy based on proletarian rule, what it created in reality is not something proletarian.

The makers and the interpreters of Marxism were from the wealthy class.

**The new class**  
were the inheritors of their own bourgeois tradition. They advocate both in a rich Prussian Jewish family. Marx married Jenny Westphal, who belonged to the princely class. His companion, Frederic Engels was an industrialist in Manchester. Almost all well-known communist leaders all over the world belonged to the

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rich families or the upper middle class families.

The post-revolutionary government in Russia was not proletarian. When the new system was established in Russia, the bureaucrats, who were the servants of Tsarist regime sneaked into it in disguise. Even among the top party leaders, there were the erstwhile supporters of Tsar. They occupied key positions in the government. This new class, who held various positions in the Party, military and secret service, got big houses, cars and undertook foreign trips, and got subsidized foreign goods from state-run stores. The most fattened bureaucracy the world had ever seen belonged to Russia. As was in the Tsarist Russia, so was in the communist Russia. What transpired in Russia was not anything taught in the textbooks of the Revolution.

The communist government in Russia followed the same conventions of Tsarist regime. Even the Soviet Communist Party was infected with bureaucratic misrule. Things are not different in China too. Bureaucrats and technocrats control both the Party and the State in China. In the case of corruption and bribery, China excels all other countries. The number of rich men and capitalists is on the increase in China. Many of them belong to the party or the ruling class. There is no membership restriction for capitalists in the Chinese Communist Party. The condition in other communist countries too was almost the same. In all countries with communist presence, the power is in the hands of this new class.

The socialist concept of governance has opened

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up endless roles for this new class. The smooth running of the government needs scientists, intellectuals and technicians. Naturally, jobs, which require special skills, will require intellectuals. Giving equal wages to workers, engineers and managers is not practical even in socialism. Actually it can be seen imprinted in the basic principles of socialism. There is a tinge of inequality in the very socialist principle of 'each according to his ability'. It is clear that people, who are skilled and have special knowledge and abilities, will have to be paid more in any form of economy. That is, a technician will always get more wages than a worker. In the old Soviet Union, there were great differences in the wages paid to common workers and technicians. According to statistics published in 1970, a factory worker was paid 200 rubles while a technician, 8000 rubles per month. The socialist slogan of 'each according to his ability' was a clever way of protecting the interests of technologists, technocrats and intellectuals.

The classless society visualized by Karl Marx was not realized any where in the world. Hence, we lack data on a communist society. Even in communism, equality is impractical. According to Marx, communism means 'from each according to his means and to each according to his needs.' For the realization of this, means of production have to be enhanced limitlessly. Marx thought that, once productive forces were freed from the shackles of capitalism, they would increase more and more. He conceived no end to it. Neither did he prescribe any radical change from capitalist way

of production. He believed in the infinite possibilities of science and technology. The limited nature of natural resources and world ecological crisis have clearly proven that such limitless development is not possible.

It is not possible to give such luxuries to all people without endangering life on the earth. Even if it is possible, there will be still problems with the nature of wants of people. The needs of a management expert are different from those of a worker. His needs will be greater. If a worker needs a hammer and spanners, a management expert will need a computer, a library and such other things. Communism is an envy-free dream heaven where some people will be satisfied with lesser needs and others with greater ones. In the Soviet Union, before its fall, every member of the Politburo had two palaces – one for the summer vacation and the other for the winter vacation and these palaces were provided with luxury cars and servants. They were protected by the military. These things show that the advantages of socialism and communism benefited party leaders, technologists and intellectuals more than anyone else.

It is the upper class intellectuals who create problems in all societies and social movements. When they are denied power and positions they give form to new social movements under the guise of social progress. Karl Marx, the prophet of communism is a very good example. He was a follower of Hegel when he was a student at Bonn University. Hegelian thinkers

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criticized the traditional German philosophy and beliefs, which displeased the German authorities. The authorities banned the German Hegelians from occupying positions in universities. They fired the Hegelian thinker Bruno Bover from the University of Bonn. The Hegelians protested against it. They formed a new organization. Marx became an active member of this organization. Marx and other Hegelians put forth a new progressive Hegelian Theory. Those developments created problems for Marx who wanted to join as a teacher in the University of Bonn. This exasperated his opposition to the German Government. But, like other Hegelians, he was not strong enough to oppose the state directly. That is how they chose proletarians as a force to put into practice their theories. It does not mean that they made the workers part of their movement. They were simply discovering the muscle power in the working class. Thus, in its very formative period, Marxism was centred around the subtle interests of the new class called upper class intellectuals.

Even in our national movement, such tendencies emerged. During our Freedom Struggle, both the rightist and the leftist movements were led by intellectuals. They were the people left out in the national main stream. The leftist intellectuals later became communists. The communist party virtually came into being in India by the leftist opposition to the Civil Disobedient Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi. Leaders like Lokamanya Tilak, Gopalakrishna Ghokhale, Mahatma Gandhi,

Jawarlal Nehru, Subash Chandra Bose, Sardar Dallabhai Patel, Jaya Prakash Narayanan, Abdul Kalam Azad, Lala Rajpat Rai and Rajaji were gigantic figures in the Indian Freedom Movement. When compared with them, communist leaders like M N Roy, Abani Mukharji, Musafar Ahammad, S A Dange, Shinkaravelu Chettiyar were mere pigmies. None of these communist leaders was as scholarly, magnanimous humane or democratic as our national leaders. In the state of Kerala where communism is, still, a nostalgic force, the communist party was mostly led by intellectuals from feudal class. E M S was born in Elamkulam Mana, which was one of the richest feudal Brahmin families in Kerala. Communist leaders in Malabar province like E M S or K. Damodharan had none of the respectability enjoyed by the Nationalist leaders like C. Shankaran Nair, M P Govinda Menon, Abdul Rahman Sahib, K P Kesava Menon and Kelappaji. In Tranvancore, communist leaders never enjoyed the mass support national leaders like Pattom Thanu Pillai, C Kesavan and T.M. Varghese had. It was when the feudal intellectuals and leaders in the National Movement felt left out that they decided to form the communist party and leftist movements in India. They began their political career questioning Gandhiji and the National Movement. One of the first works by EMS was *Gandhi and Gandhism* opposing Gandhian ideology.

Socialism purports to liberate productive forces from bourgeois social relationship. Both capitalism and communism aim at large scale production. In order to

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maximize production in socialist order, the state needs intellectuals, comprising brilliant scientists, and technologists. Lenin's first socialist step was to bring around bourgeoisie experts to socialist side. All leaders in the countries where communist revolutions took place belonged to the upper class. In Russia, Lenin picked up and trained intellectuals, who were professionally interested in politics. Even now, in socialist countries, the leadership is provided by intellectuals who were political careerists. In almost all communist countries, communist parties were led by intellectuals. Though communist parties claim to be workers party, the workers have never had much say in the leadership of the parties, with their having only a dotted presence. Today, Indian communist parties too are led by such intellectuals.

In capitalism too intellectuals have much importance. But, this fact is acknowledged by the capitalists. Under capitalism the capital of joint stock companies is accumulated through shares. Capitalists become administrators of others' capital. Executives working in multinational corporations and big industries are too intellectuals. Ordinary workers cannot even imagine their salary and perks. The policy decisions in capitalist countries are heavily influenced by monopoly companies and their experts. In capitalist governments too key positions are occupied by professionals and intellectuals. Intellectuals in India from industrial and commercial institutions offer a good example. Professional intellectuals have crept into the leadership of almost all national parties. They are not the people who have come to occupy party positions

through any people's struggle. Neither have they any touch with the common man's life.

It may be noted that in the post-revolutionary Russia, the power was usurped and held by a handful of intellectuals led by Lenin. Neither common men nor the proletariat had any say in the government. The proletariat was only figuratively described as the vanguard of the mass movement for a classless society. As observed earlier, the proletariat practically shrank into the party and the party into the Polite Bureau and the Polite Bureau into the party secretary. The whole leadership became mere a coterie around the party leader. Eventually, a new class of clever party leaders, intellectuals and bureaucrats emerged. They became the new owners in the Soviet Union. The workers and farmers who formed the majority of population were in trouble. The proletariat did not come to power there. Democracy by the oppressed workers did not materialize. The power was usurped by a minority of political exploiters. They were mostly the clever intellectuals. At no time in history have the oppressed people come to powers as a result of social changes. According to Marxism, five stages of social evolution are primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism. Each of these contains its own internal contradictions. The class war in slavery is between slaves and their owners. In capitalism, capitalists and workers fight each other. Marx claims that, hitherto, the history of the world has been the history of class struggles. But, in the history of the world working class they have not been victorious in class war.

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Slavery was replaced by feudalism, not because slaves were successful in the class war. Likewise, feudalism was replaced by capitalism, not because in the struggle between feudal lords and serfs, serfs became victorious. So there is no guarantee of the proletariat winning the class war against capitalists. When the struggle between slaves and masters was over, a new class called feudal lords emerged and replaced both slaves and their masters. Feudalism was replaced by capitalism when a new force called capitalists emerged. In the struggle between proletarians and capitalists, those who will emerge successful will not be the working class, but a new class.

It is the rise of this new class which we saw in the erstwhile Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. In a sense, Marx himself has predicted this in the Introduction to the Communist Manifesto that the class struggle will result in the complete reorganization of the society or the common destruction of the struggling classes. When he says those classes fighting each other will perish, it means the disappearance of both classes. But he fondly believed that in the case of the proletariat, this law would not work and that the working class would be ultimately successful. But, it was not realized; nowhere in the world was the dictatorship of the proletariat materialized. The so-called proletarian regimes were not proletarian, but party dictatorship. It was a political oligarchy by a small minority of party leaders. A new class was assuming totalitarian power for the supposed benefit of the working class. Such regimes in the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe

collapsed due to its internal contradictions. This is what is happening in existing communist countries.

The replacement of one social order by another is not due to any class struggle, but the changes in the mode of production. Both capitalism and communism believe in the endless possibilities of science and technology. Basically, the mode of production in capitalism and communism is the same. It is determined by modern science and technology. The driving force is scientific technology. It depends upon human intelligence. Intelligence is the base for all kinds of exploitation. So, the dictum that the haves exploit the have-nots is not completely true. It has to be corrected thus; the intelligent exploit the unintelligent. Capitalists have become capitalists, not on the strength of capital alone. He also has cleverness. That's why Mahatma Gandhi said "Capitalists have not only wealth but also cleverness". The leaders in the socialist countries could suppress the people, because they were as a class more intelligent and clever. In reality, the pro-left intellectuals are this new class. Socialist regimes have always been run in the interest of this new class. They did not protect the interests of either working class or farmers. In socialism too, 'a few spoonfuls' have been the lot of the poor.

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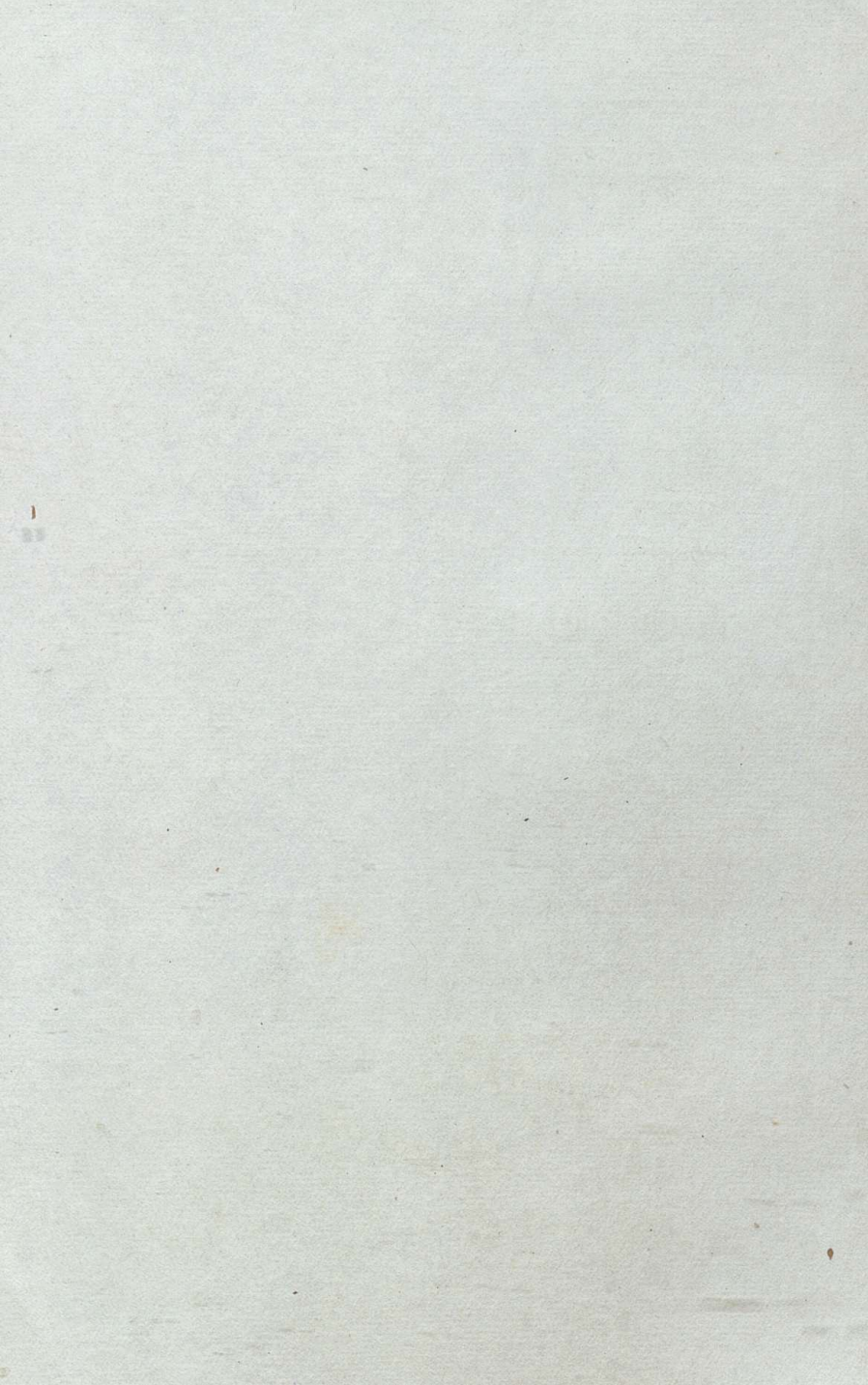
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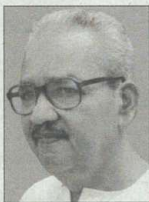
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This book is an attempt, a long-needed one in Indian context, where Marxists have been able to suppress all honest analysis of their theory with fundamentalist zeal, to look for theoretical grounds for the failure of communism and its attendant cruelties. Like many totalitarian traditions, both religious and political, the only freedom communism gives others is the freedom to praise it. The this book, originally written in Malayalam, looks at this ideology from many different angles. The study of Marxism done along atavistic lines always takes us to its Judeo-Christian roots. A perceptive study cannot but notice the fact that, along with Fascism and Nazism, Marxism is a faith system.

A criticism of communism need not be an apology for capitalism. Capitalist economy is finding itself strangely caught in the mire of its own motivation-profit, and, despite the paean of free market economy by practising capitalists and rightist intellectuals, is, ridiculously, looking for protectionist help from the state. In this context, the need for finding out alternative ways of economic life has become unavoidable. In India, we have got the economics of Mahatma Gandhi. In the West many like Schumacher have reminded us of the need for an alternative economic system. This book is also a hope in that direction. A holistic vision of life is the driving force behind this book.

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PAGAN  
BOOKS

If Marxism is  
not a science,  
then what is

P Kesavan Nair

# Beyond Red

an apostate on communism

