

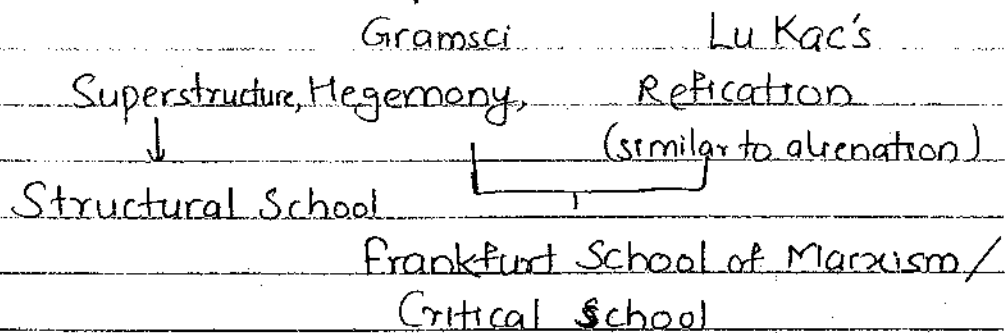
Marxism

- Discuss Marxism after Marx.
- Post-Marxist developments in Marxism
- What is critical Theory? Discuss
- Discuss the contribution of Frankfurt school in Critical Theory.
- Write a short note on 1-dimensional man.

Marxism after Marx

Orthodox
Lenin, Mao

Neo Marxism /
Contemporary Marxism.



Orthodox Marxism

- They view 'Communist Manifesto' as a core of Marxian thinking. Communist Manifesto is doctrine of communist revolution.
- They are called as Orthodox Marxist, as they have overlooked other contributions of Marx.
- They project as if major concern of Marx was revolution rather than emancipation.
- Orthodox Marxist claimed Marxism as a science.
- They elevated Marxism ^{as} a doctrine which is beyond criticism.

They projected Marx as a god. They believed that Marx had scientific understanding of the laws of history & Marxist predictions are bound to come.

Leninism

Concern of Lenin

Marxism was under criticism as Marxist predictions went wrong. Countries having advanced capitalism may have seen the exploitative phases of capitalism, contradictions of capitalism, but still not faced revolution.

In order to prove that Marxism is science & Marx is god who can not fail, Lenin tried to implement the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx.

The first person to implement Marxist ideas.

However Lenin made few modifications in the strategy of revolution of Karl Marx.

- Lenin brought the Communist Party
- Lenin introduced^{included} peasantry in revolutionary struggle.
- Lenin attempted to bring communist revolution in semi feudal society, rather than advanced society.
- Lenin also thought of providing support to nationalist struggles taking place in colonies.

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Concerns of Lenin

- Analyse reasons because of which Marxist ideas could not come into existence.
- How to make Marxist ideas real even in changed circumstances.

Lenin's theory of Imperialism

- In order to explain why socialist revolution did not take place so far in western countries Lenin has suggested that the nature of Capitalism has changed. Today Capitalism has become a global phenomenon. He called Imperialism as the highest stage of Capitalism. The worst implication of Capitalism is now located in the colonies. He was hopeful that, spark against Capitalism will start from colonies or any such country where Capitalism has not reached to the imperialistic stage. Revolution will come only when working classes will develop revolutionary consciousness. He believed that revolutionary consciousness against capitalism will emerge from colonies. The reason is that people living in colonies are facing the worst impact of Capitalism in the form of Imperialism.
- Under Lenin, Communist International adopted the policy of supporting nationalist struggles in colonies. Marx was against nationalism. However Lenin's strategy resulted into Communist movements supporting Nationalist struggles. Lenin developed differences on 'Nationalist Question' with other orthodox marxists.

1 major debate was betⁿ Lenin & M.N. Roy

2nd contribution of Lenin: Concept of Communist Party

His views on Communist Party are elaborated in his pamphlet "What is to be done?".

Why he proposes communist party?

He felt communist party will act as

"Vanguard of Revolution", means friend, philosopher & guide.

What will be function of Communist Party?

Communist Party will be composed of selected dedicated professionals. Their task will be to inject consciousness. The reason is revolution will come when working classes will develop revolutionary consciousness i.e., true consciousness of their exploitation. The problem was, because of imperialism such conditions have developed by which revolutionary consciousness was not emerging. Hence he thought that still socialist revolution is a possibility if working classes are made aware of their situation by some external agent.

Marx's position

Marx wanted consciousness to emerge on its own, not to be injected from outside. If anything like Communist Party will be introduced, workers will not achieve true emancipation. True emancipation will come with self awakening.

centre rightish
cell - communist
branch

Lenin was opposed by many of his contemporaries including Rosa Luxemburg.

Len

Lenin has given following features of Communist Party.

- Aim of Communist Party:

To overthrow the system.

Lenin's approach differed from Eduard Bernstein.

Bernstein supported integration of workers parties with democratic political system. He felt no need for revolution as workers can control parliament.

- Communist Party is a secret society. It

It means that they have to work in a secret manner as state will not allow them to exist.

- Lenin made a difference betⁿ Communist Party

& Worker's Union.

Trade Unionism is not sufficient. Trade Unions

are part of the system whereas Communist

Parties are secret societies. Trade Union

consciousness is limited to industry. Worker's

need to organise themselves on a national scale,

this task is done by Communist Party.

Communist Party will establish its cells.

Organisation of Communist Party.

Communist party is organised on principle of

"Democratic Centralism". It will be a

pyramidal organisation: broad at the base

Each level of communist party will be elected.

Top leaders are the representatives of the people.

People will convey their aspirations to the leaders. Leaders will convert aspirations of the people into a workable program of action. Once decision is taken by the leaders, it has to be implemented throughout the party.

Lenin was criticised for bringing Communist Party. The reason is: in all communist countries, neither communism came into existence nor dictatorship of proletariat but dictatorship of Communist Party.

— Another Contribution of Lenin was to bring peasantry within the fold of revolutionary class.

Marx's Position

For Marx, peasantry can't be a revolutionary class because it is not a proletarian class. It does have some amount of ownership on property.

Maoism

Maoism is shaped by peculiar circumstances of China. Maoism is against imperialism & against feudalism.

Mao's contribution to Marxism

- In concept of Marx's dialectics / Contradictions

Mao

Antagonistic

• dialectics can't be resolved

^{contradiction with}
• against feudal lords, & imperialists

ex. China-Japan

Non Antagonistic

• dialectics can be resolved

ex. China - US

- For Marx peasantry can't be a revolutionary class.

For Lenin, peasantry can be a revolutionary class but in subordinate position.

However peasantry is the main revolutionary class in Maoism.

- Mao has added to strategy of revolution also.

He has given the concept of guerrilla warfare.

For Marx revolution to start from urban centers.

But for Mao, it should start from periphery.

For Marx, revolution to start with workers.

In Mao, it will start with people where peasantry will have major role.

Mao has justified use of violence. Like Marx, he also believes that masses can achieve their aim only by revolutionary methods.

• Power comes through the barrel of gun.

- Above statement of Mao deals with the strategy to be adopted by revolutionary class fighting for justice. Both Mao & Marx believed that power can come to masses only by violent revolution. Marx considered early socialists as Utopian as they were focusing on appealing the conscience of the dominant class. Both Marx & Mao believe that those who are benefiting out of the system will not give their privileges willingly. Hence there is no option but violence. Whether violence is the only option available with the people remains questionable.

- Gandhi presents an alternative. Gandhi has suggested the path of non-violence. Mao suggested guerrilla warfare, Gandhi suggested Satyagraha. Both Gandhi & Mao were contemporaries, faced similar challenges, both successful in their own ways, both had mass appeal.

Hence at times it is difficult to decide which option is to be adopted by the masses. However

- Gandhian option is more desirable. The reason

Maoism
influenced by
Machiavelli

is we are human beings. We should respect human dignity. For Gandhi violence will rise to more violence & eye for eye will make to world blind. This is what exactly happened in China & erstwhile USSR. By violent methods power did not come to the people, rather new elites came into existence.

Neo-Marxism / Contemporary Marxism.

Critical School

What is critical theory?

Critical theory is a development in theory which questions science. For Critical school theorists science has killed rationality. It Science once liberated human beings from the clutches of religion but on the other hand science has also promoted materialism. It resulted into the subjugation of man to materialism. Science has undermined the significance of values from our lives. The criteria of science is true & false. Science has overlooked the criteria of right & wrong. They hold science responsible for the exploitation of environment & other exploitative aspects of human life.

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- Critical theory of Frankfurt school were critical of Soviet Marxism. In Soviet Union, ~~Comm~~ Socialist Revolution resulted into the establishment of Totalitarian state. There was no concern for Marxist idea of emancipation.

- They were also critical of the capitalist societies. According to them even these societies have not resulted into the liberation of human beings. Competitive Party System, ~~the~~ having right to vote to elect ~~a~~ representatives is not sufficient condⁿ of freedom.

- Scholars like Herbert Marcuse, ^{Theodore} ~~Theodor~~ Adorno & Max Horkheimer were the prominent scholars of Critical School. They have analysed the new forms of domination which have emerged in post-capitalist societies & the reason why revolution against capitalism is next to impossible.

Capitalism has invented new methods to avoid any possibility of revolution against it. They have found means to integrate even the working classes with the system of capitalism. The methods of integrating include introduction of democracy, granting universal adult franchise, welfare provisions.

- The most powerful device invented by Capitalists is the advertisement industry or communication technology. Advt. industry creates false needs. It results into the demands for the goods produced by these industries. This is how Capitalism survives.

They discuss about false needs & instrumental reasoning. False needs are generated with help

of technology. They emphasize on 2 types of reasoning.

- Critical Reasoning

- Instrumental Reasoning

- They appreciate the project of enlightenment as it promoted reasoning. Reasoning has liberated man from the clutches of church/religion.

However enlightenment project also gave importance to science, science promoted materialism,

Ultimately reached to the point where materialism has dominated our lives. Earlier church was ruling, now technology is ruling. The project of enlightenment has not given complete freedom.

This is known as dialectics of enlightenment.

Instrumental Reasoning is where reason is used to justify an action, where action is taken beforehand without critical examination.

Ex. Inventing nuclear weapon & then looking for justification of nuclear weapons.

Instrumental rationality is rationalising the irrational where real reasoning is when action is followed by reasoning.

Critical school theorists are pessimistic because it is very difficult to achieve human emancipation now. If there is any hope it is only from those sections who have not been integrated, remained excluded. Ex. Tribals, women, dalits.

1-dimensional man of Herbert Marcuse

Marcuse has explained the impact of the forces of technology, science, modernity, capitalism on human lives. The concept of 1-dimensional man is very near to Marx's conception of alienation of man. Man is multidimensional in nature. However Capitalism has resulted into "1-dimensional man with 1-dimensional thought in a 1-dimensional society". The only dimension that remains is man as a consumer.

Man behaves like the herd of sheep & goats, not applying critical reasoning. There is a complete alienation of man because soul of man has come out of his body & resides in his cars & computers.

There is only an impression of freedom but no real freedom & there is very limited scope for freedom.

In his book 'Eros & Civilization', he gives idea of his ideal society where man is able to lead a multidimensional life. ~~& man with~~

Sources of influence on Critical theory thinkers.

- They have mixed thought of Karl Marx with Hegel.

- They were also influenced by Sigmund Freud,

Structural School

- Althusser

Book: "For Marx"

- Nicole Poulantzas

Structural School consider historical materialism is the basic principle of Marxism. However they are influenced by Gramscian analysis & suggest that there are other structures also. According to Althusser, economic factor is overdetermined in Marx. We have to go for multistructural analysis.