

Socialism: It is like a hat that has lost its shape because everyone wears it.

Karl Marx

Introduction of Marx as a thinker

- Marx is a socialist thinker.

political schools of thoughts

conservatives.

liberals.

Socialists.



rightist

centrist

leftists

Rise of Socialism

- It originated in the form of workers' movements known as left movements. Socialists were concerned with the exploitative situations in which workers were living. Their aim was to uplift the situation of workers & to end their exploitation.

Difference betⁿ liberalism & socialism

- For liberals, liberty is prime concern. For socialists equality is prime concern.

- For socialists liberal concept of ^{equality} liberty is formal. & their ^{socialist} concept of equality is substantive (real).

- Formal equality means equality before law & equality of opportunity. (F.R.)

- Substantive equality: social & economic equality (P.S.P.)
It is an equality of outcomes.

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Socialism is an umbrella ideology (meta ideology)

Marx called his socialism as "Scientific Socialism".

Marxism is also known as Communism. Communism is the goal of Marxian Socialism. Communism is Marx's Utopia.

Features of Communism / Communist Society

Communism is a classless & a stateless society.

Classless society means, abolition of social & economic inequalities. Communism is critical of state. Marx viewed state as an instrument of exploitation. Marx was critical of nation and nationalism. For Marx, Nationalism is an ideology created by capitalists to protect their interest by breaking the solidarity among the working classes.

- In a communist society self help groups or voluntary associations will perform the tasks which a state is performing. We see
- We see similarity betⁿ Marx & Gandhi. Both can be considered as anarchists.

Why Karl Marx calls socialism as scientific socialism & earlier socialists as utopian socialists

o Philosophers have ^{tried} ~~right~~ to interpret the world, & what matters is ^{how} to change the world

o Marxism is Praxis
↓
theory + action

violence is a midwife of change - Marx

Praxism is theory + action, or action oriented theory
for him theory without action has no relevance.

Socialists before Karl Marx

- St. Simon

- Charles Fourier

- Robert Owen

~~Socialists~~ Marx called them Utopians because
he believed that socialism will not come in the manner
these thinkers were suggesting. Hence he called them
as philosophers & calls his understanding as scientific.

Methods of early socialists:

They advocated peaceful method, appealing to
the conscience of the capitalists (similar to Gandhi).

Marx's views on methods

According to him things will not change in favour
of workers until & unless they go for violent overthrow
of capitalism. According to Karl Marx violence is the
midwife of change.

No new work takes place without pain & bloodshed.

Those who are benefited by the system will not give up
their privileges willingly.

- Similar view regarding nature of political action
required by masses is expressed by Mao, who held
that 'Power comes through the barrel of gun'.

- Thus Marxism is a revolutionary doctrine.

① Marx is socialist in his approach.

② Marx was materialist in his approach.

- Marx was critic of ideas, ideology & religion.

According to him matter is the ultimate reality.

Ideas distort reality. He calls ideology as

"False consciousness". He calls religion as

"Opium of masses". According to him philosophers like Plato & Aristotle has been responsible for the creation of a system of social stratification.

Criticism of Plato

- He established that idea is real.

- Idea is superior to matter.

- Those who are engaged in the world of ideas are superior human beings. They are involved in the most important tasks. Philosophers or intellectual class are to be made rulers. He deprived those involved in manual jobs from governance establishing them unfit for ruling. He held that the producer class is a copper class / third class & intellectual class is first class or men of gold.

For Karl Marx the intellectual class is also an exploiter class & enemy of working classes.

◦ It is not our consciousness that determines our existence. On the other hand it is our existence that determines our consciousness.

◦ According to him "God has not made man, but man has made god".

He was a critic of Hegel

◦ According to Hegel "Real is rational & rational is real".

- It implies that idea is ultimate reality. In this context Marx held that Hegel is standing on his head.

He has to stand on his feet.

- Regarding Plato's view that thinking is more imp.

than labour, Marx held that "In order to think one

has to live. In order to live one has to eat. In order

to eat one has to produce." Thus the task of production is more important than for human existence.

Marx calls his thinking as science & idealism, liberalism, religion or nationalism as ideas & ideologies.

Methodology of Karl Marx

Marx is called an structuralist

- He tried to determine the structures of society.

According to him economy is the basic structure of society. He gives primary to economics in his analysis. So Marxism is also known as Economic Determinism.

- Marxist mode of analysis is Mono-causal where economic factor is over determined.

- Marx has also utilised the concept of dialectics (of matter).
no co-existence. ↳ struggle.

com. manifesto.
eco
w/ biparte.

Young - neomarxism.
mature - more politician, less philosopher.

Meanings of dialectics

- It denotes struggle.
- It denotes that co-existence is not possible
- Dialectics also means that every next step is superior than the previous step. ex. Feudalism is better than feudalism. Socialism is superior than liberalism.
- Dialectics term is also used in Marxist literature to determine the movement of history.
- Dialectics ends when history ends. For ~~comm~~ Marx, Communism is the end of history. In
- In Dialectics, next stage is a superior stage & the last stage is the ultimate stage.

Phases of thinking of Karl Marx.

- Young Marx
 - Most imp work: Economic & Philosophic manuscripts.
 - Marx's concept of Alienation
- Young Marx is a philosopher.
- Young Marx is a humanist.
- Followers of young Marx are called as Neo-Marxists.

- Mature Marx

Imp works:

Communist Manifesto : Deals with his political program.

Here Marx is more a politician than a philosopher.

Followers of Communist Manifesto are called as Orthodox Marxists.

||
Secret Marxists.
ex. Lenin

Edward Worsater. ~~CPI~~ CPI, CPI(M).
↳ ideological influence.

It deals with the program of revolution in capitalist societies where capitalism is fully developed.

useful in understanding nature of capitalism in its advanced stage.

18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

- This book is relevant to understand those societies where capitalism is not fully developed & different modes of production co-exist.

1st Situation: where capitalism is fully developed.

- state is an instrument of capitalist class. ex. USA.

2nd Situation: Societies where capitalism is not fully developed.

- state is not an instrument but equilibrium maker &

most powerful. Societies where state is more powerful

(where executive is most powerful) are called as

Bonapartist State. (ex. India, Pakistan, third world countries).

Influences on Karl Marx

3 Major influences on Karl Marx

- German philosophy

Hegel

- British school of political economy

Ricardo's theory of Labour.

- French Revolution

He was so influenced by socialist ideas of French Rev.
equality & fraternity

Louis Blanc

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Key Principles of Marxism

- Historical materialism
- Dialectical materialism
- Concept of class struggle
- Criticism of capitalism
- Theory of Revolution
- Socialism
- Communism

Historical Materialism

It is a Marx's understanding of human history.

Objective of Karl Marx,

His objective was to end capitalism & to establish communism. Hence he wanted

Hence he wanted to understand underlying causes behind social changes. Hence he wanted to understand the laws of history.

Historical materialism is also known as

"Materialistic interpretation of history". It implies that material changes are responsible for social change or end of 1 stage & beginning of the other stage.

Marx has given his theory of history after analysing Hegel's Theory of history.

Hegel's view of history.

For Hegel idea is the moving force of history.

o History is the unfolding of the universal spirit.

o State is a march of god on earth.

God is universal Altruism :Hegel

Hegel's Dialectics

Hegel has used dialectics to explain the nature of movement of history. According to him history moves in a dialectical manner.

Meaning of Dialectical manner.

Contradiction is a moving force of history.

History ends when contradiction ends.

He has given
Dialectics consists of 3 stages laws of Dialectics.

- Unity of opposites

- Negation of negations

- Quantity changes into quality.

Difference in Hegel's & Marx's concept of dialectics.

- Hegel talks abt the dialectics of ideas.

- Marx replaced ideas by matter.

- For Marx change happens because of dialectical movement of matter & not ideas.

o State is a march of god on earth

- Above statement is the justification of state by Hegel.

Hegel establishes that a state represents god on this earth. It implies that people should pay their obedience towards the state. There is no other institution which is superior to the state. He explains state as a march of god on earth with the help of his theory of history. According to him when we look at the worldly things we get the realisation of god. God has first expressed himself through non material objects. like land, water, etc. Then god expresses himself through ^{living} non-material objects, first through birds, animals, human being followed by family, civil society & ultimately state. State is an institution where god or absolute idea or universal spirit has unfolded itself completely on this earth. †

He compares state with god. The features of god are.

- Universalism

- Altruism

State also represent universal altruism. He explains these features of state by comparing a state with other institutions.

- family

features of family are particularism & altruism.

- Civil Society:

features are universalism & egoism

- State is the next institution. State is ultimate synthesis

State is an institution where the negativities of earlier institutions end. State represents end of contradictions

Marx's criticism of Hegel

- Marx had to criticise Hegel because Hegel's theory equate state with god. In this situation there are limited chances of revolution. Hence Marx has established that Hegel's theory generate false consciousness. It distorts reality. The reality is state does not represent universal altruism but state is an instrument of a rich class. He even goes to the extent of suggesting that religion is opium of masses. He denies the existence of god. He held that god is created by man. Thus he denies that idea can be real.

o It is not our consciousness that determines our existence, but our existence which determines our consciousness.

- Above statement tells us about Marx's conception of reality. For Karl Marx matter is real & idea is superficial. This statement is given in context of criticism of Hegel's conception of history.

Hegel's conception of history

✓ Hegel has established that idea is the ultimate reality. According to Hegel "Real is Rational".

for Hegel, history is a movement of ideas. The political purpose of Hegel in giving philosophy of history was to suggest that state represents god.

- Marx contradicts Hegel & establishes that matter is ultimate reality. He says that our consciousness does not determine our existence. The understanding of the existence

based on our consciousness will distort the reality.

It means that we are not what we think. Ideas, ideologies generate false consciousness. Working classes should not be misguided by these ideologies or by religion. They should develop true consciousness by understanding their material existence. He was sure that once working classes will generate true consciousness they are bound to rise in revolt against capitalism.

How Marx has developed his theory of history?

- In order to give the laws of history Marx begins by finding out the first historical act of man.

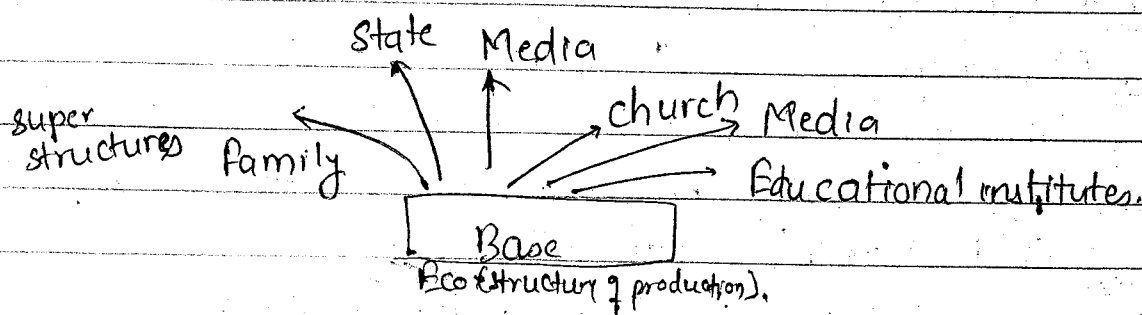
According to him production rather than contemplation was the first act of man. He says that

"In order to live one has to eat, in order to eat one has to produce". It is for the purpose of production to satisfy the appetite man has formed society.

- Society is nothing but division of labour. Thus the foundation of society is in the act of production.

Structure of production is the basic structure of society.

Other structures are superstructures.



Base & superstructure model.

- Superstructure is never independent of base. Superstructure is the shadow of base. The class which controls the basic structure also controls the superstructures.

• Components of economic structure

- - Mode of production ex. feudalism, capitalism, socialism
- - Means of production
- - Forces of production
- - Relations of production

• Means of production

- - land, labour, capital

• Forces of production : technology of production

- - manpower, horsepower, machinepower.

• Relations of production

• what relation person has with means of production.

• This forms person's class. According to Karl Marx there are only 2 types of relations of production

- - owners those who have (haves) (dominant class)
- - nonowners ~~to~~ have nots) those who do not have means of production (exploited class)

• Relations The real interest is interest of class. The dominant & the exploited class have conflicting interest.

• These interests are irreconcilable. Hence class struggle is inevitable fact of life in a class divided society.

According to him

"History of all hitherto existing societies has been the history of class struggle".

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Marx's theory of class & class struggle

o History of all hitherto existing societies has been a history of class struggle.

- The above statement gives Marxist view of history.

Marx has given materialistic interpretation of history.

Change from 1 stage into the other is because of change in the mode of production. According to Marx, economy is the basic structure. Hence to understand history, we have to understand dynamics at the level of economic structure.

- Economic structure comprise of means of production, forces of production & relations of production.

Change happens because of all the three factors but most important factor has been the class struggle.

- According to him, the movement of history is dialectical in nature. History ends when dialectics end/when contradiction betⁿ labour & capital end.

- He has given following phases of human history.

• Pre Historic Age : Primitive Communism

Features of Primitive Communism

• Property was held in common

• No private property was existing.

• It was a classless society or everyone belonged to same class.

• Division of labour was natural, i.e., betⁿ hunters & gatherers.

Why he talks abt primitive communism?

- He wants to counter the liberal argument that

Right to property is a natural right. He also wanted

to show that there was a time when man lived without

private property. Man can also live without private property in future.

Human right = natural right + legal right

- the 1st stage of human history: Slave Society

- Society was divided into 2 classes:

· Masters

· Slaves

- Next stage: Feudalism

The 2 classes were lords & serfs

- After it came Capitalism

The classes are capitalists & labourers

- Next stage is Socialism

Socialism will come because of the revolution by the working classes.

Here also 2 classes will be existing.

· Capitalists & workers.

Difference betⁿ Socialism^(Marx's) & Capitalism

· In Capitalism, capitalists are the dominant class

· In Socialism, workers are the dominant class.

· For Marxist, Capitalist Democracy is democracy only for rich. It is dictatorship for masses.

In Socialism, democracy for masses ('People's democracy') will be established & dictatorship of proletariat class over capitalists will be established.

Who is Proletariat?

- have nots / those who have nothing.

- exploited class of the society

Proletariat class is the revolutionary class.

In socialism, the principle of distribution will be

"To each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

In capitalism, "To each according to his ability, to each according to his work" exists only for name sake.

Workers do not get their due share. Capitalists take undue advantage.

Chinese is against feudalism
communism

In socialism, there will be proper application of this principle. In socialism, workers will be dominant class. After capturing the state they will bring necessary changes so that socialism will be transformed into communism.

- Dictatorship of Proletariat (DoP) is a transitional stage in Marx's scheme of things.

For Marx, the DoP was supposed to be the transitional stage. However in practice in all countries where communist revolution took place it became permanent & there was no transformation of socialism into communism. In practice DoP could not be established only Dictatorship of Communist Party is established.

Why it happened?

- It happened because Lenin introduced Communist Party in Marxist scheme of revolution. In both Russian & Chinese Revolutions, Communist Party became vanguard of revolution. After revolution, all power came into the hand of the party.

= Next stage is Communism

- End of history $\rightarrow$ because of end of contradiction

↓

because of end of classes

- It is a perfect society according to Marx.

Since classes will end state will end.

State has been instrument of capitalist class.

Now this function is over. State withers away.

Functions performed by the state will be performed by voluntary associations or self help groups.

In communism the principle of distribution will be "to each according to his ability, to each according to his need".

Communism is a need based society.

Communism is a caring society.

Society taking care of the needs of man.

For Marx it is a state of perfect freedom & perfect equality.

Conclusion

- Marx projects class struggle as determinant of history. Marxism is not a theory of history rather a political ideology justifying revolution & inspiring working classes for their emancipation.

Marx's Analysis of Capitalism

Capitalists dig their own graves.

- Capitalism is a system full of contradictions
- Capitalism is bound to get destroyed because of inner contradictions
- Capitalism is a system which runs on profit
- Capitalist have to ensure their profit to run their enterprises, however it is not easy.

- Capitalism is neither good for workers nor good for capitalists. However it is more painful for workers.
- Capitalist has to adopt various means to retain profit. He has to lower down the cost of production to retain the profit. Capitalist had to cut down the wages of workers.
- Wages of workers are already less. It is determined by the needs of capitalism.
- The law of wages in capitalism is to pay to the worker only that much which is sufficient for him to live & come back to work. He can not be given more than that. Worker has to come back to work. He cannot be given surplus so that he has a liberty for not coming to work again.
- According to Marx, value in a particular good is because of labour. Capitalists do not give share in profit to workers.
- Workers are already paid less & if wages are further squeezed, thus bringing more hardships.
- Capitalists also face competition. If one capitalist introduces new technology, other is forced to introduce.
- It ultimately results into the situation where markets are full of product but people do not have purchasing power, resulting into depression in economy. Depression means more people losing jobs & joining the rank of proletariat.
- In the process, small investors or petty bourgeoisie will also join the proletariat class.
- There will be a social imbalance. On one side there will be extreme poverty & hardships & on the other side extreme wealth.

- At this time society will be polarised into 2 classes

- A small section of rich &

- A huge number of poor.

Middle classes disappear.

- This is a stage for revolution

Why revolution will take place at this point?

- According to Karl Marx, proletariat will develop revolutionary consciousness. 1st

Marx has discussed consciousness at 2 levels.

1. Class in itself.

2. Class for itself.

Class in itself is a stage representing lower level of consciousness. Class for itself represent higher level of consciousness when class takes up arms to defend its ~~its~~ interest.

orthodox marxism.

Marx's Principle of Alienation.

What is Alienation?

- Alienation means separation. It was Hegel who talked about alienation of man from god. The alienation of man can end in this world by observing the laws of the state.

- Karl Marx discussed about the alienation which man experiences because of the capitalist mode of production. For Marx, alienation can end only when capitalist mode of production is changed into communist mode of production.

Method to end alienation

- Violent Revolution to overthrow capitalism.

Context of the theory

- The theory is in the context of Marxist criticism of capitalist societies. Capitalist societies claim that they have provided freedom or liberties to their people. However the reality is different. There is no true liberation. Capitalism far from liberating man has actually alienated him. Capitalism takes away all the freedom of man. In capitalism market is god, which determines all our choices.
- For Marxist, freedom means freedom from necessities.

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Marx's explanation of Alienation

- He starts by explaining the essential features of human nature.

Characteristics of human nature

- Man is social by nature.

It means that it is a natural requirement of human nature to be in the company of others.

- Man is creative by nature.

Man feels pleasure in the process of creation & by the product he creates.

He explains that capitalism is inhuman. It does not allow human beings to realise their true nature. It is the market that dominates & alienates.

He ~~ex~~ Alienation is experienced by both Capitalists as well as worker. However the experience of pain is more in case of worker than capitalist.

He explains alienation of workers at different levels.

1. Worker is alienated from process of production.

Production has become over specialised & mechanised.

The position of worker is nothing more than "cog in the wheel".

2. Alienated from the product of his labour.

Capitalists purchase the labour of worker & he does not have any control or ownership over the product of his labour.

3. He explains alienation from society

Capitalism does not permit him to realise his social nature. System of wages is such that he does not have a luxury of not going to work & to go for realisation.

of his social nature.

Cumulative effect of all the 3 types of alienation is 'man is alienated from himself'. He is not in a position to lead his life according to his choice.

Solution:

Solution lies in changing the system. There is no option but to overthrow the system. Capitalism need to be replaced by communism. Alienation will end only in communism. Communism will give freedom from necessities.

Marx make a distinction betⁿ liberty & freedom. Freedom is superior to liberty. State of freedom reflects presence of certain conditions. Simply by mentioning Fundamental Rights in the constitution does not give freedom to masses. Freedom comes only when people don't have to struggle for the basic necessities of life.

18 Marx's view on state

We can see 2 distinctive ideas about state in Karl Marx's work.

1. Based on Communist Manifesto

This is known as instrumentalist approach. It means state is an instrument of Capitalist class.

◦ State is nothing but executive committee of the bourgeoisie class.

- Above statement is Marx's analysis of the state in capitalist societies. The purpose of Marx is to inspire working classes to revolt against the state. Marx has criticised theories projecting state as god or representing g. universal spirit or general will. Marx applies his base & superstructure theory to show that state is an institution of superstructure. Superstructure has no autonomy of its own. The class which dominates the economic structure also controls the political structure. Ideologies like state represents general will or the characteristic feature of state is universal altruism is nothing but false consciousness. The scientific understanding of the society based on historical materialism shows that state is nothing but the instrument of the bourgeoisie class. Altruism of state is not for all but only for the bourgeoisie class. State does not represent general will but will of the capitalist class. He does not give significance to state, he calls state as nothing more than executive committee. Function of state is to implement the decisions taken by the capitalist class. Hence workers can not expect justice from the state & have no option but revolution.

2. 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

Structural Approach / perspective of state

It is also known as Relative autonomy theory of state

According to Marx, it is not necessary that state is always the instrument of the Capitalist class.

The relationship between state & class depends upon the prevailing social & economic conditions. In societies where capitalist mode of production is fully developed

dialectics: to explain process of history & its nature.

& other modes of production have ceased to exist,
state is an instrument. ^{Reason:} Capitalists are controlling
the mode of production. However in societies
where different modes of production co-exist, it
means when 1 class is not able to dominate the
entire economic structure.

In this situation state gains relative autonomy.
State can not be taken as instrument of a particular
class. It appears as if state is equilibrium maker.
^{It appears} State trying to establish balance of power among
exist in the society. This perspective is called structural
perspective, because state is not to be overlooked but
state to be taken into consideration.

Louis Blanc From each according to his ability &
each according to his need.

Contradiction man vs society,
on capitalism. labour vs capital
liberty vs equality.