PGPS S1 01

Recent Political Theory

SEMESTER - I

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This is the first course of the MA First Semester Programme of KKHSOU in Political Science. The course is titled “Recent Political Theory”. It is designed to help the learners to have an understanding of the fundamental theoretical framework of the contemporary discourse in Political Science in terms of critically analysing various socio-political realites of political life and the theoretical formulations that have been put forward with regard to the same. Accordingly, the course seeks to provide insights into the nature and significance of political theory to begin with. The course then goes on to discuss certain key issues and concepts in the realm of political analysis including liberalism, neo-liberalism , libertarianism and communitarianism. A critical perspective of capitalism in the form of Karl Marx’s class perspective, Antonio Gramsci’s hegemonic perspective and J.M. Keynes’ reformist perspective are also highlighted in the course. The thories of V.I.Lenin and Mao Zedong are also covered in the course. The course also tries to look into the concept of justice in terms of certain theroretical anlayses. Accordingly, the feminist and subaltern perspectives and John Rawls’ theory of dsitributive justice are discussed in the course. A cornerstsone of moden political life is the concept of democracy. The course accordingly discusses various types of democracy including liberal democracy, elitist democracy, pluralist democracy and participatory democracy. The course also discusses an important aspect of political existence - that of nationalism, its meaning and nature. Finally, the course ends with a discussion on the “End of Ideology” debate . The conept of “End of Ideology” offers an explanation of the post-second world war political reality in the western world characterised by the absence of idelogical conflict, with the ideology of liberal democracy finding universal acceptance across the board.

The course “Recent Political Theory ” is divided into two blocks, (Block 1) and (Block 2). While Block 1 consists of nine units (units 1-9), Block 2 consists of six units (units 10-15).

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 1

This is the first block of the first course titled “Recent Political Theory” of the MA First Semester Programme in Political Science of KKHSOU. The block contains nine units (units 1-9).

The first unit discusses the nature and significance of political theory. The second unit discusses liberalism. The third unit discusses neo-liberalism, its meaning and nature. The fourth unit discusses libertarianism and communitarianism.While discussing libertarianism, the views of of F. A. Hayek and Robert Nozick have also been elaborated in the fourth unit. The fifth unit discusses the class pespective of Karl Marx . The sixth unit discusses Antonio Gramsci’s hegemonic perspective of capitalism. The seventh unit discusses J.M. Keynes’ reformist perspective of capitalism.The eighth unit discusses V.I.Lenin’s views on revolution and imperialism. The ninth unit discusses Mao Zedong’s concepts of cultral revolution and people’s war.

While going through the units of the course, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. You will notice some alongside boxes while going through a unit , which have been included to help you know some of the difficult, unseen terms. Again, each unit carries certain *activities* after every section. These “ACTIVITIES” will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called “LET US KNOW” after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS”. The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. It will be better if you answer the questions put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit. Furthermore, a set of sample questions has been included under the category called “POSSIBLE QUESTIONS” to give you a hint of the pattern of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning of Political Theory

1.4 Nature of Political Theory

1.5 Significance of Political Theory

1.6 Let Us Sum Up

1.7 Further Reading

1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.9 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of political theory
- explain the nature of political theory
- discuss the significance of Political Theory
- expalin the nature of political theory
- discuss the significance of political theory

1.2 INTRODUCTION

As being humans we cannot live without a society which includes institutions like the family, school, community organizations, religious institutions etc. The fact that each one of us needs to live in a society makes us social beings. An integral aspect related to our social existence is politics and the political sphere. As a matter of fact, politics is a part of day-today life and one cannot remain aloof from it. The terms “polity”, “politics” and “political” are derived from the Greek word ‘polis’ which denoted ancient Greek city-states. The ancient city-states were smaller in comparison to modern states. They were demarcated by natural

boundaries like forests, mountains, and various water bodies. The term "polity" denotes an organization where various rules are made for governance and followed by a community and the term "political" refers to something that is public and applicable to all. In this unit, we shall learn about the meaning, nature and significance of political theory.

1.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL THEORY

Political theory is a core component of the Political Science discipline. It mainly deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates the issues like liberty, justice, equality, democracy, etc. It has its roots in these twin aspects of the human self. It analyzes certain basic questions such as how should society be organized? Why do we need government? What is the best form of government? Does law limit our freedom? Political theory is the study of the concepts and principles that people use to describe, explain, and evaluate political events and institutions.

According to David Held: "Political Theory generally aims to explain things coming out of political life." Karl Popper says : "Theory is like net with the help of which one can catch the world to understand it." At the most general level, political theory is 'a body of knowledge related to the phenomenon of the state'. While 'theory' refers to 'a systematic knowledge', 'political' refers to 'matters of public concern'.

Andrew Hacker defines it as 'a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other'.

Political theory deals with the ideas and principles that shape Constitutions, governments and social life in a systematic manner. It clarifies the meaning of concepts such as freedom, equality, justice, democracy, secularism and so on. It probes the significance of principles such as rule of law, separation of powers, judicial review, etc. This is done by examining the arguments advanced by different thinkers in defence of these concepts.

Political theory is basically a generalized statement of our political life which outlines a conceptual framework for synthesizing knowledge. There are different connotations of different theories and their concepts. There are

different views on political theory forwarded by various scholars at different times. Some of them are Aristotle, Cobban, Germino, Held, Easton, Weber, Hume, and so on.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Give one definition of political theory.

……..……..

……

Q 2 : The term polity, politics and political is derived from the Greek word 'polis'. (True/False)

Q 3 : The ancient city-states were ……..in comparison to modern states. (Fill in the blanks)

……

Q 4 : What is political theory? (Write within 50 words)

..……

……

……

……

1.4 NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

1.4.1 Nature of Political Theory

The term theory stands for a systematic knowledge. Thus political theory denotes a systematic knowledge of political phenomena. Aristotle has asserted "Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state, is either above humanity or below it." The study of politics and political phenomena has had a long tradition . It originated in ancient Greece. Political theory has been evolving since its inception. There are various new concepts and debates coming in and some of the

important debates are – multiculturalism, post modernism, feminism, ecologism etc.

➢ **Distinction between political theory and political thought, political philosophy and political science**

Political theory is the study of the phenomena of the state both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view. The terms such as political thought, political philosophy, and political science, all are concerned with explaining the political phenomena, yet political theory is distinct from them. The distinction of political theory from other terms are as follows:

❍ **Political theory and political thought**

It is generally believed that political thought is the thought comprising of theories and values of all those day-do-day activities, policies and decisions of the state, and which has a bearing on our present living. These persons can be philosophers, writers, journalists, poets, political commentators etc. Political thought has no 'fixed' form and can be in the form of treatise, speeches, political commentaries etc. What is important about political thought is that it is 'time bound' since the policies and programmes of the governments change from time to time.

Thus we have Greek thought or Roman thought of ancient period or the political thought of the medieval ages. Political theory, on the other hand, is the systematic speculation of a particular writer who talks specifically about the phenomena of the state. This speculation is based on certain hypotheses which may or may not be valid and may be open to criticism.

Theory provides a model of explanation of political reality as is understood by the writer. As such there can be different political theories of the same period. Also, political theory is based on certain disciplines-be it philosophy, history, economics or sociology. Lastly, since the task of theory is not only to explain the political reality but also to change it (or to resist change), political theory can be conservative, critical or revolutionary. According to Barker, while political thought is the imminent philosophy of a whole age, political

theory is the speculation of a particular thinker. While political thought is implicit and immersed in the stream of vital action, political theory is explicit and may be detached from the political reality of a particular period.

❍ **Political theory and political philosophy**

Philosophy is called 'science of wisdom'—wisdom about this world, human beings or God. This wisdom is all-inclusive and tries to explain everything. When this wisdom is applied to the study of political phenomena or the state, it is called political philosophy. Political philosophy belongs to the category of normative political theory. It is concerned with not only explaining what 'is' but also what 'ought' to be. Political philosophy is not concerned with contemporary issues but with certain universal issues in the political life of man such as nature and purpose of the political organisation, basis of political authority, nature of rights, liberty, equality, justice etc.

The distinction between political philosophy and political theory is explained by the fact that whereas a political philosopher is a political theorist, but a political theorist may not necessarily be a political philosopher. For example, David Easton is an eminent political theorist but is not considered a political philosopher. Though theory deals with the same issues as political philosophy, it can explain them both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view. In other words, while political philosophy is abstract or speculative, political theory can be both normative and empirical.

A political theorist is as much interested in explaining the nature and purpose of the state as in describing the realities of political behaviour, the actual relations between state and citizens, and the role of power in the society. As has been pointed out by Arnold Bretch, philosophical explanations are theories too, but they are non-scientific.

Political theory is concerned both with political institutions and the ideas and aspirations that form the basis of those institutions. However, we must not forget that though we can analytically distinguish between philosophy and theory, yet if political theory is

separated from political philosophy, its meaning will appear distorted and it will prove barren and irrelevant. Theory must be supplemented by philosophy.

❍ **Political theory and political science**

As a discipline, political science is much more comprehensive and includes different forms of speculation in politics such as political thought, political theory, political philosophy, political ideology, institutional or structural framework, comparative politics, public administration, international law and organizations etc. With the rise of political science as a separate discipline, political theory was made one of its subfields. However, when used specifically with emphasis on 'science' as distinct from 'theory', political science refers to the study of politics by the use of scientific methods in contrast to political theory, which is free to follow intuition.

Political science is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behaviour, generalizations about man and political institutions on empirical evidence, and the role of power in the society. Political theory, on the other hand, is not only concerned about the behavioural study of the political phenomena from empirical point of view but also prescribing the goals which states, governments, societies and citizens ought to pursue. Political theory also aims to generalize about the right conduct in the political life and about the legitimate use of power.

Thus, political theory is neither pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science. While it draws heavily from all of them, yet it is distinct from them. Contemporary political theory is trying to attempt a synthesis between political philosophy and political science.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

The objective of political theory is to train citizens to think rationally about political questions and assess correctly the political events of our time.

The importance of political theory lies in providing :

i) A description of the political phenomena,

ii) A non-scientific (based upon philosophy or religion) or a scientific (based upon empirical studies) explanation,

iii) Proposals for the selection of political goals and political action, and

iv) Moral judgment. Examples of such a political theory can be found in Plato's "Republic", or Rawls' "A Theory of Justice" or Nozick's "Anarchy, State and Utopia".

The significance of political theory may be discussed as follows :

- **Helps us to explain various concepts**

The significance of political theory lies in the clarification of various concepts used in our day to day social and political life. The clarification of concepts is very much necessary in each area of study, whether philosophy or science. Political theory examines systematically and clarifies about the values that inform political life – values such as freedom, equality and justice. It explains the meanings and significance of these and other related concepts. It clarifies the existing definitions of these concepts by focusing on some major political thinkers of the past as well as present.

- **Helps us to understand and manage social life**

Political theory helps in planning the future and maintaining peace and harmony in the society. The various scientific analysis of our political life enables us to control our social life by understanding and solving its various problems. The study of political science facilitates the understanding of the causes of conflict and violence in society and provide insights for preventing them. Political science helps us to live in a political society by providing us ways to prevent political and social crises.

- **Social criticism**

Political theory engages itself with various political problems and provides solutions.

Primarily political philosophy is concerned with what is right and wrong in our social life. Anything that occurs in the society is deliberated upon and addresses and analyses normative concerns in the context of the basic norms of a particular society.

- **Social reconstruction**

Political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Machiavelli, Mill, Macpherson etc. have discussed about social reconstruction. The proposals of the political thinkers gave insights of various social instabilities and their possible solutions though their concepts cannot be taken as the absolute truth. These insights from their thoughts are valuable in solving the problems of our society.

Political theory depicts the effort to attain knowledge through various goals and processes in a political society. Its functions have now become very important in the contemporary world as present day issues assume a global dimension.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Political theory also prescribes the goals which states and citizens ought to pursue. (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : Political philosophy belongs to the category of ……..... political theory.(Fill in the Blank)

Q 7 : Political theory is …….pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science (Fill in the Blank)

Q 8 : What is the basic distinction between political theory and political science? .

.....

.....

……

……

Q 9 : The study of political science facilitates the understanding of the causes of conflicts and violence in society (True/False)

.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

- Politics is a part of day today life and one cannot remain aloof from it.
- The term polity, politics and political is derived from the Greek word 'polis' which denoted ancient Greek city-state.
- The term polity mainly denotes an organization where various rules are made and followed by a community and the term political refers to something that is public and applicable to all.
- Political theory is a core component of the Political Science discipline. It mainly deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates the issues like liberty, justice, equality, democracy, etc.
- Political theory deals with the ideas and principles that shape Constitutions, governments and social life in a systematic manner.
- The term theory stands for a systematic knowledge.
- Political theory is the study of the phenomena of the state both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view.
- The terms such as political thought, political philosophy, and political science, all are concerned with explaining the political phenomena, yet political theory is distinct from them.
- Political theory is neither pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science. While it draws heavily from all of them, yet it is distinct from them.
- The objective of political theory is to train citizens to think rationally about political questions and assess correctly the political events of our time.
- Political theory significance lies in the clarification of various concepts used in our day to day social and political life.
- Political theory helps in planning the future and maintaining peace and harmony in the society.
- Political theory engages itself with various political problems and provides solutions.



1.7 FURTHER READING

1) Gauba, O.P. (2012). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. Macmillan Publishers Pvt.Ltd.

2) Dutta, Akhil Ranjan (2011). *Political Theory – Issues, Concepts and Debates*. Arun Prakashan.



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : David Held: "Political Theory generally aims to explain things coming out of political life."

Ans to Q. No. 2 : True

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Smaller

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Political theory is a core component of the Political Science discipline. It mainly deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates the issues like liberty, justice, equality, democracy, etc.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q No. 6 : Normative

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Neither

Ans to Q. No. 9 : True



1.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Write a short note on political theory.

Q 2 : State the difference between political theory and political philosophy.

Q 3 : Discuss the significance of political theory.

Q 4 : Discuss the nature of political theory.

Q 5 : Explain the difference between political theory and political thought.

UNIT 2 : LIBERALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Meaning and Characteristics of Liberalism

- 2.3.1 Meaning of Liberalism
- 2.3.2 Characteristics of Liberalism

2.4 Implications of Liberalism

2.5 Growth of Liberalism

- 2.5.1 Evaluation of Liberalism

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.9 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of liberalism
- discuss the characteristics of liberalism
- trace the growth of liberalism
- make an evaluation of liberalism

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Liberalism has been a dominant philosophy for centuries in the world. It was not developed at a particular point of time by a particular political thinker. It is like a stream which has flown through the years to which various thinkers and philosophers have made their contributions. Liberalism does not represent any coherent body of doctrines and has been attributed to different scholars at different times.

2.3 MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS OF LIBERALISM

2.3.1 Meaning of Liberalism

Liberalism as an idea is committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as an organizing principle in society and a way of life for the individual and community. Obviously, it is very closely connected with the idea of 'Liberty', since the very essence of this doctrine is to aim at achieving freedom whereby the human spirit of enterprise can find full expression. In other words, Liberalism is the voice of a free life- a life in which freedom is maximized to the extent that the individual may think, believe, move, express, discuss, associate and so on as per his or her own free will.

The word "liberal" is derived from the Latin word "liber" which literally means "free". According to Laski, "Liberalism is no doubt related to freedom". This implies the establishment of a political, social and economic order in which the individual is free and secure.

Scholars have viewed Liberalism in the narrow sense as well as in the broad sense. In the narrow sense, it has been applied to the economic and political field to emphasize the principles of freedom of production and distribution, choosing and removing the rulers, etc. In the broader sense, it has been viewed as a mental attitude that attempts to analyze and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relations of human beings.

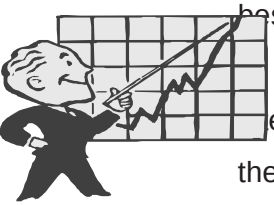
2.3.2 Characteristics of Liberalism

For an understanding of the meaning of the liberalism, let us examine the characteristics of liberalism:

- Liberalism considers man as a rational being. It has faith in the capability and potentiality of man to develop himself to the best.
- Liberalism supports democracy which promotes individual freedom. It favours constitutionalism, decentralization of powers and popular sovereignty.

- Liberalism is opposed to conservatism. It favours reformations through peaceful and constitutional means. It stresses on logical and rational ideas and attaches importance to individuals' rights.
- Liberalism recognizes natural rights and it favours that the state should protect those rights which are essential for the human progress. Liberalism considers state as an institution to serve the moral purpose of man.
- Liberalism stands for limited and constitutional government. Externally it stands for internationalism, peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of disputes.

From the above, it can be assumed that liberalism is essentially an ideology which favours individual freedom and rights, limited government, popular sovereignty and thereby recognize the human values of man. It has faith on the rationality of human being and has considered that human beings are capable to develop itself to their best.



At the international level, it stands for nurturing of the spirit of ernationalism, international peace and friendly relationship among the states.

The basic feature of the ideology liberalism is the recognition of the human values which it considers as the core in the satisfactions and realizations of human personality. Here they followed the Emanuel Kant's doctrine that man should be treated as an end in itself not as a means.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : State the meaning of liberalism.

.....

.....

Q 2 : Mention any two characteristics of liberalism.

.....

2.4 IMPLICATIONS OF LIBERALISM

As an ideology, Liberalism has its different implications in social, economic and political spheres.

In the social sphere, Liberalism stands for religious freedom and wants to free men from religious orthodoxy. It wants to do away with habits, customs and institutions which have out lived their utility or which obstruct the enjoyment of real freedom. It is opposed to all artificial pressures or regulations on the individual freedom of conscience because it not only curbs all initiative but also stultifies his personality.

In the economic sphere, Liberalism stands for free trade and production. It is opposed to restrictions on imports and exports and wants the individual to be left free to exploit the natural resources and distribute the economic dividends as he likes. This concept of Liberalism has however, undergone a change in modern times due to the popularity of the doctrine of socialism and the State is being encouraged to regulate the economic activities of the country in the larger interest of the community.

In the political sphere, Liberalism emphasizes that political liberty constitutes a prerequisite for all other kinds of liberties. Therefore, in the initial stages it was emphasized that the State interference should be restricted and its policies should aim at promoting the liberties of the individuals and groups. For this purpose it advocated institutions like separation of powers, parliamentary control over executive, judicial review, protection of interests of minorities and other mechanism to prevent concentration of powers. It also implies that the ultimate power rests with the people and the Government must be accountable to them.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Explain the implications of liberalism in the economic sphere.

.....

.....

2.5 GROWTH OF LIBERALISM

- **Classical liberalism:** Liberalism rose as a reaction against the absolute authority of the State, Church and the Feudal Lords in the sixteenth century. It was largely the product of the age of Reformation, science and individualism and represented the changed thinking which characterized the then society. It laid emphasis on the need to remove obstacles in the path of human progress and to break up the bondage of man that society and Government had imposed and to free the enormous potential that were present in man.

The concept of Liberalism was further developed and consolidated during the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of the prominent philosophers who rendered valuable service in this regard include Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Hobbes and Rousseau etc.

Liberalism received its most detailed and lucid expression in the writings of John Locke who is often described as the father of the liberal political philosophy. He was a strong proponent of constitutional government and made a strong plea for limiting the sovereignty of the State through grant of rights to the individual. After Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Bentham, Rousseau and a number of other thinkers carried the liberal philosophy further.

The Liberalism of this age is known as classical liberalism which was negative in character. It not only viewed freedom as absence of restraints but also envisaged it only for the capitalist or propertied classes and did not care for the common people. It treated the State as an artificial institution which came into existence with the consent of the individual. To the liberal thinkers state was a necessary evil and the state which performed minimal functions was the best. In the economic sphere it defended the right to private property and pleaded for the principle of free trade.Classical liberalism believed in the doctrine of Laissez-faire (meaning “leave alone”) which opposed government interference in economic affairs and gave maximum freedom to the invidual in the economic sphere.

- **Positive Liberalism:** The concept of negative liberalism in the sense of absence of restraints flourished till the end of the nineteenth century when it suffered a setback and was replaced by positive liberalism. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it became evident that the unrestricted freedom granted to the capitalists had resulted in another kind of barbarism viz. the exploitation of the working class by the capitalists. This produced strong reaction and there was a growing demand for improving the lot of the workers. It was emphasized that the state must play a positive role.

The protagonists of positive liberalism do not consider the state as a necessary evil; rather they treat it as a positive instrument for the promotion of general welfare of the community. They do not favour curtailment of state functions and want it to participate in social, political, economic, cultural and other activities in the general interest of the individual. Positive liberalism does not consider the rights and liberties as natural and holds that the same are the creation of state. All the rights have to be enjoyed in the social context and the state can restrict them if they obstruct the welfare of the society. Positive liberalism favours regulation and control of the economic life of the society in the larger interest of the community.

- **Contemporary Liberalism:** In the post World War-II period, further changes took place in the liberal philosophy. The new brand of liberal thought that emerged came to be are designated as contemporary liberalism.

Contemporary liberalism arose chiefly with a view to save mankind from the tyranny of totalitarian system. It lays more and more emphasis on the personality of the individual and his social groups. It is generally directed against the state and treats it as little more than a federation of groups, a union of guilds or a community of communities which coordinates the activities of these groups and adjusts their conflicting claims. According to David G. Smith, " contemporary liberalism has faith in the value of free expression of individual personality, men's ability to make that expression valuable to themselves and to the society and the upholding of those institutions and policies that protect and foster both free expressions and confidence in that freedom.

Some prominent scholars who made valuable contributions to the development of the contemporary liberalism include Schumpeter, Robert Dahl, Chapman, Rawls etc. Schumpeter holds that the democratic methods do not necessarily help in the realization of common good, because quite often they are used by the people to acquire the power to decide by means competitive struggles for people's vote. John Rawls also holds that inequalities are inevitable in any society and justice demands that all citizens should have a share in a society's wealth and enjoy equal economic opportunities. Thus, all the contemporary liberal thinkers have emphasized that man is essentially a doer and should be able to exploit his potential to the full.

2.5.1 Evaluation of Liberalism

Many scholars have criticized the philosophy of Liberalism on various counts. The main points of criticism against Liberalism are:

- It has been alleged that it is a highly flexible and fluid philosophy and has meant different things to different philosophers at different times. In short, it has not been a consistent doctrine and has not presented any concrete programme which is acceptable to all.

- The Marxists have alleged that liberalism has essentially been the philosophy of the bourgeois class and has laid greater emphasis on stability and equilibrium within the system rather than human values. The general welfare measures advocated by it have also been motivated by the considerations of promoting the interests of the capitalist class.

- The Marxists and the Socialist thinkers have also criticized liberalism because it holds that fundamental changes in society can be brought about through peaceful means. They argued that those who control the instruments of production and distribution would resist

with full might any move to deprive them of their privileged position. Hence any substantial change in the existing social and economic system is possible only through use of force.

Despite the above criticism of Liberalism, it cannot be denied that it has rendered great service to the development of democratic and humanistic ideas. Liberalism dealt a death blow to the feudal order and played an important role in doing away with conservatism and orthodoxy represented by the Papacy and monarchy. It provided the slogans of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' which have served as beacon of light for the struggling masses. It also gave rise to the notions of democracy, natural and inalienable rights, and development of human personality. Later on, positive liberalism not only attacked the institutions which were detrimental to the liberty of the individual but also suggested necessary reforms in the existing institutions and provision of conditions which could help in the development of the personality of the individual.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Explain the growth of liberalism with reference to classical liberalism.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 5 : Mention two points of criticisms against liberalism.

.....

.....



2.6 LET US SUM UP

- Liberalism has been a dominant philosophy for centuries in the world which. It was not developed at a particular point of time by a particular political thinker.
- Liberalism does not represent any coherent body of doctrines and has been assigned to different scholars at different times.

  Liberalism as an idea committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as an organizing principle in society and a way of life for the individual and community.
- The word “liberal” is derived from the Latin word “liber” which literally means “free’”. According to Laski, “Liberalism is no doubt related to freedom”. This implies the establishment of a political, social and economic order in which the individual is free and secure.Scholars have viewed Liberalism in the narrow as well as the broad sense.
- In the narrow sense it has been applied to the economic and political field to emphasize the principles of freedom of production and distribution, choosing and removing the rulers etc.
- In the broader sense it has been viewed as a mental attitude that attempts to analyze and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relations of human beings.
- There are certain characteristics of liberalism.Liberalism considers man as a rational being. It has faith in the capability and potentiality of man to develop himself to the best.
- Liberalism supports democracy which promotes individual freedom. It favours constitutionalism, decentralization of powers and popular sovereignty.
- Liberalism is opposed to conservatism. It favours reformations through peaceful and constitutional means. It stresses on logical and rational ideas and attaches importance to individuals’ rights.

- Liberalism recognizes natural rights and it favours that the state should protect those rights which are essential for the human progress. Liberalism considers state as an institution to serve the moral purpose of man.
- Liberalism stands for limited and constitutional government. Externally it stands for internationalism, peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of disputes.
- At the international level, it stands for nurturing of the spirit of internationalism, international peace and friendly relationship among the states.
- In the social sphere, Liberalism stands for religious freedom and wants to free men from religious orthodoxy. It wants to do away with habits, customs and institutions which have out lived their utility or which obstruct the enjoyment of real freedom.
- In the economic sphere, Liberalism stands for free trade and production. It is opposed to restrictions on imports and exports and wants the individual to be left free to exploit the natural resources and distribute the economic dividends as he likes.
- In the political sphere, Liberalism emphasizes that political liberty constitutes a prerequisite for all other kinds of liberties.
- For this purpose it advocated institutions like separation of powers, parliamentary control over executive, judicial review, protection of interests of minorities and other mechanism to prevent concentration of powers. It also implies that the ultimate power rests with the people and the Government must be accountable to them.
- Classical liberalism rose as a reaction against the absolute authority of the State, Church and the Feudal Lords in the sixteenth century. It was largely the product of the age of Reformation, science and individualism and represented the changed thinking which characterized the then society.
- The concept of Liberalism was further developed and consolidated during the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of the prominent philosophers who

rendered valuable service in this regard include Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Hobbes and Rousseau etc.

- Liberalism received its most detailed and lucid expression in the writings of John Locke who is often described as the father of the liberal political philosophy. He was a strong proponent of constitutional government and made a strong plea for limiting the sovereignty of the State through grant of rights to the individual.
- After Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Bentham, Rousseau and a number of other thinkers carried the liberal philosophy further.
- The Liberalism of this age is known as classical liberalism which was negative in character. It not only viewed freedom as absence of restraints but also envisaged it only for the capitalist or propertied classes and did not care for the common people.
- Classical liberalism treated the State as an artificial institution which came into existence with the consent of the individual. To the liberal thinkers state was a necessary evil and the state which performed minimal functions was the best.
- In the economic sphere classical liberalism defended the right to private property and pleaded for the principle of free trade.
- Classical liberalism flourished till the end of the nineteenth century when it suffered a setback and was replaced by positive liberalism.
- By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a growing demand for improving the lot of the workers. It was emphasized that the state must play a positive role.
- The protagonists of positive liberalism do not consider the state as a necessary evil; rather they treat it as a positive instrument for the promotion of general welfare of the community.
- In the post World War-II period, further changes took place in the liberal philosophy and the new variety of liberalism is designated as contemporary liberalism.

- Contemporary Liberalism arose chiefly with a view to save the mankind from the tyranny of totalitarian system. It lays more and more emphasis on the personality of the individual and his social groups.
- Contemporary liberalism is generally directed against the state and treats it as little more than a federation of groups, a union of guilds or a community of communities which coordinates the activities of these groups and adjusts their conflicting claims.
- Some prominent scholars who made valuable contributions to the development of the contemporary liberalism include Schumpeter, Robert Dahl, Chapman, Rawls etc.
- Many scholars have criticized the philosophy of Liberalism on various counts.
- It has been alleged that liberalism is a highly flexible and fluid philosophy and has meant different things to different philosophers at different times.
- The Marxists have alleged that liberalism has essentially been the philosophy of the bourgeois class and has laid greater emphasis on stability and equilibrium within the system rather than human values.
- The Marxists and the Socialist thinkers have also criticized the liberalism because it holds that fundamental changes in society can be brought about through peaceful means.
- Despite the above criticisms of Liberalism, it cannot be denied that it has rendered great service to the development of democratic and humanistic ideas. Liberalism dealt a death blow to the feudal order and played an important role in doing away with conservatism and orthodoxy represented by the Papacy and monarchy.
- It provided the slogans of 'Liberty, equality and fraternity' which have served as beacon light for the struggling masses. It also gave rise to the notions of democracy, natural and inalienable rights, and development of human personality.

- Later on, positive liberalism not only attacked the institutions which were detrimental to the liberty of the individual but also suggested necessary reforms in the existing institutions and provision of conditions which could help in the development of individuals personality.



2.7 FURTHER READING

1) Gauba, O.P.(2012). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. Macmillan Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

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4) Arora, Prem. *Political Science (Theory).* Cosmos Bookhive (p) Ltd.



2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : The word "liberal" is derived from the Latin word "liber" which literally means "free". According to Laski, "Liberalism is no doubt related to freedom". This implies the establishment of a political, social and economic order in which the individual is free and secure. Scholars have viewed Liberalism in narrow as well as broad sense. In the narrow sense it has been applied to the economic and political field to emphasize the principles of freedom of production and distribution, choosing and removing the rulers etc. In the broader sense it has been viewed as a mental attitude that attempts to analyze and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relations of human beings.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : (i) Liberalism considers man as a rational being. It has faith in the capability and potentiality of man to develop himself to the best.

(ii) Liberalism supports democracy which promotes individual freedom. It favours constitutionalism, decentralization of powers and popular sovereignty.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : In the economic sphere, Liberalism stands for free trade and production. It is opposed to restrictions on imports and exports and wants the individual to be left free to exploit the natural resources and distribute the economic dividends as he likes. This concept of Liberalism has however, undergone a change in modern times due to the popularity of the doctrine of socialism and the State is being encouraged to regulate the economic activities of the country in the larger interest of the community.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Liberalism rose as a reaction against the absolute authority of the State, Church and the Feudal Lords in the sixteenth century. It was largely the product of the age of Reformation, science and individualism and represented the changed thinking which characterized the then society. It laid emphasis on the need to remove obstacles in the path of human progress and to break up the bondage of man that society and Government had imposed and to free the enormous potential that were present in man.

The concept of Liberalism was further developed and consolidated during the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of the prominent philosophers who rendered valuable service in this regard include Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Hobbes and Rousseau etc.

Liberalism received its most detailed and lucid expression in the writings of John Locke who is often described as the father of the liberal political philosophy. The Liberalism of this age is known as classical liberalism which was negative in character. It not only viewed freedom as absence of restraints but also envisaged it only for the capitalist or propertied classes and did not care for the common people. It treated the State as an artificial institution which came into existence with the consent of the individual. To the liberal thinkers state was a necessary evil and the state which performed

minimal functions was the best. In the economic sphere it defended the right to private property and pleaded for the principle of free trade.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : (i) It has been alleged that liberalism is a highly flexible and fluid philosophy and has meant different things to different philosophers at different times. In short, it has not been a consistent doctrine and has not presented any concrete programme which is acceptable to all.

(ii) The Marxists have alleged that liberalism is essentially eenthe philosophy of the bourgeois class and has laid greater emphasis on stability and equilibrium within the system rather than human values. The general welfare measures advocated by it have also been motivated by the considerations of promoting the interests of the capitalist class.

2.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS



Q 1 : Name two advocates of classical liberalism.

Q 2 : What does Laissez Faire' means?

Q 3 : Point out the two central pillars of Liberalism.

Q 4 : Do you think that the ideology of Liberalism has relevance in the Indian context?

Q 4 : Distinguish between Classical liberalism and Contemporary liberalism.

Q 5 : What is the main essence of Contemporary Liberalism?

Q 6 : State the meaning of liberalism. Discuss the characteristics of liberalism.

Q 7 : Discuss the growth of liberalism. Present an evaluation of liberalism.

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UNIT 3 : NEO-LIBERALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Meaning of Neo-Liberalism

- 3.3.1 Views on Neo-liberalism
- 3.3.2 Nature of Neo-liberalism

3.4 Neo-Liberalism and Globalization

3.5 Criticisms levelled against Neo-Liberalism

3.6 Let Us Sum Up

3.7 Further Reading

3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.9 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able -

- explain the meaning of Neo-liberalism
- describe the nature of Neo-liberalism
- write down the definition of Neo-liberalism
- relate Neo-liberalism with the concept of Globalization.
- write down the various criticisms of Neo-liberalism

3.2 INTRODUCTION

As opposed to the concept of social liberalism or social democracy, there is the ideology of new-liberalism that passionately supports economic liberalisation, free market and open markets. It addresses the economic issue in a liberal polity by advocating abolition of state-controlled business ventures and thus paving the way for complete privatisation of economic sphere. At the same time, it must be pointed out that while free market exponents have always been in the forefront to attack state-controlled

economy, they could develop an aggressive theory of capitalism in the form of neo-liberalism when the erstwhile USSR showed signs of economic and political decline in the late 1980s. Since then, the term of "neo-liberalism" has been used frequently in the lexicon of political and economic literature.

3.3 MEANING OF NEO-LIBERALISM

The term "neo-liberalism" was originally coined by the German scholar Alexandar Rustow in 1938. He defined the concept of neo-liberalism as the priority of the price mechanism, the free-enterprise, the system of competition and a strong and impartial state. Neo-liberalism as an ideology was popularised by the Chicago School of Economics and was later passionately promoted by US and West European Governments by way of proactive economic and military interventions particularly in the developing and under-developed world.

New-liberalism is counter revolutionary. The main aim of it is to halt and if possible reverse the trend towards big government and state intervention that had characterized much of the 20th century. It amounts to a form of market fundamentalism. The market is seen to be morally and practically superior to government and any form of political control. In that sense, it is goes beyond classical economic theory. For instance, although Adam Smith is rightfully viewed as the father of market and economics he also recognized the limitations of the market and certainly did not subscribe to a crude utility-maximizing model of human nature. At the same time neo-liberalism is not merely an arm of the new right. It has been shaped by wider forces notably those of economic globalization and it has had an effect upon liberal and socialist parties as well as conservative ones and it has been influential well beyond its Anglo-American homeland.



ACTIVITY 3.1

Try to find out the concept of neo-liberalism in the contemporary politics.

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : What do you mean by neo-liberalism?

.....

Q 2 : The term Neo-liberalism was coined by ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 3 : Neo-liberalism is counter-Revolutionary. (True/False)

.....

3.3.1 Views on Neo-Liberalism



Totalitarianism: A system of government that is centralized and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state.

From the neo-liberal perspective, the defects of governments are many and various. Free-market economists such as Freedrich Hayek and the US Economist Milton Freidman attacked the economic role of government. Hayek advanced a damning economic and political critique of central planning in particular and economic intervention in general. He argued that economic intervention is the single most serious threat to individual liberty because any attempt to control economic life inevitably draws the state into other areas of existence ultimately leading to ***totalitarianism***.

At the same time Freidman criticized Keynesianism on the grounds that "tax and spend" policies fuel inflation by encouraging governments to increase borrowing and in the process, affecting the natural rate of unemployement.

The Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 is a system of monetary management and fixed exchange rates that has given stability to the international economy since 1945. The institutions of global economic governance, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and since 1995, the World Trade Orgainzation (formally GATT) were the outcome of a neo-liberal economic order based upon free-market and free-trade principles. Therefore globalization has gone hand in hand with neo-liberalism, a process that reached its peak un the 1990s with a massive market-based restructuring of economies, particularly in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe, in Latin America and much of the developing world.

Definitions of Neo-Liberalism :

- Campbell and Pedersen has defined neo-liberalism as an ideological system that holds the 'market' sacred born within the 'human' or social sciences and refined in a network of Anglo-American-centric knowledge procedures expressed in different ways within the institutions of the post war nation-state and their political fields.
- Fourcade and Healy has defined neo-liberalism as being rooted in a moral project, articulated in the language of economics, that praises 'the moral benifits of market society' and identifies 'markets as a necessary condition for freedom in other aspect of life.'

CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 4 : Freidrich Hayek and ..... attacked the economic role of government. (Fill in the blank)

IMF was established in the year of 1949 (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : What is Bretton Woods Agreement?

.....



3.3.2 Nature of Neo-Liberalism

The nature of neo-liberalism can be traced by the following points–

1. Neo-liberalism is a kind of a philosophy rather than simply an economic structure. This is most visible in attitudes to society, the individual and employement. Neo-liberals tend to see the world in terms of market metaphors.
2. Another nature of neo-liberalism is that neo-liberalism limits state intervention to ensure free competition, maintain law and order, enforce contracts and aims at protecting private property and national defence.
3. A general nature of neo-liberalism is the desiere to intensify and expand the market by increasing the number, frequency, repeatability

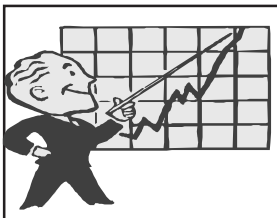
and formalisation of transactions.

4. The Neo-liberal philosophy is in favour of deregulation and privatisation. Deregulation implies that the state control regime would be liberalised. When such liberalisation takes place, the economy moves towards privatisation. In a privatised economy, the choice of individual is substantially expanded.
5. Neo-liberalism is sometimes called neo-classical liberalism, refers to a rivival of economic liberalism which has been taking place since 1970's. Neo-liberalism also favours flexibility in the economy. Such flexibility is introduced in the form of the philosophy and practice of economic liberalisation.
6. Neo-liberalism, nevertheless is not merely an arm of the new right. It has been shaped by wider forces, notably those of economic globalization and it has had an effect upon liberal and socialist parties as well as conservatice ones and it has been influential well beyond Anglo American homeland.
7. Neo-liberalism constantly seeks to reach out to new areas in search of newer markets. It beleives in the expansion of the market (free-markets) and market competition on a global scale.
8. Free trade and open market are another nature of neo-liberalism. In this connection, we may refer to Milton Friedman who in his work "Capitalism and Freedom" sought to identify a competative market economy as a necessary condition of freedom. When the market is open, the individual will able to determine his or her own economy distiny and will secure freedom.

3.4 NEO-LIBERALISM AND GLOBALIZATION

The relevance of the neo-liberal thought could be seen in the policy of globalization in the present day world. Infact globalization in actual practice is the manifestation of neo-liberal thought. Globalization has witnessed the incorporation of national economics into an interlocking global economy in which production is internationalized and capital flows freely and often instantly between countries. Globalization has therefore gone hand in hand

with neo-liberalism, a process that reached its peak in the 1990's with a massive market-based restrueturing of economics, particularly in the post-communist states of Eastern Europe in Latin America and in much of the developing world. Neo-liberalism's unreserved endorement of market-oriented global capitalism shows how far it draws from a narrow economic liberalism that is uninterested in other matters.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 7 : Neo-liberalism has given emphasis an devolution and ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 8 : Neo-liberalism favoures rigidity in the economy (True/False)

.....

Q 9 : What is the name of the book written by Milton Freidman?

.....

Q 10: Globalization has gone hand in hand with neo-liberalism. (True/False)

.....

Q 11 : Globalization is the manifestation of ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 12 : Neo-liberalism came into existence in the year of 1980s (True/False)

.....

3.5 CRITICISMS LEVELLED AGAINST NEO-LIBERALISM

While it has been stated that neo-liberalism would develop a new socio-economic and political order, critics are not lagging behind in questioning the doctrine. These are :

1. Critics argue that in the name of promoting freedom, the freedom of individual would be completly devastated in the neo-liberal frame work. It would be unrestricted competition that may revive the doctrine of survival of the fittest.

2. Another criticism is that neo-liberal philosophy has completly negated the welfare character of the state. With the shrinking responsibility, the state shall never be able to ensure welfare of the people.
3. Critics have also questioned the primary position of the market in new-liberalism. When the society moves as per of the dictates of the market, the freedom of the individual is in imperial.
4. At the same time, the concept of neo-liberalism may also lead to an increase in corruption.
5. Another criticism is that because of liberties of the markets, companies are subjected to very little regulation. It seems that they are allowed to develop their projects without protecting the environment or paying any compensation to people who are negatively affected by these projects.
6. Critics also say that, neo-liberalism is damaging to workers' rights because it imposes downward pressures on wage levels and potentially undercuts the power of labour organisations to protect the wage levels of their members.
7. Another criticism is that the proliferation of markets also leads to resource depletion and environmental destruction.



3.6 LET US SUM UP

- Neo-liberalism as an ideology was popularised by the Chicago school of Economics.
- A general nature of neo-liberalism is the desire to intensify and expand the market by increasing the number frequency, repeatability and formalisation of transactions.
- The major driving force behind the advance of neo-liberal ideas and structure has been economic globalization.
- Globalization is the manifestation of neo-liberal thought.
- The term neo-liberalism was orginally coined by Alexandar Rustow.

- Bretton Woods Agreement has given stability to the International economy since 1945.



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3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Neo-liberalism is counter revolutionary. The main aim of it is to halt and if possible reverse the trend towards big government and State intervention.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Alexandar Rustow

Ans to Q. No. 3 : True

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Milton Freidman

Ans to Q. No. 5 : False

Ans. to Q. No. 6 : Bretton Woods Agreement is a system of fixed exchange rates that has given stability to the international economy since 1945.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Privatisation

Ans to Q. No. 8 : False

Ans to Q. No. 9 : Capitalism and Freedom.

Ans to Q. No. 10 : True

Ans to Q. No. 11 : Neo-liberal thought

Ans to Q. No. 12 : False



3.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Define the term neo-liberalism.

Q 2 : Explain the nature of neo-liberalism.

Q 3 : Explain the various views regarding the concept of neo-liberalism.

Q 4 : Relate the term globalization with neo-liberalism.

Q 5 : What do you mean by neo-liberalism? Discuss the nature of neo-liberalism

Q 6 : Critically relate the term globalization with the concept of Neo-liberalism.

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UNIT 4 : LIBERTARIANISM AND COMMUNITARIANISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Libertarianism

4.3.1 Meaning of Libertarianism

4.3.2 Principles of Libertarianism

4.4 F.A. Hayek

4.4.1 Views of F.A.Hayek

4.5 Robert Nozick

4.5.1 Views of Robert Nozick

4.6 Meaning of Communitarianism

4.7 Critical Evaluation of Communitarianism

4.8 Let Us Sum Up

4.9 Further Reading

4.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.11 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of libertarianism
- list out the different principles of Libertarianism
- explain the views of F.A. Hayek on liberty
- explain the views of Robert Nozick on property rights and state
- explain the meaning of communitarianism

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Libertarianism is a political Philosophy that advocates individual liberty and limited constitutional government. Advocates of libertarianism generally regard themselves as belonging to the tradition of John Locke, Adam Smith, the American founders and the classical liberals. Libertarianism may be

more specifically defined as the view that each person has the right to live his life in any way he chooses so long as he respects the equal rights of others. Libertarians defend each person's right to life, liberty and property-rights, they believe that people have naturally, before governments are created. In the libertarian view all, human relationships should be voluntary and governments should exist to protect rights and to protect individuals from others who might use force against them. When governments themselves use force against people who have not violated the rights of others, libertarians believe that governments are themselves right-violators.

This unit shall also introduce you to the philosophy behind the relatively recent political doctrine of Communitarianism. Communitarians would imply a philosophy which emphasizes the importance of the community in an individual's life and that the obligation of the latter towards the community. You will also be able to learn about the communitarianism as a major critique of the liberal-individualist theory.

4.3 LIBERTARIANISM

The concept of libertarianism began to be developed into something resembling modern libertarian philosophy in the works of such seventeenth and eighteenth century thinkers as John Locke, David Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine and French thinkers. In the most general sense, libertarianism is a political philosophy that affirms the rights of individuals to liberty, to acquire, keep and exchange their holdings, and considers the protection of individual rights, the primary role for the state. Limited government is the basic political implication of libertarianism. Libertarianism seeks to provide free willed participants the ability to make decisive decisions without the government determining of influencing the outcome, as long as it does not harm other individuals. Libertarianism is based on the belief that each individual owns every aspect of his or her lives and thus should have the ability to control it. Libertarianism strongly believes that through these principles, they are able to establish a more fruitful and peaceful society.

4.3.1 Meaning and Definitions of Libertarianism

The term libertarianism has been defined by a number of philosophers. Some of these definitions are given below :

- According to Lawrence Reed, "Libertarianism is a political philosophy that advocates little or no initiation of force in society.'
- In the words of Sharon Harris, "Libertarianism is, as the name implies the belief in liberty. Libertarianism believe, that each person owns his own life and property and has the right to make his own choices as to how he lives his life and uses his property as long as he simply respects the equal right of others to do the same."
- According to Ron Paul, "The core of libertarianism is respect for life, liberty and property rights of each individual. This means that no one may initiate force against another, as that violates those naturate rights. While many claim adherence to this principle, only libertarians apply the non aggression axiom to the state."

Libertarianism refers to a range of theories that give strict priority to liberty over other values, such as authority, tradition and equality. Libertarians thus seek to maximize the realim of individual freedom and maximize the scope of public authority, typically seeing the state as the principal threat to liberty.



LET US KNOW

The two best known libertarian traditions are rooted in the idea of individual rights (as with Robert Nozick) and in laissez faire economic dectrine (as with Friedrich Hayek) although socialists have also embraced libertareamism. Liberlariamism is sometimes distinguished from liberalism on the ground that the later, even in its classical form, refuses to give priority to liberty over order.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 1 : Write the name of two advocates of Libertarianism.

.....

Q 2 : In which places the concept of Libertarianism had developed first?

.....

Q 3 : Libertarianism is a political philosophy that advocates little or no initiation of force in society –who said this ? (Lowrence Read/ Ron Poul)

.....

Q 4 : Give a definition of Libertarianism.

.....

4.3.2 Principles of Libertarianism

The Key principles of libertarianism can be discussed as follows:

- **Individualism** : Libertarians see the individual as the basic unit of social analysis. Only individuals make choices and are responsible for their actions. Libertarian thought emphasizes the dignity of each individual, which entails both rights and responsibility. The progressive extension of dignity to more people to women, to people of different religions and different races– is one of the great libertarian triamphs of the western world.
- **Individual Rights** : Because individuals are moral agents, they have a right to be secure in their life, liberty and property. These rights are not granted by government or by society, they are inherent in the nature of human beings. It is intuitively right that individuals

enjoy the security of such right, the burden of explanation should lie with those who would take rights away.

- **Spontaneous Order**: A great degree of order in society is necessary for individuals to survive and flourish. It's easy to assume that order must be imposed by a central authority, the way we impose order on a stamp collection or a football team. The great insight of libertarian social analysis is that order in society arises spontaneously, out of the actions of thousands or millions of individuals who coordinate their actions with those of others in orde to achieve their purpose. Over human history, we have gradually opted for more freedom and yet managed to develop a complex society with intricate organization. The most important institutions in human society– language, law, money and markets all developed spontaneausly, without central direction. Civil society the complex network of associations and connections among people is another example of spontaneous order, the associations within civil society are formed for a purpose, but civil society itself is not an organization and does not Rave a purpose of its own.

- **The Rule of Law** : Libertarianism is not libertinism or hedonism. It is not a claim that "People can do anything they want to, and nobody else can say anything." Rather libertarianism purposes a society of liberty under law, in which individuals are free to pursue their own lives so long as they respect the equal rights of others. The rule of law means that individuals are governed by generally applicable and spontancously developed legal rules, not by arbitrary commands, and that those rules should protect the freedom of individuals to pursue happiness in their own ways not aim at any particular result or outcome.

- **Limited Government**: To protect rights, individuals form governments. But government is a dangerous institution. Libertarians have a great antipathy to concentrated power, for as Lord Action said, "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupt absolutely."

Thus they want to devide and limit power, and that means especially to limit goverment, generally through a written constitution enumerating and limiting the powers that the people delegate to government. Limited Government is the basic political implication of libertarianism and libertarians point to the historical fact that it was the dispersion of power in Europe– more than other parts of the would that led to individual liberty and sustained economic growth.

- **Free Markets**: To survive and to flourish, individuals need to engage in economic activity. The righ to property entails the right to exchange property by mutual agreement. Free markets are the economic system of free individuals, and they are necessary to create wealth. Libertarians believe that people will be both free and more prosperous if government intervention in people's economic choices is minimized.
- **The Virtue of Production**: Much of the impetus for libertarianism in the seventeenth century was a reaction against monarchs and aristocrats who lived off the productive labor of other people. Libertarians defended the right of people to keep the fruit of their labor. This effort developed into a respect for the dignity of work and production and especially for the growing middle class, who were looked down upon by aristocrats. Modern libertarians defend the right to productive people to keep what they earn, against a new class of politicians and bureaucrats who would size their earnings to transfer them to non-producers.
- **Natural Harmony of Interest**: Libertarians believe that there is a natural harmony of interests among peaceful, productive people in a just society. One person's individual plane– which may involve getting a job, starting a business, buying a house, and so on may conflict with the plans of others, so the market makes many of us change our plans. But we all prosper from the operation of the free market, and there are no necessary conflicts between farmers and merchants, manufactures and importers. Only when government begins to hand out rewards on the basis of political pressure do we find ourselves

involved in group conflict, pushed to organize and contend with other groups for a piece of political power.

- **Peace** : Libertarians have always battled the aye-old scourge of war. They understood that war brought death and destruction on a grand scale, disrupted family and economic life, and put more power in the hands of the ruling class– which might explain why the rulers did not always share the popular sentiment for peace. Free men and women, ofcourse, have often had to defind their own societies against foreign thereats, but throughout history was has usually been the common enemy of peaceful, productive people on all sides of the conflict.



LET US KNOW

Right -Libertarianism : It refers to libertarian political Philosophies that advocate negative rights, natural law and a radical reversal of the modern welfare state. Right-libertarianism includes anarchocapitalism and laissez-faire.

Left-Libertarianism : It is a group of antiauthoritarian political philosophies inside the socialist movement that rejects socialism as centralized state ownership and control of the economy, as well as the state itself.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 5 : Which unit of social analysis is the basic unit according to libertarians?

.....

Q 6 : Limited government is the basic political implication of libertarianism. (True/False)

.....

Q 7 : Libertarianism proposes a society of ..... under law. (Fill in the blank)

.....

4.4 F.A. HAYEK

Friedrich August von Hayek (May 8, 1899 in Vienna-March 23, 1992 in Freiburg) was an Austrian economist and political philosopher, noted for his defence of liberal democracy and free market capitalism against socialist and collectivist thought in the mid twenteeth century. He is widely regarded as one of the most influential members of the Austrian school of economics. He also made significant contributions in the fields of jurisprudence and cognitive science. His analysis of socialist economics was proved to be true by the breakup of communist Eastern Europe. He shared the 1974 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics with ideological rival Gunnar Myrdal and in 1991 he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

4.4.1 Views of Hayek

Hayek defined liberty and criticised socialism. After World War II, he critiqued human design and protected liberty in his books. “The Road to Serfdom” (1944) and “The Constitution of Liberty” (1960). Hayek emphasised the merits of liberty and denounced construction by the government. According to Hayek, “individual” or “personal” freedom implies the state in which a man is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another or others.

F. A. Hayek in his “Constitution of Liberty” (1960) used the terms “liberty” and “freedom” interchangeably. He argued that a man possesses liberty or freedom when he is not subject to coorcion by the arbitrary will of another. This is the essence of individual freedom which should not be confused with any other meaning of freedom.

Hayek particularly sought to contrast individual freedom with three other meanings of freedom, which represent 'political freedom', 'inner freedom' and 'freedom as power' respectively. Political freedom denotes participation of men in the choice of their government, in the process of legislation and in the control of administration. This does not necessarily coincide with individual freedom. Thus, Hayek argues that a non democratic order may be permissive and a democratic order may be restrictive, hence, political freedom is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition of freedom.

Then inner freedom denotes the extent to which a person is guided in his actions by his own considered will rather than by momentary impulse or circumstance. It stands opposed not to coercion by others but to moral weakness or the influence of passing emotions. Hence, it is different from individual freedom. Finally, freedom as power signifies the power to satisfy our wishes, or the extent of the choice of alternatives open to us. There is a vital difference between non-interference with another's act and a person's effective power to act. A person may be able to do what he may not lawfully do, or unable to do what nobody is trying to prevent him from doing. Hence, freedom as power should not be confused with individual freedom.

Hayek's two general themes are that the managed society does not work and that it is incompatible with freedom. He argues that there are two types of order- namely, constructed order (example : government planning) and spontaneous order (example : the market). Hayek, believes that while the role of the states constructed order is important, it has to be limited. He says that constructed order generally goes wrong if it does any more than provide favourable conditions for spontancous order. There most important favourable condition to spontaneous order is the rule of law. Hayek argues that spontaneous order has been discovered in the course of evolution and that its greatest merit is that it works despite our ignorance. Hayek says that we can never have the data necessary to plan society. Spontaneous order works without a plan.

Again, the law, according to Hayek must only maintain negative freedom and not try to establish positive freedom. The distinction between positive and negative freedom was made by Isaiah Berlin (1958 : Two concepts of Liberty) : negative freedom is the freedom to do anything not prohibited and positive freedom is giving people the power to do things. For example, a poor person is hungry he or she is still free to eat in the sense that there is no law prohibiting it. That is a negative freedom. Positive freedom would be the power to lat that comes through having food. Hayek argues that the idea of positive freedom is a confusion of language. Freedom and power should not be confused.

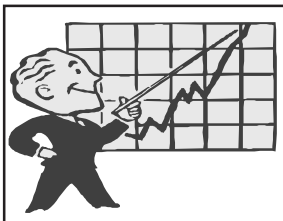
Freedom, according to Hayek, is the absence of coercion, It is a situation in which the individual is not dependent on the arbitrary will of another. The so-called “positive freedom’, Hayek claims, mean that people cease to be equal before the law and are subject to the arbitrary will of the government. For example, in the interest of social justice we decide to tax rich people in order to pay for the education of poor children. That means that the state is deciding that one class of people should pay tax and another class should recieve benefits from the tax. There is nothing just or impartial about this, Hayek argues. It is comparable to the arbitrary will of the government that law was intended to curb.

Hayek asserts that it is better that some should be free than that should have a limited freedom. Thus, according to Hayek, the ‘cake’ of freedom is not to be divided on the basis of ‘equal shares for all’, but on the basis of each individual’s contribution to social progress. Hayek in his “Constitution of Liberty” argued that due to individual differences in skills and abilities , inequlaities of income and wealth arise. He asserts that it is better that some should be free than none, and that many should have full freedom than all should have limited freedom. Critics point out that Hayek’s conclusions are not consistent with his own assumptions. He begins by taking the individual as an end and ends up by reducing him to a means.



LET US KNOW

Hayek said that Liberty not only means that the individual has both the opportunity and the burden of choice, it also means that he must bear the consequences of his actions. Liberty and responsibility are inseperable.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 8 : In which book, did Hayek use the terms "libery" and "freedom"?

.....

Q 9 : What are the two types of order according to Hayek?

.....

Q 10 : The law, according to Hayek only maintains negative freedom. (True/False)

.....

Q 11 : According to Hayek, freedom is the absence of ..... (Fill in the blank)

4.5 ROBERT NOZICK

Robert Nozick is one of the most important and influential political philosophers in the Anglo-American analytic tradition. His first and most celebrated book. Nozick's most influential work "Anarchy, State and Utopia" (1974), is a compelling defense of free-market libertarianism.

His final work, "Invariances" (2001), offers a theory of objective reality. Nozick's defense of libertarianism remains his most notable intellectual mark on philosophical inquiry.

4.5.1 Views of Robert Nozick

Robert Nozick was one of the most influential political philosophers of the 20th century. In 1974, he published the book " Anarchy, State and Utopia", which would eventually become a modern classic of political philosophy. In "Anarchy, State and Utopia", Nozick developed a political theory which he named "Entitlement Theory". The following are the features of the entitlement theory :

- **Modes of Acquisition**

  Nozick has identified three sources through various goods are acquired by individuals:

a) Their selves: These constitute the bodies and limbs, brain cells, etc. of the individuals. Over these personal elements, the individuals have absolute rights.

b) The natural world: These constitute land, water resources, minerals, etc.

c) The things people make (agricultural and industrial products, etc.) by applying their labour to the natural world.

- **Principles of Entitlement**

  An individual is entitled to claim ownership of their own body and mind for which no further justification is needed. However, as regards entitlement to - (a) aspects of the natural world and (b) the goods produced by way of application of the mental and physical faculties of the individuals to the natural world, Nozick identifies three principles on the basis of which, entitlement to (a) and (b) would conform to justice.

a) Initial acquisition : Through this method, an individual comes to acquire some previously uninhabited or unknown parts of the natural world. For example, a group of people may come and settle down in an uninhabited continent and by that virtue acquire its land and natural resources on a "first come, first served basis". However, while proclaiming their entitlement over the area, there should not arise a

situation where there is scarcity for others. Accordingly, the mode of acquisition should not lead to creation of scarcity for others.

b) Voluntary transfer: It means the property acquired through initial acquisition or the goods and commodities produced by people by means of their talent and expertise could be transferred to others who could claim ownership of such property and goods by way of making payments as per market rates to the original owners or creators. This payment must be based on voluntary transfer without force or fraud. Thus if a person uses others' labour and pays them as per market rates, he or she becomes the owner of the product of others' labour. However, all such transfers must be devoid of force or fraud and must strictly be based on voluntary contract where payment is made as per market rates.

c) Rectification: According to Nozick, there have been several instances in world history where there has taken place involuntary transfer of goods and natural resources have been acquired in an unjust manner. If, in the course of such involuntary transfers, there occurs economic disparities and denial of rights for others, the community will be justified in intervening and restore justice. For instance, when a country gains monopoly control over rare natural resources depriving others of their rightful share, the international community will be justified in intervening and rectify the situation in order to create a level playing field for all.

The main purpose of "Anarchy, State and Utopia" is to show that the minimal state and only the minimal state is morally justified. By a minimal state Nozick means a state that functions essentially as a "night watchman", with power limited to those necessary to protect citizens against violence, theft and fraud. By arguing that the minimal state is justified, Nozick seeks to refute anarclism, which opposes any state whatsoever, by arguing that no more than the minimal state is justified. Against anarchism, Nozick claims that a minimal state is justified because it would arise spontanceously among people living in a hypothetical "state of nature" through transactions that would not involve the violation of anyone's natural rights. Nozick assumes

that everyone possesses the natural rights of life' liberty and property, including the right to claim as property the fruits or products of one's labour and the right to dispose of one's property as one sees fit (provided that in doing so one does not violate the rights of anyone else).



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 12 : Write the name of the first book written by Robert Nozick?

.....

Q 13 : Nozick developed a political theory, which he named ..... (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 14 : Nozick claim that a minimal state is justified (True/False)

.....

Q 15 : According to Robert Nozick, 'Individual should hire protective association for their property holding'. (True/False)

.....

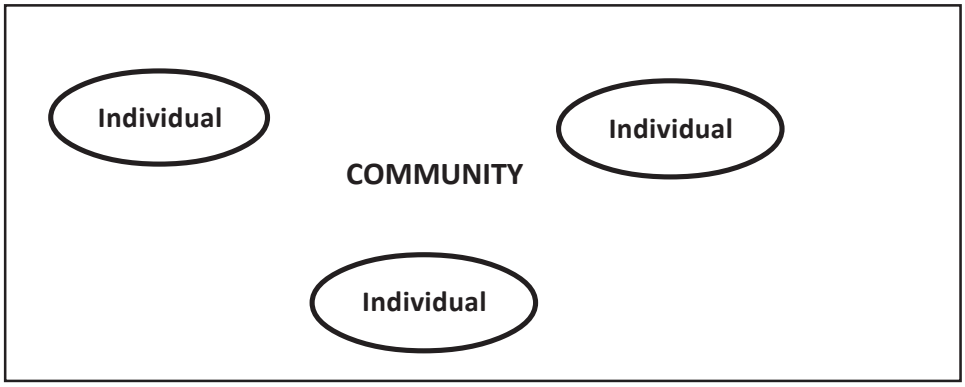
4.6 MEANING OF COMMUNITARIANISM

The term 'communitarian' was coined in the mid-nineteenth century by British Victorian utopian socialist John Goodwyn Barmby, although communitarian ideas existed much before that.

For instance, we find reference to communitarian ideas in the Old and the New Testaments of the Bible as well in the Fabian and socialist doctrines.However, it was in the 1980s, after the publication of American political philosopher Michael Sandel's book '*Liberalism and the Limits of Justice'* (1982) that communitarianism as a political philosophy caught the attention of theorists and emerged as a major critique of liberal-individualism.

In simple words, communitarianism would imply a philosophy which emphasizes the importance of the community in an individual's life and that the latter is obligated towards the community. As defined in the *Oxford*

Dictionary, communitarianism implies - 'An ideology which emphasizes the responsibility of the individual to the community and the social importance of the family unit'. *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines it as a philosophy which 'emphasizes the importance of community in the functioning of political life, in the analysis and evaluation of political institutions, and in understanding human identity and well-being.'In short, the individual is just a part of the bigger unit- the community, and the good of the community would automatically lead to the good of the individual. (See Figure below)



In the present day, communitarianism is essentially seen as a reaction to the excessive emphasis of the liberals on the individual self and the atomistic society. The priorities of these two philosophies are completely opposite. While for the communitarians, community is prior and more important to the individual; for the liberals the individual is more important than the community. Liberals argue that if every individual pursued his own 'good', the sum total of these 'good', would simply imply 'good' of the community.

This concept can be explained in simple terms of an example: Let us assume that a particular community comprises of ten individuals. Then the liberal interpretation would be thus: Sum total of 'good' pursued by all ten individuals would be equal to the good of the community.

Good pursued by Individual (1+ 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 +10) = Good of the Community

On the other hand, the communitarian interpretation would be: If the 'good' of the community is pursued, then it automatically follows that the 'good' of each of all ten individuals in the community are taken care of.

Good of the Community = Good of each of all ten individuals in the community

Therefore, while the liberals emphasize the *'right'* of the individual to pursue what he/ she thinks is good for her/him; the communitarians argue that if the *'good'* of the community is pursued over the 'right' of the individual (to pursue his goals), than every individual in the community would automatically be happy. This is the well-known 'good over right' and 'right over good' debate between the communitarians and the liberals.

The communitarians argue that in no way the *Self* is detached from the society. An individual is rather shaped and defined by the community in which he is born or resides. Michael Sandel talks about the 'embedded self'- a self whose identity is shaped by the community. Every individual or *Self* has a background or history and they can be located in it. In other words, individuals are shaped by their social circumstances in which they find themselves in. Every individual, first of all belongs to the family, then to religion, community and nation. This history or background essentially influences values of the Self. Alasdair MacIntyre puts forward the idea of 'narrative self',which implies that our identity is shaped by the bonds and relationships of community and society and is not a result of individual choice.In similar tone, Charles Taylor argues that the development of an individual takes place only when it is 'situated' in a society.

Communitarianism is majorly inspired by the philosophy of Aristotle, G W F Hegel and Rousseau. Even Marxist theory emphasizes on the community. However, as Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka is of the opinion, for the Marxists only a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialist society would help achieve community. On the other hand, for the 'new communitarians', community is already an existing reality which manifests itself in the common social practices and traditions, and the shared meanings of society (Kymlicka, 2002). According to Amy Gutman, while the 'old' communitarians find their inspiration in Marx, the 'new' communitarians are influenced by Aristotle and Hegel (Gutman, 1985).

Some important political philosophers who are associated with present day communitarianism and would be dealt with in this unit are- Alasdair MacIntyre (Scottish philosopher), Charles Taylor (Canadian

philosopher) , Michael Sandel (American political philosopher) and Michael Walzer (American political philosopher). Both Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor are inspired by the Aristotelian view that justice is found in a community which is bound by a shared understanding of the good of the individual as well as the community. Michael Sandel, on the other hand, look towards the Hegelian conception of an individual who is tied to the community she/he belongs to, for her/his well-being. In short, the communitarians seek to shift the focus from the individual to the community. They emphasize the importance of focusing on the 'good' of the community over the 'right' of the individual.

The liberals and the communitarians differ with each other on the issue of nature and role of the state. While the liberals preach for neutrality of the state, the communitarians are for a more pro-active state. The liberal-individualists mostly subscribe to a 'minimal state', i.e., a state which has the basic role of protecting individual rights and ensuring law and order. They argue for a neutral state which does not interfere in the individual's choice of good life. The liberal state would not develop any idea of good life or insist that the individuals subscribe and pursue a particular notion of good as established by it. Every individual is free to define his 'good' and pursue it while the state would be completely neutral to such idea of good. For them, as rational beings, every person knows what is best for her/him and that the state should leave them alone to decide for themselves what suits them best. Therefore, for the liberals, the state which is equally tolerant towards the various conceptions of good is a *just* state. The communitarians argue against state neutrality. The state should, therefore encourage such cooperative activities in order to extract the best out of every individual the communitarians favour a more positive role of the state- one which encourages the common good towards which every individual would conform. In other words, the state should encourage that the individual good is in line with the common good and not in conflict with it. Only then the state can be called a *just* state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 16 : In what ways is the *Self* of the individual attached to the society.

……

Q 17: The communitarians, the state should forego its neutrality and pursue politics of common good. (True/False)

……

4.7 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF COMMUNITARIANISM

One major problem with communitarianism is that it does not provide for strategies or ways through which the political authority/state could ensure a communitarian way of life. Unlike liberalism which specifically mentions the mechanisms (elections, individual rights, market economy etc.) which would lead to liberal state, communitarianism remains just a moral philosophy.

Secondly, communitarians give too much importance to society and community such that it would constrict and curtail individual freedom and autonomy. In such a scenario the community might turn authoritarian, against whose values the individual might be judged. In short the Self would be constrained by the community. Such a community might prove suffocating for an individual and would do no good for her/him. As Will Kymlicka argues, such oppressive community might lead to subordination of individuals, threatening their creativities and psychological health. (Kymlicka 1993, pp. 208-221).

Also, the idea of common good put forward by the communitarians is also problematic for a society which is plural. For example, a typical Indian society is divided by various languages, religions, values, cultures and traditions. In such a scenario it would be extremely difficult to formulate a common concept of good which would form the benchmark for individual good.Even if formulated, such common good would surely prove difficult and conservative to most of the individuals.

However, the contributions of communitarianism cannot be discounted. Excessive focus on individual's rights and freedom who owes nothing to society is a precarious idea. It would give rise to selfish and self-centered individuals leading to chaos and disharmony in society. An example of it is already visible in present day liberal societies in terms of breakdown of families, divorce and separation in marital relations, children viewing old parents as burdens and sending them off to old age homes and so forth. By shifting the focus back to community and recognizing its value in individuals' life, communitarians have played an important role in saving society from disintegration.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 18. Present two points of criticisms against communitarianism.

……

……



4.8 LET US SUM UP

- Limited Government is the basic political implection of liberlarianism. It seeks to provide free will participation.
- While discussing the principles of libertarianism, we have to learn about principles like- individualism, individual rights, spontaneous order, rule of law, limited government, free markets, the virtue of production, natural harmany of interest, peace ect.
- As libertarianism, F.A.Hayek, in his book "Constitution of Liberty''(1960) used the terms 'liberty' and 'freedom' interchangeably. Hayek explains individual freedom with three different meaning of freedom , which represent ' political freedom ', 'inner freedom' and 'fredom as power'
- Again, Hayek shows two general themes which managed society, realets with freedom, these are two types of order (example

government planning) and spontaneous order (example- the market).

- Nozick in his 'Anarchy, State and Utopia', developed a political theory which he named "Entitlement Theory".
- The main purpose of 'Anarchy, state and Utopia' is to show that the minimal state and only the minimal state is morally justified.
- Communitarianism would imply a philosophy which emphasizes the importance of the community in an individual's life and that the latter is obligated towards the community.
- The communitarians argue that if the *'good'* of the community is pursued over the 'right' of the individual (to pursue his goals), than every individual in the community would automatically be happy.



4.9 FURTHER READING

1) Heywood ,Andrew (2003). *Political Ideologies*, (Third Edition). Palgrave Macmillian Publication.

2) Johari, J. C. *Contemporary Political Theory- New Dimensions, Basic Concepts and Major Trends.* New Delhi : Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

3) Hoveyda, Abbas & Kumar ,Ranajay (2012) . *Political Theory*.Pearson, New Delhi.

4) Gauba, O.P.(2012). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. Macmillan Publishers Pvt. Ltd.



4.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : John Locke, Adam Smith

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Lawrence Reed.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : In the words of Sharom Harris, "Libertarianism is, as the name implies the belief in liberty. Libertarianism believes that each person owns his own life and property and has the right to make his own choinces as to how he lives his life and uses his property– as long as he simply respects the equal right of others to do the same".

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Individuals.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Liberty.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : "Constitution of Liberty".

Ans to Q. No. 8 : Constructed order and Spontaneous order.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : True.

Ans to Q. No. 10 : Coercion.

Ans to Q. No. 11 : Anarchy, State and Utopea.

Ans to Q. No. 12 : Entitlement Theory.

Ans to Q. No. 13 : True

Ans to Q. No. 14 : True

Ans to Q. No. 15 : The communitarians argue that in no way the *Self* is detached from the society. An individual is rather shaped and defined by the community in which he is born or resides. Michael Sandel talks about the 'embedded self'- a self whose identity is shaped by the community. Every individual or *Self* has a background or history and they can be located in it. In other words, individuals are shaped by their social circumstances in which they find themselves in. Every individual, first of all belongs to the family, then to religion, community and nation. This history or background essentially influences values of the Self. Alasdair MacIntyre puts forward the idea of 'narrative self',which implies that our identity is shaped by the bonds and relationships of community and society and is not a result of individual choice.In similar tone, Charles Taylor argues that the development of an individual takes place only when it is 'situated' in a society.

Ans to Q. No. 16 : True

Ans to Q. No. 17 :

(i) One major problem with communitarianism is that it does not provide for strategies or ways through which the political authority/ state could ensure a communitarian way of life. Unlike liberalism which specifically mentions the mechanisms (elections, individual rights, market economy etc.) which would lead to liberal state, communitarianism remains just a moral philosophy.

(ii) Secondly, communitarians give too much importance to society and community such that it would constrict and curtail individual

freedom and autonomy. In such a scenario the community might turn authoritarian, against whose values the individual might be judged. In short the Self would be constrained by the community. Such a community might prove suffocating for an individual and would do no good for her/him. As Will Kymlicka argues, such oppressive community might lead to subordination of individuals, threatening their creativities and psychological health.

4.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name the most influential work of Robert Nozick published in 1974.
Q 2 : Define the concept of libertarianism.
Q 3 : What are the principles of libertarianism.
Q 4 : Explain the basic principles of libertarianism.
Q 5 : Discuss the Hayek's views on liberty and freedom.
Q 6 : Discuss about Nozick's views on state.
Q 6: Explain the meaning of communitarianism.

****

UNIT 5 : CAPITALISM- CLASS PERSPECTIVE OF KARL MARX

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Dialectical Materialism

5.4 Marxian notion on Capitalism

5.5 Class Perspective- Karl Marx

5.6 Marxian Approach to the study of politics

5.7 Let Us Sum Up

5.8 Further Readings

5.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.10 Model Question

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to -

- describe the Marxian ideology
- discuss the Marxist notion on Capitalism
- explain the Marxian Perspective of Class and State
- discuss the Marxist vision of a Communist society

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Karl Heinrich Marx was born in Germany, (1818-1867).He was a philosopher, social scientist, historian, revolutionary and without a doubt the most influential socialist thinker that emerged in the 19th century. Some of his major works are- *Capital: Critique of Political Economy* (1867), *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) etc.

5.3 DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Dialectical materialism is the foundation on which the entire structure of Marxian thoughts rests. Although, Karl Marx's theory of Dialectical

materialism is borrowed from G.W. Friedrich Hegel, yet Marx revised it in a fundamental way. Hegel had applied the dialectics to explain the life process of the human brain, i.e. process of thinking which under the name of 'the idea' i.e. the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought which is known as Hegel's idealistic interpretation of history.

Although Marx has borrowed the idealistic philosophy of Hegel but he applied the dialectics to explain the material conditions of life and in the process of doing so he denounced the Hegelian philosophy of dialectical idealism by the theory of dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism is the philosophical basis of Marxism and it is composed of two words- dialectics and materialism. The word dialectics implies the law of social development while materialism refers to the ultimate reality. According to dialectical materialism, the society moves on the basis of certain definite laws. All fundamental historical changes are determined by the mode of production or the economic forces. Change in the mode of production has two components namely (a) forces of production and (b) relations of production both of which bring consistent change in social relations. For Marx, history is not the product of the spirit but the effect of material class struggle in society. The materialistic conception of history is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of the development of society. In Marxism the society develops as a result of contradiction and conflict through three stages: thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. Thesis is the established order while those who challenge it's constitute is anti-thesis and the result of the clash between thesis and anti-thesis, synthesis arises which is the higher stage of development. For example- the slave owning society was the thesis which was challenged by the slaves resulted in the establishment of feudalism as synthesis. Later, as the forces of production are not static so synthesis became the thesis because in Marxism matter is the ultimate reality it is also called as the law of negation which means one thing grows out of another and then battles with it because the inherent tendency of development is in the direction of achieving a perfect society. Consequently, superstructure of society is created on the foundation of productive forces and Marx through dialectical materialism explains the nature of human society and its development.

5.4 MARXIAN NOTION ON CAPITALISM

According to Karl Marx, capitalism will certainly turn to socialism. It refers to his belief that capitalism contains within itself conditions that would be disadvantageous to its own existence, it would eventually lead to the establishment of a socialist mode of living even though possibly not to the extent that Marx had predicted.

In the writings of Marx, we can see that Marx was influenced byHegel, who developed a dialectical method with philosophical assumptions to which Marx although disagreed and instead he presented a materialistic conception of history, stating that history is the development through class struggles as a result of economic differences. Throughout the history evidence can be found of subordination of one class to another because of the economic gap, leading to conflict in the realization of theireconomic interests. Marxism believes in the existence of two opposing classes: the bourgeoisie, who are the owners of the means of production, and the proletariat, the workers who own only their labour. The bourgeoisie adopted the capitalist mode of production in their search for increased profits. It is this way of production granted the bourgeoisie political and economic power and changing society around them. However this led to thedegradation standards of the living of the proletariat, a factor which Marx believed would lead to the fall of the capitalist system. Marx argued that, the exploitative nature of the capitalist isthe source of class antagonism. The nature of this exploitation can be understood through Marx's labour theory of value. Marx believed that the worker's work day can be divided into two parts: necessary labour time during which the worker produces an amount that is equal in value to his wage, and surplus labour time which accounts for the rest of the day where the worker produces what Marx termed as absolute surplus value. It is with this surplus value that the capitalist gains profit. This then becomes the source of exploitation, as the capitalist, takes the surplus value to increase their own profits, i.e. the profits effectively go to the pockets of the capitalist even when production is considered a social activity.

This theory highlights an issue with the capitalist system which Marx called fetishism of commodity. This is the belief that commodities have power

capable of controlling producers. Commodities were seen to have inherent value which can then be exchanged with other commodities using a measure of price. This value is an expression of the average conditions of production involved in the manufacture of that commodity. However, this does not necessarily reflect the labour value of the commodity, which is the social dimension of production. As opposed to Marx's labour theory of value, labour power was seen like any other commodity. Its value is instead given by how much is required to just sustain the worker and in maintaining reproduction. As such it is necessary for the bourgeoisie to ensure that the proletariat is only given enough so as not to own property. This is crucial for the continued survival of the capitalist system.

Despite the worsening conditions of their workers, the capitalist enforced this system as competition between them grows. There would be a pressing need for increased profits and thus increased production, which led the capitalists to begin employing machines for their better efficiency in churning out produce. The production system becomes more monotonous, effectively eliminating the need for specialized labour and thus reducing the status of the worker for machines. For the capitalists, less labour to pay wages for while maintaining rate of production meant lowering of production costs. However, profits are proportional to exploitation of the workers. Thus, for those who are still in the workforce, not only are their labours reduced to uncreative repetition, they are subject to more exploitation by the capitalists.

Accordingly anarchy of production was observed, whereby the society driven by competition and the capitalist survived were those who were better equipped. According to Marx, this would lead to economic crises and will resultant from a contradiction between the forces and the relations of production. The proletariat cannot afford to buy goods which they cooperate in their manufacture. The capitalist system further reflected this gloomy condition in Marx's conception of alienation. He identified four types of alienation. The worker is alienated from his produce as it is taken from him by the capitalists for the appropriation of profit. The worker is also alienated from his labour as it is reduced to repetition by the mechanization of production. Third, the worker is alienated from himself as he is not allowed to exercise his will and creative nature to actualize his product. Finally, he is

alienated from others as they are engaged in a competition for higher wages. The concept of alienation was an important point for Marx as he believed that the human nature is expressed through labour. He argued, that history is built upon the successive labour of each generation, each one benefitting its successor.In order to do away with alienation, Marx believed that a revolution is required, in order to eliminate the exploitation of the capitalist class and so the capitalist system become no longer be able to sustain society as an economic system because the exploitation of the proletariat class have resulted in a class consciousness of their state of affairs, leading to the proletariat class gaining power over the capitalists. The elements of socialism would gradually be introduced into the state, whereby conditions were placed to invoke an environment of freedom of autonomy and benefit for society rather than concentration to a select few.

In validating Marx's theory of historical materialism and the natural progression of capitalism to socialism, one has to consider the events that highlights the social and economic inequalities that corporatism have influenced the government and this theory pushes for fair distribution where the awakening of the proletariats is central to Marx's revolutionary theory leading to the withering away of the state and creating a stateless or class-less society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : From whom did Karl Marx borrow the theory of Dialectical materialism?

……

……

Q 2 : "The worker is alienated from his produce". Justify

……

……

……

Q 3 : What are the two components of the mode of production?

……

……

5.5 CLASS PERSPECTIVE- KARL MARX

Marx's class theory rests on the premise that 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.' According to this view, ever since human society emerged from its primitive state it has remained fundamentally divided between classes who clash in the pursuit of class interests. For Marx society differs from one another by its mode of production and each mode of production generates a distinctive class system, where one class directs and controls the other class. They share antagonistic relationship because they are in conflict over the appropriation of what is produced. The dominant class according to Marx not only controls the material production but they control the society as a whole. Later, the other or the working class will gain strength and realize their exploitation as a result they will generation revolution in opposition to the ruling class. According to this view revolution will take place at the highest stage of capitalism. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established and the institution of the state would gradually wither away creating a stateless and classless society.

Thus, the theory of class is to the core of the Marx social theory, for these social classes are designed within a particular mode of production that tends to establish a particular form of state, involves into class conflicts with the goal of establishing a classless society and to bring about major changes in the structure of the society



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Karl Marx in his writings mainly mentioned about two classes in the society. (true/false)

……..

Q 5 : 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles'. Which approach is associated with it?

……

Q 6 : What is a 'class-less society' in the Marxist Approach?

……

5.6 MARXIAN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS

Marxian Approach to the study of politics is based on the writings of Karl Marx and Engels. This approach is also known as the class approach to politics because it seeks to study politics in terms of relation between the two economic classes namely, the rich and the poor. Some of the major works of Karl Marx are- *Capital: Critique of Political Economy* (1867), *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) etc.

The following are the features of the Marxist Approach to politics-

- **Existence of infra- structure and super-structure:** The Marxian Approach believes that the society has two structures namely- infra- structure and super-structure. In the super-structure there are elements like- law, customs, traditions etc. of the society. But according to this approach the super-structure are based on the infra-structure. In the infra-structure there is the economic factors. If the economic factors are changed the entire super-structural elements will also be changed. This is also known as the economic interpretation of history.

- **State as Class Institution:** Marxism believes that state is the instrument of the rich class. It is an instrument for the exploitation of the poor. The state is not a natural- social institution. It is a machine created by the rich for exploiting the poor. This approach shows that in all stages of human civilization the state has always been a friend of the rich. That is why, the Marxian approach predicted that after the Proletarian revolution the institution of state will wither away which will able to establish a class-less society.

- **Five stages of historical development:** The five stages are namely, Primitive Communism, Slave System, Feudal System, Capitalist System and Socialist System. In the first four stages the state is always an instrument of exploitation. According to this view revolution will take place at the highest stage of capitalism. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship

of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established the institution of the state would gradually disappear establishing a class less society.

- **Emphasis on class-struggle:** In Marxism, the class-struggle is between thecapitalist and the proletariats. Till the capitalist stage, class struggle would be dominated by the capitalist. Marx predicted that in the highest stage of capitalism there would be revolution. In the post-revolutionary period class-struggle would gradually come to an end and the process for the establishment of communism starts. Here, class- struggle ultimately leads to the occurrence of revolution.

Accordingly, this approach insist on an analysis of the economic structure of the society, historical stages of its development and the corresponding class- structure in order to understand the nature of political system. This approach has also faced a number of criticisms namely as- (a) this approach makes too much emphasis on economic factors and has failed to appreciate the importance of non-economic factors in the understanding of politics.

(b)this approach provides no scope for independent political analysis. It is because the entire Marxian approach is biased infavour of economic factors only. In the absence of independent political analysis the studies undertaken by the Marxian Approach almost always become identical.

(c) This approach has completely neglected the welfare dimension of the institution of the state. The critics stated that it would be wrong to assume that the state is an instrument of exploitation only. So, it has described as deficient.

(d) The critics stated that, in actual practice it would be very difficult to pre-ordain the course of class-struggle leading to the establishment of communism and it is based on individual political conviction of Marx only.

However, despite it this approach has contributed towards a class frame-work for the analysis of the process of the development of human civilization.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7 : Marxism supports Capitalism. (True/False)

……..…….....……..…….....

Q 8 : In the year…….. Communist Manifesto was published. (Fill in the Blank)



5.7 LET US SUM UP

- Karl Marx was a German Philosopher who is considered to be one of the most influential thinkers of all time.
- His writings and ideas were revolutionized one that was against Capitalism and its relations to individuals, business and society.
- Marx philosophy was based on the idea of materialism, i.e. the word dialectics implies the law of social development while materialism refers to the ultimate reality. According to dialectical materialism, the society moves on the basis of certain definite laws.All fundamental historical changes are determined by the mode of production or the economic forces.
- Marx believed that it was in the stage of capitalism that the workers were exploited the most by paying them less than they are worth and the excess labour of the workers i.e. the profit is taken away by the capitalist class that leads to the unfair conditions and exploitation of the working class.
- In other words, Marx argued that the Working class are alienated by the Capitalist from the life that they should live naturally as a human and as to how they relate themselves with others in a society.
- Hence, Marx believed that gradually workers of the world should unite, go for revolution and overthrow the Capitalist class. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human

civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established the institution of the state would gradually disappear by establishing a class-less society.



5.8 FURTHER READING

1) Lenin V.I (1930):*The Teachings of Karl Marx.*NewYork: International Publishers

2) OllmanBertell (1971): *Alienation Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*. Cambridge: University Press

3) Wood Allen (2004): *Karl Marx*. New York: Routledge

4) Worsley Peter (2002): *Marx and Marxism.* New York: Routledge.

5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: G.W. Friedrich Hegel

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Marx believed that it was in the stage of capitalism that the workers were exploited the most by paying them less than they are worth and the excess labour of the workers i.e. the profit is taken away by the capitalist class that leads to the unfair conditions and exploitation of the working class.In other words, Marx argued that the Working class are alienated by the Capitalist from the life that they should live naturally as a human and as to how they relate themselves with others in a society.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : The two components namely- (a) Forces of production and (b) Relations of production bring consistent change in social relations.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : True

Ans to Q. No. 5 : Marxian Approach

Ans to Q. No. 6 : As the working class is exploited by the Capitalist in the Capitalist society so Karl Marx stated that all the workers of the world should get united and they should go for revolution against the ruling class. In Marxism, it is said that the revolution or class-struggle go for revolution and overthrow the Capitalist class. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established, there will be no further need for such an oppressive institution and with the disappearance of classes because the state is likely to wither away and to establish a 'class-less' society.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : False

Ans to Q. No. 8 : 1848



5.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Who has been the influence of Marx?

Q 2 : What is the foundation on which the entire structure of Marxian thoughts rests?

Q 3 : Who wrote the Communist Manifesto with Marx?

Q 4 : Where was Karl Marx born?

Q 5 : Write a brief note on Dialectical Materialism.

Q 6 : Write short notes on (a) Class struggle (b) Alienation

Q 7 : Examine the concept of Capitalism in Marxian Approach.

Q 8 : Explain the drawbacks of Marxian Approach.

Q 9 : Critically discuss the Marxian Approach to the study of politics?

Q 10 : Marx talks about alienation. What is alienation and in what sense are the workers alienated?

*** *******

UNIT 6 : HEGEMONIC PERSPECTIVE OF CAPITALISM- ANTONIO GRAMSCI

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 State and Civil Society

- 6.3.1 Antonio Gramsci
- 6.3.2 State and Civil Society

6.4 Concept of Civil Society

6.5 Hegemony and the State

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- explain the concept of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci
- explain Gramsci's views on State and Civil Society
- discuss the concept of civil society by Gramsci
- discuss Gramsci's views on hegemony and the state

6.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall learn about one of the most influential neo-Marxist theorists and politicians. He put forward the important concept of hegemony and was a critique of the civil society while offering a critical perspective of the capitalist state.

6.3 STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

6.3.1 Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci (22 January 1891 – 26 April 1936) was an Italian neo-Marxist theorist and politician. He wrote on political theory,

sociology and linguistics. He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy and was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.

His *Prison Notebooks* are considered a highly original contribution to 20th century political theory. Gramsci drew insights from varying sources not only other Marxists but also thinkers such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Vilfredo Pareto, Georges Sorel and Benedetto Croce. The notebooks cover a wide range of topics, including Italian history and nationalism, the French Revolution, Fascism, Fordism, civil society, folklore, religion and high and popular culture, Gramsci is best known for his theory of cultural hegemony, which describes how states use cultural institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies.

6.3.2 State and Civil Society

According to Gramsci, civil society is the arena which protects the interests of the capitalist class. The methods used to protect the interests of capitalist class are

1. *State* – the state will use force or coercion to protect the interests.
2. *Civil society*- it will use consent which is a better method to that of the method used by the state.

State and civil society both work for capitalist class. Capitalist class at first capture the mode of production and then the state and after capturing all the institutions it will capture the civil society. Civil society is created to hide the exploitation of the capitalist class done through the capitalist state. The working class believes that capitalist state is good as they could not realise the exploitations done on them because of the pressure of civil society which results in suppression of any kind of revolution. The capitalists use civil society institutions in order to create hegemonic control over all classes of society.

The basic premise of the theory of hegemony is one with which few would disagree: that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas.

"The foundation of a ruling class," he wrote, "is equivalent to the creation of a Weltanschauung." (Weltanschauung- "world view") Marx had observed that "the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." Gramsci, however, found this fact much more suggestive than had Marx, for whom it was but a corollary of economic theory.

The concept of hegemony is associated with imposition of values by the dominant class by artificially creating consent. It means that in a culturally diverse society, the ruling class (the bourgeoisie) tries to dominate the same by trying to impose its own ideas, values, beliefs and mores by way of manipulation. Subsequently, the world view of the ruling class becomes the dominant ideology which is to be followed by all sections.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Who is the author of *"Prison Notebooks" ?*

.....

Q 2 : Antonio Gramsci was a founding member and one-time leader of the Communist Party of……..(Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q 3 : According to Gramsci, a civil society is the arena which protects the interests of the capitalist class. (True/False)

.....

Q 4 : Mention the two methods used by the capitalists to protect their interests.

.....

6.4 THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Gramsci's thinking was rooted in Marx and Lenin. He made all the Marxist assumptions about the material origins of class and the role of class

struggle and consciousness in social change. He also took Marx's notion of bourgeous "hegemony" in civil society as expressed by Marx and Engels in "The German Ideology" (1845-46, in Tucker 1968, 162-164). He made it a central theme of his own version of the functioning of the capitalist system. This hegemony, in Gramscian terms, meant the ideological predominance of bourgeois values and norms over the subordinate classes : it is, in the words of one anlyst, "an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations"(Williams, in Miliband 1963,162)

According to Gramsci, the institutions of civil society like family, school and church familiarise the citizens with the rules of behaviour and teach them to show respect to the authority of the ruling classes. It was in his concept of civil society and his elevations of bourgeois hegemony to a predominant place in the science of politics that Gramsci went beyond Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. In so doing, he emphasized much more than earlier writers the role of the superstructure in perpetuating classes and preventing the development of class consciousness(Texier, in Mouffe 1969). He assigned to the state part of this function of promoting a single (bourgeois) concept of reality and therefore, gave the state a more extensive role in perpetuating class. Gramsci gave the mass of workers more credit than Lenin for being able to develop class consciousness themselves, but at the same time he also saw the obstacles to consciousness as more formidable in western society than Lenin had imagined ; it was not merely lack of understanding of their position in the economic process that kept workers from comprehending their class role, nor was it only the "private" institutions of society, such as religion, that were responsible for keeping the working class from self-realization, but it was the state itself that was involved in reproducing the relations of production. In other words, the state was much more than the coercive apparatus of the bourgeoisie; the state included the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

These notions emerge more clearly when we understand the differences between the concepts of civil society and the state as used by "naturalists" like Locke and Rousseau, and those of Hegel, and Marx and Engels. The naturalists view saw civil society as the reign of order over a state of nature in which men found themselves in some pre-state society. Civil society meant an organization of individuals beyond the family, production, etc., into a collective entity governed by laws. Men voluntarily entered this collective organisation. Civil society, then, was the state of nature organized and ordered by the collective will – by the state. And under some interpretation civil society could even be regarded as the State itself.

Hegel, on the other hand, called civil society the pre political society, that which the naturalists had named the state of nature. For Hegel, the civil society was the reign of "dissoluteness, misery, and physical and ethical corruption" (Hegel, in Mouffe 1969,28), just the opposite of the naturalist conception. Hegel's civil society had to be regulated and dominated by the superior intellectual capacity of the state, which was the highest form of man's ethical and moral order. The Marxian concept of civil society as the structural moment can be considered as the point of departure of Gramsci's analysis. But Gramci's theory according to Bobbio (1969), introduced a profound innovation in the Marxist tradition; civil society in Gramsci does not belong to the structural moment, but to the super structural one.

For both Marx and Gramsci, civil society is the key factor in understanding capitalist development, but for Marx civil society is structure (relation in production). For Gramsci, on the other hand, it is superstructure that represents the active and positive factor in historical development.

6.5 HEGEMONY AND THE STATE

Hegemony is a crucial concept in the Gramscian system. But its important also derives from the historical situation of Italy in the 1920s. Hegemony means the ideological predominance of the dominant classes in civil society over the subordinate.

Gramsci's originality as a Marxist lay partly in his conception of the nature of bourgeois rule (and indeed of any previous established social order), in his argument that the system's real strength does not lie in the violence of the ruling class or the coercive power of its state apparatus, but in the acceptance by the ruled of a "conception of the world" which belongs to the rulers. Bobbic(1969) argues that Gramsci inverts traditional Marxist theory in two ways : first, Gramsci emphasizes the primacy of the ideological superstructures over the economic structure; second, he emphasizes the primacy of civil society (consensus) over political society (force). Although for both Marx and Gramsci, the civil society is fundamental to understanding the capitalist relations and their reproduction. Bobbic suggests that for Gramsci, it is superstructure that represents the active and positive factor in historical development; rather than economic structure.

For Gramsci neither force nor any of the logic of capitalist production could explain the consent that production enjoyed among the subordinate classes. Rather, the explanation for this consent lay in the power of consciousness and ideology. But, at the same time, in that very consciousness lay the foundations of a strategy for gaining the active consent of the masses through their self organization, starting from civil society, and in all the hegemonic apparatuses – from the factory to the school and the family.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony has two main principal meanings: first, it is a process in civil society whereby a fraction of the dominant class exercises control through its moral and intellectual leadership over the dominated classes.

Second, it is a relationship between the dominant and dominated classes. Hegemony involves the successful attempts of the dominant class to use its political, moral, and intellectual leadership to establish its view of the world as all-inclusive and universal, and to shape the interest and needs of subordinate groups.

We can begin to understand Gramsci's analysis of the state, the role of intellectuals (and education) in the superstructure (and therefore in the

process of historical change) and his view of the strategy necessary to replace the bourgeois state(and civil society) in Western Europe with a proletarian hegemony.

For Gramsci, the state as superstructure becomes a primary rather than a secondary variable in understanding capitalist society. Furthermore, he incorporated the apparatus of hegemony in the state as well as civil society, thereby expanding it beyond the Marxist-Leninist conception of the state as a coercive instrument of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the state is, at one and the same time, a primary instrument for the expansion of dominant class power and a coercive force (political society) that keeps subordinate groups weak and disorganized.

We are still on the terrain of the identification of state and government — an identification which is precisely a representation of the economic-corporate form, in other words of the confusion between civil society and political society. For it should be remarked that the general notion of the State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one mighty say that State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion). (Gramsci 1961,263)

This is one view of what Gramsci meant by the state and its role in dominant-class hegemony. However, as Anderson (1966) has shown, there are several definitions of hegemony and the state's place in it appearing in the Prison Notebooks. In the first "oscillation," the opposition is between the state and civil society; hegemony (direction) pertains to civil society and coercion (domination) to the state. There is a contrast between civil society and the state – the dominant group exercises hegemony through society and direct domination through the state and its juridicial government. The dominant class gains consent to its social domination through hegemony in the society as whole, but exercises domination through the control of the state's coercive apparatuses. "The state is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains the domination, but manages to win the active consent of those whom it rules" (Gramsci 1961,244)

In the second definition , the state includes civil society; it encompasses civil society. “The General notion of the state includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that the state = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony armoured with coercion) (Anderson 1966, 12-13). In that case, hegemony is not a pole of consent in contrast to another of coercion, but as a synthesis of consent and coercion. Hegemony is no longer confined to civil society but is also located in the state a as “political hegemony,” contrasted with “civil hegemony.” Thus, hegemony is everywhere, but in different forms; the state becomes an apparatus of hegemony, encompassing civil society and only distinguished from it by the coercive apparatuses pertaining only to the state.

In the third definition, the state and the civil society are identical, thus, consent and coersion become co-extensive with the state and hegemony is inseperable from the state apparatuses themselves. There is no longer a distribution of hegemony between civil society and political society. State and civil society both are merged into a larger unity and the state is the same as the social formation itself, including governmental and various private apparatuses. As we will see, it is this last definition that Althusser uses in his “ideological state apparatuses”: all ideological and political superstructures – including the family, trade unions, reformists political parties, and private media- are by definition state apparatuses, or – to put in another way – are hegemonic apparatuses.

In the next conception of the state, we see that it is part of dominant class hegemony. In this definition, Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus – as part of the system developed by the bourgeoise to perpetuate and expand their control of society in the context of class struggle. The incorporation of the state into dominant class hegemony emerged, according to him, from the nature of the bourgeois class itself – from the fact that the had constituted itself as an organism of continous movement, capable of absorbing and culturally transforming the entire society.

All of this suggests that Gramsci's view of the state was principally ideological, that it was a hegemonic apparatus that arose from the conception of the bourgeois class as a potentially totally inclusive group, and hence to a system of laws and norms that treated individuals as if they were going to be incorporated into the bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the importance of the state as an apparatus of hegemony is for Gramsci still rooted in the class structure, a class structure defined by and tied to the relations in production. Gramsci raises man's thought (consciousness) to a newly prominent place in the "Philosophy of Praxis" (as he calls Marxism). Control of consciousness is as much or more an area of political struggle as control of the forces of production.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus. (True/False)

……

Q 6 : State and civil society both work for the capitalist class. (True/False)

……

Q 7 : What is hegemony?

……

……

……



6.6 LET US SUM UP

- Antonio Gramsci was born on 22 January 1891.
- He was an Italian neo Marxist theorist and politician.
- He wrote on political theory, sociology and linguistics.

- He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy and was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.
- According to Gramsci, civil society is the arena which protects the interest of the capitalist class.
- State and civil society both work for capitalist class.
- Capitalist class at first capture the mode of production and then the state and after capturing all the institutions it will capture the civil society.
- Gramsci's thinking was rooted in Marx and Lenin.
- He also took Marx's notion of bourgeous "hegemony" in civil society as expressed by Marx and Engels in The German Ideology
- The naturalists view saw civil society as the reign of order over a state of nature in which men found themselves in some pre-state society. Civil society meant an organization of individuals beyond the family, production, etc.
- Hegel, on the other hand, called civil society the pre political society, that which the naturalists had named the state of nature.
- Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus.
- Gramsci raises man's thought (consciousness) to a newly prominent place in the "Philosophy of Praxis" (as he calls Marxism).



6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Santucci, Antonio A. *Antonio Gramsci*. APH Publishing Corporation , New Delhi.
2) Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Aaakar Books, New Delhi.

6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Antonio Gramsci .

Ans to Q. No. 2 : True

Ans to Q. No. 3 : He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : State and Civil Society

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : True

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Hegemony is a crucial concept in the Gramscian system. But its importance also derives from the historical situation of Italy in the 1920s. Hegemony means the ideological predominance of the dominant classes in civil society over the subordinate.



6.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name a literary work of Gramsci.

Q 2 : What is Civil Society according to Gramsci?

Q 3 : What is hegemony according to Gramsci ?

Q 4 : Discuss Gramsci's Concept of Hegemonic State.

Q 5 : Discuss Gramsci's views on civil society.

Q 6 : Explain Gramsci's views on Hegemony and the State

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UNIT 7 : REFORMIST PERSPECTIVE OF CAPITALISM- JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Revision of Capitalism

7.3.1 John Maynard Keynes

7.3.2 Revision of Capitalism

7.4 Let Us Sum Up

7.5 Further Readings

7.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.7 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain the ideas of Keynes
- discuss the views of Keynes with regard to revision of capitalism

7.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall learn about one of the leading economists of the 20th century, namely, John Maynard Keynes. Keynes introduced an element of welfares in economics which is vastly important for the peace and stability of the polity. Keynes talked advocated increased government expenditure during economic crisis to bail out of the same.

7.3 REVISION OF CAPITALISM

7.3.1 John Maynard Keynes

John Maynard Keynes, was a British economist whose ideas vitally transformed the theory and practice of macroeconomics along with the economic policies of governments. He extended and elaborated on, as well as greatly refined the prior works on the causes of business cycles. He is believed to be one of the most significant economists of the 20th century. He is accredited with the title of founder of modern macroeconomics and his brand of economics is called Keynesian economics.

Like his predecessors Adam Smith and Karl Marx, Keynes also believed that economics was not only about studying the proficient distribution of resources. For him, a good life meant beauty, art, love, morality — the passions that mark a civilization — and the value of economics as he understood lay in its pursuit of the sustainability and wealth that allows one's passions to nourish.

He was born in Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England, in an upper-middle-class family.

7.3.2 Revision of Capitalism : John Maynard Keynes

John Maynard Keynes' views on capitalism were highlighted during the Great Depression. He analysed the phenomenon of capitalism and presented his views, which were quite influential and effective as well. The primary importance of Keynes' work lies in the views that he had forwarded about the role of government in a capitalist economy. Keynes had written during the Great Depression. During that time, unemployment in the United States of America was at about twenty five percent, and millions of people suffered under this economic crisis. They lost their savings as well as their jobs. What was even more disillusioning for the people was that there

was no clear path out of the Depression for them. This massive catastrophe in the form of the Great Depression led many to question if that was the end of capitalism.

In the given backdrop of this largely social and economic crisis, the theory of Adam Smith was questioned and challenged. Adam Smith, who is regarded as the father of modern economics, had stated in his book, The Wealth of Nations (1776), about the theory of the invisible hand. This theory was based on the idea that in the management of business affairs the individuals in society, each acting according to his or her own self-interest, manages to purchase and produce the goods and services that they as a society need to sustain. He called the method or technique, by which such self-regulation occurs as "the invisible hand." Smith is therefore also regarded as the founder of classical economics based on the theory of laissez-faire, which suggested that, the state should stay away and distance itself from the people and their economic activities, as the literal meaning of laissez-faire, translates into – 'leave us alone'.

Karl Marx, the German economist, and the successor to Smith, made different analyses and conclusions. Marx viewed the entire economic system as an exploitative one. For Marx, entire history was the history of class struggle. He believed that society in all stages of its existence comprised of two classes, the capitalists that is the 'haves', and the working class, that is the 'have-nots.' He said that there was constant friction and struggle among these two classes, and that the haves indulge in exploitation and oppression of the have-nots. And when the oppression reaches its peak, the have-nots, that is the proletariat revolts and that would be the final revolution to bring about a stage known as the dictatorship of the proletariat, that would ultimately usher in a phase of classlessness, and then subsequently, communism and socialism.

So, for Marx, the views of Smith did not hold ground. Where Smith saw harmony and growth, Marx saw unsteadiness, struggle, and decline. In Marx's view, presented in work Das Kapital (Capital),

a capitalist's profits essentially result from exploiting labour—that is, from underpaying workers for the value that they actually create. This was the prime reason for class-struggle and he went o to prophesize that this class struggle would ultimately lead to the downfall of capitalism. But Marx's predictions were not right, firstly, it was seen that the centrally planned economies of the communist countries were very inefficient in producing and delivering goods and services ; and secondly, the hike in pay of the workers, nullified his other prediction that labour is often exploited in the name of profits.

And then, we have Keynes, who presented his own views on capitalism, which were different from both Smith and Marx. Like already mentioned Keynes had written during the Great Depression and he concentrated on finding solutions to the problems of that time. Keynes alleged that there was only one way out of that crisis and that was for the government to start spending so as to put money in the private-sector pockets and to get demand for goods and services up and started again.

Prior to Keynesian economics, classical economic views held that recurring swings in employment and economic output would be self-effacing and self-adjusting. According to this classical theory, if cumulative demand in the economy fell, the consequential fault in production and jobs would usher in a fall in the prices and wages. A lower intensity of inflation and wages would encourage employers to make capital investments and take up more people, invigorating employment and restoring economic growth.

In classical economic theory, it is believed that output and prices will ultimately return to a state of equilibrium. But, the Great Depression proved otherwise. Keynes rejected the idea that the economy would return to a natural state of equilibrium. On the other hand, Keynes believed regarded economies as being constantly in flux, both contracting (recession) and expanding (boom). This natural cycle is described as boom and bust. In contrast, Keynes advocated a counter-cyclical fiscal policy. According to this policy, the

government ought to increase taxes or cut spending at the time of boom and during periods of economic recession , the government should go for lower taxes and encourage spending.

Thus, Keynes asserted on increased government expenditures and lower taxes to kindle demand and tow the global economy out of the Depression. Consequently, the term “Keynesian economics” came to refer to the conception that optimal fiscal performance could be achieved, and economic sprawls could be prevented, by impacting aggregate demand through activist stabilization and economic involvement of policies by the government. Hence, Keynesian economics is basically rooted in the “demand-side” theory that centers on alterations in the economy in the short run.

With his milestone of a work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* published in 1936 Keynes persuaded a generation of thinkers and leaders to discard the conventional belief in balanced budgets. He demonstrated how economies could get caught in deadlocks like recession or depression and further argued that governments could shatter the this trap by borrowing to finance public spending that again helped to restart consumer activity and to restore business vigour. His ideas were instrumental in creating the golden era in the post-world war period, and he is also credited in with the formation of the two global economic giants, The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which operate even today.

Keynes is therefore quite rightly regarded as the philosopher-king of the modern mixed economy. He played a vital role in dismantling the belief in the laissez-faire system. For Keynes, economics was not only about the allocation of resources, it was about stability and wealth. Thus, he envisioned a society out of the clutches of economic crises, with the help of governments to reinvigorate the economic system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : The book entitled "The Wealth of Nations" was written by whom ?

.....

Q 2 : Name the monumental book written by Keynes ?

.....

Q 3 : Explain the basic concept of Keynesian economics ?

.....

.....

.....

Q 4 : The formation of which two institutions is Keynes credited with ?

.....

.....

.....



7.4 LET US SUM UP

- John Maynard Keynes made substantial contributions to the understandings of modern economics.
- He fundamentally altered the definitions of classical economics and even diverted from Marxist understandings to offer his take on economics and society. Hence, we can rightly regard him as the father of modern economics of as the founder of mixed economy.
- John Maynard Keynes, was a British economist whose ideas vitally transformed the theory and practice of macroeconomics along with the economic policies of governments.

- He extended and elaborated on, as well as greatly refined the prior works on the causes of business cycles. He is believed to be one of the most significant economists of the 20th century. He is accredited with the title of founder of modern macroeconomics and his brand of economics is called Keynesian economics.

- Like his predecessors Adam Smith and Karl Marx, Keynes also believed that economics was not only about studying the proficient distribution of resources.

- For Keynes, a good life meant beauty, art, love, morality — the passions that mark a civilization — and the value of economics as he understood lay in its pursuit of the sustainability and wealth that allows one's passions to nourish.

- John Maynard Keynes' views on capitalism were highlighted during the Great Depression. He analysed the phenomenon of capitalism and presented his views, which were quite influential and effective as well.

- The primary importance of Keynes' work lies in the views that he had forwarded about the role of government in a capitalist economy. Keynes had written during the Great Depression. During that time, unemployment in the United States of America was at about twenty five percent, and millions of people suffered under this economic crisis.

- In the given backdrop of this largely social and economic crisis, the theory of Adam Smith was questioned and challenged. Adam Smith, who is regarded as the father of modern economics, had stated in his book, The Wealth of Nations (1776), about the theory of the invisible hand.

- This theory was based on the idea that in the management of business affairs the individuals in society, each acting according to his or her own self-interest, manages to purchase and produce the goods and services that they as a society need to sustain.

- He called the method or technique, by which such self-regulation occurs as “the invisible hand.” Smith is therefore also regarded as the founder of classical economics based on the theory of laissez-faire, which suggested that, the state should stay away and distance itself from the people and their economic activities, as the literal meaning of laissez-faire, translates into – ‘leave us alone’.

- Karl Marx, the German economist, and the successor to Smith, made different analyses and conclusions. Marx viewed the entire economic system as an exploitative one.

- For Marx, entire history was the history of class struggle. He believed that society in all stages of its existence comprised of two classes, the capitalists that is the ‘haves’, and the working class, that is the ‘have-nots.’

- So, for Marx, the views of Smith did not hold ground. Where Smith saw harmony and growth, Marx saw unsteadiness, struggle, and decline. In Marx’s view, presented in work Das Kapital (Capital), a capitalist’s profits essentially result from exploiting labour—that is, from underpaying workers for the value that they actually create.

- This was the prime reason for class-struggle and he went o to prophesize that this class struggle would ultimately lead to the downfall of capitalism.

- Keynes presented his own views on capitalism, which were different from both Smith and Marx. Like already mentioned Keynes had written during the Great Depression and he concentrated on finding solutions to the problems of that time.

- Keynes alleged that there was only one way out of that crisis and that was for the government to start spending so as to put money in the private-sector pockets and to get demand for goods and services up and started again.

- Prior to Keynesian economics, classical economic views held that recurring swings in employment and economic output would be self-effacing and self-adjusting. According to this classical theory,

if cumulative demand in the economy fell, the consequential fault in production and jobs would usher in a fall in the prices and wages.

- A lower intensity of inflation and wages would encourage employers to make capital investments and take up more people, invigorating employment and restoring economic growth.

- Thus, Keynes asserted on increased government expenditures and lower taxes to kindle demand and tow the global economy out of the Depression.

- Consequently, the term "Keynesian economics" came to be referred to the conception that optimal fiscal performance could be achieved, and economic sprawls could be prevented, by impacting aggregate demand through activist stabilization and economic involvement of policies by the government.

- Hence, Keynesian economics is basically rooted in the "demand-side" theory that centers on alterations in the economy in the short run.

- With his milestone of a work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, published in 1936 Keynes persuaded a generation of thinkers and leaders to discard the conventional belief in balanced budgets.

- Keynes demonstrated how economies could get caught in deadlocks like recession or depression and further argued that governments could shatter the this trap by borrowing to finance public spending that again helped to restart consumer activity and to restore business vigour.

- Keynes' ideas were instrumental in creating the golden era in the post-world war period, and he is also credited in with the formation of the two global economic giants, The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which operate even today.

- Keynes is therefore quite rightly regarded as the philosopher-king of the modern mixed economy. He played a vital role in

dismantling the belief in the laissez-faire system. For Keynes, economics was not only about the allocation of resources, it was about stability and wealth. Thus, he envisioned a society out of the clutches



7.5 FURTHER READING

1) Keynes, John Maynard (2007). *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money.* Palgrave Macmillan.

2) Skidelski, Robert. *The Essential Keynes*. Penguin Publishing Group.

7.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : The Wealth of Nations (1776).

Ans to Q. No. 2 : "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money".

Ans to Q. No. 3 : "Keynesian economics" refers to the conception that optimal fiscal performance could be achieved, and economic sprawls could be prevented, by impacting aggregate demand through activist stabilization and economic involvement of policies by the government. Hence, Keynesian economics is basically rooted in the "demand-side" theory that centers on alterations in the economy in the short run.

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In classical economy theory, it is believed that output and prices will ultimately return to a state of equilibrium. But, the Great Depression proved otherwise. Keynes rejected the idea that the economy would return to a natural state of equilibrium. On the other hand, Keynes believed regarded economies as being constantly in flux, both contracting (recession) and expanding (boom). This natural cycle is described as boom and bust. In contrast, Keynes advocated a counter-cyclical fiscal policy. According to this policy, the government ought to increase taxes or cut spending at the time of boom and during periods of economic recession , the government should go for lower taxes and encourage spending.

Thus, Keynes asserted on increased government expenditures and lower taxes to kindle demand and tow the global economy out of the Depression. Consequently, the term “Keynesian economics” came to refer to the conception that optimal fiscal performance could be achieved, and economic sprawls could be prevented, by impacting aggregate demand through activist stabilization and economic involvement of policies by the government. Hence, Keynesian economics is basically rooted in the “demand-side” theory that centers on alterations in the economy in the short run.

With his milestone of a work, The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money, published in 1936 he persuaded a generation of thinkers and leaders to discard the conventional belief in balanced budgets. He demonstrated how economies could get caught in deadlocks like recession or depression and further argued that governments could shatter the this trap by borrowing to finance public spending that again helped to restart consumer activity and to restore business vigour. His ideas were instrumental in creating the golden era in the post-world war period, and he is also credited in with the formation of the two global economic giants, The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which operate even today.

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belief in the laissez-faire system. For Keynes, economics was not only about the allocation of resources, it was about stability and wealth. Thus, he envisioned a society out of the clutches of economic crises, with the help of governments to reinvigorate the economic system.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund .



7.7 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain Adam Smith's idea of the "invisible hand" in economics.

Q 2 : Discuss John Maynard Keynes' revision of capitalism.

Q 3 : Write about Keynes' assertion of increased government expenditure

Q 4 : How did Keynes differ from Adam Smith and Marx with regard to managing the global economy.

****

UNIT 8 : REVOLUTION, IMPERIALISM- V.I. LENIN

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Lenin's modification in Marxism

8.4 Lenin on Imperialism

8.5 Lenin on Revolution

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Readings

8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.9 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- describe the modifications made by Lenin in Marxism
- discuss important aspects of Imperialism by Lenin
- explain the salient features of the his views on Revolution

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall learn about one of most influential leading post-Marxist thinkers, namely Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He was a Russian Communist revolutionary and served as the head of the government of the Soviet Union.

8.3 LENIN'S MODIFICATION IN MARXISM

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov popularly known as Lenin (1870-1924) was the founder of the modern communist party in Russia. A well-known figure in the Russian Revolution of 1917. He made Marxism a practical principle in Russia. He was a theorist and a man of action. Lenin put forward the idea of the Comminist Party as a vanguard party to lead the struggle against capitalism. It was under his administration that Russia and the wider Soviet Union

turned into a one-party socialist state under the Russian Communist Party. Hence, Lenin was ideologically a Marxist but the theories developed by him are known as Leninism.

Lenin was a disciple of Marx. He always claimed that he was on a mission to rescue Marxism but in the process he made a few changes in Marxism by the use of the theory of imperialism and pointed out that capitalism survived through imperialism. He adapted Marxism in practice according to the need of time and made it applicable even in a country which was not even industrially advanced. In short, Lenin has made Marxism up to date and is said to have revised Marxism in the light of the latest developments of his time. Thus, the present-day philosophy of Communism is known as Marxism-Leninism i.e. a revised version of Marxism. Some of Lenin's works are: "State and Revolution", "Imperialism- the Highest Stage of Capitalism", and "Introduction to Marx, Engels, Marxism", "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", to name a few.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When was V.I. Lenin born?

……

Q 2 : The political theories of Lenin are known as…….(Fill in the Blank).

Q 3 : Mention a few works of Lenin.

.....

Q 4 : Lenin has made Marxism up to date and is said to have revised Marxism in the light of the latest developments of his time. (True/ False)

8.4 LENIN ON IMPERIALISM

Lenin's views on imperialism, is mentioned in his well-known work named as the Imperialism: the Highest stage of Capitalism. He regarded

imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Lenin argued that due to the creation of empires by the middle classes and workers of the developed industrial countries, the miseries of the workers could have been saved as predicted by Marx. But in practice, the people of the territories under the colonial power suffered exploitation and became genuine proletariat and the people of the colonial powers became the the capitalists. So there is no way out but to fulfill the teachings and prediction of Marx. Lenin states that, the monopoly capitalism becomes finance capitalism because the same process goes on in the financial world. The banks as used by the capitalist combines with it and become the master of the capital and the consequences of these are- (a) it leads to the exploitation of the people of the colonies (b) because of the competition between the markets it produces conflict between nations and (c) it establishes a new world order and the end of capitalism and the class wars between nations are inevitable. Therefore for Lenin, Imperialism is the highest stage of Capitalism and in this stage both domination of monopoly and financial capital takes its shape and it contains a number of contradictions which finally results in its own ruins and socialism establishes.

However, Lenin's view on imperialism has been criticized as philosophically vague and traditionally wrong. Critics have stated that finance interest alone cannot force government to go for conflict. Even his view that possession of empire alone can lead to the better standard of living for the working class by critics is also not fully correct. Finally, some other critics also stated that this theory is a utopian view and was not the effective renunciation of the teachings of Karl Marx.

Lenin said " The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises are one of the most characteristic features of capitalism.

Monopolist capitalist associations, cartels, syndicates and trusts first divided the home market among themselves and obtained more or less complete possession of the industry of their own country. But under capitalism the home market is inevitably bound up with the foreign market. Capitalism long ago created a world market. As the export of capital

increased, and as the foreign and colonial connections and "spheres of influence" of the big monopolist associations expanded in all ways, things "naturally" gravitated towards an international agreement among these associations, and towards the formation of international cartels."

Lenin further says "Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination and not for freedom, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations—all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism. More and more prominently there emerges, as one of the tendencies of imperialism, the creation of the "rentier state", the usurer state, in which the bourgeoisie to an ever-increasing degree lives on the proceeds of capital exports and by "clipping coupons". It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies. On the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before; but this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in general, its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital (Britain).

We must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

> (1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance

capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

According to Lenin therefore, imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism and the deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly.

(Source: https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Mention the consequences of the banks combining with capitalist to become the master of the master of the capital .

.....

Q 6 : Which are the five basic features of imperialism as identified by Lenin ?

.....

.....

.....

8.5 LENIN ON REVOLUTION

Lenin emphasized on violent revolution, in order to establish communism. He argued that, the exploited class should understand that they are exploited and they cannot go on living in the old way so they should demand a change for revolution. He held that a revolution is impossible without a national crisis and it will affect both the exploited and the exploiters. The majority of the exploiters should be convinced of the need of revolution and should also be ready to sacrifice their lives as well. Lenin further stated that the Communist Party should play a significant role in bringing about the

revolution and even insisted that this party should take part in the revolution secretly if possible and for this Lenin preferred that his communist party should consist of professional revolutionaries only. The idea of Lenin's professional revolution is regarded as one of the important contributions of Lenin to Marxist philosophy. He also included that strategies of revolution is also of great importance.

Later, once the revolution has been brought about Lenin favoured quick action to get hold over the means of production and distribution by the collective methods from the private entrepreneurs so that wasteful energies in competition could be utilized for constructive purposes. Thus, Lenin believed that revolution could be brought about in countries which did not possess healthy representative traditions.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7 : For the success of the revolution Lenin preferred that the communist party should consist of professional revolutionaries. (True/False)

.....

Q 8 : Lenin laid great emphasis on……..... to establish …….. (Fill in the Blank)



8.6 LET US SUM UP

- Vladimir Illyich Ulyanov popularly known as Lenin (1870-1924) was the founder of the modern communist party in Russia.A well-known figurein the Russian Revolution of 1917. He made Marxism a practical principle in Russia.

- He was a theorist and a man of action. It was under his administration that Russia and the wider Soviet Union turned a one-party socialist state under the Russian Communist Party. Hence,

Lenin was ideologically a Marxist but the theories developed by him are known as Leninism.

- Lenin was a disciple of Marx. He always claimed that he was in the mission to rescue Marxism but in the process he made few changes over Marxism by the use of the theory of imperialism and its conclusions were reverse of Marxian concept.

- He adapted Marxism in practice according to the need of time and made it applicable even in a country which was not even industrially advanced. In short, Lenin has made Marxism up to date and is said to have revised Marxism in the light of the latest developments of his time.

- Thus, the present-day philosophy of Communism is known as Marxism-Leninism i.e. a revised version of Marxism.

- Some of Lenin's works are: State and Revolution, Imperialism-the Highest Stage of Capitalism, and Introduction to Marx, Engels, and Marxism, to name a few.

- Lenin's views on imperialism, is mentioned in his well-known work named as the Imperialism: the Highest stage of Capitalism. He regarded imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Lenin argued that due to the creation of empires by the middle classes and workers of the developed industrial countries, the miseries of the workers could have been saved as predicted by Marx.

- But in practice, the people of the territories under the colonial power suffered exploitation and became genuine proletariat and the people of the colonial powers became the the capitalists. So there is no way out but to fulfill the teachings and prediction of Marx.

- Lenin states that, the monopoly capitalism becomes finance capitalism because the same process goes on in the financial world.

- The banks as used by the capitalist combines with it and become the master of the capital and the consequences of these are- (a) it leads to the exploitation of the people of the colonies (b) because of the competition between the markets it produces conflict between

nations and (c) it establishes a new world order and the end of capitalism and the class wars between nations are inevitable.

- Therefore, for Lenin, Imperialism is the highest stage of Capitalism and in this stage both domination of monopoly and financial capital takes its shape and it contains a number of contradictions which finally results in its own ruins and socialism establishes.

Lenin emphasized on violent revolution, in order to establish communism. He argued that, the exploited class should understand that they are exploited and they cannot go on living in the old way so they should demand a change for revolution.

- He held that a revolution is impossible without a national crisis and it will affect both the exploited and the exploiters. The majority of the exploiters should be convinced of the need of revolution and should also be ready to sacrifice their lives as well.

- Lenin further stated that the Communist Party should play a significant role in bringing about the revolution and even insisted that his party should take part in the revolution secretly if possible and for this Lenin preferred that his communist party should consist of professional revolutionaries only.

- The idea of Lenin's professional revolution is regarded as one of the important contributions of Lenin to Marxist philosophy. He also included that strategies of revolution is also of great importance.

- Later, once the revolution has been brought about Lenin favoured quick action to get hold over the means of production and distribution by the collective methods from the private entrepreneurs so that wasteful energies in competition could be utilized for constructive purposes.

- Thus, Lenin believed that revolution could be brought about in countries which did not possess healthy representative traditions.



8.7 FURTHER READING

1) Baylis John and Smith Steve (2005):*The Globalization of World Politics.* USA: Oxford University Press

2) Callinicos Alex (2009): *Imperialism and Global Political Economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

3) Hill Christopher (1971): *Lenin and the Russian Revolution*. London: Penguin Books.

4) Lenin V.I. (1905): *Freedom to Criticize and Unity of Action in Lenin Collected Works*, 1965. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

5) Paul Bowles (2007): *Capitalism* .London: Pearson Publications.

8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Ans to Q. No. 1 : April 22, 1870

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Leninism

Ans to Q. No. 3 :"State and Revolution", "Imperialism- the Highest Stage of Capitalism", and "Introduction to Marx, Engels, Marxism", "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination"

Ans to Q. No. 4 : True

Ans to Q. No. 5 : The banks as used by the capitalist combines with it and become the master of the capital and the consequences of these are-

(a) It leads to the exploitation of the people of the colonies

(b) Because of the competition between the markets it produces conflict between nations

(c) It establishes a new world order and the end of capitalism and the class wars between nations are inevitable.

Ans to Q. No. 6 :(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

Ans to Q. No. 7 : True

Ans to Q. No. 8 : Revolution, communism.



8.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Who was V.I Lenin?

Q 2 : In which place was Lenin born?

Q 4 : Mention any two major works of V.I. Lenin?

Q 5 : Discuss Lenin's views on Imperialism

Q 6 : Discuss Lenin's views on Revolution.

****

UNIT 9 : NEW DEMOCRACY AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION : MAO ZEDONG

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 New Democracy and Cultural Revolution of Mao Zedong

9.3.1 New Democracy

9.3.2 Cultural Revolution

9.4 Hundred Flowers Policy

9.5 Let Us Sum Up

9.6 Further Reading

9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.8 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- discuss Mao Zedong's concepts of New Democracy and Cultural Revolution
- discuss Mao Zedong's Hundred Flowers Policy

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Maoism like Marxism and Leninism was one of the most debated subjects of the 20th century. Maoism is the teachings and formulations that were advanced by Mao Zedong. He is popularly known as Mao Tse Tung (1883-1876). On October 1, 1848, Mao Zedong proclaimed the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The PRC is a single-party state controlled by the Communist Party of China. In the subsequent years, Mao launched an extensive programme of land reforms and crushed all "counter-revolutionaries" who were perceived as enemies of the state

Some of his works are “On Contradiction”, “On New Democracy”, etc. The difference between Maoism and Marxism is that Mao argued that, peasants should be the revolutionary class in Chinese society rather than the workers.

9.3 NEW DEMOCRACY AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Mao like Karl Marx and Lenin was also strongly opposed to Capitalism. Initially, Mao was of the view the violent struggle between two antagonistic systems i.e. Capitalist and Socialist societies is inevitable. However, later he also placed the view that it may be prevented, it is not rigid and can change with the change of circumstances in the course of time. Hence, Mao had a flexible attitude towards opposition to capitalism. He put forward the view of People’s War and he also stated that instead of Proletarian Revolution (urban working class revolution), the leadership of the revolution in China would be provided by the peasants for the rural araes . He believed in the continuous character of the revolution. Some of the important works of Mao include “On Contradiction”, “On New Democracy”, etc.

9.3.1 New Democracy

Mao sought to establish a new order in China the form of what he called “New Democracy”. He said “In China, it is perfectly clear that whoever can lead the people in overthrowing imperialism and the forces of feudalism can win the people’s confidence, because these two, and especially imperialism, are the mortal enemies of the people. Today, whoever can lead the people in driving out Japanese imperialism and introducing democratic government will be the saviours of the people. History has proved that the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot fulfil this responsibility, which inevitably falls upon the shoulders of the proletariat.

Therefore, the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other sections of the petty bourgeoisie undoubtedly constitute the basic forces determining China’s fate. These classes, some

already awakened and others in the process of awakening, will necessarily become the basic components of the state and governmental structure in the democratic republic of China, with the proletariat as the leading force. The Chinese democratic republic which we desire to establish now must be a democratic republic under the joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people led by the proletariat, that is, a new-democratic republic, a republic of the genuinely revolutionary new Three People's Principles with their Three Great Policies.

This new-democratic republic will be different from the old European-American form of capitalist republic under bourgeois dictatorship, which is the old democratic form and already out of date. On the other hand, it will also be different from the socialist republic of the Soviet type under the dictatorship of the proletariat which is already flourishing in the U.S.S.R., and which, moreover, will be established in all the capitalist countries and will undoubtedly become the dominant form of state and governmental structure in all the industrially advanced countries. However, for a certain historical period, this form is not suitable for the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. During this period, therefore, a third form of state must be adopted in the revolutions of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, namely, the new-democratic republic. This form suits a certain historical period and is therefore transitional; nevertheless, it is a form which is necessary and cannot be dispensed with.

Thus the numerous types of state system in the world can be reduced to three basic kinds according to the class character of their political power: (1) republics under bourgeois dictatorship; (2) republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes."

Accordingly, the New Democracy that Mao talked of is a a joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes and the system of government in this state system is democratic centralism. Mao

wanted the four diverse classes namely the Proletariat, Peasantry, Petty Bourgeoisie and National Bourgeoisie to live in peace and believed that diverse needs of these different classes my not necessarily create conflict with each other.

9.3.2 Cultural Revolution

Mao Zedong in the year 1866 launched the Cultural Revolution known in full as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It was a politico-social movement by him to reassert his control over the Communist party. Mao shut down the schools of the nation and called for a massive mobilisation of the youth. Mao Zedong's sought to penalize those leaders of the Community Party who had adopted bourgeoisie values and lacked the revolutionary spirit. Very soon this movement gained momentum and the students formed paramilitary groups called the Red Guards. It was a way of reviving the communist revolution by strengthening ideology and clearing out opponents. Many intellectuals of the society who did not prescribe to the Communist way of thinking were persecuted. Mao through this revolution wanted to upgrade the role of the masses as well. In the process, in 1867, Mao set up also set up revolutionary committees including the members of People's Liberation Army who later took over the power of the state as well as of the party in given areas. Mao declared the Cultural Revolution to have ended in 1868. The Gang of Four (senior leaders of the Communist Party of China who were charged with treason) and the military general Lin Biao were labeled as two major "counter-revolutionary" forces. After Mao's death and the subsequent arrest of the members of the "Gang of Four" in 1876 the Cultural Revolution ended.

(Source: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/index.htm)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: What are the numerous types of state system in the world as identified by Mao ?

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Q 2: Write briefly about the Cultural Revolution.

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9.4 MAO'S HUNDRED FLOWERS POLICY

This policy of Hundred Flowers Policy was advocated by Mao Zedong during the period Cultural Revolution in China. He was of the view that it would be wrong to think that there should be only one ideology in a state or society. The Hundred Flowers Policy implies that the views of all classes, strata and groups of people should be taken into account. So, each and everyone's thinking or views in China were like a flower and every flower is important and together they are like such hundred flowers and they should be allowed to grow and blossom. Mao's Hundred Flowers Policy is the reflection of the principle of free-expression. Hence, Mao through this policy wanted to upgrade the role of masses and emphasised that coercion shall not be used in ideological matters. Instead only persuasion should be made use of. However, the underlying principle would be that of Marxism.

Moa said "We are living in a period of great social change. Chinese society has been in the midst of great changes for a long time. The War of Resistance against Japan was one period of great change and the War of Liberation another. But the present changes are much more profound in character than the earlier ones. We are now building socialism. Hundreds of

millions of people are taking part in the movement for socialist transformation. Class relations are changing throughout the country. The petty bourgeoisie in agriculture and handicrafts and the bourgeoisie in industry and commerce have both experienced changes. The social and economic system has been changed; individual economy has been transformed into collective economy, and capitalist private ownership is being transformed into socialist public ownership. Changes of such magnitude are of course reflected in people's minds. Man's social being determines his consciousness. These great changes in our social system are reflected differently among people of different classes, strata and social groups. The masses eagerly support them, for life itself has confirmed that socialism is the only way out for China. Overthrowing the old social system and establishing a new one, the system of socialism, means a great struggle, a great change in the social system and in men's relations with each other. It should be said that the situation is basically sound. But the new social system has only just been established and requires time for its consolidation. It must not be assumed that the new system can be completely consolidated the moment it is established; that is impossible. It has to be consolidated step by step. To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but also to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts."

Mao further says "Second, the situation regarding the intellectuals in our country. No accurate statistics are available on the number of intellectuals in China. It is estimated that there are about five million of all types, including both higher and ordinary intellectuals. Of these five million the overwhelming majority are patriotic, love our People's Republic, and are willing to serve the people and the socialist state. A small number do not quite welcome the socialist system and are not very happy about it. They are still sceptical about socialism, but they are patriotic when it comes to facing imperialism. The number of intellectuals who are hostile to our state is very small. They do not like our state, the dictatorship of the proletariat,

and yearn for the old society. Whenever there is an opportunity, they will stir up trouble and attempt to overthrow the Communist Party and restore the old China. As between the proletarian and the bourgeois lines, as between the socialist and the capitalist lines, they stubbornly choose to follow the latter. In fact this line is not practicable, and therefore they are actually ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Such persons are found in political circles and in industrial and commercial, cultural and educational, scientific and technological and religious circles, and they are extremely reactionary. They account for only 1 or 2 or 3 per cent of the five million intellectuals. The overwhelming majority, or well over 80 per cent, of the total of five million, support the socialist system in varying degrees. Many of them are not yet quite clear on how to work under socialism and on how to understand, handle and solve many of the new problems."

According to Mao "The majority have the desire to study Marxism and have already learned a little, but they are not yet familiar with it. Some of them still have doubts, their stand is not yet firm and they vacillate in moments of stress. This section of intellectuals, constituting the majority of the five million, is still in the middle. Those who strongly oppose Marxism, or are hostile to it, are very few in number. Some actually disagree with Marxism, although they do not openly say so. There will be people like this for a long time to come, and we should allow them to disagree. Take some of the idealists for example. They may support the socialist political and economic system but disagree with the Marxist world outlook. The same holds true for the patriotic people in religious circles. They are theists and we are atheists. We cannot force them to accept the Marxist world outlook. In short, the attitude towards Marxism of the five million intellectuals may be summed up as follows: Those who support Marxism and are relatively familiar with it are a minority, those who oppose it are also a minority, and the majority support Marxism but are not familiar with it and support it in varying degrees. Here there are three different kinds of stand — resolute, wavering and antagonistic. It should be recognized that this situation will continue for a very long time. If we fail to recognize this, we shall make too great a demand on others and at the same time set ourselves too small a task. Our comrades in propaganda work have the task of disseminating Marxism. This has to be

done gradually and done well, so that people willingly accept it. We cannot force people to accept Marxism, we can only persuade them. If over a period of several five-year plans a fairly large number of our intellectuals accept Marxism and acquire a fairly good grasp of it through practice, through their work and life, through class struggle, production and scientific activity, that will be fine. And that is what we hope will happen."

Mao said "Third, the question of the remoulding of the intellectuals. Ours is a culturally underdeveloped country. For a vast country like ours, five million intellectuals are too few. Without intellectuals our work cannot be done well, and we should therefore do a good job of uniting with them. Socialist society mainly comprises three sections of people, the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals. Intellectuals are mental workers. Their work is in the service of the people, that is, in the service of the workers and the peasants." "Now, when it comes to serving the new society, the reverse is the case. The left wing stands firm, the middle wavers (this wavering in the new society is different from that in the old), and the right wing resists. Moreover, intellectuals are educators. Our newspapers are educating the people every day. Our writers and artists, scientists and technicians, professors and teachers are all educating students, educating the people. Being educators and teachers, they have the duty to be educated first."

"Hence it is wrong to assume that people who educate others no longer need to be educated themselves and no longer need to study, or that socialist remoulding means remoulding others — the landlords, the capitalists and the individual producers — but not the intellectuals. The intellectuals, too, need remoulding, and not only those who have not changed their-basic stand; everybody should study and remould himself. I say "everybody", and that includes all of us present here. Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems. Unless they rid their minds of what is unsound, intellectuals cannot shoulder the task of educating others. Naturally, we have to learn while teaching and be pupils while serving as teachers. To be a good teacher, one must first be a good pupil. There are many things which

cannot be learned from books alone; one must learn from those engaged in production, from the workers, from the peasants and, in schools, from the students, from those one teaches. In my opinion, the majority of our intellectuals are willing to learn. Given their willingness, it is our duty sincerely to help them study; we must help them in an appropriate way and must not resort to compulsion and force them to study".

According to Mao "Fourth, the question of the integration of the intellectuals with the masses of workers and peasants. Since they are to serve the masses of workers and peasants, intellectuals must, first and foremost, know them and be familiar with their life, work and ideas. We encourage intellectuals to go among the masses, to go to factories and villages. It is very bad if you never in all your life meet a worker or a peasant. Our state personnel, writers, artists, teachers and scientific research workers should seize every opportunity to get close to the workers and peasants. Some can go to factories or villages just to look around; this may be called "looking at the flowers on horseback" and is better than doing nothing at all. Others can stay for a few months, conducting investigations and making friends; this may be called "dismounting to look at the flowers". Still others can stay and live there for a considerable time, say, two or three years or even longer; this maybe called "settling down". Some intellectuals do live among the workers and peasants, for instance, technicians in factories, technical personnel in agriculture and teachers in rural schools. They should do their work well and become one with the workers and peasants. We should make it the common practice to get close to the workers and peasants, in other words, we should have large numbers of intellectuals doing so. What is involved here is the question of stand or attitude, that is, of one's world outlook. We advocate "letting a hundred schools of thought contend", and there may be many schools and trends in every branch of learning, but on the matter of world outlook, there are basically only two schools in our time, the proletarian and the bourgeois. It is one or the other, either the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook. The communist world outlook is the world outlook of the proletariat and of no other class. Most of our present intellectuals come from the old society and

from families of non-working people. Even those who come from workers' or peasants' families are still bourgeois intellectuals, because the education they received before liberation was a bourgeois education and their world outlook is fundamentally bourgeois. If the intellectuals do not discard the old and replace it by the proletarian world outlook, they will remain different from the workers and peasants in their viewpoint, stand and feelings and will be like square pegs in round holes, and the workers and peasants will not open their hearts to them. If the intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and make friends with them, the Marxism they have learned from books can become truly their own. In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but chiefly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants. When in addition to studying some Marxism our intellectuals have gained some understanding of it through close contact with the masses of workers and peasants and through their own practical work, we will all be speaking the same language, not only the common language of patriotism and of the socialist system, but probably even that of the communist world outlook. If that happens, all of us will certainly work much better ".

Mao said "Fifth, rectification. Rectification means correcting one's way of thinking and style of work. Rectification movements were conducted within the Communist Party during the anti-Japanese war, during the War of Liberation, and in the early days after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Now the Central Committee of the Communist Party has decided on another rectification within the Party to be started this year. Non-Party people may take part or abstain as they wish. The main thing in this rectification movement is to criticize the following incorrect ways of thinking and styles of work — subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism. As in the rectification movement during the anti-Japanese war, the method this time will be first to study a number of documents, and then, on the basis of such study, to examine one's own thinking and work and unfold criticism and self-criticism to expose shortcomings and mistakes and promote what is right and good. On the one hand, we must be strict and conduct criticism

and self-criticism with respect to mistakes and shortcomings seriously, not perfunctorily, and correct them; on the other hand, we must use the method of the “gentle breeze and mild rain” and that of ‘learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient’, and we must oppose the method of ‘finishing people off with a single blow”.

Mao further says , “Ours is a great Party, a glorious Party, a correct Party. This must be affirmed as a fact. But we still have shortcomings, and this, too, must be affirmed as a fact. We should not affirm everything about ourselves, but only what is correct; at the same time, we should not negate everything about ourselves, but only what is wrong. Achievements are the main thing in our work, and yet there are not a few shortcomings and mistakes. That is why we need a rectification movement. Rectification means the whole Party studying Marxism through criticism and self-criticism. We can certainly learn more Marxism in the course of the rectification movement”.

Mao says , “The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our way of thinking and style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job. Our country has need of many people who whole-heartedly serve the masses and the cause of socialism and who are determined to bring about changes. We Communists should all be people of this kind. Formerly, in the old China, it was a crime to talk about reforms, and offenders would be beheaded or imprisoned. Nevertheless there were determined reformers who were dauntless and published books and newspapers, educated and organized the people and waged indomitable struggles under every kind of difficulty. The state, the people’s democratic dictatorship, has paved the way for the rapid economic and cultural development of our country. It is only a few years since the establishment of our state, and yet people can already see the unprecedented flowering of the economy, culture, education and science. In building up the new China we Communists are likewise not daunted by any difficulties. But we cannot accomplish this all on our own. We need a good number of non-Party people with high ideals who will keep to the socialist and communist orientation and fight dauntlessly with us to transform and construct our society. It is a

colossal task to ensure a better life for the several hundred million people of China and to make our economically and culturally backward country a prosperous and powerful one with a high level of culture. And it is precisely in order to be able to shoulder this task more competently and work better with all non-Party people who have high ideals and the determination to institute reforms that we must conduct rectification movements both now and in the future, and constantly rid ourselves of whatever is wrong".

Mao states "Sixth, the question of one-sidedness. One-sidedness means thinking in terms of absolutes, that is, taking a metaphysical approach to problems. In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to affirm everything or to negate everything. There still are quite a few people inside the Communist Party and many outside it who do just that. To affirm everything is to see only the good and not the bad, and to welcome only praise and not criticism. To talk as though our work is good in every respect is at variance with the facts. It is not true that everything is good; there are shortcomings and mistakes. But neither is it true that everything is bad; that too is at variance with the facts. Here analysis is necessary. To negate everything is to think, without prior analysis, that nothing has been done well and that the great task of building socialism, the great struggle in which hundreds of millions of people are participating, is a complete mess with nothing commendable about it. Although there is a difference between many of those who hold such views and those who are hostile to the socialist system, these views are very mistaken and harmful and can only dishearten people. It is wrong to appraise our work either from the standpoint of affirming everything or from the standpoint of negating everything. We should criticize those people who take such a one-sided approach to problems, though of course we should do so in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient", and we should give them help".

(Source:Source: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/index.htm)

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Write the meaning of Moa's "Hundred Flowers" policy.

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Q 4 : What is meant by Rectification?

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9.5 LET US SUM UP

- Mao Zedong sought to establish a new order in China in the form of what he called "New Democracy".



Mao Zedong in the year 1866 launched the Cultural Revolution with view to upgrade the role of the masses.

- Mao advocated the policy of Hundred Flowers that implies thinking of each and every Chinese people is important for the progress of Chinese politics. Mao's had a flexible attitude towards opposition to capitalism because he later stated that mutual relationship might grow between the two antagonistic systems namely- the Capitalism and Socialism gradually with the changing period of time.

- Hence, Mao wanted the four diverse classes namely the Proletariat, Peasantry, Petty Bourgeoisie and National Bourgeoisie to live in peace and believed that diverse needs of these different classes my not necessarily create conflict with each other.



9.6 FURTHER READINGS

1) Mohanty, Manoranjan. *The Political Philosophy of Mao Zedong*. Aakar Books, New Delhi.

2) Rebecca E. Karl (2010): *Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth-Century World: A Concise History.*Durham: Duke University Press.

4) Wu , Yiching (2014): *The Cultural Revolution of the Margins, Chinese Socialism in Crisis.* Harvard University: Harvard University Press.

5) Maurice , Meisner (1988): *Mao's China and After*. New York: Free Press

9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : (1) Republics under bourgeois dictatorship; (2) Republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) Republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Mao Zedong in the year 1866 launched the Cultural Revolution known in full as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It was a politico-social movement by him to reassert his control over the Communist party. Mao shut down the schools of the nation and called for a massive mobilisation of the youth. Mao Zedong's sought to penalize those leaders of the Community Party who had adopted bourgeoisie values and lacked the revolutionary spirit. Very soon this movement gained momentum and the students formed paramilitary groups called the Red Guards. It was a way of reviving the communist revolution by strengthening ideology and clearing out opponents. Many intellectuals of the society who did not prescribe to the Communist way of thinking were persecuted. Mao through this revolution wanted to upgrade the role of the masses as well. In the process, in 1867, Mao set up also set up revolutionary committees including the members of People's Liberation Army who later took over the power of the state as well as of the party in given areas. Mao declared the Cultural Revolution to have ended in 1868. The Gang of Four (senior leaders of the Communist Party of China who were charged with treason) and the military general Lin Biao were labeled as two major "counter-revolutionary" forces. After Mao's

death and the subsequent arrest of the members of the "Gang of Four" in 1876 the Cultural Revolution ended.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : This policy of Hundred Flowers Policy was advocated by Mao Zedong during the period Cultural Revolution in China. He was of the view that it would be wrong to think that there should be only one ideology in a state or society. The Hundred Flowers Policy implies that the views of all classes, strata and groups of people should be taken into account. So, each and everyone's thinking or views in China were like a flower and every flower is important and together they are like such hundred flowers and they should be allowed to grow and blossom. Mao's Hundred Flowers Policy is the reflection of the principle of free-expression. Hence, Mao through this policy wanted to upgrade the role of masses and emphasised that coercion shall not be used in ideological matters. Instead only persuasion should be made use of. However, the underlying principle would be that of Marxism.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Rectification means correcting one's way of thinking and style of work. Rectification movements were conducted within the Communist Party during the anti-Japanese war, during the War of Liberation, and in the early days after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The main thing in this rectification movement is to criticize the incorrect ways of thinking and styles of work, namely, subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism.



9.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Mention any two works of Mao Zedong.

Q 2 : Discuss Mao's Hundred Flowers Policy

Q 3 : Discuss Mao's concept of New Democracy

Q 4 : Write about Mao's Cultural Revolution.

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